



**GREEN EUROPEAN
FOUNDATION**

Green New Deal in Poland

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INDEX

Foreword	5
1. Dariusz Szwed: Green New Deal in the World, in Europe, in Poland?	7
2. Przemysław Sadura: Education in the Green New Deal	13
3. Bartłomiej Kozek: Green Social Deal and Green Jobs	21
4. Beata Maciejewska : The Perspective of Gender Equality in the Green New Deal	33
5. Grzegorz Wiśniewski: Climate and Energy Democracy	39
6. Dariusz Szwed: Sustainable Transport Policy in the Green New Deal	49
7. Dorota Metera: Sustainable Agriculture, Security and Quality of Food in the Green New Deal	55
8. Ludomir Duda: Autonomous Affordable Building Industry	61
9. Edwin Bendyk: The Green New Deal – Towards Realistic Utopia	69
Green New Deal for Europe	77
Authors	84
Publisher's note	86

FOREWORD

Though the publication of this study the Green European Foundation is continuing its work on the elaboration and dissemination of ideas and research on one of the core projects of the European Green political family: “the Green New Deal”. Initiated by the Heinrich Böll Foundation Warsaw office and the Zielony Instytut Poland, this volume endeavours to link the European level concept to a concrete national example. A “Green New Deal for Poland” delivers a first case study of what the actual implementation of a European Green New Deal would mean at the national level.

For several years now, the European Greens have been setting out their proposals for a European and a global Green New Deal; no less than a green framework for the transformation of contemporary capitalism necessitated by the recent crises. The Green New Deal is not just another “eco-friendly” policy, but refers to a major shift towards more sustainable and equitable patterns of production and consumption. It calls for a rethink of priorities, from the way we live and work to what we value. The Green New Deal proposes a comprehensive economic, social and environmental transformation; from infrastructure and sustainable industrial policies to investment in peoples’ well-being and the redistribution of wealth.

The historic reference is clear: the policies implemented to recover from the Great Depression of the 1930s. Nonetheless, the policies from this period cannot be a blueprint for measures suitable for the 21st century. Today’s interrelated environmental, social and economic crises have brought the Greens’ analyses and political priorities to the centre-stage. The ideas of the Green New Deal have in many ways, and in many countries, become part of the mainstream political discourse.

There is still a long way to go to turn commendable political discourse into concrete political action. To name but one recent example: the European Union’s programme “Europe 2020”, meant to be the major impetus in moving towards a sustainable Europe, falls far short in its actual approach of its self-proclaimed goals. It continues to rely on GDP growth as the one and only solution to the existing crises, when it is clear that “more of the same” will not pave the way to a more sustainable future.

In many ways this is reminiscent of the Polish case: the strategic document “Poland 2030. Developmental challenges” is a recurring point of reference in this publication. As with the European Union’s “Europe 2020” programme, the heavy reliance on economic growth which overshadows measures for achieving social cohesion or an ecological reconversion of the economy in Poland, is evident throughout this document.

When setting out on this publication the guiding question was what Polish Government policy would look like if it was instead based on the Green New Deal. Which sectors would drive the transformation and which sectors would be in most need of reform? Which transversal issues such as gender relations or education would have to be addressed as part of this transformation?

While the transformation of our societies presupposes costs for certain sectors, it will also generate wealth and activity in others. Given that current policies within the European Union – at the national as well as European level – are not ambitious enough in this respect, there is enormous latent potential to build a better future. This is something which is both technically and financially feasible, for Poland as well as for the European Union as a whole.

All the institutions involved in this publication will continue, throughout various projects and publications, to disseminate political analyses and recommendations such as those which are proposed in the following articles. We would like to thank all the editors and authors for their contribution to this endeavour.

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1.

Dariusz Szwed

Green New Deal in the World, in Europe, in Poland?

New Deal of the 21st century

The idea of the Green New Deal refers back to the New Deal that was realized in the United States in the 1930s by President Roosevelt as a state response to the deepest recession in the history, with growing unemployment, a decline in the economic production and a drastic increase of public debt. Public investments (e.g. public works) allowed creating of new jobs, introduction of social benefits and common pension scheme, establishment of minimum pay and maximum working hours. This all contributed to a better cohesion of social system and to the emergence of the American economy out of the recession. The New Deal, however, concentrated mainly on social and economic perspectives; ecological policy was not an element of activism of any country in the world at that time. The Green New Deal, on the other hand, indicates simultaneously a new perspective, apart from social and economic ones, and challenges of global crisis of the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. They encompass mainly global climate change, growing depletion of natural resources and devastation of biodiversity – processes resulting from e.g. unsustainable consumption patterns and production models.

Global disorder

Worldwide imbalance that impinges on the sustainable development has three key perspectives:

- **ecological** – linked to the global warming, growing number of extreme weather conditions (droughts, floods, hurricanes etc.), increasing pressure on the global ecosystem and declining biodiversity and natural resources;
- **social** – resulting from e.g. escalating stratification of global society, in which 20% of people consume 80% resources, as well as growing diversification of income and inequalities within countries, e.g. in Poland;
- **economic** – associated with a deep imbalance in the global trade between the most indebted countries-importers, e.g. the United States and exporters e.g. China and Germany, and growing imbalance in public finances in individual countries e.g. in Poland.

What is the GND?

Aims of the Green New Deal involve securing global sustainable development and creating of the low emission and low carbon economy and society via enhanced social cohesion, millions of new green jobs resulting from increased national and EU investments in e.g. education, R&D programmes, development of modern technologies that are human-, environmentally- and climate-friendly, enhancing energy efficiency and a higher use of renewable sources of energy, modernization of building sector and promotion of autonomous and passive buildings, development of environmentally friendly railways systems on the continent and change in the priorities of the Common Agricultural Policy. Similarly to the programme of reforms from the 1930s, the Green New Deal points out an active role of public authorities in the implementation of policies, in this case - of the sustainable development.

The conception of the Green New Deal appeared first in the report by the New Economics Foundation in July 2008¹. *A Green New Deal* concerned the issue of co-occurrence of three crises: economic crisis, driven by credit bubbles, boosting climate changes and drop in the oil production with the increase of its price. The authors stated that in order to avoid a deep recession comparable to the Great Depression it is necessary to undertake reforms in two main spheres: key structural changes in national and international financial systems, including tax system and stable investments in energy savings and production of energy from renewables.

In March 2009 before the EU Parliament elections, European Green Party agreed on the manifesto *The Green New Deal for Europe*, which significantly develops this conception. It reads: "Economic, social and ecological challenges faced by Europe are strictly intertwined; therefore, the response has to be mutual and must be a part of a comprehensive package, which to us means the Green New Deal. The Green

New Deal that we propose is the only way to bring about real changes in lifestyle and working patterns, in order to limit emissions of greenhouse gas emissions, which has been scientifically confirmed as necessary in order to avoid the most disastrous effects of the climate change. It has to be emphasised that benefits brought by the Green New Deal are not restricted to the crucial spheres of climate or environmental protection. The Green New Deal will stimulate the economy, leading to sustainable economic development, millions of new green jobs for green-collar workers in the renewable energy sector and other future-oriented technologies. Within issues of social policy, the Green New Deal secures that social and labour rights will not be weakened nor sacrificed in the name of public interest and services for the public will be secured in the most just way so that all citizens are protected from social and economic exclusion and could enjoy high quality of life. Greens shall act for the benefit of equal rights for all at the workplace and outside it; we will counteract all forms of discrimination and intolerance and undertake immediate action necessary to support people in the most troublesome situation within the society²."

Green New Deal in Poland or disorder on "the green island"

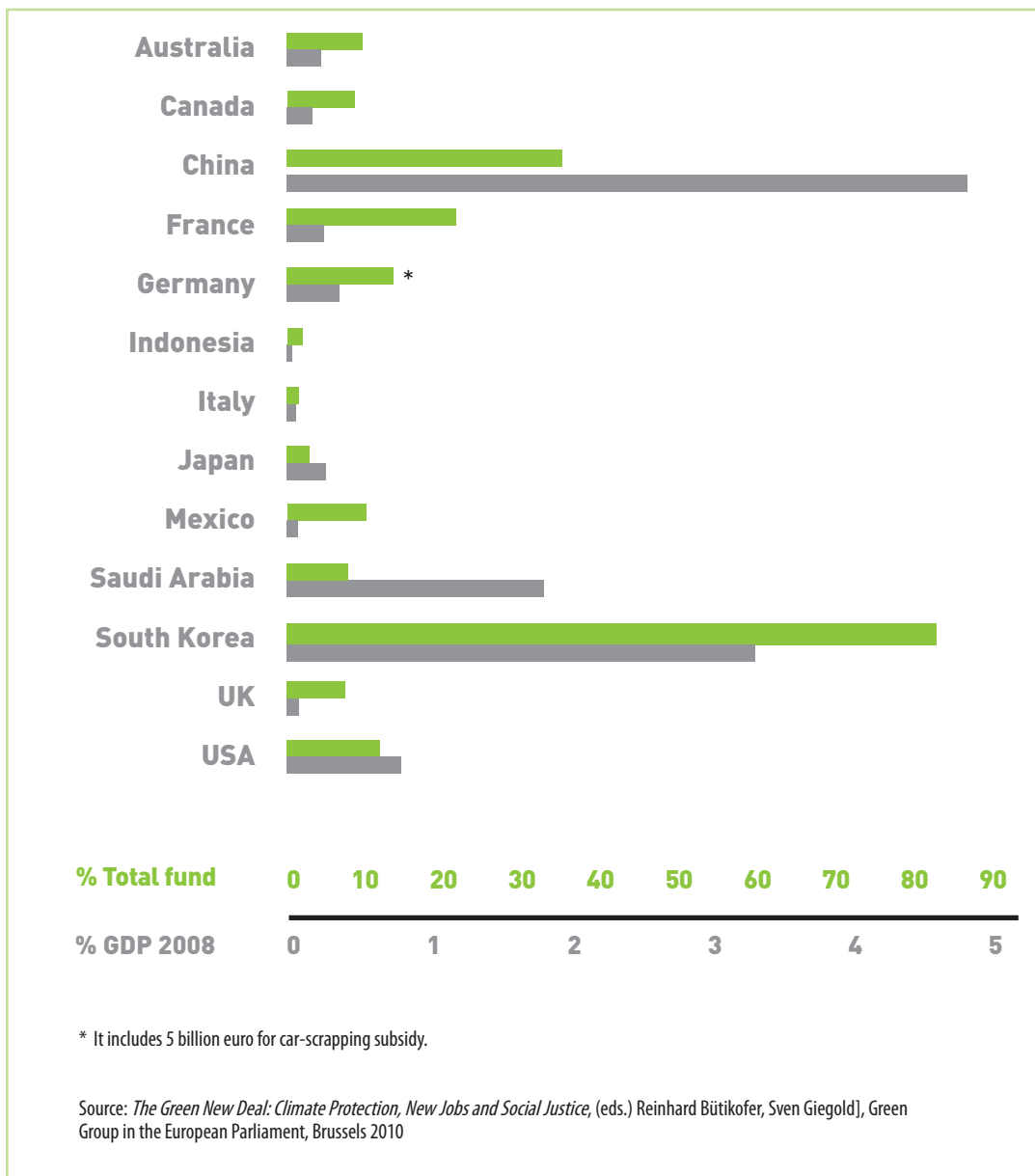
In *Green New Deal in Poland* we aim at exploring the most vital elements and evolution of this strategic developmental conception and, at the same time, we analyse it in the Polish context.

The Green New Deal integrates three areas of politics: social, environmental and economic, and it indicates that society constitutes the basis of the economy, just as the environment is the base for the economy and society. In Poland the principle of sustainable development inscribed in the 5th Article of the Constitution is still not properly implemented (or rather understood), which can be illustrated by the fact that subsequent governments have used the rhetoric of conflict "environment versus

¹ *New Economics Foundation* – a website devoted to the Green New Deal <http://www.neweconomics.org/projects/green-new-deal>

² European Green Party, <http://europeangreens.eu/menu/election-campaign/egp-manifesto>

Share of green investment in anti-crisis packages (stimulus) and in total GDP



economy' or "environment versus society". The current state of affairs presented by key politicians seems to be ill-prioritized, "First economy, my reasonable Pole"³, these are the words by Bronisław Komorowski from the debate on the future of Polish and European economy. Similarly, a strategic document by the government of Civic Platform (PO) and Polish Peasants' Party (PSL) *Re-*

*port Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*⁴ expresses the developmental model of polarization and diffusion, in which economic issues, especially economic growth are measured by the GDP and dominate over social cohesion and ecological order. A solid foundation for the development of Poland was defined by the authors as economic growth, efficient administration and

³ Words by the then president candidate Bronisław Komorowski during the opening of the Second European Economic Congress in Katowice, 31 May 2010

⁴ Group of the Strategic Advisors of the President of the Council of Ministers: *Report Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*, <http://www.polska2030.pl/>

demographic potential. We can also find out that “Current EU policy as regards energy and ecological security is heading towards reinforcement of Europe as a world leader in sustainable development. This, however, cannot occur at the cost of the Polish economy”. Here we have a neoliberal motto: for market problems... more market!



Sustainable development as the co-dependence of environment, society and economy

Neoliberal polarisation – growing income stratification, increasing pressure on the environment resulting from the promotion of unsustainable models of consumption, which is to be followed by diffusion leading to a greater social cohesion, development of social capital, sustainable development on a regional level and, in the very end, welfare. And here we have the biggest trap of this governmental strategy for development: we ought to tighten our belts so as to achieve the state of bliss, i.e. ecological, social and economic balance in 20 years, in 2030. Why then in the last 20 years neoliberal economic policy realized in terms of stable growth of the GDP has led to e.g. increased social stratification, a decrease in social capital and a regular rise of pressure on the environment measured by the total use of energy and non-renewable resources⁵? Is Poland really a “green island” on the red map of Europe, as proudly stated

5 One of the indicators of a total energy use is environment footprint. Between 2003 and 2007, it rose in Poland from 3.3 to 4.35 global hectare of available ecospace. In 2007 there were 1.8 gha for one inhabitant of Earth, i.e. on average Poles consume 241% of globally available ecospace. If everyone consumed as much as Poles currently, humanity would need 2.5 planets.

by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Finances? The ruling ideology was aptly described by Edwin Bendyk in the afterword to Ecology. Guide by the Political Critique, “Indeed we have two actual principles or rather ideologies present in the dominant developmental discourse in Poland: neoliberalism and postcolonialism. The former means the primacy of growth policy over free market instruments understood as a space for private preferences that are only protected and not shaped by the state which is withdrawing from the management of interpersonal relations to a maximum extent. This can happen only under the influence of external commitments. The dictate by the Centre (Brussels, globalization), expressed in the ideas like climate and energy packages or Nature 2000, is treated like divine retribution, contribution cost for the membership in the club of developed countries. In fact, we are a postcolonial, developing country that was harmed by history and is still being damaged by the Centre that tries to enforce solutions detrimental to aspirations reflected in a desire to maintain economic growth⁶.”

Neoliberal notion of the market above everything and of endless economic growth measured by the growing GDP is wearing thin. The GDP does not reflect the reality. It does not involve a low level of social capital, unpaid housework (done mainly by women), increasing income stratification. Neither does it account for environmental devastation or extinction of plants and animals. The GDP does not allow for the future of growing population and the greatest challenge of the 21st century – the necessity to implement global climate deal, which is a perfect investment in our common future, as noted by the economist Nicolas Stern⁷.

Green New Deal in Poland endeavours to indicate that developmental “business as usual” is impossible – “continuation of pushing economic growth through at the cost of the degradation of society and environmental foundations. It is necessary to enforce the Green New Deal.

6 E. Bendyk, “Ekologia Polityczna dla Polski, czyli w stronę Zielonego Okrągłego Stołu” [in:] *Ekologia. Przewodnik Krytyki Politycznej*, Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warsaw 2009

7 N. Stern, *Globalny Ład. Zmiany klimatu a powstanie nowej epoki, postępu i dostatku*, Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warsaw 2010

In the beginning of our publication we describe three horizontal dimensions of the GND: education, social order and gender equality.

Common and accessible education is one of the key pillars of the GND, therefore, we begin with strategies for greening white- and blue-collar workers and with the analysis of educational purposes in the document *Europe 2020* and of the situation in the Polish educational system.

The Green New Deal requires also a wider perspective concerning the necessity to implement such a social order that would consider needs of all social groups, nature and future generations. Its pillars are principles of equality and solidarity. In this part of the publication we also evaluate social policy – institutions, programmes and instruments – and demonstrate the necessity for reforms in this aspect. We elaborate on the role of social capital, developmental egalitarianism, and the need to counteract social exclusion. We analyse the problem of ageing society and respective challenges e.g. care economy. Additionally, we point out sectors with the highest potential for growth and new green jobs and we present appropriate supporting instruments.

Another important horizontal sphere of the GND is equality of opportunities for women. Subsequent reflections concern the role of women in green modernization and proposed modernization programmes in the EU (*Europe 2020*) and in Poland (*Poland 2030*). We try to answer the question of whether the Green New Deal is a breakthrough in this respect and, if not, what should be done for this to become a programme of equal chances. We describe among others situation of women in the “global village”, green modernization on the labour market, employment of women and relations between gender, the GND and policies realized by the state (e.g. concerning health, care, transport, energy and industry). We discuss the issues of gender parity and quotas in business, politics and other spheres of activities.

The above mentioned horizontal perspectives of green developmental strategy are complemented by the analysis of four sector dimensions: policy on energy and climate, sustainable mobility and transportation, sustainable agriculture, security and quality of food and autonomous affordable building industry.

Climate and energy democracy, one of the elements of the GND, is contingent upon the concept of a distributed energy system in keeping with principles of the sustainable development (also in the context of climate change). We reveal the need for innovative approach to energy system – withdrawal from centralized system of great powers with the use of non-renewables to a decentralized smart grid based on the priorities of energy saving, enhanced energy efficiency and dynamic development of the mix of renewable sources. We point out that a democratic participation of the society, social surveillance and integration with other systems (e.g. transportation) are key aspects of the distributed energy system that is friendly to the climate and society.

Another crucial element of the Green New Deal in Poland is sustainable mobility and transportation. We explain the role of equal access to sustainable mobility; we present priorities of the development of transport in the future of Poland. We analyse parts of *Poland 2030* concerning the development of transport infrastructure in the next 20 years and confront governmental priorities with the recommendations of the GND.

Implementation of the GND in Poland means also the necessity to reform agricultural policies and development of rural areas. Since food crisis becomes related to climate change to a greater extent, this might result in a lower level of food security, we consider which model of the Common Agricultural Policy can secure sustainable development and food security, as well as high quality of food and protection of ecosystems. We present instruments of how to green the agriculture. We evaluate economic, ecological and social potential of ecological agriculture in Poland.

Autonomous affordable building industry is a vital element of the Green New Deal in Poland. We describe it as one of the key sectors of green low emission economy of the 21st century. By creating new workplaces this sector allows for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and, at the same time, provides for the basic law inscribed in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland – the right to meet housing needs. We consider how to reconcile ecological and social aspects in the construction sector. We assess also opportunities and threats to the development of autonomous social housing in Poland.

In the summary we analyse which lessons were and still are drawn from numerous and various crises that struck Poland (despite the fact that government describes our country as the “green island”), Europe and the world. We wonder whether the Green New Deal in Poland, in our eyes indispensable, is possible and whether it will be implemented as a result of a deep reflection on the condition of our world or whether we are doomed to inevitable global disaster, unless there is a radical change. The decision is in our hands, but time elapses fast.

2.

Przemysław Sadura

Education in the Green New Deal

Analysis of the educational system with regard to strategies and potential

A cursory reading of the aims and challenges embracing the concept of the Green New Deal can lead to a surprising conclusion: education and educational policy are faced therein with a barely marginal interest. The strategies, which were supposed to formulate a consistent green answer to the economic, social and climate crisis, concentrate instead on areas of the greatest potential for the sustainable job market: changes in financial and economic systems, increased efficiency in management of resources (in sectors like industry and construction), green transport, energy production and distribution¹. Education has been somehow forgotten.

Such an interpretation would however be wrong. Since the very beginning education and studies have constituted a crucial, even if not explicitly expressed, tool for the purposes of the GND. Therefore, in subsequent documents, which specified and developed the conception of the GND, concrete programmes concerning the creation of

green jobs have been complemented with a description of instruments relating to social and educational policies necessary for implementation. The ecological transformation of industry is not possible without appropriate incentives involved in all levels of educational and didactic systems. For this reason, prepared by the European Greens for European election campaign 2009, the manifesto *A Green New Deal for Europe* emphasized that the GND calls for "massive investments in education, science and research in green and prospective technologies". The standing is obvious: "EU policies that weaken public services in the name of competition must end. Public services such as health and education are crucial to the general interest and must not be frittered away by competition rules²."

The efficacy of anti-crisis policy in the transformation of European and world economy depends not only on the introduction of new rules concerning sustainable production and consumption, but also on the reform of education and the R&D sector

¹ One of the examples is the first report by Green New Deal Group published by the New Economics Foundation in July 2008; http://www.neweconomics.org/sites/neweconomics.org/files/A_Green_New_Deal_1.pdf

² *Manifesto for the European election campaign 2009 „A Green New Deal for Europe“*; http://europeangreens.eu/fileadmin/logos/pdf/manifesto_EUROPEAN_GREENS.pdf

(research and development). The pillars of the GND encompass: social capital and citizens' commitment, investments in social networks and human capital, as well as in public, social and educational programmes for the benefit of current and future generations.

A critical reading of strategic documents *Europe 2020* and *Poland 2030* can serve as a departure point for the analysis aimed at defining strategies and action necessary for the implementation of the GND.

Europe 2020 – Green New Deal and educational aims

The new European strategy for sustainable development and employment, *Europe 2020*³, emerged in the time of a deep economic crisis. It was conceived by the European Commission so as to replace the Lisbon Strategy, which was adopted in 2000 and has not yet transformed the EU into “the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world”. The new agenda prioritizes innovation, action for green economy and proposes a wider monitoring of national programmes of reforms. *Europe 2020* includes three mutually related priorities:

- smart growth: development of the economy based on knowledge and innovation;
- sustainable growth: support of greener, more competitive economy that uses resources more efficiently;
- inclusive growth: support of economy with high employment rate, social and territorial cohesion

In order to achieve these goals, the Commission has proposed some overriding EU targets that are supposed to specify somewhat general assumptions, e.g.:

- the employment rate of people aged 20-64 should be raised from the cur-

rent 60% to at least 75% as a result of a higher number of working women and the elderly;

- allocation of 3% of the EU gross domestic product (GDP) in research and development;
- the school drop out rate should be lowered from the current 15% to less than 10%, while the proportion of tertiary degrees ought to be increased from 31% to 40%;
- the number of people threatened by poverty has to be decreased by 25%, i.e. 20 million EU citizens.

Seven flagship projects on the agenda include e.g. one concerning educational policy, *Youth on the move*, and several others related to this field, i.e. *Agenda for new skills and jobs* promoting the life-long development of qualifications aimed at an increase in the professional activity rate. *The Youth on the move* initiative seeks to improve results and enhance attractiveness of European higher education and better quality at all levels of education and training, by combining competitiveness and justice.

What then does the European Commission postulate and how does it intend to attain this? At the EU level it aspires to integrate and to enhance European programmes as regards mobility, cooperation between universities, research (like Erasmus), to modernize higher education by benchmarking university performance and educational results on a global scale, to promote entrepreneurship and to act as an official recognition of non-formal and informal learning⁴ and to create an employment policy for young people. The European Commission orders Member States to: secure sufficient investments in education and training systems at all levels (pre-school to tertiary), improve

³ On the basis of the Communication from the Commission. *Europe 2020. A Strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*. European Commission, Brussels, 3 March 2010.

⁴ In the EU nomenclature:

– informal education is not institutionalized and can be either intentional, e.g. self-study, or unintentional, e.g. acquisition of knowledge at work, outside organized workshops

– non-formal education is institutionalized and formal, but realized outside the official educational system, e.g. training based on the experiences of companies, corporations and social organizations.

educational results, identify key competencies, reduce the school drop out rate, enhance openness and relevance of education systems by building national qualification frameworks and adjusting learning outcomes to labour market needs. Another project recommends also that “a sufficient supply of science, maths and engineering graduates should be ensured and focus of school curricula should be placed on creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship”. Additionally, it is necessary “to implement life-long learning principles, e.g. through flexible learning pathways between different education and training sectors and levels and (...) to promote new forms of work-life balance, active ageing policies and to increase gender equality”.

It is not surprising that such a vague mix of generally right postulates with generally wrong ones met with a criticism of groups supporting the idea of the GND⁵. The agenda repeats some errors of the Lisbon Strategy by proposing a programme that in principle does not impose any obligations so as to attain the specified goals, but it merely presents them as desirable. The document lacks binding arrangements concerning targets in key fields, such as resource management and energy policy, as well as social areas, including education. The agenda does not introduce any conditional clauses in the EU budget. And if the EU budgetary expenses, especially transfers from structural funds, were strictly linked with the EU targets of ecological and social policies, such a mechanism would genuinely motivate Member States to change their policies. In the case of education specific aims, if formulated at all, these are associated with a very mercenary way of thinking. Care for the effectiveness of educational systems expressed in the plan aimed at lowering the number of people finishing their education too early is just an attempt to reduce the so-called educational drop out rate. Thus, the Commission has not changed the model of the educational system. The basic idea or maybe the only task is to satisfy the

needs of the labour market in an optimal way. This generally technocratic approach to education has been only amended by means of selective comments on non-economic functions of the educational system: introduction of soft skills (group work), maintenance of work-life balance and gender equality. However, the majority of arguments for the development of education are based on the conviction that it delivers qualifications necessary from the economic point of view.

Another weakness of *Europe 2020* is its conservative character. The classic example is the repetition of 20/20/20 targets in climate policy, which are absolutely not adequate to challenges, related to climate change and cannot serve as a sufficiently strong impulse for a green revolution in technology. This problem applies also to social targets, e.g. reduction of poverty regarding “only” 20 million people instead of a more ambitious elimination or a more drastic reduction. The problem with the strategic document by the Commission results from the fact that it lacks a reflection on limits of growth and that it is based on the assumption that it will be stable (which may be groundless as indicated by the Stern Review⁶).

Ultimately, it can be stated that as being too technocratic and productivity-committed, this strategy is deprived of a holistic or systemic approach. Moreover, it is too vague in its technological and technocratic thinking about policies

Poland 2030 – educational targets and the lack of the Green New Deal

The above criticized strategy *Europe 2020* is contingent upon two pillars: apart from a thematic approach it ought to use reports delivered by Member States. The requirement is supposed to help particular countries to devise their own strategies for restoring sustainable growth and stable public finances. If the latter is to be realised by means of the plans of Minister Michał Boni collected in the report *Poland 2030*, then the whole strategy comes out looking even poorer when compared to the European one.

⁵ On the basis of the minutes of the conference *Green New Deal: A Greens/EFA workshop*, which was held on the 4th and 5th 2009 in the European Parliament in Brussels; http://greens-efa.eu/cms/default/dok/270/270730.green_new_deal@en.htm

⁶ http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/stern_shortsummary_polish.pdf

In order to voice criticism of the proposed solutions it is, however, necessary to discern a turn in the approach of Polish policy-makers to education, which can be seen in *Poland 2030*, the report by strategic experts of the Prime Minister. The situation is analogical to the change in the way democratic values functioned in the second half of the 20th century. Since the 1970s no one in the world has criticized democracy, all authorities declared that their policies support democratic values and ideas. However, practical action within such policies could differ greatly depending on the person in power: Brezhnev, Pinochet, Carter or Dubček. Nowadays no one questions the relevance of education in politics of development, but various agendas can lie behind declarations of a higher appreciation for educational policy. Here is the statement of Grzegorz Gorzelak, president of *Euroreg* – Centre for European Regional and Local Studies of the University of Warsaw (regarded as a base for strategic advisers of the Prime Minister), an enthusiastic supporter of Boni's model of diffusion and polarisation concerning regional development, "What is the most important in our backward country? Education. Every child must go to a kindergarten. A part of the funding, now allocated to next bike paths or local roads, has to be spent for nursery schools and their facilities, Internet in schools, libraries, school labs, as well as for courses for teachers so that a child from a small town and with less books at home than his/her peer from a big city would be able to overcome this difference in cultural capital (...). What is more, education is necessary also for adults, even these that have already achieved a high status (...). We are all talking about innovation. Still, innovation is not a technical phenomenon, but mainly a social one. If the Polish economy is to become innovative one day, the model of the functioning of school and a child at school has to change now. Teachers should earn as much as is profitable for them to stay at school from 8 a.m. till 4 p.m. They should improve their skills all the time to take care of pupils in a more comprehensive way. The encyclopaedic and individualistic model of education should be replaced by such a one that is oriented towards

a joint and creative solution of problems"⁷. What can a supporter of the GND do in face of such a comment? He or she can accede to it (although perhaps not everyone will support the idea of reducing funds for cycle ways). So when the experts of Michał Boni postulate e.g. action for a greater access to early education and change in the dominant formula of adults' training (a better access to various forms of non-formal and informal education), it is difficult to disagree with them⁸. Problems arise, however, when we start talking about specific solutions. Minister Boni and his experts pointed out a correct direction, by assuming that investments in education will contribute to the social and economic development, while the development of pre-school education to the increase of social capital and cohesion and to equal educational opportunities. Unfortunately, allotted resources are not sufficient and the chosen path leads in the opposite direction.

Comparison of a sustainable and unsustainable system of education

The Government does not mention increased expenditure for education, but only a reallocation of financial resources. It does not declare any specific means for the development of pre-school education, which could mean that even if in 2020 Polish kindergartens provide for 90% of children, it will be achieved thanks to the development of the commercial sector of childcare. The ruling party Civil Platform (PO) is critical of citizens' initiatives postulating a change in the financing of childcare and a proper response to the respective needs of Poles e.g. nursery schools for 2-year-olds (which corresponds ideally with the demand to increase the female employment rate)⁹.

The principles concerning the introduction of the mechanism of competition and rivalry into the educational system are also leading in the wrong direction. Education is being

7 *Warszawa szansą Radomia (Warsaw as a Chance for Radom)*, Grzegorz Gorzelak in a conversation with Aleksandra Klich, „Gazeta Wyborcza” No. 249, 23–24 Oct 2010.

8 On the basis of *Poland 2030*

9 Polish Teachers Association prepared a civil bill concerning common pre-school education. The initiative was supported by e.g. Feminoteka Foundation, 8 March Women's Alliance, Zieloni 2004, Democratic Left Alliance, MaMa Foundation, Federation for Women and Family, Active Women Association, Foundation for Sexual Health Promotion; http://www.znp.edu.pl/element/387/Przedszkole_dla_kazdego_dziecka

System of education	
unsustainable	sustainable
Elitist: oriented towards “hunting” for rare talents	Egalitarian: oriented towards common development of talents
Oriented towards optimization: low-cost realization of targets e.g. a specific scholarisation rate	Oriented towards effectiveness: evaluation takes into account economic alternative costs e.g. costs of social exclusion
Reconstructing or increasing economic, social and gender inequalities (segregation within and between schools)	Actively reducing economic, social and gender inequalities (e.g. quotas, ban on segregation)
Assimilative: limiting cultural, lingual and ethnic diversity	Actively reducing economic, social and gender inequalities (e.g. quotas, ban on segregation)
Separate financing: based on a substantial proportion of private outlays	Joint financing: based on a substantial proportion of public expenditure
Separated from other elements of social and public policies	Linked to other elements of social and public policies (e.g. system of health prevention)
Public only in some fields (e.g. compulsory system of education)	Public at all stages from pre-school to tertiary
Educational transfer is ideological i.e. subordinated to a dominant doctrine or religion	Educational transfer is neutral in terms of outlook and religion
Competitive: oriented towards growth of competitiveness between students	Cooperative: oriented towards shaping cooperative behaviours between students
Capitalist in the first place: creating disciplined and conform workforce accepting disparities generated by the labour market	Democratic in the first place: creating actively engaged citizens and workers
Short-sighted adjustment to the needs of the labour market i.e. higher education based on training and vocational education (<i>Ausbildung</i>)	Long-sighted adjustment to the needs of the labour market i.e. higher education based on edification (<i>Bildung</i>)
<p>Source: author's study</p> <p>Here and in many other places of the article I am referring to the resolution of the Congress of Zieloni 2004: <i>Edukacja jest prawem, nie towarem. Priorytety Zielonych w polityce edukacyjnej</i> (Education is not a right, nor a product. Green priorities in educational policy); http://www.zieloni2004.pl/art-3674.htm</p>	

commercialised simultaneously from the bottom (pre-school) and from the top (tertiary). The so-called higher education bill by the government intends to establish national leading scientific centres, i.e. conducting research on the highest level. They are supposed to have precedence when applying for grants. Another provision of the bill follows the same path; it regards a limitation of statutory subsidies, i.e. funds

for maintenance of particular scientific institutions, and the increase of financial resources distributed via competition. Such a solution will toughen competition between universities for state finances, yet, it will not improve their competitiveness. Analogically, this will not be achieved through creeping commercialisation of studies (so far fees for students taking two subjects) and restrictions on earning capacity (ban on

several jobs) – instead of rises that would adjust remuneration to contribution and of changes to pay in other sectors.

During the convention of the Polish Sociological Association in Cracow Minister Boni held a presentation, which was a draft of the document *Long-term strategy for national development. Poland 2030: schedule of implementation procedures* that was supposed to be submitted for social consultations soon. He indicated clearly that before 2020 Poland will not even come close to 3% of GDP for R&D as recommended by the Commission. A planned level of expenditure for this sector amounts to just 1.8%. In order to achieve this standard it is necessary to raise outlays for science between 2018 and 2020 by 20% a year, which suggests that this strategy delays crucial decisions concerning a shift in the structure of public finances. Presented by Minister Boni, *Basic scenario of the change in the structure of public finances* assumes that public expenditure will be maintained at the current low level. It amounts to 43.8% GDP in 2020 and 2030, so it will remain almost the same as in 2010 (43.3%), while the EU average exceeds 50% and the proportion in Scandinavian countries comes to 60%. The contribution of public outlays in GDP will not change. The structure is supposed to be transformed. Planned are: fall [sic!] in the expenditure for education from the current 5.7% GDP to 5.5% in 2020, a drastic limitation of outlays for welfare benefits and a marked increase in the proportion of GDP for “economic issues” from 3.8% nowadays to 6.3%. This means that education in Poland in the next decade cannot hope for any incentives for development¹⁰.

Educational system for “green-collar workers”

In such a short article it is impossible to present a detailed programme of reconstruction of the educational system, which could constitute an element of Polish strategy for the realisation of the GND. What can be put forward, however, is an outline of the model embracing the most vital postulates. The primary principle should read as

follows: modern education is not a didactic process conducive to the transfer of maximum information in a minimal amount of time by means of possible low costs. It is a comprehensive influence aimed at shaping a fully self-sufficient person/citizen who is able to solve problems and find necessary information and who is aware of his/her rights and duties. Only such a form supports the emergence of information society and knowledge-based economy, which raises the opportunities for green modernisation. Let us consider then, step by step, methods of adjusting this general project of reconstruction of educational system to the needs and expectations of “green-collar workers”.

■ Change in the model of allocation of EU and public resources

Boni’s dilemma regarding whether to choose a solidarity model or diffusion and polarisation distorts reality. The actual problem concerns infrastructural outlays and “soft investments”, i.e. funds for R&D, training and education. The Scandinavian success translated into Polish conditions would imply delaying purely infrastructural investments in traditional economic sectors and increasing expenditure for the development of competence indispensable for a knowledge-based economy and information society.

■ Application of *Europe 2020* as an opportunity

As indicated, the strategy *Europe 2020* is not ambitious and from the global viewpoint it supports the idea of the GND unsatisfactorily. However, from the local and Polish perspective the unilateral commitment of the Polish government to achieve indicators based on the EU average at a national level would be a major step towards green modernization (e.g. 3% R&D).

■ The axiological framework of development has to be taken seriously, while nowadays in Poland it is perceived in an unconditionally positive way and at the same time understood rather superficially as a process sustaining the state of the “green island of positive GDP”.

¹⁰ Data was taken from the presentation by Minister Michał Boni during the convention of Polish Sociological Association in Cracow, 10 Sep 2010

It requires an answer to the question of how we should understand in the language of political strategies the statement that the educational development is smart, sustainable and inclusive. Evaluation can be carried out with the above table outlining features of an (un)sustainable system of education.

■ **Development of the system of adult education**

It should be a comprehensive system of courses for parents (e.g. e-learning) and other stationary forms of life-long learning and Universities of the Third Age. The popularisation of adult education, partly as vocational courses, financed and realized with a public-private partnership, would be an opportunity for bad statistics concerning adult education in Poland. The system that is appropriately subsidised (from the outlays for education and labour market policies) should become a major mechanism conducive to re-skilling people employed in the non-prospective branches so that they can work in green sectors of a rising green economy or low-carbon economy (e.g. re-skilling miners into workers of energy efficiency sector or renewable energy).

■ **Introduction of common pre-school education which guarantees that every child over 2 gets a place in a nursery school financed from an educational subvention (in order to even out differences between Polish districts)**

Publicly-financed childcare must be common and encompass children of the unemployed. State policy should promote the development of day care centres and kindergartens in the workplace (tax reliefs for companies). A greater access to pre-school education in Poland ought to be accompanied by improved quality, i.e. reduced number of children in a group, increased programme diversity (various profiles of nursery schools should be state-financed, e.g. Steiner /Montessori Kindergartens¹¹).

11 These are examples of experimental forms of work adopted by Polish social kindergartens. The former (called also Waldorf kindergartens) apply pedagogical principles developed by Rudolf Steiner; the latter are based on the ideas of Maria Montessori, one of the greatest reformers of pre-school education.

■ **Change of the profile of educational transfer in Polish schools at all levels**

Curriculum should be neutral in terms of outlook (and embrace education as regards issues of sex life, civil society, gender and sustainable development) and support the protection of cultural heritage.

■ **Conducting the process of common national Internetisation beginning with schools, universities, offices, libraries and other public facilities**

Free, fast Internet and free software licenses should be used with the aim of better accessibility of e-books, free scientific journals etc.

■ **Financial support for higher education and R&D sector**

Preparation of the Polish economy for the process of green modernisation requires higher budgetary outlays for science and development and not solely non-budgetary sources of financing (public-private partnership, public-social partnership, EU resources). Increased expenditure for R&D from non-budgetary sources can be an alternative for countries that have already attained a respective high proportion in public expenses. Worldwide, it is still the state that constitutes the only subject which is able to guarantee generally unlimited finances for the most prospective R&D projects. It might be a good idea to return to the conception of research on crucial problems. The scope of research should be determined by state institutions, social organisations and scientists themselves, results should be available in the public domain and the state should contribute to the specification of supply of courses essential for the realisation of green modernisation to a greater extent. This idea underpins the programme of the so-called ordered specialities. Such a type of studies ought to be well-financed, so that it is free of charge in both full-time and extramural system and its quality – strictly controlled.

3.

Bartłomiej Kozek

Green Social Deal and Green Jobs

“The Republic of Poland shall be a democratic state ruled by law and implementing the principles of social justice. (...) A social market economy, based on the freedom of economic activity, private ownership, and solidarity, dialogue and cooperation between social partners, shall be the basis of the economic system of the Republic of Poland”.

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland, Articles 2 and 20

What is social policy? Ryszard Szarfenberg, Associate Professor and researcher at the University of Warsaw, defines it as “the public activity whose envisioned aims and achieved results concern conditions, level and quality of life of society as a whole, as well as of particular communities, families and households¹”. Prof. Józef Orczyk, who deals with the subject, stated that „the main goal of social policy was and still is to provide the sense of existential security, including especially economic safety by creating and maintaining a network of guaranteed obligations on the side of the state (sometimes also di-

rectly realized by the state)². This definition shows that aims of social policy involve: improving the quality of life, reducing and combating poverty, guaranteeing a public access to goods and services necessary to achieve a desired state of social balance, securing that all people have the right to realize the idea of freedom practically (freedom from poverty, freedom of choice of a satisfying job, opportunity to decide consciously about parenthood or resigning from it etc.). It is also supposed to prevent the situation when poverty and other forms of social exclusion cause waste of talents, because people with potential are shunt on to the sidelines as a result of social stratification and subsequent differences in the level of cultural capital. Social policy includes among others educational, cultural, healthcare, housing and employment policies³.

The green vision of social policy, whose essence is sustainable development, treats economic, social and ecological policies as equally significant. It objects to the primacy of economization of the last two and to the superiority of economic growth

¹ Introductory lecture by Ryszard Szarfenberg, Associate Professor, for the first-year students of social policy, <http://www.ips.uw.edu.pl/rszarf/psiks/ps>

² Ibid.

³ http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polityka_społeczna

measured by growing GDP. In the 20th century left-wing social and political movements (mainly in Europe) imposed a social and economic order that balanced economic and social priorities e.g. by the postulate of 8-hour working day. Similarly, in the end of the 20th and the beginning of 21st century Greens promote the necessity to create Green New Deal, one of whose key elements is green social policy.

Its essence is encapsulated in solidarity with the voiceless, i.e. nature, people excluded on the Global South and a growing group of people excluded in the Global North and future generations that are often ignored in contemporary politics.

It has recognized that welfare requires respect for human rights (symbolized e.g. in the field of housing by means of the motto “a flat is a right, not a good”) and inclusion of new topics into the field of modern social policy, such as a common right to mobility and high-quality food. It cannot be effective, if we forget the need to integrate sector policies that have been treated to separately date, e.g. the EU Common Agricultural Policy should be combined with healthcare and ecological policy. “The Greens reject a neo liberal globalization which increases insecurity and the competition of all against all. Solidarity and responsibility must be the cornerstones of an inclusive and cohesive society”, this can be read in the resolution *A Green vision for a social Europe*, adopted by the European Green Party in Paris in 2008⁴, one of the most crucial documents setting the framework of green social policy in the EU.

Green social Europe

“A social Europe is not just a nice to have add-on to the European Single Market”, emphasised the Greens in the resolution, „it is the responsibility of society to create conditions for citizens to realize their talents and ambitions, to choose their lives and to participate. (...) The challenges facing European societies are enormous. Europe looks richer

than ever however poverty and social exclusion are rising. The reality is that the Barroso commission as well as the conservative majority dominating the EU Council and Parliament have not answered these challenges.⁵”

The document indicated that providing citizens with a solid social security and the opportunity to self-fulfilment with the respect for limits of planet’s resources and solidarity with its current and future generations. As regards green social policy priorities, European Greens do not endeavour to set the EU goal as a one-size-fits-all welfare state that would fill in national governments, but they believe in a rising role of the EU in this political field. In this sense, they do not strive for a unified model of social policy, but rather for elaboration of binding minimum standards that would have to be fulfilled by the state and that would express social integration of uniting social Europe.

The Greens also point out areas and ways in which green social policy functions. These include: “the right to income, to affordable housing, to health care, to education, to work, to a good environment, to culture etc. and a guarantee of social security”⁶, as well as fair working income, good and available jobs, sufficient benefits for those who need them, sustainable and universal pensions, a free access to public services like childcare, but also an individual entitlement to all basic goods and services of general interest : energy, water, mobility (supported by e.g. a well developed public transport), public space for children and young people to realize their ideas, public support in adapting apartments and public space in an ecological way, healthy food and a high level of useful and barrier-free social support-services.

Green social policy and Polish developmental strategy

Due to the limited scope of the article I decided to choose some issues from these presented above. I have focused on labour market, healthcare,

4 http://europeangreens.eu/fileadmin/logos/pdf/policy_documents/sociale_europe/EGP_WG_Social_Policy_-_Policy_Paper_as_voted_by_the_EGPCouncil.pdf

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

Comparison of sustainable and unsustainable social policy

Social policy	
unsustainable	sustainable, green
Elitist: inequality (or even its escalation) treated as a growth stimulator, privatisation of public services	Egalitarian: equality as a key principle of sustainable development, common access to public services
No solidarity: a low amount of investment and a narrow, most often selective, range of public services	Solidarity: a huge amount of investment and a wide range of public services, majority of universal services (dependent on citizenship and not income-related)
No account of external social costs in the analysis and implementation of policies, perpetrators not burdened with full costs	Internalization of external social costs in the analysis and implementation of policies
A lack or a low level of the implementation of the caution principle	The caution principle as a vital element of social policy
Evaluation on the basis of quantitative indicators, mainly macroeconomic e.g. GDP, number of hospital beds, amount of expenditures for medication	Extended sets of integrated qualitative indicators of sustainable development
Economic growth measured by the rising GDP as a basis of social policy	Integrated indicators of sustainable growth as a better expression of stability of a developmental strategy
Ideologization of health policy by ruling doctrine and dominant religion (the right to abortion, IVF)	Social policy is neutral in terms of outlook and religion
Dominant practice of treating consequences of problems and social damage, which results in higher costs (including high external costs)	Main focus on prevention: avoiding problems and social damage, lower full costs (account of external costs)
Care economy and housework left to the private sphere	Care economy and housework included in social policy
Lack or low level of implementation of gender mainstreaming	Gender mainstreaming as a key element of social policy
Substantial level of exclusion as a result of among others great income stratification, no account of perspectives of gender, age and disability	High level of justice, equal access to goods and public services
Human capital and its development as dominant elements of social policy	Human and social capital and its development as equal elements in social policy
Low intensity and culture in cooperation with social partners, shifting public tasks on NGOs	High intensity and culture in cooperation with social partners, mutual realization of public tasks on the basis of partnership
Low level of social participation in constructing policies, low level of social, civic and political activism	High level of social participation in constructing policies, high level of social, civic and political activism

Prepared by : *Dariusz Szwed, Bartłomiej Kozek*

demographic policy, culture, technology and European social policy. Apart from the Polish context, I have presented briefly much bolder ideas of green political powers and progressive research institutions from all over the world. They are worth mentioning so as to realize differences in the quality of life and public debate and of what is “conceivable” in Poland and elsewhere.

A departure point for the comparison is Report *Poland 2030. Developmental challenges* prepared by the office of Minister Michał Boni^{7,8}. It stands in the opposition to ecopolitical view on the world, because it is contingent upon a long-standing argumentation of economic neoliberals who state that demands of social culture, stiff labour code and high tax burdens are responsible for the insufficient economic development of the state leading to “a downward dribble of wealth” onto lower social classes. Authors favour the model of polarization and diffusion, opposed to that of sustainable development e.g. they promote maintenance of regional developmental disproportions and the lack of any response to a high level of income stratification. The report indicates that fight against inequalities can trigger “developmental drift”, thus leading to a missed chance of changing Poland into a welfare state⁹.

The analysis of developmental challenges in Boni’s report was conducted without any reflection over sources of recession. There is, however, admiration of “creative destruction”¹⁰ of economic slowdown that is supposed to have a positive influence on the purification of the market. Found can be also delight with the Irish model of development¹¹ that supports foreign investments by lowering corporation taxes, although it has experienced a severe slump and adverse effects, such as blow of speculation bubbles in banking and hous-

ing sectors and inaccurate investments which were earlier deemed as flagship¹².

Flexicurity à la Polonaise, or how to waste “the Golden Triangle”

Boni’s report is filled with examples of a wrong approach to the instruments of social policy recommended by the EU and promoted in the conception of the Green New Deal. Let us see how it treated flexicurity. Supported e.g. by the European Green Party¹³ and realized in various forms in Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, this system of labour market combines flexibility with a generous network of social securities and financing training and re-skilling programmes. However, in a mutated version by the Boni’s team, flexicurity took a new form: very flexible job market becomes even more flexible, but there is no action to raise funds for social policy, which deepens the imbalance between employees and employers – with the benefit for the latter. It all happens in a country where 90% unemployed are not entitled to benefit and there are more cases of accidents¹⁴ and delays in salary payment¹⁵ detected by National Labour Inspectorate.

From the perspective of green social policy the withdrawal of the state from active employment policy in such a situation means the consent to ineffective functioning of labour market, which places in a worse situation not only employees and people looking for jobs, but also small and middle entrepreneurs who have less resources that would enable them to compete with stronger market players, and unwieldy state underfinanced due to reduction in income tax and pension contribution. Meanwhile, in countries pursuing active social policy

7 Report *Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*, the Chancellery of the President of the Council of Ministers, Warsaw 2009

8 A more detailed analysis of the report in my article *Polska 2030 – postpolityka czy rozwój [Poland 2030 – Postpolitics or Development]*, <http://zieloni2004.pl/art-3793.htm>

9 Report *Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*, p.2.

10 Ibid, p. 5.

11 Ibid, p. 22.

12 For example, a waste incinerating plant of a capacity that exceeds the level of waste production of neighbouring communities. Now, inhabitants are facing the choice of whether to produce more waste or pay fines. More: http://www.greenparty.ie/en/news/latest_news/dublin_councils_must_come_to_their_senses_on_costly_folly_of_incinerator_plan.

13 http://europeangreens.eu/fileadmin/logos/pdf/policy_documents/economic/EGP_WG_Economy_-_Paper_as_adopted_by_Ljubljana_Council.pdf

14 W. Chamala, *PIP: 104 tys. wypadków przy pracy, 523 ofiary śmiertelne, [104,000 accidents at work, 523 casualties]*, <http://lewica.pl/index.php?id=19205>

15 P. M. Bartolik, *PIP: Coraz więcej przypadków zalegania z wynagrodzeniami [A growing number of delays in salary payment]*, <http://lewica.pl/index.php?id=19180>

like Denmark 25-35% of employees change work¹⁶ every year and over 70% of respondents stated that an occasional change of a workplace is beneficial¹⁷. The system of “golden triangle”, i.e. flexible labour market, generous welfare state and active employment policy, means that employees do not feel compulsion to hurry only to get a mediocre job and that they do not join the ranks of “the working poor”; additionally, they can count on help when re-skilling.

In order to understand one of the sources of disproportions between Poland and Denmark, it is worth comparing calculations by the OECD concerning public expenditure for the labour market in 2003. At that time, Denmark spent 4.42% of the GDP for this purpose, including 1.74% for active programmes like financing jobcentres, trainings, incentives for employment and integration of the disabled, while the rest was allocated for benefits and early retirement. In Poland in the same period the indicator amounted to 0.98% of the GDP, including merely 0.16%¹⁸ for active instruments. Nowadays according to the Eurostat, the unemployment rate in Denmark comes to 6.9% below the EU average of 9.6% (in Poland - 9.4%) and the employment indicator is running about 75.7% (men - 78.3%, women - 73.1%), in Poland - 59.3% (men - 66.1%, women - 52.8%)¹⁹. Having a labour market in which membership in trade unions amounts to 70% and not to 15% like in Poland, we can speak about a balance between workers and employers, strengthened by the state.

Indicators of other economies that chose a similar approach are equally encouraging. With a social democratic model of capitalism, Sweden based its version of a welfare state on sector negotiations between organizations of employers' and those of employ-

ees', which guarantees equal pay in various companies. Market subjects that given such conditions are unable to stay in the market go bankrupt and give place to new ones. Employees of such firms can count on similar support like their colleagues in Denmark, while a huge amount of money allocated to R&D, in combination with active labour market policy allows for keeping the unemployment rate on a decent level (8.5% in July 2010, including 8.6% by men and 8.5% by women, whereas in Poland - these figures come to 8.9% and 10.1% respectively). A minor gender difference is related to very active policy of guaranteeing balance between work and free time and to popularity of paternity leaves and extended day care system attended by 43% of one-year old children, 85% of two- and three-year-olds, 91% of kids in the age of four and five and as much as 97% of six-year-olds²⁰. In Holland, which is rather under the influence of a conservative, continental school of social policy, a great attention is devoted to providing non-permanent workers with appropriate legal protection²¹.

It is true that social systems of Scandinavian countries are not perfect and these states have their own issues such as a great number of young people and immigrants on the job market. The problem is that Polish *status quo* brings about much worse effects - in the first place, 60% of Poles live under the social minimum (many of them work, but for insufficient remuneration). Any alternative, like implementing European solutions in the Polish reality, seems impossible to Polish authorities.

Green-collar workers – the first and the second stage of the GND

One of the vital elements of the Green New Deal is recapitulation that the state policy (also the EU one) have a substantial potential to create new jobs. During elections in 2009, Greens in Germany presented a programme of creating a million of new, green

16 More: T. Borejza, *Wykorzystać rynek [Use the market]*, „Trybuna”, October 2008; <http://lewica.pl/index.php?id=17743>

17 Report *Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*, p. 100.

18 D. Lang, “Duński model elastycznego bezpieczeństwa (flexicurity). Wzór do naśladowania?”, [w:] *Problemy Polityki Społecznej* [Danish model of flexicurity. Example to follow?], [in:] *Problems of Social Policy*, 8/2005, <http://rszarf.ips.uw.edu.pl/pdf/lang.pdf>

19 <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/refreshTableAction.do?jsessionid=9ea7971b30e6c5ee2c53f039443e94e28372808c66d5.e34RaNaLaNOMc40LcheTaxiLbN8Ne0?tab=table&plugin=1&pcode=tsiem010&language=en>

20 More: *Szwecja. Przewodnik nieturystyczny [Sweden. Non-turistic guide]* Political Critique Publishing House, Warsaw 2010

21 *I Must Work Harder? Britain and the Working Time Directive*, report commissioned by green MEP Jean Lambert, London 2008, http://www.jeanlambertmep.org.uk/DocumentStore/I_Must_Work_Harder.pdf

workplaces in 5 years²², in the Czech Republic – 70,000²³, in England and Wales – over half a million²⁴. The development of the idea of green jobs has extended the definition of professions that are recognized as “green collars”.

Originally “green jobs” referred mainly to “male” posts in industry and related services, like construction, public transport, renewable energy, primary sector, recycling and sector of environmental protection. In later extensions of the GND, jobs created as a result of the development of social policy were also regarded as green: in education, healthcare, childcare and care for the elderly. This process was strongly influenced by feminism which drew attention to the role of the “care economy” in social reproduction and maintenance of economic system²⁵.

First, the idea was to present an alternative for people who were to lose their jobs as a result of moving tax burden onto ineffective and polluting sectors of the economy e.g. miners working by extracting coal or workers in the automobile industry. Mitigation of unfavourable consequences of these changes was possible e.g. thanks to the active policy of enhancing energy efficiency of buildings, which resulted in the reduction of workplaces in mining with a simultaneous increase in employment by e.g. thermomodernisation of buildings. Suffice it to look at the German example: thanks to the coalition government of the Social Democratic Party and the Greens in years 1998-2005, nowadays over 250,000 people work in the sector of renewable energy, and according to the calculations with time this number will exceed the rate of people employed in the pride of the state – automobile industry²⁶. The credit goes to a high state-

guaranteed tariff of energy purchase from renewable sources. In the whole EU in 2007 there were 3.4 million people employed in the ecological sector of waste and raw material management and renewable energy production, 2.7 million workers in the automobile industry and 2.4 million - in the chemical industry²⁷. Also in Poland we do have examples of greening of workplaces, however, not on account of active, integrated policy of the state. These include isolated cases of struggle of entrepreneurs with wrong or lacking policies like building towers for wind turbines in the Gdańsk Shipyard²⁸.

What is the situation in Poland in this respect? The research by the Institute for Sustainable Development indicated that there are possibilities for Poland to follow a path of more sustainable power industry and green low-carbon economy. Should only economically feasible investments in the energy efficiency and renewables be used since now with respect for environmentally protected areas, then 44% of energy demand of Poland could be satisfied till 2030²⁹. Meanwhile, the average level of application of these possibilities amounts to merely 18% in the case of renewables. What a pity! Especially in the light of the fact that the production of one Twh from nuclear energy, solution preferred by the government of Donald Tusk, creates only 75 workplaces, from oil and gas – 250 to 265, from coal – 370, and from wind – 918 to even 2,400. In 2007 the latter employed 74,000 people in Germany, while in Denmark there were 21,000 employees and 35,000 in Spain³⁰.

The second stage of development of green jobs and of including new public services therein began with the development of economic situation, aggravation of the economic crisis and as a result of deep discussions and progressive analyses by think-tanks. It was argued that in the age of replacing commodities with services and

22 Election programme of the Green Party to Bundestag in 2009, http://www.gruene.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Dokumente/Wahlprogramm/BTW_Wahlprogramm_2009_final_screen_060709.pdf

23 Economic programme of the Green Party for parliamentary elections in 2010, <http://www.zeleni.cz/underwood/download/files/ekonomicky-program-2010.pdf>

24 The sum of jobs in the programme manifesto by the Green Party of England and Wales for parliamentary elections in 2010, http://www.greenparty.org.uk/assets/files/resources/Manifesto_web_file.pdf

25 *Gender i ekonomia opieki, [Gender and Care Economy]*, E. Charkiewicz [ed.], A. Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz, Tomek Byra Art and Ecology Foundation, Warsaw 2009

26 Green Work: Employment and skills – the climate change challenge, report commissioned by green MEP Jean Lambert, London 2008, http://www.jeanlambertmep.org.uk/DocumentStore/GreenWork_report.pdf

27 Ibid.

28 http://wyborcza.biz/biznes/1,100969,8682490,Pomorskie_W_Stoczni_Gdansk_najwieksza_w_Polsce_fabryka.html

29 *Alternatywna Polityka Energetyczna Polski do 2030 roku [Alternative Energy Policy of Poland till 2030]* – report for policy-makers, Institute for Sustainable Development, Warsaw 2010, <http://ine-isd.org.pl/lang/pl/page/broszury/id/18/file/26/option/save/>

30 *Green Work: Employment and skills*

knowledge-based economy, public services cannot be forgotten as they guarantee pro-social nature of changes. The second phase of perception of the GND in the social context started attaching greater attention to sectors such as healthcare, care, education and R&D, simultaneously with action for increased participation of women in traditionally male sectors³¹. The aim is to raise quality of life, human and social capital so as to increase social cohesion that is a key element of sustainable development.

In Poland a lot of work must be done in every of the above mentioned fields. It suffices to mention low expenditure for health, low rates of children involved in day care system (in the case of four-year-olds only 41%³²; in the group of the age 3 to 5 - 62% in cities and 19% in rural parishes³³), a low quality of social aid services and meagre expenditure for R&D - 0.56% of the GDP, while in innovative economies like Sweden or Finland it goes up to 3.5-4%.³⁴ What is more interesting, in *Poland 2030* there is no indication of any desire to raise public outlays for R&D, yet it is suggested that fees for studies be introduced and nannies be hired privately, which of course can be afforded only by few people.

Prevent and heal

Our health is influenced by factors such as quality of job, work overload and possibility to combine professional and private life, active leisure, quality of food and the state of the environment. Politics has a substantial impact on each of them and active measures can relieve the burden of expenses for treatment and they can reduce human suffering. Each one is an element of modern prevention, avoiding illnesses, which leads to a better quality of life and which lowers the costs of healthcare. In discussions concerning a healthcare reform in Poland priorities include financing structures of the healthcare system and focus on financing treatments, instead of prevention. A change in the perception would require acknowledgment of interrelations between social

problems and subsequently preparation of a complex vision of the functioning of the state. More and more often it is noticed that poverty and exclusion are accompanied by ecological degradation and weak health indicators. Progressive global changes of the civilization cause new inequalities related to the segmentation of urban space among other traditional ones that necessitate changes. The quality of life in "bad" and "good" districts begins to differ significantly. For example, in Warsaw the difference of life expectancy in men comes to 16.1 years (65.7 in the "bad" district North Praga and 81.8 in "good" Wilanów), while the figure for women amounts to 14.1 years (76.2 and 90.3 in the respective parts of Warsaw)³⁵.

It is difficult to talk about prevention, if young people already at an early age are deprived of instruments necessary to care for their own health. Permanent medical and dentist services are still not available in every school (reintroduction of this obligation, abandoned in 2002, is a constant postulate of paediatric circles and it could become a vital way to eliminate and to diagnose developmental deficits). It is hard to implement programmes beyond the range of obligatory vaccination and increasingly criticized fluorization of teeth, while classes concerning sex education, not rarely taught by school catechists, are far from being objective in transferring knowledge of contraception or psychosexual orientations, not only in the opinion of pupils. There was no reflection over e.g. the suggestion by Maciej Gdula, Ph.D. at the University of Warsaw. This concerned the introduction of the subject "health"³⁶ into school programmes. It is difficult to create conditions to promote physical activities if such classes for many good students mean a worse average mark and stigmatization in a group. A meagre diversity of

35 *Raport o stanie zdrowia mieszkańców Warszawy. Wybrane aspekty sytuacji zdrowotnej ludności Warszawy na podstawie danych z lat 2004–2007* [Report on health of inhabitants of Warsaw. Chosen aspects of health situation of Warsaw population on the basis of data from 2004 to 2007], Municipal Office of Warsaw, Office of Health Policy, Warsaw 2009, http://um.warsaw.pl/v_syrenka/new/index.php?dzial=aktualnosci&ak_id=21421&kat=12

36 M. Gdula, "Co z religią w szkołach?", [„What with religion in schools?"], *Zielone Wiadomości* (Green news), July 2010, <http://www.krytykapolityczna.pl/Opinie/GdulaJaknaprawitococonapsulareligiawszkolach/menuid-197.html>

31 See *Gender and Green New Deal* in this publication

32 Report *Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*, p.226.

33 *Ibid*, p. 227.

34 *Ibid*, p. 212.

P.E. lessons, contributes to the practice of exempting children from the attendance by means of false medical certificates arranged by their parents. A bigger number of P.E. classes without an attempt to face these challenges and to find the way to overcome them (e.g. popularization of yoga, tourist trips or a possibility to receive the credit outside the school) can contribute to a further worsening of the rate of active participants. There are no provisions that would define a minimum contribution of vegetables and fruit (or wider – vegetarian products) in food products sold in school shops and canteens. Missing are also legal provisions limiting advertisements of junk food in media and its sale at schools. At the same time, both in prevention and treatment – in the whole social policy – the lack of awareness that universality of human rights, including social ones, is accompanied by progressive individualization of needs. In such conditions, the best type of social benefits system is the one that combines universal elements (availability regardless of income) and individuality (adjustment to particular, diverse needs). The selective system, excluding some groups, has been for years justified by means of arguments regarding costliness of universal benefits. However, it turned out that costs of bureaucracy which gives its opinion on whether someone does or does not deserve help, are equally high and that they additionally force some people to resign from it³⁷. A compulsory unification of social systems, instead of the adjustment to the reality, results in a lower quality of services and satisfaction. Let us come back for a moment to the example of young people, since it shows how difficult it is to prepare an effective prevention campaign. In the Report on the health of inhabitants of Warsaw we can read that there are gender differences in the regularity of eating breakfast (the problem for 36.6% of female respondents and 22.6% of male ones) and in the insufficient consumption of vegetables and fruits (71.2% of young men eat vegetables and 66.4% – fruits on a daily

basis, while in the case of young women these figures amount to respectively 52.4 and 55.1%)³⁸.

There is no denying that financial outlays for healthcare in Poland are insufficient to provide the right level of services. In 2006 total expenditure for this purpose amounted to 6.2% of the GDP in Poland, 6.9% in the Czech Republic, 8.9% in Hungary, 9% in Portugal and 10.6% in Germany³⁹. As regards public expenses, they ran at about 5.1% in Poland, 7.7% in Sweden, 8.1% in Germany and 8.7% in France⁴⁰. Naturally, as indicated by the example of the United States, where healthcare outlays come to as much as 16% of the GDP, high expenditures are not tantamount to the quality of medical care. There are many other issues, related to e.g. the division of resources for salaries, which has so far been much more favourable for doctors than nurses. However, due to demographic changes we should expect growing significance attached to nursing care, which is closer to patients and more useful in the case of visiting the elderly outside the hospital instead of more expensive and restrictive hospitalization (in Poland there are only 226 geriatricians, in Sweden – over 700; in Poland 0.25% of the GDP is spent for social care, while in the EU in average – 0.5% and 2.7% in Sweden⁴¹). In order to develop “care economy” and to shift the focus from hospital treatment to social services it is necessary to secure sufficient resources for this purpose, just as in the case of the prevention. However, the current division leads to the situation that there are 5 nurses and midwives to 1000 people (in the Czech Republic – 8.1, in Hungary – 8.6, in France – 7.5, in Great Britain – 9.2 and in Germany – 9.6⁴²). As described in

37 R. Bakalarczyk, „Wizja spójności społecznej w raporcie Polska 2030 i jej krytyka”, („Vision of Social Cohesion in the report Poland 2030 and its Critique”) [in:] *Jaka Polska 2030? [Which Poland 2030?]*, M. Syska [ed.], The Ferdinand Lassalle Centre For Social Thought, Wrocław-Warsaw 2010, <http://jakapolska2030.pl/>

38 *Raport o stanie zdrowia mieszkańców Warszawy, [Report on the health of inhabitants of Warsaw]*

39 *Wydatki na ochronę zdrowia w PKB i na jednego mieszkańca, [Expenditure for healthcare in the GDP for a citizen]*, <http://www.telemedicus.pl/content/wydatki-na-ochron%C4%99-zdrowia-w-pkb-i-na-jednego-mieszka%C5%84ca>

40 R. Bakalarczyk, *Wierchołek góry lodowej, [The Peak of the Iceberg]*, <http://www.obywatel.org.pl/index.php?module=pagemaster&func=vi ewpub&tid=4&pid=29>

41 *Ibid.*

42 J. Kubisa, *Pielęgniarki. Protesty pielęgniarzek i położnych w kontekście reform ochrony zdrowia, [Nurses. Protests of nurses and midwives in the context of healthcare reform]*, introduction by E. Charkiewicz, http://www.ekologiasztuka.pl/pdf/f0086_TTfaport3_Pielęgniarki-Kubisa.pdf

many publications by the Feminist Think Tank⁴³, it becomes increasingly common that qualified nurses migrate to Scandinavian countries or Italy, where they have to certify their skills or work below qualifications⁴⁴. This phenomenon will mount unless more attention is drawn to the improvement of working conditions of nurses and midwives, which is indispensable to maintain interest in the profession and to stop mass Western migration of the representatives of this feminized profession; this would also be an investment in the future related to the necessity of securing care and health of the elderly. Another problem of the near future are the costs of medication refund which burden the state budget (30% of the National Health Fund) and of geriatric drugs that are controlled by patent law, which rather protects profits than allow enjoying the right to health⁴⁵. These are only some problems that necessitate solutions in this sector – an appropriate mix of higher outlays, shift from treatment to multidimensional prevention (taking into account prophylaxis, improvement of the state of the environment and of labour and leisure conditions) could contribute to a better quality of services⁴⁶.

Crisis of Europe, not of the social model

The end of the European system of social securities has been announced at least since the 1990s. Currently, the most vulnerable version is the liberal one, on account of budget cuts in public expenses (25-40%) planned by the new British government of

conservatists and liberal democrats⁴⁷. After the times of stimulus packages, the issue of quick deficit reduction is again in vogue. This can either stabilize public finances or lead to the second stage of recession (at the time when this article was written, economists were still not unanimous in their interpretation of data from major markets in the world). Considerable cuts are expected in the European semi-periphery e.g. in Greece. As a result of years of neglect (the mix of a inegalitarian fiscal system, a low rate of tax collection and significant, yet ineffective public expenses like a surprisingly high, as for European standards, budget for army), Greece was forced to subordinate to the demands of international institutions that eagerly apply cuts in expenditures, but do not like to increase permanently income of the state⁴⁸. Unstable situation of this country raises doubts about the state of European countries from the PIGS group (Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain) caused by mounting debts of various kinds, both public and private, and in Spain also by the blow of the speculation bubble in the real estate market and unemployment coming to 20%. Earlier the crisis hit severely Baltic countries that so far had been given as shining examples – due to low public expenses and introduction of flat tax. No admiration can be heard now. The situation of euro, common currency of countries pursuing not rarely different economic policies, is still not stable⁴⁹. The economic crisis has overlapped with the political one in the European Union. Even final consensus in the form of the Treaty of Lisbon has not improved the situation significantly. Projects to date that are supposed to contribute to the better cohesion of the continent, like Lisbon strategy were just wishful thinking due to the lack of sanctions in case of failure of particular governments in their implementation. The latest project, Europe 2020, is at risk of

43 Members of the Feminist Think Tank about the organisation: "We have initiated the Feminist Think Tank to contribute to the development of feminist critique of politics and economy, including the analysis of »transformation« and its relation to economic globalization. Feminist voice in the public sphere cannot be limited to narrowly understood »feminine issues« – it should concern all crucial problems of the contemporary world, because all vital issues concern also women"; <http://www.ekologiasztuka.pl/think.tank.feministyczny/index.php>

44 *Gender and Care Economy*

45 K. Bugdał, *Sprawy, o których nie chcę mówić decydecji ochrony zdrowia i politycy*, [Issues about which policy-makers and politicians do not want to talk], http://www.rozgwiazda.org.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=121:sprawy-o-ktorych-nie-chc-mowi-decydecji-ochrony-zdrowia-i-politycy&catid=71:ochrona-zdrowia&Itemid=116

46 More about healthcare, especially in the context of presidential campaign in 2010 in my article *Zdrowie rzecz cenna – ale nie w tych wyborach*, [Health – precious, but not in these elections], http://www.rozgwiazda.org.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=120:zdrowie-rzecz-cenna-ale-nie-w-tych-wyborach&catid=71:ochrona-zdrowia&Itemid=116

47 A "budget for pointless austerity", Press release by the Green Party of England and Wales, <http://www.greenparty.org.uk/News/22-06-10-response-to-2010-budget.html>

48 More in my article - report of the Summer Ecopolitical Academy in Hungary, *Czy wszyscy jesteśmy Grekami? Kryzys i cięcia na półperiferiach*, [Are We All Greeks? Crisis and Cuts in the Semi-periphery], <http://zielona-warsaw.blogspot.com/2010/07/czy-wszyscy-jestesmy-grekami-kryzys-i.html>

49 Account of the Summer Ecopolitical Academy in Hungary, *Sposoby wyjścia z neoliberalnego systemu finansowego* [How to get out of the neoliberal financial system], <http://zielona-warsaw.blogspot.com/2010/07/sposoby-wyjscia-z-neoliberalnego.html>

suffering the same fate, the more so as there have already emerged basic reservations concerning its not very ambitious ecological and social goals⁵⁰.

Green social Europe – will it succeed?

In the article on the future of Europe to 2050 Ryszard Szarfenberg invokes four ways in which the situation can develop: laissez-affaire weakening of the law of the Community, renationalization of social policies, comeback to ambitious common plan similar to the one from the 1960s and negotiation of completely new social agreement⁵¹.

From the perspective of green politics the first scenario seems to have won favour with current EU elites, represented mainly by the European Commission, while the second one – with the Member States. The third option reflects moods of the “Old Left” and the last projects is apparently the most green. Social policy will not survive without greening that sets the limits of the resilience of the global ecosystem. The Green New Deal is the most convincing narration in this current, as it is aware of irreversible social and economic changes resulting from globalization and human practice of overstraining Earth’s capacity to regenerate. It is also aware that “the old welfare state”, with its social conservatism and “external effects” in the form of e.g. colonial exploitation and maintenance of patriarchal relations in households, gave rise to the movement of 1968, thanks to which ecopolitical parties emerged⁵². Their aim is to shift status quo in such a way that economic calculations would reflect human rights, individualism, solidarity, empathy and care for the environment. Results of elections to the European Parliament in 2009 have signified recognition

of this discourse, since majority of Green parties improved their standing, thanks to which Greens/European Free Alliance has become the fourth political force in the European Parliament. Similarly, the latest pre-election polls showed that the party of Claudia Roth and Cem Özdemir is supported by 16 to 21% of Germans⁵³. The credit goes to increasingly wide alliances including these within civil society, especially dialogue between ecological organizations, global movements for social and climate justice, progressive employers’ institutions and trade unions, organising jointly conferences and demonstrations.

The Green New Deal has another advantage – it is contingent upon green policies, but also a lively idea that adjusts to local contexts and to development of international economic situation. The social section includes many interesting conceptions that have not yet made it to the mainstream of public debate in Poland. Discussed are e.g. legitimacy and opportunity of introducing guaranteed minimum income – unconditional money transfer that would replace current forms of support, thus allowing full-time volunteering or a more peaceful change of work, as well as shortening of working time so as to divide the access to jobs within society more justly. A leader in this idea, the British New Economics Foundation has recently issued a brochure *21 Hours* justifying that elaboration of such a flexible system (in which it is possible to work longer or shorter for a certain period) would contribute to reduce differences in a social gender division of work and would allow early retirement due to a lowered professional load and a possibility to devote more time for social action⁵⁴. The idea is supposed to become an inherent part of a wider conception of the “great transformation” of society and economy adapting to limited capabilities of the ecosystem, as promoted by the Foundation⁵⁵. It is also based on the first experiments

50 See: resolution by the European Green Party, *Towards a social and green EU 2020: from vulnerability to sustainability*, http://europeangreens.eu/fileadmin/logos/pdf/policy_documents/resolutions/Barcelona/10_EU_2020.pdf

51 R. Szarfenberg, *Człowiek i polityka społeczna – Unia Europejska 2050 (Human and Social Policy – European Union 2050)* [in:] A. Karpiński [ed.], *Europa w perspektywie 2050 (Europe in the perspective of 2050)*, The “Poland 2000 Plus” Forecast Committee, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 2007, <http://rszarf.ips.uw.edu.pl/pdf/psue2050.pdf>.

52 B. Kozek, *Why don't roses like sunflowers?*, <http://lewica.pl/index.php?id=20892>

53 <http://wahlrecht.de>

54 *21 hours. Why a shorter working week can help us all to flourish in the 21st century*, New Economics Foundation, London 2010, https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.neweconomics.org%2Fsites%2Fneweconomics.org%2Ffiles%2F21_Hours.pdf

55 See: *The Great Transition. A tale of how it turned out right*, New Economics Foundation, London 2009, http://www.neweconomics.org/sites/neweconomics.org/files/Great_Transition_0.pdf

related to the introduction of 35-hour working week in France and four-day working week in some American cities, tried out in the times of very high oil prices in recent years and during the oil crisis of the 1970s. Progressive research centres are debating very intensively about the issue of whether unlimited economic growth measured with the usual indicators can be green given the limits of planet's resources.

Both the European Union and particular Member States have to answer the question of how best to provide public services for the benefit of citizens. Apart from general ideas of coordination and exchange of best practices, the only widely discussed issues so far included: Bolkestein Directive which has abandoned the promotion of "free-for-all" in sectors such as education and healthcare as a result of social pressures, and the idea of European minimum wage that was harshly criticized in Polish media as an example of action for limiting competitiveness of Member States and not as aspiration for the right to decent job to all EU citizens. At the same time, we are facing substantial changes in social policy, which was commented by Rafał Bakalarczyk in *Jaka Polska 2030?* The focus is being moved from direct money transfers to the common access to high-quality services⁵⁶. This is crucial in the Polish context; here, contrary to Sweden, there is no favourable political climate for high benefits and greater social cohesion. Securing a good quality of public transport, the clean environment or medical care is tantamount to smaller inequalities and building trust to the state and its institutions, indispensable for the legitimization of more active presence in various sectors. One of the examples of such an approach is the attempt to replace maternity grant with a free public transport for children till the age of 16. As children cannot work, it is difficult to blame them for their economic situation. Meanwhile, expenditures for journeys to school burden home budget and not rarely hinder education in better schools. Concessionary monthly fares for urban communication in

Warsaw cost 39 PLN, in Cracow – 43.60 to 94 PLN, in Przemyśl – 31 - 41 PLN. Costs rise depending on the number of children in a family, the type of transport (railway fares have different prices). Additionally, many children travel from suburban zones and a ticket valid for both urban and suburban lines is respectively more expensive. Apart from a social dimension (egalitarian mobility), a discussion over such a postulate could also show an ecological perspective: development of the habit to use public communication instead of cars.

Particularly important are activities of local authorities, which by definition are close to people. The programme "Coffee for one PLN" in the Warsaw district Żoliborz could be invoked as a striking example. Thanks to the agreement between a local social welfare centre and owners of restaurants, elderly people can drink coffee or tea for a symbolic one PLN in certain hours instead of sitting alone at home⁵⁷. It becomes necessary to enhance the participation of local communities in the functioning of local social institutions such as cultural institutions or job centres. Experiences of unemployed people in Great Britain or Polish town Krosno are very similar – those in need for help are treated paternalistically, few officials are able to listen to them and they do not receive expected support⁵⁸. All these issues can and should become a topic of the European debate. Since increasing role of cities in global social and economic systems becomes more and more apparent, European institutions have to look for such mechanisms so as to deepen interrelations and exchange between particular towns, which could contribute to a better quality of life and public services on a local level, close to people. If the European dream is to last, this postulate has to come true.

57 A. Pochrzęst, *Kawa lub herbata dla seniorów za złotówkę*, [Coffee or tea for seniors for one PLN], „Gazeta Stołeczna”, 6/01/2009., <http://Warsaw.gazeta.pl/Warsaw/1,34884,6124771.html>

58 See: E. Charkiewicz, *Na jakim świecie ja żyję? Kobiety, ubóstwo i kryzys finansowy w Krośnie*, [In what world do I live? Women, poverty and financial crisis in Krosno], Feminist Think Tank, Warsaw 2009, http://www.ekologiasztuka.pl/pdf/Krosno-raport2009_projekt.pdf; Benefits that work. The social value of the Community Allowance, New Economics Foundation, London 2009, http://www.neweconomics.org/sites/neweconomics.org/files/Benefits_that_work_0.pdf; Mind the gap - Green New Deal initiatives to combat growing inequality in New Zealand, Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand 2010, <http://www.greens.org.nz/mindthegap>

56 *Jaka Polska 2030?*, [Which Poland 2030?], M. Syska, The Ferdinand Lassalle Centre For Social Thought, Wrocław-Warsaw 2010, <http://jaka-polska2030.pl/>

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⁵⁹ Internet site by Ryszard Szarfenberg: <http://rszarf.ips.uw.edu.pl/>;
blog by Rafał Bakalarczyk: <http://lewica.pl/blog/bakalarczyk/>

4.

Beata Maciejewska

The Perspective of Gender Equality in the Green New Deal

The EU¹ equality policy and the agenda of all European² green politicians are contingent upon gender mainstreaming. According to this strategy, “concerns and experiences should become an integral dimension of design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all policies and programmes (...) so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated³”. Therefore, the Green New Deal, even if only a programme of economic modernization has to incorporate the perspective of gender equality. However, to great disappointment, the majority of respective publications, programmes and analyses do not consider the equalization of opportunities.

Appeal for gender

During the 13th Council Meeting of the Green European Party (gathering over 40

parties from the whole of Europe)⁴, which was held in October 2010 in Tallinn, the major discussion over its programme *Green New Deal*⁵ began with the appeal for gender. “How is it possible that the perspective of over 50% of society has not been incorporated in this document?”, asked French Jocelyne Le Boulicaut, a member of *Gender Observatory* in the European Green Party. As a response to suggestions of amendments, Le Boulicaut argued that a document with no basis of equality policy cannot be changed by means of minor corrections.

Her opinion was another appeal for a gender perspective. “Are green jobs good for the environment and bad for women?⁶”, asked politicians of the Green Group in the European Parliament in September 2009. They emphasized that gender aspect

¹ Among antidiscriminatory measures of the EU, action for equalization has the longest tradition. Already in 1957 the Treaty of Rome obliged Member States to implement the principle of equal pay for male and female. Respective information can be found in many sources concerning the EU and equal opportunities, e.g. B. Maciejewska, W. Kłosowski, *Pomorze – Kurs na równość (Pomerania- Heading for Equality)*, Spaces for Dialogue Foundation, Gdańsk 2007

² Regardless of a country, green politics is based on the respect for the rights of minorities and underrepresented groups, including women

³ A fragment of the definition of *gender mainstreaming*. Source: *The Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997*, United Nations, New York 1997.

⁴ Council of the European Green Party is a decisive body gathering hundreds of delegates of 42 European green parties. During council meetings, held twice a year, political decisions, key programmes and resolutions are adopted

⁵ *The macro-economic and financial framework of the Green New Deal* – publication available at the European Greens’ website: http://europeangreens.eu/fileadmin/logos/pdf/pdf_tallinn/GND_Adopted_Policy_Paper_-_20101010_AY.pdf

⁶ *Gender aspect of the Green New Deal*, 23.09.2009 – report from the meeting WG FEMM-Greens/EFA in the EU

should be the most crucial element of the ambitious concept of the Green New Deal⁷, since the market itself cannot solve the issue of gender inequality, on the contrary, if we allow it to develop in a “natural” way, it will perpetuate a gender gap. This can be illustrated with a blatant example of “gender-blind” stimulus packages implemented by governments of particular countries after the financial and economic crises of 2007. It was mainly the male-employing industry that benefited, e.g. motor and building industry. Men gained even if branches employing women were subsidized, e.g. in the German package 11 billion Euros for education was allocated not for education-related expenses, such as salaries for teachers or caregivers, but for renovation done by men and remunerating men⁸.

Equalization of opportunities is necessary

It is very disturbing then that the Green New Deal, which emerged as an answer to the crisis and an alternative to ‘rescue programmes’, does not incorporate the gender perspective; especially as jobs proposed as part of the GND are situated mainly in male-dominated sectors of the economy. “The segregation on the job market is horizontal; therefore, the growing number of green workplaces may not translate into more jobs for women. In the building sector men make up 95% of the workforce, in transport – 80%. For this reason, there is a significant risk that if sectors of the future like thermo-renovation or renewable energy are better financed and better paid, women will be even more excluded”, stated Agnieszka Grzybek, expert on gender equality, politician of the Polish Green Party Zieloni 2004⁹. These concerns are confirmed by practices of various countries, not only European ones. A comprehensive study by the United States Conference of Mayors indicated that half of jobs in green

industry involve engineering, where the employment rate of women amounts to 12%¹⁰.

According to Grzybek, the income stratification of women can be combated by the incorporation of gender perspective into investments for research, development and education, so as to encourage girls and women to combine their professional future with sectors of modern and green technology. In the United States, where green jobs are strongly promoted (Barack Obama allotted \$4.2 billion for this purpose), the Women’s Bureau of the Department of Labor supports the campaign aimed at doubling the number of women at the faculty of solar technology in one year¹¹, because so far only one in ten students is female.

Jean Lambert, a Green MEP from Great Britain, who promotes green jobs and lays stress on the link between ecological postulates and development of green technologies, sounded a warning about the marginalization of women at technical universities, courses in applied sciences, engineering and mathematics. “And it is a fact that young women take keen interest in ecology”, pointed out Lambert. Therefore, she is convinced that it is necessary to create the possibility to combine action for the environment with female work in professions requiring specialist education related to green jobs¹².

The initiative of the Bangladesh organization Grameen Shakti (GS) concerning micro-loans shows how to support women, develop alternative energy sector and quality of life in local communities at the same time. GS helped to install over 100,000 solar panels in rural areas. In this way, it secured profits (access to electricity allows for performing various types of gainful employment in manufacturing) and supported strongly women and young people in a Muslim

7 Ibid.

8 Article by D. Ruggier *The gender aspects of the financial and economic crisis*, published at the website of the Green European Foundation: http://www.gef.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/Gender_Aspects_of_the_Crisis_-_D_Ruggieri_web.pdf

9 statement of A. Grzybek was made specifically for the purpose of this article

10 Article published at the web portal Women’s Rights, Jen Nedeau, *Green Jobs = Good for the Environment, Bad for Women?* http://womensrights.change.org/blog/view/green_jobs_good_for_the_environment_bad_for_women

11 The website of the social campaign *Green Jobs Campaign*: <http://www.austincc.edu/green/>

12 Report by J. Lambert, Green MEP from London, on the issue of green jobs, *Green Work. Employment and skills – the climate change challenge*, available at the website: http://www.jeanlambertmep.org.uk/DocumentStore/GreenWork_report.pdf

country by training over 5,000 of them as technical workers licensed to operate, maintain and repair photovoltaic cells¹³. Thus, the green economy can become a jumping-off point to a better life for village women in the Global South, where there is often no electricity. Before they started working in green industry, which provides them with work, heating and light, they had devoted a few hours to obtain firewood for cooking and heating. Now, they can distance themselves from the traditional work and begin the process of emancipation by gaining financial independence without losing the sense of security and performing technologically advanced work for the benefit of both local and global environment. This marvellous example proves that the green economy can be innovative and advantageous in many aspects, as well as sensitive to social and gender issues.

Poland: The Green New Deal from a gender perspective

In the view of Polish experiences, the above mentioned activities aimed at involving women in the creation and maintenance of green jobs seem exotic. First of all, green jobs do not make it to the mainstream of the Polish economic policy. Secondly, gender perspective on the job market is not a priority of the government. "No Polish government was interested in equality", said Anna Czerwińska, a feminist activist from Feminoteka, "Equality is mentioned only during election campaigns and forgotten afterwards".

The lack of modern perception and a typically male approach are flagrantly noticeable in various strategic documents. Poland 2030 – developmental challenges – a national strategic document prepared by a group of experts led by Minister Michał Boni focuses among others on low professional activity of Poles, but sees no chances either in green technology or e.g. in equal pay for male and female. "There is no trace of any signals of using financial crisis for the benefit of revisions regarding economy and investments

in green jobs (alternative energy, building, enhancement of energy efficiency, public transport). The process of growing income diversification is regarded as a natural phenomenon that is self-regulating, and if not, then nothing bad will happen", reported Bartłomiej Kozek, a member of the Board of Zieloni 2004, in his report analysis¹⁴.

It is similar on the local level. The analysis of documents (among others of the chosen strategies) showed that the gender perspective is never taken into account. By way of example, the development strategy of the Silesia Metropolis, which ought to be a trail-blazing document in Poland and whose main motto is "life to the full", does not even mention any gender approach. The only perspective is that of a healthy man in his prime, which eliminates the female, elderly, handicapped etc. Additionally, its provisions concerning innovative solutions are inconsistent: first, we read about the necessity to build the economy based on environmentally-friendly technologies, then about the development of traditional industry, and still, the gender perspective is absent in both cases¹⁵.

In Polish gender-insensitive policy at all levels, equalization of opportunities can be attained with the help of EU funds, especially minimum standard¹⁶, which is in effect since April 2009 and determines that every project financed by the Operational Programme Human Capital (OPHC) has to be directly aimed at the equalization of opportunities.

Regardless of whether an investor is an investor building bridges or an official in a small civil parish vying for resources for a district day-care room, he or she has to analyse a social problem from the gender

13 Source: Grameen Shakti – <http://www.gshakti.org/> and Dupal C. Barua (2008) – <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/bangkok/events/greenjobs/papers/index.htm>

14 B. Kozek, *Polska 2030 – postpolityka czy rozwój?* (Poland 2030 – post-politics or development?), <http://www.zieloni2004.pl/art-3793.htm> (the last visit: 26 Oct 2010)

15 D. Szwed, B. Maciejewska, *Zrównowazony Rozwój Metropolii Silesia [Sustainable Development of the Silesia Metropolis]*, http://przestrzeniedialogu.org/download/RAPORT_zrownowazony_rozwoj_metropolia_silesia.pdf (the last visit: 26 Oct 2010)

16 Standard minimum of the OPHC application form from the perspective of implementation of the equality principle http://www.pokl.wup.lodz.pl/images/stories/pliki/dokumenty/rowne_szanse/standard%20minimum_1_1_2010.pdf, 26 Oct 2010. It is symptomatic that in the name of the operational programme the term „human capital” is used and not „social capital”, whose low level constitutes one of the major developmental barriers in Poland

perspective or to plan activities separately for men and women or to guarantee parity in project management. "In my firm, any action as part of the OPHC is designed separately for male and female", said Karolina Matuszewska, a Project Manager for the IT firm "DC Edukacja" in Gdańsk. "If problem analysis indicates that only 1% of women possess specialist knowledge in a given IT field, we raise standards by a few percent and assume that female participation rate will make up 5%. In this way we try to give equal chances in real terms."

"Standard as a departure point is a significant success per se", assessed Natalia Sarata, a trainer dealing with antidiscriminatory and gender workshops¹⁷. If OPHC programmes finance projects contributing to a green modernization of the economy, the standard allows for the incorporation of the gender perspective. In this secret and contradictory to the Polish mainstream policies manner, we can move a bit further towards the Green New Deal. This is, however, not enough to talk about a good antidiscriminatory policy and economic modernization contingent upon sustainable development, i.e. about the fundamentals of good governance defined by the Greens.

How to involve the gender perspective in the Green New Deal

Model ideas for making the Green New Deal more gender-sensitive are discussed below:

1. A firm basis: equality as a vehicle of sustainable development

The Green New Deal emphasized that economic growth is not the most essential factor of development. It is reflected in the titles of discussions devoted to the GND (e.g. *Development without Growth*) or in the search for new definitions of profit and indicators of development. Therefore, the GND should be contingent upon strongly accentuated egalitarianism that is viable in a wider sense, both social and ecological. Lower disparities in salaries, better

care for equal opportunities, good social programmes – this all translates into prosperity and sustainable development of all societies. It can be aptly illustrated with a comparison of Scandinavian countries that pursue a social-democratic policy with states glorifying the politics of polarization. The former came out well: people there can expect a better quality of life and a higher average income, they are more engaged in social activities (including trade unions) and innovative. Additionally, the proportion of the poor is more than twice as low (5.6% vs. 12.6%) and the perspective for growth is longer and more sustainable¹⁸.

2. Introduction of gender perspective to analysis and planning; devising effective instruments for analysis

The gender perspective has to be deemed as a vital category in the GND. Documents that describe its idea and particular programmes ought to be complemented with appropriate indicators and tools:

a) Gender Impact Assessment – GIA

GIA is an evaluation of political and legislative strategies in order to check whether they influence women and men differently and to adjust them in such a way that potentially discriminatory impact is neutralized and that gender equality is promoted¹⁹. It seems that such an assessment in Poland could be conducted by plenipotentiaries for equal status of women and men who have been appointed in some civil parishes and provinces (e.g. in Olsztyn and Gdańsk). Additionally, it is advisable that local authorities sign the *European Charter for Equality in Local Life*, which would be a formal expression of their commitment to promotion of equality principle and a declaration of implementation of resulting obligations in their own areas of action²⁰;

17 N. Sarata, „Polityka równości w kryzysie” [w:] *Kobiety na „zielonej wyspie”. Kryzys w Polsce z perspektywy gender* (“Equality Policy in Crisis” [in:] *Women on „green island” Crisis in Poland from the gender perspective*), Warsaw 2010. Publication available at: http://www.feminoteka.pl/downloads.php?cat_id=10

18 “The Social Welfare State, beyond Ideology” [in:] *Scientific American* <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=the-social-welfare-state#comments> (The last visit: 5 Oct 2010)

19 Definition from the website: http://www.funduszeuropejskie.gov.pl/Sloownik/Strony/Ocena_wplywu_na_kwestie_rownouprawnienia_plci.aspx

20 Związek Miast Polskich: *Europejska Karta Równości Kobiet i Mężczyzn w Życiu Lokalnym* (*Association of Polish Cities: European Charter for Equality in Local Life*), www.zmp.poznan.pl/dane/wrzesien-06/KartaKobPL.doc

b) gender budgeting,

i.e. constructing and analyzing the budget by taking into consideration diverse gender-specific needs. Such a method is successfully applied in many countries, cities and districts. Also in Poland there is a growing interest for gender-sensitive budgets, especially on the side of local authorities. Such postulates were voiced in the programmes of the Green Party and of the Women's Party, as well as in the project by Szczecin for the celebration of European Capital of Culture - it proposed a pilot gender analysis of the municipal budget for culture.

3. Green jobs = jobs of equal opportunities

The conception of the GND should embrace directives on equalization of women's chances on the job market. Such instruments should enable women to gain and maintain a decent job and social security. They ought to strengthen their position in prospective market sectors and secure that they are not driven out of well-paid posts. One of these tools is the already mentioned mechanism that encourages girls and women to combine their future with jobs in green technology or the equality audit of an organization or a job supported by the International Labour Organization (ILO)²¹. "It is about examining various dimensions of male and female functioning at the workplace. First, conditions of employment, including access to resources such as pay or professional development, are assessed; secondly, rights are taken under surveillance, e.g. protection against sexual harassment, then - the competence to apply equality tools", said Marta Rawłuszko, expert on gender equality. Results of an equality audit may indicate e.g. a low number of women at decisive posts. Consequently, the audit is followed by a recommendation for e.g. the introduction of quotas. It can be similar at the macro scale. Norway is the first country in the world that at the beginning of 2008 guaranteed statutorily the 40% representation

of women in supervisory boards in publicly traded companies²². Such solutions should also become a part of the Green New Deal, especially as Greens themselves, who coin the idea of the GND, apply equality tools in their own structures: proportions of men and women in decisive bodies of green parties are equal in many countries.

4. Enhancing prestige of work performed by women and a proper evaluation

The Green New Deal not only means new workplaces in sectors of modern technologies accessible also to women. "The concept of the GND intends to create a higher number of jobs related to education and care", said Franziska Keller²³, a German Green MEP and a member of Committee on Development in the European Parliament. "Here we also have to pay a special attention so that work in these sectors is better paid and that the male participation is lower."

The Green New Deal must emphasize the worth of housework and care-giving that are carried out by women every day, but are not recognized by the world of economy. If the GND is to revolutionize progress, it must value this work and present it in hard economic indicators, such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Cleaning, cooking, care, office work, work at the cash desk – these are the five worst paid jobs, carried out most often by women. The reason for the undervaluation by the market economy is the lack of appreciation for housework, which includes similar tasks and which is systematically undervalued by the economy and omitted in valuations (budgets). Inclusion of these unappreciated jobs in the free market results in a low profitability.

Source: New Economics Foundation;
http://www.neweconomics.org/sites/neweconomics.org/files/Great_Transition_0.pdf
 Great Transition, page 37, London 2010

21 *Gender Index. Monitorowanie równości kobiet i mężczyzn w miejscu pracy (Gender Index. Monitoring of Gender Equality at the Workplace)*, E. Lisowska [ed.], EQUAL. UNDP, Warsaw 2007

22 Article by T. Walata, *Złote spódniczki (Golden Skirts)*, published at the website: <http://www.polityka.pl/rynek/ekonomia/1503524,1,skandynawskie-parytety-w-biznesie.read>

23 The statement of F. Keller was made specifically for the purpose of this article on the 18th Sep 2010

5.

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Climate Democracy and Energy Democracy

The possibilities for creating a distributed energy system based on renewables

One of the pillars of the Green New Deal is climate and energy policy based on the use of the renewables. In the manifesto by the European Green Party adopted prior elections to the European Parliament it was indicated that "Renewables must be put at the centre of European energy policy for the 21st Century. The Greens are calling for the creation of a European Renewables Community (ERENE) to support the long-term goal of 100% energy from renewable sources¹. We need a concerted investment drive in green technologies in which the European Investment Bank must play a role. A real renewables boom requires a new approach to energy supply: truly unbundling ownership of distribution and production, while promoting a grid without borders and the smarter use of energy.²"

¹ More and more opinion-making groups and organizations have joined the idea and this increasingly specified conception. Compare: joint declaration by EREC, EUFORES and Greenpeace: *100% renewable energy in Europe by 2050*, accepted by MEPs and dozens of social and scientific organizations from the EU, <http://www.100percentrenewables.eu>

² A Green New Deal for Europe. Manifesto for elections to the European Parliament, European Green Party, <http://europeangreens.eu/menu/egp-manifesto>

Nowadays the rate of renewable energy sources in the balance of final energy use in Poland exceeds 7.5% and it is increasing relatively slow. Despite the fact that Poland significantly diverges from the EU average (circa 12%), in the end of 2008 this sector provided 18,900 citizens with jobs (expressed in full-time posts) and the turnover amounted to 5.9 billion PLN/year according to the calculations by the Institute for Renewable Energy (IEO). It seems then that a new energy sector is emerging and a new, dynamic, green branch is on the rise, however, its development is not satisfactory and encounters barriers. Additionally, these are greater than in other EU states, although Poland, as a big country with moderate climate, is privileged in respect of the size and diversity of renewable energy sources (solar and geothermal energy, wind, water and biomass). According to the forecast *Energy [R]evolution* conducted for Greenpeace by the IEO and German Deutsches Zentrum für Luft- und Raumfahrt in 2008, the share of renewables in final energy may rise to 20% till 2020 and to 55% in 2050 (in the case of electricity – 80%), which will reduce carbon emissions from current 7 t to around 2.5 t/year/

person. Should developmental blockades be removed, renewables will change not only energy system, but also economic and social order.

Distributed energy production and energy democracy, understood as greater transparency, control and social contribution in energy sector, have become inherent parts of the conception of common use of renewables and they are invariably associated with sources of renewable energy, i.e. technologies of converting renewable sources into final energy carriers (heat, electricity and transport fuel). Together with energy efficiency, they are key elements of the EU energy and climate package, while Directive 2009/28/EC on the promotion of the use of renewable energy sources, which for Poland sets the target of 15% to 2020, is probably one of the most concrete implementation instrument. Wise fulfillment of obligations concerning renewables will allow complying with two further requirements arising from the EU package: reduction of emissions and enhancement of energy efficiency parallel to sustainable competitiveness of the economy. Renewables are also practical tools of decentralization, demonopolization of energy sector and democratization, understood as a stronger position of energy consumers who are still the weakest link in the energy sector and on the energy market. Thanks to renewables, they obtain an alternative when choosing energy suppliers; they can also become energy producers (prosumers) and active members and co-authors of the energy system. However, these seemingly obvious statements are hardly verifiable in Poland. In the last decade, despite a gradual rise of renewables, the number of independent power producer (IPP) has not increased significantly, the state energy balance has not changed meaningfully and the structure of green energy production does not belong to the most modern ones and it is not diversified enough. Over 90% of renewable energy is produced out of biomass and the majority is transformed into final energy carriers (heat, electricity, biofuels) in installations of low efficiency. Sectors of green electricity and biofuels are dominated by inefficient or obsolete technologies (co-firing of biomass

in coal-fired boilers, large-scale hydropower, production of first generation biodiesel from rape seeds) or by big companies of the so-called corporate power engineering. Legally obliged to generate and distribute energy from renewable sources, these enterprises offload costs of this commitment almost entirely onto final consumers. These costs, e.g. replacement fees in the case of non-compliance, equal to 1.5 million PLN/year for each final market (green electricity and biofuel). It means that not only the share of renewables in the balance of final energy use is not fully satisfactory, but also that energy consumers bearing these costs cannot benefit from the expected additional advantages of decentralization and development of distributed energy systems. Neither has the sphere of their freedom and energy democracy expanded. Even real profits like reduction of GHG emissions is lower than it could be, because a full ratio of carbon dioxide in co-firing in power plants and the use of rapeseed biofuels bring about much worse reduction effects than other small-scale technologies that constitute the domain of IPP. It is worth considering why it is so and what can be done so as to enhance the use of the potential of distributed energy systems in Poland in keeping with principles of sustainable development and to extend energy democracy and to involve much wider social circles in the renewable energy production parallel to an active role of the state and private investors. It seems justified to ask why Poland uses renewable resources in such a slight degree and how to multiply economic, social and ecological benefits. Although renewables seem to be the most typical representative of green technologies and support of their development is a target of stabilization packages in many countries, they are not promoted nor supported in Poland with the same intensity as in the United States or Germany; they also do not constitute any part of a wider conception. In Germany idea that works well with renewable energy and constitutes an element of the Green New Deal, is perceived as social, ecological and economic modernization. Currently, renewable energy sector in Germany employs over 285,000 people and becomes the key sector of the green economy, even before the automobile

sector. In Poland renewable energy is not a part of any broader vision of development of the green economy, at least it is difficult to find such a notion in the documents like *Energy policy of Poland to 2030*, which substantially diverges from the EU climate policy and strategies for innovation growth (it is necessary to differentiate between the heart of the matter and rhetoric or appearances).

Even the most innovative, competitive and green technologies applied to “old energy order” will not fulfill hopes pinned on them.

This analysis is devoted to causes for the fact that in Poland opportunities for construction of the green economy are not seized, as well as to possibilities for instruments of green policies in this field.

Insurmountable contradictions and difficulties of development of renewable energy, enhancing energy efficiency and implementation of the EU Directives in the power sector in Poland

Despite great potential, Poland will not be able to reach the EU 2010 goals related to the use of renewable energy. These included the obligation to implement Directive 2001/77/EC on the promotion of electricity produced from renewable sources (target for Poland – 7.5% of green energy in the gross final use) and Directive 2003/30/EC on the promotion of biofuels (for Poland – 5.75% in the balance of transport fuel use). In this situation, it seems natural to ask why a country of such enormous potential of various renewable resources, inefficient and expensive energy supply system using fossil fuels, economic structure favourable to renewables and rare agricultural and rural potential, is falling behind instead of building its position on these chief assets or even using them as the speciality in the extended EU. The answer is easy. What was achieved till 2010 and will be fulfilled to 2020 depends on the past and future state policy and this is closely linked to carbon and corporate energy order.

In the context of these hardly inspirational experiences, it is justified to express con-

cern for the implementation of the new targets for 2020 arising from the new Directive 2009/28/EC on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources in Poland – this time it is legally binding (under threat of penalties stipulated directly in the Treaty in case of non-fulfillment). This question is even more legitimate since Poland having a long way ahead from the current share of renewable energy in the final energy use (7.5%) to 15% in 2020 has already exploited easy reserves and practically all available EU funds for renewable power engineering and it has not created the basis of sustainable development in this sector. The significance of this problem is reinforced by the obligations arising from the EU climate package 20-20-20, whose key element is implementation or rather exceeding of national targets concerning renewable energy. Failure will mean penalties and cause the offload of even greater costs onto consumers as a result of the increasing number of entitlements to carbon emissions under Directive 2009/29/EC on emissions trading – the second element of the package of energy and climate change legislation (amendment and adjustment to the EU climate policy of the previous directive of 2003). These dilemmas reflect contradictions of the state energy and climate policy and they explicitly show disproportions between governmental action for the protection of the centralized (corporate) power engineering and support for the distributed (civil) one. Problems of renewable sector are not being removed nor solved, they are building up.

In the face of growing budget limitations, the problem of relations and proportions between support for renewable energy and persistent protection of corporate energy sector will be the central dilemma of energy and climate policy in this decade in Poland. The way of how to handle it will immediately translate into economic competitiveness, amount of costs borne by energy consumers and sustainability of state developmental strategies. The last two governments have resolved this dilemma so as to protect current interests of state corporate power engineering. There is no deeper reflection, while isolated attempts to tackle these problems lead to controversial

conclusions in a long run. This can be exemplified by Report *Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*, deductions by strategic advisors of Prime Minister Donald Tusk. The report comes down to a reinforcement of the myth that “in Poland coal is a valuable good and it should be saved, however, after the times of incubation of pure carbon technologies (to 2020–2025) it would be worth limiting the use of coal (to 2040–2050) in order to make it a strategic reserve for the second half of the 21st century.” It seems that it is not solely current political agenda that lies behind this hardly confirmable illusion or utopia, separated from the actual global process of decarbonization of the economy. Not only is the perception of the EU climate policy too narrow, but also energy security is affected by this specific approach. These factors together cause that in Poland decentralization loses with centralization, while renewable energy (or wider – distributed) is defeated by carbon and also by nuclear energy (which would yet become economic sensation due to great and still rising costs).

Governmental conception of energy security – beneficiaries and victims

Special focus on energy security imposed by the government is not contradictory to the concept of stronger support for development of renewable energy only if two other pillars of the EU policy are respected in implementation of this target: environmental protection and competitiveness of the economy. In practice government’s thinking with regard to energy security is narrowed mainly to diversification of import of gas, oil and nuclear technology. Such perception differs from the vision dominant in the EU. Proposed measures are and will be pricy for the economy and energy consumers who will have to pay for both short-term improvement of energy security and environmental protection, as well as for additional, inevitable “monopolistic pension” resulting from the concentration of fuel and energy supplies. For example, until recently the government has forced a further consolidation, called “privatization” of two state companies – Energa and Polish

Energy Group – (the former was supposed to be bought by the latter). This would enhance the position of PEG on the market to an even greater extent. Being a priority for the government, these specifically understood options of improving energy security have pushed more natural solutions into the background, e.g. incentives for enhancing energy efficiency and significant increase of the share of energy produced from own resources (also renewable ones, thus creating local and environmentally-friendly jobs) in the state energy balance. This would substantially engage our innovative potential and entrepreneurship of efficient national producers of appliances and technologies. It seems that last governments believed significantly more that the right answer to long-term challenges of energy security can be formulated within relations between government+traditional energy companies and countries from which we wish to import oil rather than with local entrepreneurs, local governments and resourceful citizens that can count, save money, but also take risks and generate clean energy from local resources on their own so as to evolve from consumers into prosumers. Paradoxically, in a common hysteria related to energy security also policies aimed at better energy efficiency and small-scale energy consumers are at the lost position (*nota bene*, according to the key security indicator, Poland has one of the highest rates of energy self-sufficiency in the EU). It is difficult to raise the issue of e.g. energy-saving construction or decrease of energy demand from the current 250–100 kWh/m²/year (in traditional and currently constructed buildings in Poland) to 50–15 kWh/m²/year (in newly built, energy-saving and passive buildings in Germany and Switzerland) if government discusses energy security with big energy companies and not with SMEs, local governments responsible for energy supplies or consumers. A further paradox can be compared with a situation of “a wolf taking care of sheep” – given the current model of “partnership”, producers and sellers of energy become representatives of consumers’ interests in the debate on energy policy (not on energy prices and quality of services).

What deepens difficulties in enhancing effectiveness and developing renewable energy

Renewables are one, but not the only way to solve above mentioned problems. At the same time, they constitute a solution that will not be regretted in the future. However, this requires appropriate and friendly surroundings. Apart from wrong policies and generally obsolete way of thinking about power engineering in our country, there are other indications that do not favour renewable energy. These include:

- A weak **movement for consumer protection**; it should be interested in minimizing costs of investment and exploitation and prices of fuel and electricity;
- Too low **activity of the state antimonopol bodies**;
- A low level of **investments in renewable energy**; although the EU recommendations (and practices of Member States) suggest that 2–4% of resources from cohesion and structural funds should be allocated for renewable energy, only 1% was allotted in the current financial perspective 2007–2013; in the case of local governments (regional operational programmes) it was equal to circa 1.5% and at a central stage – to 0.5%³;
- Weakening of activism and of influence of **ecological NGOs**;
- A weak involvement of **scientific circles** in formulation of strategies for development of renewable and distributed energy.

Renewable energy and green technologies need support within the whole system in order to develop properly. Problems, even in one area of a complex social and economic system, cause substantial blockades or distort the whole idea and they generate costs. This was recognized by the European Commission in the Directive of 30th June

2009 on elaboration of state plans for action to 2020 for the implementation of the Directive 2009/28/EC which explicitly asked governments to specify target groups and indicate types of activity and persons/institutions at which support resources are addressed (investors, final consumers, central and regional public administration, planners, engineering companies etc.). The aim is to involve quickly possibly wide groups in the implementation of energy and climate package and especially of Directive on the promotion of electricity produced from renewable energy. Low activism in the initial phase of renewables development in Poland and a relatively minor possibility that direct and indirect consumers might influence the system of support currently created was one of the reasons why the significance of earlier regulations was not recognized by the government.

Renewable energy can be supported mainly by research programmes and legal obligations of subjects to produce or buy energy from renewable sources and a skilful use of the EU structural funds. Meanwhile, with support and encouragement from the government, in the next decade state power companies are planning to allot several billions to new (yet traditional) and imitative investments with no account of alternative solutions due to the alleged lack of alternative to implementation of climate package by power industry (which was never thoroughly investigated by the government) and because of a quite narrowly and traditionally perceived notion of energy security. Well-known from last epochs, energy gigantomania (including its renewable version developed by traditional energy companies) implies upsetting balance in the environment, overinvestment, redundant costs for energy consumers and, sooner or later, endangered existence of traditional energy enterprises. In this way, Poland will make enormous effort, yet, it will not achieve ecological and social effects and it will not improve long-term energy security. Undoubtedly will it reinforce monopolistic structures, block many valuable local initiatives for the distributed energy production and deteriorate already low competitiveness of national power engineering on the European market.

³ Ocena stanu i perspektyw produkcji urządzeń dla energetyki odnawialnej, [Evaluation of the condition and perspectives for the production of appliances for renewable power engineering], expertise for the Ministry of Environment, Institute for Renewable Energy, Warsaw 2007

Costs for energy consumers in the face the lack of investments in power engineering

Sometimes even right ideas may lead to unfavourable results if applied in wrong circumstances or in isolation to each other. Among many inconsistencies indicated within energy policies in Poland and the EU or contradictions between declarations to act for consumer interests and the actual situation on the state energy market, it is easy to notice that the EU liberalization of national energy markets parallel to centralization of energy policies and specifically expressed willingness to tighten energy security (enhancing and top-down management of companies owned by the State Treasury) act to disadvantage of small-scale and distributed energy producers in Poland.

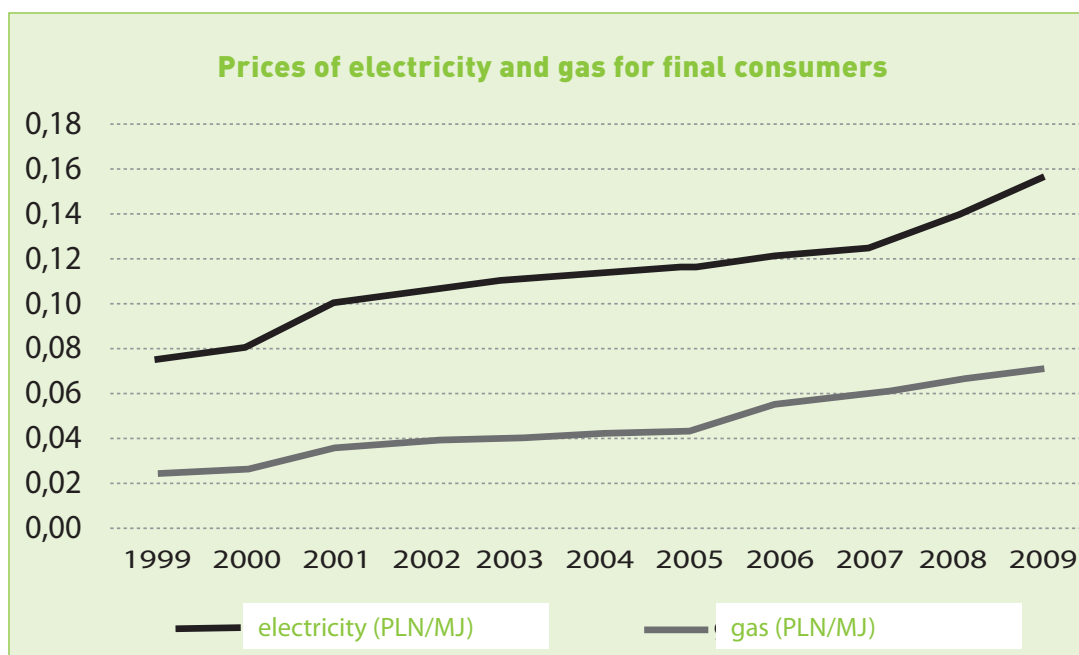
In a simplified version, we could describe short-term effects of liberalization of energy markets in a following manner, "the further from a grid/pipeline you are and the less energy you use and the less you (usually) earn, the more you pay". Many cannot help but get the impression that the government discusses even the issue of fulfilling the EU quantitative targets concerning green electricity and biofuels with traditional en-

ergy companies (coal-fired power stations and refineries) and not with SMEs, later IPPs, thus enhancing their already enormous dependence on strong groups of interest. This leads to among others increase in costs for energy consumers.

Structural conditions and the model of oligopolistic electricity market applied in Poland inevitably lead to a regular rise of energy prices and they hit budgets of small businesses and households increasingly stronger, regardless of provisions of the EU package of energy and climate legislation.

The figure presents trends in changes of prices for electricity and gas (this sector is monopolized in Poland by one state company – Polish Oil and Gas Company (PGNiG).

Despite the general lack of investments in new capacities, electricity prices for final consumers in Poland rose by 107%, gas prices – by 163 % in years 1999–2009, while a relatively substantial increase of remuneration between 2000 and 2009 came to less than 64%. It can only be explained with the high monopolization of energy and fuel production, distribution and inefficiency of energy sector. Even high costs of implementation of the EU climate package do not provide justification for this phenomenon.



Trends in changes of prices for electricity and gas for final consumers in Poland

Currently, an average Polish family spends over 12%⁴ of monthly income on fuel and energy (including 5% for electricity). In the case of a vast number of households we can talk about energy poverty. It is difficult not to state that in Poland unfavourable phenomena may gain on intensity. They are related to the adopted conception of energy security, especially in terms of electricity, which is based on enhancing the position of state coal and energy monopolies. On account of relations between the government and corporate power engineering, policies in this respect become more and more unreliable as regards interests of energy consumers and possibilities for developing renewable energy. Therefore, we have to remember to constantly create alternatives in energy planning, to solve energy problems at a regional and local level and to provide final consumers with technological and organizational alternatives in relation to the highly centralized model of energy supply in Poland. For this reason, it is worth investigating a forgotten component of regional energy security and (initially limited) possibilities of civil action for strengthening their individual energy security.

Green New Deal, climate democracy and energy democracy = energy security

It seems justified to state that Polish approach to energy security lacks a regional, grass-roots and individual component. Such a purely modern way of thinking emerged in Poland almost 10 years ago. Prepared by the Council of Ministers in 2002, information concerning energy security of the state and governmental action in this field leads to the following assertion, "(...) we have to assume that in the future the significance of local energy security will be greater on account of the state administration reform consistently implemented. It involves among others delegation of a number of entitlements of central administration onto a rank of local authorities. (...) It can be expected that energy security will evolve in the direction of

functioning at three levels: **local, regional and national**".

And later on, "the responsibility for energy security shall be divided in a following way:

- **governmental administration** – creating conditions for unrestricted development of international, interregional and intraregional infrastructural connections allowing a reliable and unlimited rendering of transit services, transmission and regional distribution of energy;
- **local authorities** – development of local potentials for electricity and heat production, including renewables, rendering of local distributional services and provision of consumers with electricity and heat".

Local authorities are supposed to play a special role in the development of renewable energy sector. According to former EU Commissioner for regional policy, Danutia Hübner, more and more undertakings is pursued in the EU at a local and regional level. Already 67% of all public investments are these that are decided in regions or locally. Local authorities care for a better state of the environment at their land, reduction of pollution, increased energy security of a region and a better energy balance of particular civil parishes⁵. It seems legitimate to find a possibility for cooperation between them in construction of local and regional strategies for development of renewable energy and security. Such conclusions and activities can be reached in various ways. Some local authorities experience the problem of local threats to the environment personally, which can be observed even by the attempted construction of renewable energy objects (as a matter of fact, these are strongly exposed). Others that feel responsible for inhabitants and future generations get involved in initiatives such as Covenant of Mayors and Presidents established by the European Commission in cooperation with the Committee of Regions. This body is supposed to concentrate on the implementation

⁴ In Great Britain energy poverty is defined as a situation in which more than 10% of income in a household is spent for a sufficient degree of heating

⁵ A. Kurowska, *Większa rola samorządów (Greater role of local authorities)* [in:] "Rzeczpospolita", 20. April 2010.

of energy and climate packages 20-20-20 especially on urbanized areas and under the aegis of carbon reduction. Still, this package is nothing else than energy security in a wider sense, in a long-term perspective at every stage and in the whole EU. Contrary to governments and traditional enterprises, local authorities regard such action as a major source of benefits and not costs⁶.

Governments and local authorities should create conditions for improving energy security for every concrete enterprise, community and citizen. They ought to enable every individual energy consumer to meet their energy needs in an autonomous, reliable and more ecological manner. Activism and entrepreneurship of citizens must be freed by means of removal of legal barriers currently present in the centralized, much monopolized system of energy supply and due to care for accessibility of small-scale technologies allowing development of distributed energy production (SMEs) and microgeneration (households).

Citizen can choose from a relatively wide range of energy technologies that can be employed successfully and directly. In heat (and cold) supply these include: solar thermal collectors, boilers fired with biomass pellets, heat pumps, while in electricity supply such solutions encompass: small-scale wind power plants, photovoltaic systems, micro-biogas plants, fuel cells for second generation biofuels or hydrogen from renewable sources. However, it is difficult for energy consumers to get an access to the grid. The development of technologies for the purpose of distributed production is too slow. Too little emphasis is placed on small- and micro-scale technologies for autonomous individual energy producers. This applies to both financing of research

at a national level (in Poland the majority of outlays is still allotted to the development of traditional energy technologies, mainly carbon power engineering, with extremely modest expenditure for R&D in renewables; these means are predominantly spent on bioenergy, currently dominant among renewable sources, but its share will quickly fall) and in the EU (disproportionally high outlays for nuclear power engineering as part of Euratom and a too strong focus on the needs of traditional energy companies that ward off emergence of watershed technologies on the market). In the current, extremely fossilized energy model (originating from the 19th century) and in an obsolete set of technologies applied, the most landmark energy solutions should not be associated with a gigantic scale, which has so far been the pride of power engineers. They ought to be directed onto small-scale technologies with a great potential for replication. Thanks to them we could decentralize enormous energy systems, based to a great extent on old philosophy, inconsistent with the challenges of the 21st century that encompass mitigation of climate change and sustainable improvement of energy, ecological and social security.

The above examples of recklessness in the fields of decentralization, democratization and social participation constitute a chance, but also obvious dare for Poland and, in a sense, for the whole EU. With the 40% of share in the green technology market, it is still a world leader in export of technologies using renewable energy sources, however, allocation of resources and financial means for R&D is increasing explicitly faster in China and the USA. The EU as a whole, including new Member States, has to make sure that it can enhance its position via appropriate redistribution in R&D resources and by means of a simultaneous rise in funds for green economy and withdrawal from illegitimate support for passing technologies and energy conceptions.

In a building material hypermarket, energy consumers will be soon able to buy a solar collector or a wind turbine and then to install it on their own, which will enable them to generate as much energy as needed.

⁶ The most famous reaction of local authorities for this type of problems occurred in Spring 2008 in the form of the so-called blackout in Szczecin, i.e. position of Covenant of Province Marshals as regards enhancing energy security of the country by development of renewable energy and electricity grids. Poland is not a federation and it is not decentralized enough, therefore, it is difficult to obtain fast effects. In the face of the current structure of energy security management, it seems indispensable to create specialized institutions supporting local authorities. This could be the task of provincial councils of energy security, regional and local energy agencies and special cells in the offices of speakers of provincial assemblies under the auspices of the Covenant of Marshals of the Republic of Poland

Networks of installers and producers of appliances for household and small firms will also become more significant. Authors of a popular publication *Small is profitable*⁷ from 2002 calculated that there are as many as 207 benefits for consumers and citizens related to the development of distributed production. A vast majority is (in)directly linked to improving of local and individual energy security. Respective processes within this orientation become increasingly common and they will soon violate organizational principles of the energy market created by corporate power engineering to date; this will undoubtedly meet with resistance. Doubts concerning the prime mover on the side of the state and international institutions result from that fact that in order to change anything governments would have to influence corporate thinking that is dominated by the paradigm of current productivity based even more intensively on the non-renewable resources exploited. The key representative of the so-called postmodernity,

sociologist and philosopher, professor Zygmunt Bauman emphasizes the significance of local initiatives of truly global ambitions for the benefit of civil society, e.g. ecological and consumer movements. However, he cautions that “it is difficult, because tasks are global and their executors local and difficult to organize”, still, this can be achieved thanks to technological progress and legal restrictions to the role of monopolies that are blocking the grid access. People are constantly searching for diversity, independence and reliability of energy supplies; these can be found in small-scale energy technologies.

The most substantial and strategically key instrument of coordination of further changes is urgent action for a new and extensive **strategy for development of renewable energy**. A significant change and a new paradigm are necessary, since the current legal system does not allow development and attempts of doing activities step by step have proved to be insufficient.

⁷ *Small is profitable. The hidden economic benefits of making electrical resources at right size*, A.B. Lowins (ed.) et al, Rocky Mountain Institute, Snowmass 2002

6.

Dariusz Szwed

Sustainable Transport Policy in the Green New Deal

In the Green New Deal implementation of a sustainable transport policy is one of the key tasks allowing a sustainable development of a country. The article encompasses the analysis of the current transport policy in Poland and of its principles for the future presented in the strategic report *Poland 2030*. Indicated are also the most vital elements of sustainable and unsustainable transport systems and key recommendations in this field.

When evaluating the transport system and the possibility for implementing a sustainable model, one has to keep in mind that many neoliberal reforms in Poland after 1989 were based on the elimination of everything that was state-owned (implied meaning – ineffective and mismanaged). A classic example of such state policy is a railway system. The neoliberal ideology of cuts in public outlays, which was practiced by subsequent governments almost led to the liquidation of the system of financing railways in the 1990s. Due to a very low level of investment and an increasingly negative image without the analysis of problem causes and solutions, degradation of the railways has been accompanied by the pro-

motion of automobile industry. A car is the archetypal model of consumption promoted in Poland: it is private, comfortable and independent. However, a mass use of cars implies the necessity to build thousands kilometers of motorways, in the last two decades this measure was presented to the society as the only way of making a civilizational leap. The railroads were nuisance.

On account of great costs, numerous conflicts and growing social protests in recent years, for a long time the motorway programme existed mainly on paper – in subsequent state transport policies and media reports on the lack of implementation. At the same time, the policy of successive governments caused that 26% of railway connections were closed between 1990 and 2007 (in the Czech Republic the length of railroads rose by 1.7% in the same period). As emphasized by environmental NGOs and experts in sustainable development¹, in later years economic realities validated (and still do validate) successive motorway plans by the state. However, it is road lobby that easily wins competition over funds from state or EU budget. From 1998 to the end of 2009, public

¹ *Alternatywna polity transportowa [Alternative transport policy, Institute for Sustainable Development, Warsaw 1999*

investments in transport infrastructure in Poland amounted to the total sum of 125.5 billion PLN, including 108 billion (i.e. as much as 86.1%) for roads. The scale of underinvestment of Polish railways is reflected by the proportion of outlays for railways and roads, if size of both systems is taken into account, then it transpires that 3.6 billion PLN was spent for 19,200 km of railroads in 2009, while 32.3 billion PLN for 18,400 km of roads (which means nine times more)². The obvious conclusion reads as follows: successive governments have not implemented sustainable transport policy.

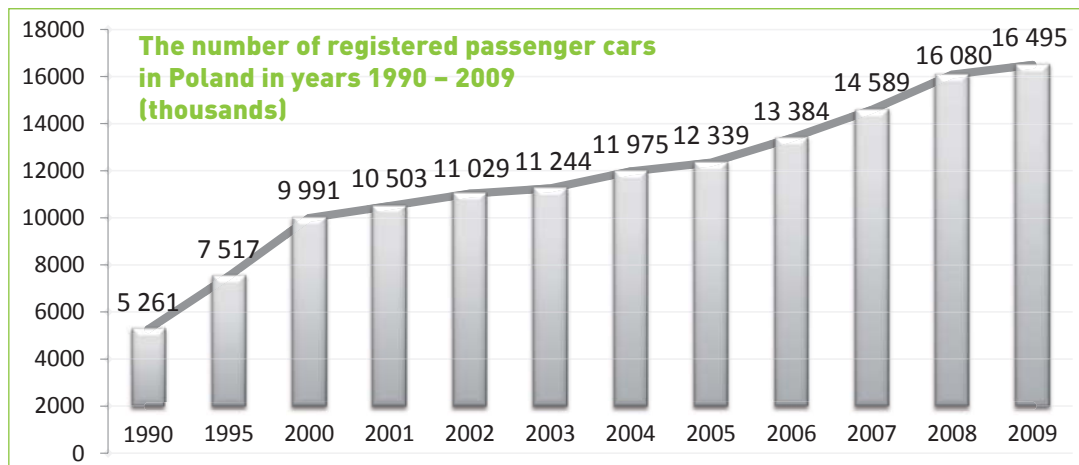
A dramatic increase in the number of cars, especially used ones (particularly after Poland's EU accession), and the lack of investments causing a decrease of railway transport of passengers and commodities have led to the development of unsustainable transport system in Poland. Since 1990s it has resulted in e.g. congestion, cities burdened by exhaust gases and noise, mass social and ecological conflicts related to the localization of new roads, the highest rate of casualties in road accidents in Europe, hundreds of thousands of TIR lorries devastating infrastructure and lowering safety of

onomically and socially, and the least sustainable way to provide society with mobility, namely – motorways. At the same time, there are no sufficient resources for more economically effective as well as socially and ecologically sustainable alternatives such as modernization of railway network or enhancing standards of state roads towards these of express roads.

Report Poland 2030 – polarizational infrastructure policy

The report Poland 2030 presents the development of transport infrastructure in a convention common for the whole document: lack of development and progress was not triggered by the wrong state policy, but by subjects, either people or companies, that have not adjusted. In the report we can find the entire catalog of barriers that make it impossible to create “appropriate potential of infrastructure” and “a sustainable management model of demand for transport services”³.

Authors mention e.g. management problems, high costs of restructuring of companies, a low quality of services and a limited character of market mechanisms and of competitiveness,



Source: Polish Association of Automobile Industry, <http://89.161.167.92/pl/6-72/0/45/park-pojazdow-zarejestrowanych-w-polsce-1990-20>

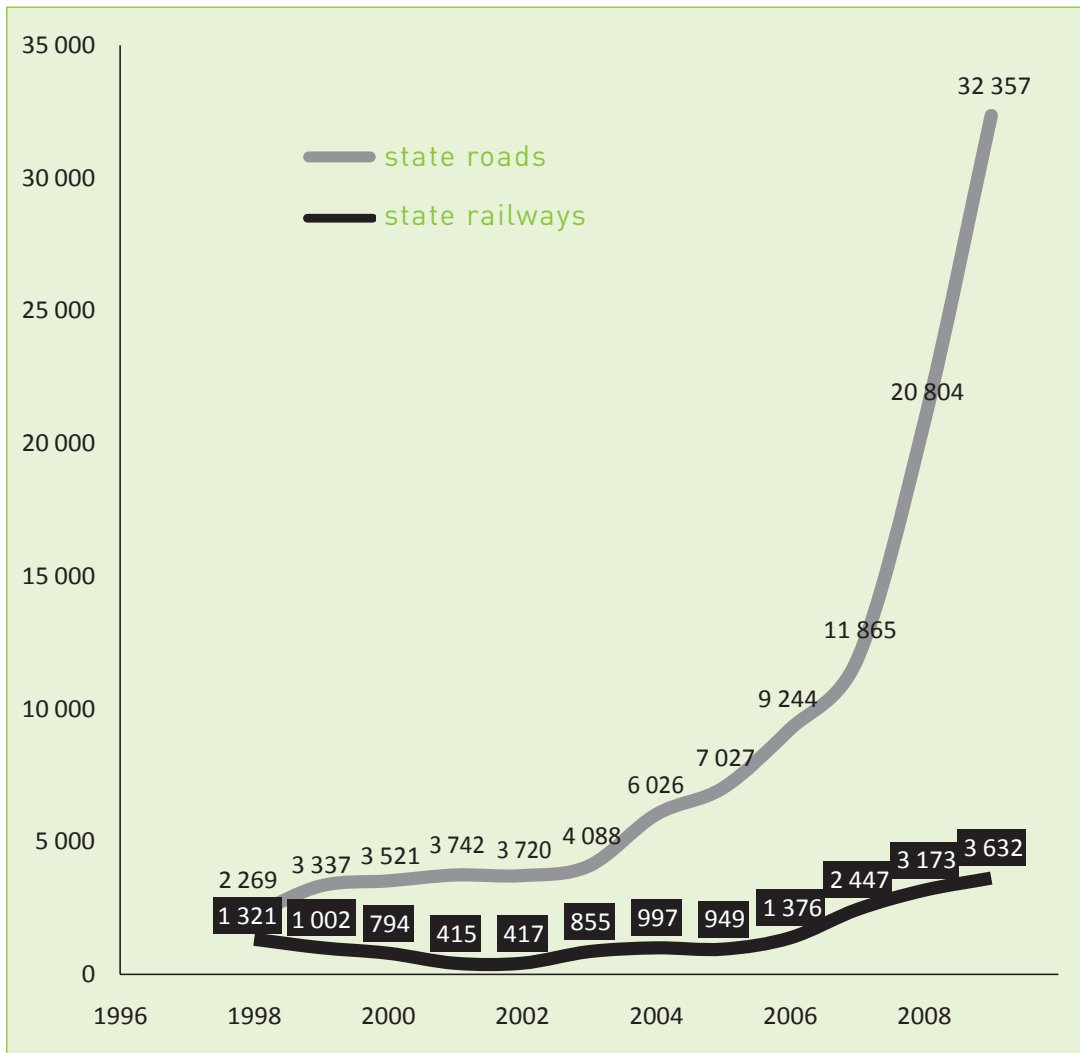
road users. Since 1990s, the majority of politicians of successive governments and parliaments have been talking about the necessity to invest in the most expensive, the least effective, both eco-

relatively high prices, a very limited ability to generate finances for investment. There is no reference to the level of infrastructure investments and proportions (roads/railways) in the last twenty years or to their impact on transport unsustainability: a dramatic increase in the demand for individual car transport, forced

² Szanse i bariery utrzymania i rozwoju infrastruktury kolejowej w Polsce [Opportunities and barriers of maintenance and development of railway infrastructure in Poland], Polish State Railways SA (PKP), Warsaw 2010

³ Report Poland 2030, <http://www.polska2030.pl>, Warsaw 2010

Investment expenditure for state roads and railway lines in Poland in years 1998 – 2009 in mln PLN



On the basis of "Szanse i bariery utrzymania i rozwoju infrastruktury kolejowej w Polsce" [Opportunities and barriers of maintenance and development of railway infrastructure in Poland], Polish State Railways SA (PKP), Warsaw 2010

to a great extent by the lack of realistic and attractive alternatives in the form of the railroads.

The authors of the report *Poland 2030* emphasize that transport policy is aimed at "enhancement of transport accessibility in various places and territories in global, European and state systems". This can be questioned already at a very general level, since it focuses exclusively on providing infrastructure for a growing demand for individual transport, which is characteristic of unsustainable transport systems.

This is illustrated by a table containing a

comparison of two transport systems: sustainable and unsustainable one.

This comparison shows that sustainable transport policy realizes and integrates a variety of aims of economic, social and ecological policies (including climate), while the unsustainable one allows for a dominance of simplified economic calculations (no account of external costs) social or ecological target of development strategies. Naturally, application of the former or the latter, i.e. of the model of mobility, influences the shape of pursued economic, social and ecological policies. Suffice it to say, the transport

The comparison of unsustainable and sustainable transport systems

Unsustainable transport	Sustainable transport
Lacking or low public participation in decision-making	Intensive public participation in decision-making
The lack of shaping of needs, solving problems by means of the end-of-pipe method*	Shaping of needs – education, promotion, instruments of demand-side management policy
The lack of (implementation of) policy concerning pedestrians and cyclists, a low level of safety for these groups, the lack of dialogue and of public participation in decision-making	Priority for the policy concerning pedestrians and cyclists, providing them with safety, intensive dialogue and public participation
Exclusion due to missing perspectives of gender, age or disability etc.	Equitable access to mobility and public space for all groups
Predominance of cars as the means of transport	Predominance of public transport (including railway)
Low effectiveness of mobility in terms of energy and resources, predominance of non-renewable fuels, a high level of local and global pollution (including noise and greenhouse gases)	High energy and resource effectiveness of mobility, predominance of renewable fuels, low level of local and global pollution (including noise and greenhouse gases)
Substantial fragmentation and environmental devastation (concerning especially ecological corridors and habitats).	Limited fragmentation accompanied by the protection of environmentally-valuable habitats
Fuel prices taking no account of full costs (internal and external), which brings about irrational investment decisions and demand for transport	Fuel prices taking account of full costs so that investment decisions and demand for transport are rational
Greater threat to life and health	A high quality of life and a better state of health
Higher costs of unsustainable mobility (also external ones) e.g. waste of time in traffic jams, accidents, offload of costs onto others, including future generations	Lower costs of unsustainable mobility (also external ones) – less traffic and accidents, transport users bear full costs (including external ones)

*The end-of-pipe method deals with consequences instead of causes. In the case of pollution it means most frequently e.g. installation of chimney filters instead of implementation of technologies limiting pollution at source.

Source: D. Szwed, B. Maciejewska, „Zrównoważony rozwój Metropolii Silesia” [Sustainable Development of Silesia Metropolis], Spaces for Dialogue Foundation, Gdańsk 2009

system is an instrument, a crucial one as regards conducting of the (un)sustainable development of the country.

In the description of the situation presented in the report we will not learn anything new about Polish transport reality: railway is underfinanced, roads are jammed with traffic, we have one of the lowest rates of broadband Internet access in the EU, in one word,

Poland is a country where the level of mobility is very low. The same applies to development of information society and accessibility to basic public e-services. At the same time, it is difficult to find therein a critical analysis of the last twenty years of transformation in this field.

The analysis of recommendations from the report is even more interesting. The application of developmental framework of polarization

and diffusion means that transport policy should first strengthen stronger elements of infrastructure (roads) and social groups (richer classes from metropolises and big cities) and the second stage will bring diffusion, of course in the opinion of Minister Boni's experts. How are these suggestions distributed in time? Authors propose three phases of further development of transport infrastructure to 2030:

- 2012–2013 – focus on road infrastructure and development of teleinformatics (financed mainly from the EU sources).
- 2014–2020 – investments (from the EU sources) in mainly development of railways (especially high-speed railways), in multimodal communication in suburbs (circa 60–70 km from an urbanized area) and in development of air transport (with the contribution of private sources).
- 2021–2030 – further investments in transport accessibility and new investments in information technology infrastructure (authors inform that sources of financing are yet to be found – sic!).

Recommendations of the report *Poland 2030* are inconsistent and in some aspects even contradictory to the aims of the sustainable transport policy and to the Green New Deal. It is worth considering the most vital issues.

- First, the authors state that railway infrastructure is in a bad condition and simultaneously propose that investments in roads and motorways should become the priority till the end of 2013. Leaving aside the sense of these principles, it has to be recognized that such a policy torpedoes the EU requirements concerning the proportion of expenditure for railway and road investments (i.e. 60%:40%, while in Poland it is over 80% to less than 20%)⁴. This proposition collides also with the report presented in 2010 by the Polish State Railways which informs that in

the next five years over 20% of currently used 19,200 km of railway lines will have to be closed due to a bad technical state if a low level of investments in the railway transport is maintained. Should this come true, dismantling of railway network in Poland will proceed in a greater pace than in the first 20 years of the transformation. Therefore, it seems that the reaction of the European Commission will be crucial, as this body controls the manner of spending funds from the EU budget⁵.

- Secondly, in the report *Poland 2030*, the next stage of implementation of priorities of transport policy in years 2014 – 2020 indicates even stronger polarization of railways as a result of construction of high-speed lines (HSL) achieving more than 300 km/h (the so-called Y-line linking the biggest and richest agglomerations, route: Warsaw–Łódź–Poznań–Wrocław). Meanwhile, the average velocity of trains in Poland comes to 23 km/h, only 37% of lines are in a good condition, while the majority is labeled as either “sufficient” (38%) or unsatisfactory (25%). Nevertheless, no sustainable investments in improvement of overall standards are anticipated. However, what can be found is even greater deepening of inequalities as a result of investments in HSL amounting to 30 billion PLN.
- Thirdly, the report *Poland 2030* does not contain the issue of external costs of transport or instruments of their internalization. In the case of transport these include: accidents, traffic jams, worse health condition, noise, environmental degradation triggered by local emissions and global climate change⁶. The authors fail to inform whether (and how) realization of the presented model of infrastructure will limit: growing congestion, level of pollution related to road transport and noise (and their detrimental effect on the health of Poles and the

4 During the railway crisis in the winter of 2011, when opposition demanded a dismissal of Minister Cezary Grabarczyk, pointing out a dramatic underinvestment of railroads, the government announced that in the beginning of 2011 it will consider reallocation of the EU resources from railways to roads. If this decision is accepted by the European Commission, it will lead to a further change of the proportion of funds invested in transport infrastructure, also at the disadvantage of railways.

5 *Szanse i bariery utrzymania i rozwoju infrastruktury kolejowej w Polsce [Opportunities and barriers of maintenance and development of railway infrastructure in Poland]*, Polish State Railways SA (PKP), Warsaw 2010

6 More about external costs in transport: D. Szwed, B. Maciejewska, *Zrównoważony rozwój Metropolii Śląska [Sustainable Development of Silesia Metropolis]*, Spaces for Dialogue Foundation, Gdańsk 2009

environment, including climate change), the highest rate of deaths in road accidents⁷ etc. According to the consulting firm Deloitte, inhabitants of seven cities lose annually 4.2 billion PLN just as a result of traffic, despite the fact that expenditure for transport and communication constitutes a key position (next to education) in budgets of these seven largest cities of Poland (on average one fifth of urban outlays between 2007 and 2010)⁸. It transpires, therefore, that pursued unsustainable transport strategy does not increase social mobility to an expected extent, while it generates huge costs detrimental to the society, environment and economy.

Sustainable transport policy is key for the pursuit of the Green New Deal

Since governmental policy does not fulfill requirements imposed on transport policy, what should sustainable transport policy in the Green New Deal look like?

Priorities of the state sustainable transport policy, the basis for an equitable and common access to sustainable mobility, should include among others:

- Modernization of all existing railway lines (even speed increase in the whole railway network) and restoration of the routes closed in the last 20 years, as well as a more intensive extension of railway infrastructure in Eastern districts of Poland;
- Shift in transit goods transport onto tracks (campaign “Trucks on tracks”) allowing a safer use of roads by individual users⁹ and less destruction of road infrastructure;
- Much cheaper modernization of existing roads (enhancing the standard of state roads to that of express ones), construction of express roads instead of the most expensive motorways where necessary¹⁰.

These are economically most effective (including external costs) as well as socially and ecologically justified versions of transport policy providing the society with sustainable and egalitarian mobility and safety and restricting a detrimental effect of transport on the environment (also global climate) and society. What is more, such activities are in conformity with the constitutional principle of sustainable development and EU priorities.

⁷ In this context, it seems incomprehensible, if not harmful, that the government plans to enhance social mobility in Poland by increasing speed limits on public roads (to 140 km/h, the highest limit in the EU, plus no punishment for exceeding speed by another 10 km/h) valid from the 1st Jan 2011. Meanwhile, velocity is being restricted in the majority of EU states on account of the necessity to improve safety and reduce emissions of exhaust gases.

⁸ *Korki w 7 największych miastach Polski [Traffic jams in seven biggest cities of Poland]*, Deloitte, Warsaw 2010

⁹ According to initial data of the Police Headquarters, in 2010 3,900 people died on the roads in Poland.

¹⁰ Similar propositions concerning withdrawal from construction of motorways in Poland in order to modernize roads were presented by economically liberal think tank Adam Smith Centre in cooperation with the National Chamber of Urban Planners.

7.

Dorota Metera

Sustainable Agriculture, Security and Quality of Food in the Green New Deal

Changes are necessary and inevitable!

Never before have relations between people and the environment been so “unnatural”. Exploitation of natural resources on such a large scale with the use of the latest technological developments has caused – in some fields – irreversible, environmental changes, which in turn brings about other, so far unknown phenomena. Agriculture that first of all consisted in supplying food has been transformed into agricultural production and then has become largely dependent on energy (for the production of fuel, fertilizers and pesticides). Now in many parts of the world (e.g. European Union, United States) its development is controlled through subsidies and specific agricultural policy, on account of which it is challenged with new aims, such as fuel production or mitigation of climate change. Agricultural production has always brought some environmental consequences – from burning out forests in order to clear land for planting and water pollution due to fertilizers and greenhouse gases caused by animal and greenhouse production, but this was commonly accepted. Nowadays agriculture is required to generate sometimes almost contradictory “things”, such as low-priced produce

and environmental protection. It is equally difficult to reconcile competitiveness of agricultural products on world markets with food sovereignty of countries and continents or energy production with the protection of biodiversity and landscape. These often contradictory strategies of agricultural development arouse interest and even concern of citizens, scientists and responsible politicians. Recent years have brought a few documents concerning the future of agriculture. The message they most often convey is changes!

Let us begin with *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment*¹ carried out in 2005 under the auspices of the UN. It points out the complexity of environmental and social challenges related to ecosystems and the provision of goods such as food, water, wood and fibre, regulating services which influence climate, floods, waste and quality of water, illnesses of people and animals, as well as cultural achievements like leisure, aesthetic and spiritual benefits or complementary services like soil conservation, photosynthesis and circulation of elements.

¹ *Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005), Ecosystems and Human Well-being: Synthesis Reports*, www.maweb.org

The report states that 60 percent of services of ecosystems is now destroyed or used in an unsustainable and inconsistent way, which poses a risk that these goods and services will not be replenished. The main cause is the pressure exerted by the population growth leading to an essential and mainly irreversible change in the biodiversity of life on Earth and it will significantly reduce benefits of ecosystems for future generations.

A similar approach can be found in *International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development*² undertaken in 2009 by more than 400 scientists from 54 countries and supported by many UN institutions and the World Bank. Scientists announced that “the way in which the world produces food must change radically so as to serve the poor and the hungry even better if the world is to face growing population and climate change and if it intends to avert social and ecological crises”. The initiative of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) *Global Green New Deal*, which was introduced in 2008, aims at the change of global economy in the direction of investments in clean technologies, natural infrastructure and struggle against climate change. The *Green Economy Initiative* emphasizes the significance of agriculture, which often exerts a contradictory influence on the environment. On the one hand, it produces food, maintains biological and landscape diversity, provides places for work and recreation. On the other hand, it contributes to the pollution of soil, water and air, the loss of biodiversity and climate change. The *EU2020 Strategy* sets new goals: intelligent and sustainable growth, social and economic changes and development of the food production sector. So the time for the change of agricultural policy has come.

Common Agricultural Policy in the EU financial perspective 2014–2020

The time when the CAP is being reformed creates a marvellous opportunity for channelling of EU agricultural policy towards the urgently required intelligent growth. A long-

term vision of the EU biodiversity by 2050 and the objective of biodiversity protection by 2020 have to be finally implemented; especially as the aim of preventing the loss of biodiversity has not been attained in 2010, proclaimed by the UN as the International Year of Biodiversity. Methods of farming should consider a diversity of species living wild on the arable land and secure food supplies at the same time. Simultaneously, climate change requires decisive steps in the agricultural sector, which is the major co-perpetrator, but also has an enormous potential for solutions in this field. Therefore, the system of incentives has to be developed and best practices must be implemented in order to mitigate climate change. At the same time, they ought to adapt the system of agricultural production to inevitable results of climate change. Now is the time to do it, as negotiations over the EU budget 2014–2020 are in progress and new policies are framed.

*Agricultural and Rural Convention*³ points out new challenges that have emerged since the framework of a current agricultural policy that has been created in 2006:

- it is necessary to use all global resources, notably soil, water in a more responsible way in order to secure human survival and global biodiversity from a long-term perspective
- emissions of greenhouse gases must be lowered in order to avoid disastrous climate change
- a drastic loss of biodiversity, both of wild species and cultivars (cultivated plants and farm animals) must be halted
- human rights of access to food, water, health and livelihood, as well as social freedom must be respected
- it is not acceptable that more than two billion people suffer from hunger or under-nourishment and that the health of a further billion is jeopardized by over-nourishment, obesity and that vast amounts of food are thrown away.

² *International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD) (2009), Synthesis Report: A synthesis of the Global and Sub-Global IAASTD Reports*, www.agassessment.org. Polish experts Dorota Metera and Dariusz Szwed participated in the project

³ *Agriculture and Rural Convention*, www.arc2020.eu

- Europe should no longer maintain the dependence of its economy on economic colonialism and land resources on other continents (e.g. by importing soya from developing countries as the basis of feed for farm animals)
- it is necessary to deal with enormous inequalities of income and quality of life between regions and people in Europe
- citizens and local communities must gain the possibility to determine their own futures

It is impossible to continue the current policy or to implement only minor adjustments. "Business as always" is unacceptable. It is necessary to change radically policies concerning agriculture and rural areas. According to the organizations that created and support *Agricultural and Rural Convention* should be oriented in the following ways:

- the change of European agricultural models from a dominant intensive industrial-style farming and a centralized food industry to **sustainable and diversified agriculture, regional and local food production and processing, with closer connections between farmers and consumers, and care for the public health and the environment**
- the economic renaissance of rural areas, built upon the strength and diversity of communities, cultures and resources

According to the *Agricultural and Rural Convention*, the change of paradigm within agriculture is indispensable so as to face ecological and social challenges. Based on large structures, the system that prevails currently in Europe is not sustainable and durable since it is dependant on fossil fuels, mechanization, food and fodder transport over long distances. It poses a threat to soil condition, water resources, and eco-systems and brings about a reduction of jobs in agriculture.

A future agricultural policy should be shaped in such a way that farming would be grounded on the diversity of regional

and local agricultural structures and on the economy which uses less non-renewable resources, applies good practices and agro-ecological innovations. At the same time it should maintain existing workplaces and create new, high-quality ones.

Food security of countries and continents

As population grows, so does the demand for food, hence problems of hunger and under-nourishment become more and more urgent to solve, as well as the reduction of water resources and areas suitable for farming. Current practices are not good e.g. concentrating food production in limited places, depending on international trade and large-scale transport over long distances. This can be understood as a new economic colonialism, countries becoming dependent, potential conflicts and unnecessary transport. Dealing with sovereignty is contingent on the high self-sufficiency and food sovereignty on a local, regional national or continental level. Arable land should be kept in a good culture and cultivated in a sustainable way in the whole of Europe from a longer term perspective. Europe ought to provide as much food of high quality as necessitated by Europeans, including fodder for animals, instead of importing them as they can be produced on the spot. Furthermore, it should restrict its export to regional products so as not to cause disturbances on the markets in other countries.

Quality of food

Societies of well-developed countries are becoming more and more aware of the impact of an industrial food production on human health, animal welfare, biodiversity and the environment. Obesity, diabetes and other illnesses related to poor diets have encouraged consumers to read thoroughly labels concerning ingredients, additives and origin of products. They search for an alternative to food offered by the trade to date and they buy ecological food or products with labelling indicating geographical origin more and more often. Although it costs more, it is better than industrially produced food. The growing number of producers chooses methods adapted to new

expectations of consumers. Still, it is necessary to educate society in the fields of food, diet, health and their inter-correlations and to promote traditional, regional, local products and their implications for local development.

Polish vision of the future of countryside

The prospective document *Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*⁴ does not refer positively either to the future of agriculture and rural areas or to the new expectations of consumers as regards the quality of food and life or to public expenditures (financed from taxes of citizens) for the Common Agricultural Policy. Statements like “villages are less and less dependent on agriculture” or “young people choose jobs outside agriculture more often” do not correspond to the European vision. Authors consider as positive changes that occur “in regions functionally linked to cities”, i.e. inhabited by city dwellers (sub-urbanisation). They propose a long-term urbanisation of countryside so that agriculture would stop fulfilling its basic functions such as production of food, foodstuff for animals, materials for industry and energy, as well as non-productive functions: protection of countryside and biodiversity, provision of recreation. They suggest that “many rural areas of Poland may not adapt to a contemporary economy”. At the same time, they state that the level of education in villages rises faster than in cities. Therefore, there is hope that with acquired knowledge and experience country dwellers will strive to change the countryside so that it would not imitate cities, but it will become a comfortable place to live and work for residents, give more possibilities of leisure for tourists and provide environmental services.

New direction of the development of agriculture and rural areas

If one considers the further development of agriculture and rural areas consistent with the idea of the Global Green Deal, it may

be stated that due to its natural, social and cultural potential Polish countryside has a great chance to develop in a sustainable way according to the classic definition by Gro Harlem Brundtland⁵. Agricultural production in Poland has changed its character in recent years and this will continue as it is adapting to the needs of the market and rules determined by the EU Common Agricultural Policy. For 20 years ecological agriculture has been developing. For the time being, it covers in Poland approximately 2% of arable land and concerns 1% of agricultural products. Certified products of ecological agriculture, regional and traditional products are gaining more and more significance on the market (Protected Designation of Origin, Protected Geographical Indication, Traditional Speciality Guaranteed). These relatively new types of agriculture give new workplaces, not only to country dwellers. As a result, new sectors of food market and new forms of sales (e.g. direct sale, internet shops) have developed and take over consumers that resign from giant trade chains offering mass-produced food. A unique, regional or traditional product becomes in Poland a marker for choice patterns of young, ecologically and socially educated, aware consumers who care not only for their health, but also for the sake of other people, the environment and animal welfare.

New, green workplaces (contributing to the environmental improvement⁶) at rural areas emerge as a result of the specialization of agro-tourism, which frequently takes innovative forms that match expectations of tourists, e.g. environmental tourism, tourism oriented at culinary traditions (“wine tours”, “apple tours”), horse tourism or visiting places connected to traditional craft. Tourism of such kinds is slowly evolving from semi-amateur activities that are supported by aid programmes and bring additional financial resources to farms into the business of economic activity, professionally led by people with sufficient

4 *Poland 2030. Developmental challenges*, Chancellery of the President of the Council of Ministers, the Team of Strategic Advisers to the President of the Council of Ministers, www.polska2030.pl, July 2009

5 “(...)Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need.”, report *Our Common Future*, Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, United Nations, 1987

6 Greening Local Job Markets in Poland – Application of EU Experiences, collective work, Institute of Sustainable Development, Warsaw 2007

education and providing them with income, which will result in more money from taxes allotted to the budget. Together with agricultural production, especially ecological ones they create an attractive offer to city dwellers and foreign tourists. This means more workplaces in industries linked (in) directly with tourism. Further new green businesses include renewable energy production from agricultural material (e.g. biogas, vegetable oil) and natural resources (water, wind, sun). It is estimated that rural areas can create opportunities to develop many green workplaces in various fields.

Different vision of the Green New Deal in Poland

According to the survey conducted in the spring of 2010 by Eurobarometer, 65% of respondents in Poland (the EU average – 73%) declared that support should be given to the economy that exploits fewer natural resources and emits less greenhouse gases in order to go through economic and financial crises and to prepare the economy for the next decade well⁷. With reference to agriculture and development of rural areas, this can be translated into practical solutions: reducing the intensity of agriculture contingent upon energy-consuming means of production (pesticides, fertilizers) and animal production based on imported fod-

der, especially genetically modified soya and corn. Thanks to the shift from the mass production towards the less intensive, yet high-quality one, we may undoubtedly obtain positive results such as a better diet, improvement of human health and the environment. In order to make it happen, clear political signals are necessary, e.g. reform of the CAP subsidy system, priority given to local and regional food production, including the change of veterinary and sanitary regulations concerning small, local and limited processing of animal and vegetable products. It seems possible to implement this quicker than financial instruments which nevertheless should accompany the political process. Suitable economic instruments require, however, tax reform involving taxation of the agricultural activity depending on its type and – what is still regarded in Poland as futuristic – ecological tax reform, i.e. special tax on industrial agriculture and allotment of financial resources for environmental protection. Environmental and social effects of such changes would serve the whole society in the form of the common good whose source is agriculture: food safety, biodiversity, landscape and holding people on marginal areas⁸.

⁷ "Eurobarometer", Standard EB 73, August 2010, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb73/eb73_fact_pl_en.pdf

⁸ M. Maciejczak, "Rolnictwo i obszary wiejskie źródłem dóbr publicznych – przegląd literatury", ("Agriculture and rural areas as a source of the common good – literature review"), *Zeszyty Naukowe SGGW, Ekonomika i Organizacja Gospodarki Żywnościowej (Scientific booklet of Warsaw University of Life Science, Economics and Organization of Food Economy)*, 75(2009)

8.

Ludomir Duda

Autonomous Affordable Building Industry

The Green modernization of construction industry is one of the key postulates of the Green New Deal (GND). Already the first publication by New Economics Foundation from July 2008 stated that one of the vital objectives of the GND involves “executing a bold new vision for a low-carbon energy system that will include making ‘every building a power station’. Involving tens of millions of properties, their energy efficiency will be maximized, as will the use of renewables to generate electricity.” Moreover, authors indicate that it is necessary to “develop a wide-ranging package of other financial innovations and incentives to assemble the tens of billions of pounds that need to be spent.

The focus should be on smart investments that not only finance the development of new, efficient energy infrastructure, but also help reduce demand for energy, particularly among low-income groups, for example by improving home insulation.

The science and technology needed to power an energy-and-transport revolution are already in place. But at present

the funds to propel the latest advances into full-scale development are not¹.”

Buildings absorb 40% of the total demand for primary energy. Additionally, they are the main producer of waste and, next to agriculture, a major cause of water pollution. Undoubtedly they should be regarded as the greatest threat to the environment and natural resources. Therefore, they necessitate activities of authorities responsible for environmental protection and implementation of sustainable development as indicated in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (Article 5²,³ and Article 74.1⁴) and

1 *A Green New Deal Joined-up policies to solve the triple crunch of the credit crisis, climate change and high oil prices*, New Economics Foundation, London, July 2008, <http://www.neweconomics.org/projects/green-new-dea>

2 The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April 1997, Article 5: The Republic of Poland (...) shall ensure the protection of the natural environment pursuant to the principles of sustainable development.

3 Environment Protection Law, Section II. Definition and General Rules, Article 3: Whenever sustainable development is mentioned in the law it is understood as such a social and economic development in which political, economic and social operations are integrated with the maintenance of environmental balance and stability of basic natural processes so as to guarantee the possibility to satisfy basic needs of particular communities or citizens of current and future generations.

4 The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April 1997, Article 74.1: Public authorities shall pursue policies ensuring the ecological security of current and future generations.

international commitments of Poland, e.g. Treaty of Accession (Article 11⁵ and Article 191⁶).

Unfortunately, in practice authorities are idle or act to the detriment of the environment. It can be illustrated with the example of action leading to the decrease in energy efficiency of new and renovated buildings, i.e. executive regulation to the building code⁷ on technical conditions of building. The analysis indicated that it is internally inconsistent (compare § 328 with § 329), at variance with the building code⁸ (Article 5, 1f), the Constitution (Article 5 and Article 75), Treaty of Accession (Article 11, Article 191) and EU Directives (2002/91/EC⁹, 2006/32/EC). The Government's inaction can be exemplified by the fact that Directive 2006/32/EC on energy end-use efficiency and energy services has not been imple-

mented and by ignorance towards common phenomenon of developers' non-adherence to (very lenient) regulations concerning the allowed level of energy absorption of buildings.

Poland is the only country in the world that has significantly lowered energy requirements laid down on new and renovated buildings. At first glance, such a policy seems absurd, since it causes a serious barrier to economic growth resulting from excessive emissions of CO₂ on a national scale. Due to the fact that these regulations bring profits for a powerful energy sector and developers, the government relaxed requirements for energy absorption of buildings.

Autonomous building – low-tech and high-tech

In this situation, the only way of promoting “green building” as a foundation of sustainable development is to engage NGOs in the fight for law obedience, raise ecological awareness of society and incorporation of industrial branches offering products and services for this type of building.

It should proceed through the promotion of **autonomous buildings**, i.e. **independent of external sources of non-renewable energy**. Achievement of such independence in the periods of peak demand (in our climate conditions – from November to February) generates an energy surplus in other months. The idea of such construction has a long tradition and many positive experiences. The implementation of autonomous building can take two forms:

- **low-tech** using natural resources such as straw, clay or soil, constructions minimizing energy losses, mainly with biomass and the most basic solar collectors. With a change in some habits and thanks to minimal costs of construction and maintenance, such houses can pose an attractive proposition for people who dislike lifestyle forced by technical civilization¹⁰;

5 Treaty on Functioning of the European Union (Journal of Laws of 30th April 2004), Article 11 (ex Article 6 TEC) Environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the definition and implementation of the Union policies and activities, in particular with a view to promoting sustainable development.

6 Treaty on Functioning of the European Union (Journal of Laws of April 30th, 2004), Article 191 (ex Article 174 TEC): 1. Union policy on the environment shall contribute to pursuit of the following objectives:

- preserving, protecting and improving the quality of the environment,
- protecting human health,
- prudent and rational utilization of natural resources,
- promoting measures at an international level to deal with regional or worldwide environmental problems, and in particular combating climate change.

7 Regulation of the Minister of Infrastructure of November 6th, 2008 changing the regulation on technical conditions in building and their locations

8 Building code of July 7th, 1994

9 Directive 2002/91/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 December 2002 on the energy performance of buildings – preamble:

(2) The natural resources, to the prudent and rational utilization of which Article 174 of the Treaty refers, include oil products, natural gas and solid fuels, which are essential sources of energy, but also the leading sources of carbon dioxide emissions.

(6) The residential and tertiary sector, the major part of which consists of buildings, accounts for more than 40 % of final energy consumption in the Community and is expanding, a trend which is bound to increase energy consumption and hence also its carbon dioxide emissions.

(12) Buildings will have an impact on long-term energy consumption and new buildings should therefore meet minimum energy performance requirements tailored to the local climate. Best practice in this respect should be geared to the optimum use of factors relevant to enhancing energy performance. As the application of alternative energy supply systems is generally not explored to its full potential, the technical, environmental and economic feasibility of alternative energy supply systems should be considered; this can be carried out once by the Member State.

(22) Provision should be made for the possibility of rapidly adapting the methodology of calculation and of Member States regularly reviewing minimum requirements in the field of energy performance of buildings with regard to technical progress, inter alia, as concerns the insulation properties (or quality) of the construction material, and to future developments in the standardization. The Member State through a study produces a list of energy conservation measures for average local market conditions, meeting cost-effectiveness criteria.

10 Examples of such projects in Poland: <http://earthhandsandhouses.org/>

■ **hi-tech**, using the latest developments of technology. Autonomous houses built by means of such a technology should comply with all norms concerning comfort parameters in rooms, thus, they do not require any sacrifices and changes in the lifestyle of household members. The main barriers to their implementation are myths about high costs, which hinder demand and a necessarily high level of technical culture of all participants in the investment process¹¹.

Why can autonomous buildings be affordable?

The idea of autonomous buildings originates from the reflection over the influence of people's lifestyle on the environment. We are accustomed to the thought that devastation is caused mainly by industry. Undoubtedly, it improves our well-being, but it does not reduce the pressure of civilization on the environment. A significant change can be brought by a change in the way of thinking. Family houses are the basis of the Western civilization and consume 80% of natural resources. Regardless of whether our home is a flat or a detached house, it is associated with the best things in life. Let us consider it from a different perspective than family.

Family houses, understood as infrastructure and human relationships, constitute a basic element of society. At the same time, every house is a complex structure related to its surroundings by a complicated net of links and dependencies. As part of an intellectual experiment, let us consider it as a system in the definition of cybernetics and analyse its impact on the environment. Let us imagine that a house is a cybernetic black box and we try to understand its nature by examining flows of matter and energy between the house and its surroundings. In order to simplify it, we shall ignore everything that goes in and out of the box if it does not change significantly. Therefore, we are not interested in people entering and leaving and in what is brought and taken away in the meaningfully unaltered form.

What goes into the black box then? Inflow includes concentrated energy in the form of electricity, hot water from the heating system, chemical energy of fuel, pure water, food and thousands of products. All of them were produced by means of non-renewable natural resources.

What goes out of the black box? Sewage, diffuse energy, used containers, organic waste and broken items, in a word – waste. From the viewpoint of the science of systems, cybernetics, a family house is a system in which natural resources via industry are processed into environmentally-unfriendly emissions and waste. The question of whether this model of civilization can survive is then a rhetorical one.

Two main differences between the ways civilization and ecosystem function lie in the fact that the former uses non-renewable energy and produces waste. Ecosystems owe their stability to the optimal use of solar energy and a closed circulation of the matter. Everything that dies becomes feed for what lives... If we are to survive, we must change our homes so that they resemble ecosystems. How can we achieve this? First of all, by energy autonomy, i.e. the use of the sun and wind as the only energy sources. Is it possible without a regress to the 19th century when renewable energy covered 95% energy demand? Everything proves that thanks to the latest technological achievements it is possible and nowadays even profitable.

Every square meter of the Earth's surface receives annually circa 1000 kWh of radiant energy. A passive building needs 15 kWh/m² of thermal energy annually in order to maintain thermal comfort. It seems that with contemporary technology it should not be expensive and difficult to convert the sunlight into useful heat, accumulate it in summer and use it in winter with the efficiency of 1.5% (15 kWh/m²/year/ 1000 kWh/m²/year x 100%).

The efficiency of current solar collectors that heat water comes to 50–60%, while that of photovoltaic cells (generating electricity) – 20%. Being already commercially available, the combination of solar collectors and

¹¹ <http://www.bloginea.pl/2009/01/27/dom-zeroenergetyczny-pod-olsztynem>.

PV cells, hybrid cells PV-T, allows obtaining annually 500 kWh of thermal energy and 150 kWh of electricity from a square meter out of a sloping roof (inclination of 35–45°) directed to the south. The efficiency of heat accumulation of soil under a building amounts for a minimum of 70 % (it is a proportion of energy taken from a heat reservoir to energy delivered therein by solar collectors).

Estimates indicate that 1000 kWh/m²/year x 0.5 x 0.7 = 350 kWh/m²/year of thermal energy and 150 kWh/m²/year of electricity can be obtained from 1000 kWh/m²/year of solar energy. Therefore, energy autonomy is possible even in multi-storey multi-family buildings. If PV-T collectors placed on the entire southern surface of a roof were complemented with a wind micro-turbine of a vertical axis of rotation and power of 3 KW, the energy generated would cover the whole demand of a house and of an electric car. Obviously, technologies of electricity accumulation currently applied necessitate smart grid in order to attain its optimal use.

There is also a different way to achieve balance in relations with the environment. A minor change in attitude, some sacrifices (to the benefit of humankind) and skilful resource management are enough to achieve high quality of life with modest resources. People who try to live in harmony with the environment seem to be very happy. Unfortunately, few of us are ready to give up “benefits of civilization” and to follow the path of low-tech evolution.

A mutual solution for both ways of assimilating a house to the ecosystem is to close the circulation of organic matter in the house-garden cycle. It necessitates sewage treatment in a home plant and composting of organic waste, and if we make an effort to use articles for a longer time and build a recycling system, the picture of a home, now a “waste factory”, will change dramatically.

Popularization and implementation of autonomous affordable houses

A few dozen years of negative experiences with the popularization of sustainable building indicate that most probably the

only effective way of its dissemination is to build model houses and create a market offer. Analyses carried out by the author show that thanks to the relationship between energy cost and cost of materials and appliances that raise the energy standard, low-energy buildings using market-proven technologies are very profitable.

In 2009, people who since years have been professionally dealing with various aspects of sustainable construction initiated the emergence of a group of companies interested in the implementation of the new standard. Their mission consists in construction of autonomous affordable houses (AAH). Among the initiators of the undertaking are eminent experts: architect Dariusz Śmiechowski, landscape architect Marcin Gąsiorowski, constructor Dariusz Koc – director on sustainable building in KAPE, Jacek Kostrzewa, co-organizer of Foundation for Energy Saving. They aim at developing and promoting the new standard in residential buildings. Unlike passive housing, whose idea consists of reducing energy use to 15 kWh/m²/year, AAH standard has an ambition to fulfil the highest requirements of sustainable building, in which energy efficiency at the stage of maintenance is only one out of many evaluation criteria. The main advantage of the AAH is affordability. In economic terms, it means the lowest level of housing expenditure on the market, understood as the sum of credit handling fees and running costs (which nowadays is prevalent is the demand based on information regarding only purchase costs). In the architectural dimension, houses should be accessible for the disabled. A parallel criterion of this standard is the autonomy in a potentially wide sense. It is one of the features of the ecosystem, therefore the AAH standard includes both a building and its surroundings whose optimal form could be a biocenotic garden. A house-garden system makes it possible to close the circulation of organic matter and to use sewage treated in mini-plants for irrigation. An appropriate project of a garden and a big supply of compost and water allow achieving a wealth of biodiversity and a huge amount of biomass in the neighbourhood. This creates optimal conditions for

relaxation and ideal educational measures counterbalancing the pressure of “concrete cities” and the virtual world of the Internet and computer games, which absorb our children. Recycling of organic waste and sewage within a plot can decrease running costs and bring additional benefits in the form of a beautiful garden, which cannot be overestimated. Furthermore, it provides its own herbs, vegetables and fruits, whose growing is one of the most pleasant hobbies at a mature age and, as uncontaminated food, a great advantage for the health of the youngest. Autonomy means also complete security in case of a power failure. Its achievement is possible due to the high energy efficiency and the optimal use of solar and wind energy.

Energy independence of autonomous affordable houses

Energy autonomy poses a challenge of a special kind, especially if we refrain from the combustion processes that in small household installations are the source of harmful emissions into the atmosphere. It can be achieved provided we take advantage of the sunlight falling on the southern or eastern and western surface of a roof throughout the year. It means, however, the necessity of storing thermal energy in a heat reservoir under a building in summer for its use in winter. Independence of a power grid does not mean cutting off, but secures the appropriate functioning of a house in case of a long-term failure, especially in the coldest and darkest months. The possibility of realizing this postulate has emerged together with the commercialization of hybrid cells PV-T (generating electricity and thermal energy). The cost of PV-T cells is only 25% higher than of the PV cells that produce only electricity and prices of both are falling quickly. In combination with a fan of a vertical axis of rotation and a system of batteries, these cells can provide supplies of electricity for driving circulating pumps, heat pumps, ventilators, diode lighting and 50-100 W for a computer. The attainment of energy autonomy raises radically the level of security, given the extent to which households are dependent on electricity and on even more

frequent failures of the power grid. The current way of building transforms houses into dangerous traps, when power failures occur during big freezes. The independence of the power grid in the heating season means an energy surplus in summer, which can be transferred to the grid. Such a situation is advantageous for distributors of electricity who are obliged to buy renewable energy in a specified and even greater amount. An additional benefit arises from the location of the energy source directly at its final receiver, which minimizes connection costs, reduces energy losses in the grid and lowers financial losses in case of a failure. Therefore, distributors of electricity should be interested in the support of these solutions. The first, yet imperfect, example of such action on the Polish market is the offer of Energa, a distribution company in the energy sector¹². It provides single-family housing with alternative sources of energy. Nowadays, the construction of a house generating energy surplus is not a technical challenge and many such buildings came into existence in Europe and worldwide¹³. Unfortunately, high costs of these solutions, resulting mainly from their experimental nature, make them out of reach for the majority of potential investors. After many simulations and market research, the above mentioned initiators took on the challenge of constructing an autonomous affordable house. A prototype has been designed; initial simulations confirmed that it is possible to fulfil the criterion of affordability understood as the lowest on the market sum of capital and maintenance costs throughout loan repayment. Work upon optimization of technical solutions that could minimize construction costs is in progress.

¹² <http://www.smarteco.pl>

¹³ www.zeroenergyideahouse.com/; www.zokazola.com/prj_adams_zeroenergy.html; http://www.energysavers.gov/your_home/designing_remodeling/index.cfm/mytopic=10360; www.zeroenergyhouse.co.nz/; http://www.quadlock.com/green_building/five_step_zero_energy_house.htm; www.zeroenergyhouse.co.nz/; <http://www.toolbase.org/Home-Building-Topics/zero-energy-homes/zero-energy-home-project>; <http://www.zeroenergy.com/>; <http://zeb.buildinggreen.com/> - ten fajny; <http://www.zerobuildings.com/>; <http://mississippi.ashrae.org/7.org/files/Getting%20to%20Zero-Energy%20Buildings--AEDGs%20to%20ZEBs.pdf> to pdf; <http://timbercreekzeroenergyhouse.com/>; <http://www.zerobuildings.com/the-timbercreek-zero-energy-house/>; <http://www.buildingscience.com/documents/case-studies/cs-tx-lewisville-greencraft>

Future of autonomous affordable houses

Only a few steps were taken on the way towards the popularization of sustainable building industry. It has to be kept in mind that affordability is not the only barrier. It is more difficult to combat investors' mental barriers and competence of designers and contractors. The construction of an autonomous house requires both precision and a technical culture that are rarely found on the construction market. Popularization of such building necessitates educational effort, which is troublesome without aid from the state. It is worth remembering that qualifications indispensable in the construction of the AAH are practically identical with these concerning thermomodernization of resources. The latter should comprise at least 80% of residential buildings and other facilities whose energy standard in Poland is very low. It means that there is a potential labour market for hundreds of thousands of employees and demand for such services is guaranteed by savings in heating/cooling costs, whose rapid increase is inevitable due to the energy policy of the state.

The popularization of the AAH is not hampered by technological or economic obstacles, but solely by mental barriers and the lack of knowledge. It would be relatively easy to overcome them if the state participated in the action, especially through implementation of constitutional and treaty commitments and by shaping legislature in a way securing "ecological security for current and future generations", as well as leading to "prudent and rational utilisation of natural resources". It requires the modernization of education on building lines of studies from a post-primary level through studies at technical universities towards dissemination of the principles of sustainable development, which unfortunately is not subject to any kind of reflection. It is necessary to initiate incentives for investors, since they can effectively contribute to a dynamic increase in energy standard in "old Europe". The state, through its institutions such as bank supervision, could make bank sys-

tems consider risks related to excessive running costs of buildings. This would result in a decrease of interest for people building energy-saving houses. The National Fund for Environmental Protection could cover part of investments in autonomous houses, as is the case in many European countries.

Special area – social housing

Social housing is a further area for which activism on the side of the state would have the enormous significance not only for the protection of the environment and natural resources, but also for social development. A manifestation of such action, yet not very consistent, was the Act on Social Housing Associations limiting running costs¹⁴. Actually, SHAs were (are) provided for the moderately rich.

Particularly harmful are practices adopted in social housing. Buildings destined for the poorest are subject to tendering procedures whose only criterion is price. This leads to the construction of facilities of a very low energy standard, just like in commercial buildings. Furthermore, these buildings are most frequently heated with the most expensive energy and, in the Polish reality, the dirtiest energy – electricity – in order to reduce costs even more and to avoid problems with cutting tenants off if they fail to pay bills for heating. It means that families, often with small children, who receive such flats, are doomed to live in very bad thermal conditions. A difference between costs of zero-energy buildings and the cheapest ones provisioned by law comes to less than 5% of costs of social housing construction. The extent to which current ways of building squander resources exceeds costs of construction.

¹⁴ Regulation of the Council of Minister of the 4th July 2000 on conditions and allocation mode of credit and loans from resources of the National Housing Fund and on some requirements concerning premises and building financed from these funds. Chapter 4. Energy performance of building financed from the Fund's credit (...) § 16. Established are the following special requirements as regards energy performance of buildings that are built, rebuilt, extended, altered or adapted with the use of Fund's resources: 1) value of E indicator that specifies computational demand for final consumption (heat) for heating in the heating season, determined with accordance to the Polish norm concerning the measurement of seasonal demand for heating of residential buildings should be at least 15% lower than limit value E₀, specified in technical and building regulations.

As no one will be able to pay energy bills, such “slums” will have to be pulled down, unless government introduces investigated projects of electricity bills subventions for the poorest. Should they be brought into effect and secured surcharge, even if only for the cost of electrical heating, then, with the energy standard of social housing and electricity price, it can amount to $150 \text{ kWh/m}^2/\text{year} \times 0.5 \text{ PLN/kWh} = 75 \text{ PLN/m}^2/\text{year}$, i.e. as much as a rent in SHA buildings. If funds allotted for subsidies were allocated for enhancement of energy efficiency, social houses would not need any external energy sources.

No signs of changes in ecological and energy policies in Poland together with the low social awareness of the society mean that the only opportunity for the development of sustainable construction is to build model facilities and promote them by means of many organizations and people caring for the quality of the environment. The efficacy of such popularization is conditioned on the inclusion of the socially responsible industry investing in technologies that support sustainable development.

9.

Edwin Bendyk

Green New Deal – Towards Realistic Utopia

The World Economic Forum in Davos is a good indicator of moods among international establishments. In January 2008 “the grimmest Forum in the history” took place, as the *Financial Times* assessed. Well, the tsunami wave of the crisis has not yet gained its impetus. Two years later “optimism” was the most frequently used word by the show-offs gathered in the Swiss resort. This word perfectly reflected the spirit of economic statistics: the German GDP rose by 3.6% in 2010, the Chinese kept in shape and they reported that a next year in a row finished with a growth of over 10%.

The world economy is getting back on the path of growth – this is the main message which suppressed any doubts, nuances and questions discussed by Davos in 2008. The fetishism of growth is coming back with all power, because it is urgently needed by politicians. It constitutes the base of calculations of how to repay enormous public debts which many countries run up during months of fighting against the crisis. Who keeps in mind criticism of using the GDP as the indicator, criticism which led Nicholas Sarkozy to appoint the “Commission on Measurement of Economic Performance and Social

Progress”? It consisted of Joseph Stiglitz, Amartya Sen and Jean-Paul Fitoussi, their work resulted in an excellent report. Who remembers it now?

It ended up on a shelf, just like the proposition of taxation on financial transactions, the so-called Tobin tax, was again put out to pasture. It is worth recalling that James Tobin postulated it already in 1972, just after the birth of financial capitalism, namely a year after the separation of dollar exchange rate from gold. There is no telling whether this solution could have saved the world from the subsequent pathologies of financialisation of the economic system (dominance of the financial sector in the economy). It is, however, significant that the attempt to regulate the most parasitic form of capitalism is again torpedoed by a recovering financial mafia.

It is even more symptomatic as it necessitates the critical question about other important ideas that have made their way into public debate in the times of the crisis fever. The most crucial ones include the Green New Deal and its varieties such as Barack Obama’s green technological revolution or

Nicholas Stern's green industrial revolution. Will the positive GDP make them land on a shelf next to works by Stiglitz, Sen and Tobin? Many things indicate that world leaders believe in the come-back of "business as usual" and in the possibility that the social and economic system which led to the crisis can remain and develop. Some of them believe zealously and they do not let themselves be disturbed by any doubts. Others repeat their creed with silent resignation, without enthusiasm, but also without protest. The reason for this is the common conviction that there is no alternative to the free market capitalism. The rest is PR.

Every faith needs miracles and works miracles. They are supposed to prevent potential crisis-provoking phenomena in the future. No resources? There is no such thing, the best example being Poland, which expects to become the Kuwait of the North thanks to the immeasurable reserves of shale gas and carbon dioxide that will be transformed into fuel by brave Polish scientists. And what about the effects of burning fossil fuels? What about climate change? Cool it! This slang expression is useful here, because Bjorn Lomborg, enfant terrible of climate debate, together with his experts assessed that instead of struggling against the emissions of greenhouse gases we should refer to the most profitable solution - geoengineering. At the same time we should not neglect investments in the development of new technologies that in the future will allow combating ecological, climate and energy problems effectively and forever.

Mary Midgley, a British philosopher dealing with reflection on ecology and development, has no doubt that despite the achievements of the Enlightenment we are still imprisoned in fetters of religious thinking, only the objects of faith have changed. Due to this power of faith, we regard the things we believe in as more real than these that actually exist. During the European conference on the sustainable development in Brussels in 2009, Midgley recalled that nowadays the strongest religion is the economy, the most abstract branch of science. Its power is reflected in the fact that nowadays all over

the world people treat money as something more real than goods they buy. This applies also to politicians and economists who deem the GDP as more real than what is happening in their own countries and in the world.

Unfortunately, as Midgley worried, the greatest mystery of a human is the psychology of denial, inability to modify one's attitude despite all inflowing facts. This is why, despite alarming facts, participants of the Forum in Davos behave in keeping with the cognitive model structured by the myth of the GDP and the economic growth reflecting the faith in the possibility of endless progress and salvation already here, on Earth. Innovations that are supposed to free people from worldly constraints do not differ from miracles that the Catholic Church expects from the candidates for saints.

However, what will happen if we collect easily available information and create a different cognitive scheme? First, a handful of facts. The Chinese GDP grew by 10%, this is true. However, due to the ecological cost incurred, we ought to subtract at least 3 percentage points from the nominal growth. Simultaneously, the individual consumption in China rose by 18%, pressures on higher remuneration also increased. This time authorities responded in a friendly manner - the minimum wage in Beijing rose by 20% and owners of factories had to raise wages by even several dozen percent, as they could no longer count that police will pacify striking workers. As a result, production costs grew by several dozens of percent. Farewell cheap T-shirts from China!

"Hurrah!" is uttered by the Western liberals from the Francis Fukuyama's school of thought. Chinese are getting richer, the Chinese middle class is growing (in the next two decades it is supposed to have another 250 million members). Internal demand and awareness are on the rise, democratic requests can appear every moment. Oh well, but how to satisfy a greater appetite of the growing middle class? In the next twenty years the Chinese have to build an energy system that Americans have been constructing for 100 years. Richer Chinese

people follow different consumer patterns (a shift in a diet from rice to dairy products and meat implies a significantly bigger ecological footprint). Due to the annual reports by the WWF, it is a well-known fact that the ecological footprint of humans started crushing the ecosystem a long time ago. Herman Daly, a pioneer of ecological economy, stated that already in the 1980s the level of environmental exploitation exceeded its ability to recover.

A person full of faith should evaluate these facts with optimism and a certainty that miracles are the answer, i.e. innovations provided easily by the invisible hand of the market. However, these facts can also be analysed as part of a different cognitive scheme. "This is not the end of the crisis, but of the capitalism!", persuaded Immanuel Wallerstein in *Foreign Policy* in January 2011. Indifferent to the optimism of his colleagues who went to Davos, he reminded that the capitalism is a historic and not natural system of social and economic relations. Its idea is a constant accumulation of capital, possible thanks to the production of additional value. Its source is a difference between production costs and price paid by clients.

Throughout 500 years of capitalism the driving force of the accumulation was derived from the exploitation of workers and from lowering of costs by means of hiding disadvantageous effects of development in the so-called external effects, such as the ecological devastation. When it comes to the environment, as already mentioned, people live on its credit since the 1980s. The time of repayment has come. The calculation was presented by Nicholas Stern in his report from the end of 2006. If we fail to internalise costs of environmental and climate devastation and if we do not counteract the escalation of this phenomenon actively, the costs of "ecological credit service" will amount to 25% of GDP. The flood in Australia at the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011 is a perfect illustration of these of Stern's report.

The internalisation of costs means the increase in the functioning costs of the econ-

omy, thus a decrease in gain rates and in the level of accumulation. Pay demands by the Chinese will have the same consequences. China and India were the last reservoirs of cheap workforce. It could be engaged to raise the effectiveness of the world capitalism which markedly got short of breath between the 1970s and the 1980s. We have lost our relief: even Chinese people try to protect themselves by moving factories to Vietnam and Bangladesh. Wallerstein has no doubts – the capitalism as a system is close to an end, because the possibility to accumulate is exhausted. Minqi Li, a Chinese economist working currently in the University of Utah, follows in his footsteps. In 1989 Li participated in a protest on the Tiananmen Square, which cost him a few years in a Chinese prison. He devoted this time for thinking, which led him to a discovery that the capitalist awakening of China means nothing more than a harbinger of the end of the capitalism. Minqi Li developed Wallerstein's conceptions by showing that the problem has resulted not only from the exploitation of accumulative mechanisms. In order to function, the capitalism necessitated also a proper political structure, a system of world and economy whose important elements were competing countries and a hegemonic leader, a dominant political and economic actor.

A strong, yet not excessively, hegemonic leader was necessary to regulate the competition from a higher systemic level. Countries left alone fell in the logic of politics of power balance, which always ends in a disaster. A hegemonic leader possessing excessive power allows for weakening of this logic. The experiment with Europe united after the Second World War was possible only because the hegemonic leader, the United States, brought the old continent under a protective umbrella, thanks to which France, Germany and Italy could resign from the development of armed forces and concentrate on cooperation and development.

The hegemonic position of the USA is eroding, which can be illustrated with the striking examples of the Iraqi war in 2003 and the Climate Summit in Copenhagen in 2009.

Such a short period is sufficient to prove that the process of degradation of the global system based on the US dominance and of the involvement of new actors can go through very quickly. The problem is the lack of candidates for hegemonic leaders. The history of capitalism indicates, as Li persuades, that subsequent reshuffles in the system of the world and the economy consisted in the emergence of next dominators able to influence the increasingly complex system. Amsterdam was strong enough to control the world and the economy restricted to Europe, Great Britain sufficed to monitor the system of the 19th century and the United States, a country and a continent in one, was necessary to supervise the globalized capitalism. There is no further stage, at least in the logic according to which historic capitalism has developed. Its economic and political resources are depleted.

What is more, the psychological reserves for the capitalism are also exploited, as emphasized by the philosopher Bernard Stiegler. The last developmental phase of this system, known also as the cognitive capitalism, consisted not only in the exploitation of environmental and human reserves, but also of the deepest psychological resources. Modern marketing strategies have set human subconsciousness, emotions and desires to the productive work; this was necessary to drive the consumer yearnings. Here, however, the system has entered the ultimate contradiction. The modern marketing can stimulate demand and consumer wishes, but meeting this demand requires a supply of new products and services, which in turn necessitates the development of innovative potential. This potential is being depleted due to the progressive proletarianisation of mental work. People subject to marketing programming lose their creativity; they become consumers, proletarians of the cognitive capitalism, an epoch based on hyper-consumerism.

We are given two intellectual schemes: optimism of faith according to which capitalism is doing well and inherently possesses solutions for future challenges or the conviction that capitalism is exploited and we are witnessing its painful death.

The Green New Deal seems to be the alternative that can reconcile realistic diagnosis with progressive optimism. In short, it means an attempt to reform the system without changing its principles, similarly to the reform of the New Deal after the Great Depression of the interwar period. The crisis has unfolded ailments of the system which can yet be treated. The unregulated, pathologic system of world finances can be subjected to political regulations so that it no longer dominates the entire reality. The system of the real economy can be modernized by initiating a green industrial revolution, as projected by Nicholas Stern. It is enough to channel a sufficient flow of public investments for the development of green technologies. Obviously, this alone is not sufficient to create a new, green and sustainable economy.

The historic New Deal was surprising not only because state intervention succeeded in rescuing the economy. At the same time, it led to a deep transformation of the social and political system (with such experiments like the Soviet communism and the Nazism in the background), which was expressed by means of the welfare state. It is relatively easy to imagine reshaping of a productive base as part of the Green New Deal. However, it is unfortunately more difficult to imagine the social and political model of the Green New Society.

If it remains a capitalist society, then problems indicated by Wallerstein, Li and Stiegler will inevitably come back. Observations and analyses showed that there is no way to reconcile the capitalism with sustainable management, because it necessarily implies the priority of public investments over demand and individual consumption. Investments have to be directed for the benefit of the development of sustainable and green sectors of the economy and individual consumption must be limited.

The authors of the New Economics Foundation report on the Green New Deal, just like Minqi Li, have no doubts that this goal can be attained only in the system of centrally-coordinated economy. Li stated explicitly that only a socialist economy is able

to secure sustainable development. Such a proposition is not startling; Hans Jonas arrived at similar conclusions years ago when he wrote *The imperative of responsibility*. We should, however, bear in mind that the states of the real socialism falsified these assumptions – the economies of the Polish People’s Republic, the GDR and the USRR functioned in the state of permanent environmental catastrophe. Unmoved by historic experience, Li and the authors of the NEF report, provide Cuba as an example of a model compatible with the post-capitalist Green New Deal. Naturally, their interest in Cuba should not be read as an expression of admiration for Castro’s regime, but rather as an attempt to analyse the ability of the society to function in chronic deficiencies of resources. Regardless of how many positive conclusions can be derived from the Cuban case, one thing is certain. A trial to implement this model as a way to realize the Green New Deal would end in a political disaster. Even the Chinese (or maybe especially them) would not agree to reduce consumption rapidly. Would it be then possible in a democratic country?

Unfortunately, no positive example can be given. Efforts of the green modernization undertaken in Scandinavian countries prove nothing. If we honestly evaluated ecological effects in a full life cycle cost analysis, it would turn out that it is difficult to find “decoupling”, i.e. separation of the development from negative ecological effects, which are produced outside Sweden, Norway or Finland. If Britain assessed precisely, what is the effect of post-industrial dematerialization of their economy, they would find out that its ecological footprint is higher than in the industrial age. It was enough to count the carbon emissions necessary to produce goods imported by the British.

Therefore, caution should be exercised, since the Green New Deal can easily become greenwashing, an instrument of the world reorganization of capitalism based on the new productive basis – green technologies. The problem is that such a transformation cannot be carried out. All efforts will end in a deepening chaos, a fight for in-

fluence and resources (the best illustration being the problem of rare elements, necessary to produce wind turbines and electronics for new energy systems – 95% of them is generated in China, one of the greatest reserves of lithium for batteries is in Tibet). In this sense, as Wallerstein, Li and Stiegler proved, history is heading towards the end.

Is the Cuban model then the only alternative? It is worth referring to the statement by Mary Midgley. In the lecture in Brussels she reminded that people are not able to imagine the future. They are too focused on the present. The green capitalism or the green Cuban socialism do not, therefore, make sense, as they both stand no chance of survival. None is sustainable, yet for different reasons.

In order to imagine the future and the Green New Deal (it is worth remembering that when the New Deal was shaped, no one could know which social and political order would come into existence), we should first begin with the analysis of historic theory by Paul Romer. This excellent economist persuaded that the main developmental factors are not capital or work, but innovations. If society is faced with the challenge of lacking resources, there are several ways to respond to this problem. Either a war aimed at taking what is missing or a new, more effective manner of producing goods and services, i.e. technical innovation.

However, it is not enough to change the reality. The optimal use necessitates non-technical innovations – principles such as legal, social and cultural systems. A better efficiency of food production was achieved with the discovery of agriculture, which required also such non-technical innovations as the ownership law to land and the feudal political system. Capitalism was possible thanks to the combination of two waves of innovation – technical and socio-political innovations. It would not have come into existence, here the supplementary remarks by Max Weber, without the proper culture sustaining functional norms for the system based on accumulation: the respect for individual achievements, an autotelic dimension of labour, praise for thrift and the ability

to postpone immediate prize in the name of greater satisfaction in the future.

Following Romer and Weber, it would have to be stated: true, the only technical solution of problem related to the end of capitalism and the upcoming ecological catastrophe is the next wave of green innovations. Such a wave cannot be generated by dying capitalism, we cannot also count on the Cuban socialism. The condition for the success of the New Deal is a deep reform of the state and the legitimization of public actors. As a result, the welfare state emerged, a consequence of social agreement between key actors.

The concept of the Green State is a good departure point for constructing the social and political systems for the Green New Deal. It has been well presented by Robyn Eckersley in the book *The Green State. Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*. A short description of this idea is presented below (I am referring to *Przewodnik Krytyki Politycznej „Ekologia”* [Guidebook Ecology by the Political Critique]):

“(…) a traditional liberal country is not able to implement the policy of sustainable development, because it is in a way contradictory to the genetic structure of such a state and its sovereignty shaped in the historical process. The element of such independence is the idea of *raison d'état*, the reason of the State, superior to society or the environment. The liberal state is imprisoned in fetters of rationality that are not adjacent to the challenges of political ecology and the obsolete conception of political subjectivity is equally problematic as the out-dated formula of the reason of the State.

The liberal state is anthropocentric, its subject is *Homo economicus*, a human endowed with the hypertrophy of a specific form of reasoning. Just as the state in international relations is driven by *raison d'état* meaning maximisation of own interests, so does *Homo economicus*, a rational egoist who in everyday activities is guided by the principle of maximal benefits. The liberal state and the liberal subject understood in such a way were supposed to express a natural rationality of the reality.

Apparently, however, the reality has gone crazy now or the liberal model has been exhausted (this is the reason why there is no way to obtain a binding international agreement on climate policy; this is hindered by particular agendas where no place can be found for values such as sustainable development or justice). Is it possible to imagine a post-liberal state which would not question achievements of the liberal state, but develop them in a form that is appropriate for the challenges of political ecology?

The condition for the post-liberal state, or in words by Eckersley “ecological democratic state”, is to reflect upon its structure. This postulate means the extension of rationality frames within which the state functions so that the realization of its agenda involves transnational risk assessment (as did Nicholas Stern in his report). It requires also democratization of democracy, i.e. renewal of a public sphere by the promotion of social participation and by deliberalisation. This postulate implies further ones. First, an ecological democratic state should be eco-centric and not anthropocentric. Eco-centric means that a human, as the only actor in social life that is able to articulate their needs, is not superior to the ecosystem, but understands that he/she is an integral part of it. This in turn means that the human ability to articulate one's agenda and to transform it into a policy imposes a mission that consists in expanding the area of political representation onto the whole ecosphere. In other words, people in the political process must represent themselves and their surrounding environment, *oikos*.

This postulate has nothing to do with romanticism, it coincides with the conception of “politics of nature” by Bruno Latour (Eckersley does not, however, make any such references). A wider area of a political representation requires, as already mentioned, reconstruction and renewal of the public sphere, as well as the revival of the sphere of knowledge production. In the model of the liberal state, Science held a monopoly on deciding what is true. It was the status of the science that sanctioned the specialist discourse which replaced the necessity to

represent the non-human world politically. It acted in the political process in the form of predictions formulated in an authoritarian way by the Science. The climate crisis has spectacularly exposed the inefficiency of the model. It does not work in a situation when it is impossible to predicate with a full certainty, because the accessible knowledge only allows assessing risks and probability of some events, but without any interpretation. The democratisation of democracy does not only mean democratization of political process by means of reflection and the increase in the significance attached to the deliberalisation in political action, but also by the democratization of production and popularization of knowledge.

An ecological democratic state is, therefore, eco-centric, post-liberal, just, reflexive, namely it is systemically supplied in the ability to criticize own activities by referring to the extended formula of rationality, which exceeds a narrow sovereignty of the *raison d'état*.”

Is the transformation of the contemporary liberal state to the Green State possible? Yes, if it is accompanied by a deep transformation of culture in keeping with the spirit of the Green New Deal. Alain Touraine, a French sociologist, wrote in the book *Après la crise* that the world has entered the age of a great cultural change. The driving force is post-feminism, i.e. the process of real transfer of power to women. They are systemically accumulating the most vital future capitals: knowledge and social capital. Already now they are better educated than men, both in developed and developing countries. Nothing can stop this tendency in the perspective of the next few decades. Increasing hegemony of women will be accompanied by the development of a new culture. Will it be consistent with the Green New Deal?

This question is fundamental, but there is no way to answer it now in an unequivocal way. The only certain thing is that it will be shaped in a confrontation with the mentioned forces of the psychology of denial, which was particularly indicated by Mary Midgley. There is no better illustration

of this problem than the situation in Poland and the attempt to introduce the discourse of the green modernization to the mainstream of political and public discussions (as well as of awareness of gender changes). This process is fascinating, because major forces influencing the shape of the public discourse question the legitimacy of knowledge concerning issues such as anthropogenic global warming. Actors appearing on the public scene, from high representatives of Polish Academy of Sciences through economists functioning as celebrities to politicians, either challenge the findings of institutions like IPCC or use safe formulas “uncertain status of scientific knowledge”. Uncertain knowledge cannot be a foundation of political action. However, it is necessary to undertake action, as required by international commitments, e.g. the EU membership. There is no way out, a membership in an exclusive club costs. If the European Union uses the language of green modernization by initiatives like climate and energy packages, this language has to be domesticated. This occurs by means of two main threads of narration. The first one tries to reconcile a dominant cognitive perspective in Poland (denial) with the action proposed by the European Union. A cognitive dissonance can be avoided by a golden formula, used e.g. by the Minister of the Environment - even if anthropogenic global warming did not exist, it would have to be invented, because it forces to take positive action aimed at saving resources.

As regards rhetoric we are in keeping with the European mainstream, however, a weak cognitive basis (questioning facts about the anthropogenic climate change) allows formulating subsequent statements in the following way: green modernization – of course, but not at the cost of economic growth. As a result, we are observing a systemic evolution of rhetoric sphere: the National Programme for the Reduction of Emissions of Greenhouse Gases changed into the National Programme for the Development of a Low Emission Economy. However, such rhetoric does not even try to hide that it is all about the maintenance of the status quo.

Such a position seems to be the most rational. According to the cognitive premises, if we reject the anthropogenic global warming, we have the right to assume that so do other people, which is why they perceive the idea of green modernization as an instrument in the fight for a new, political and economic order in the period after the crisis. If so, then the reason of the State imposes on us to resist costly commitments as long as possible. With a bit of luck, it will be possible to wait for the salvation in the silhouette of a miracle, e.g. shale gas.

The psychology of denial in practice reminds of a sane scepticism, but in fact it is basically different. A sceptic respects facts, yet (s)he tries not to jump to conclusions too rapidly. A person driven by the psychol-

ogy of denial does not accept facts, since he or she possesses other sources of knowledge. Such a strategy is doomed to failure and every accidental success seemingly confirms the validity. If, sooner or later, it comes to a disastrous clash with the reality standing behind these facts, the blame can be shifted on external factors.

The psychology of denial, although in Poland it has taken extraordinarily fierce forms of expression, is not a distinctive feature of our country, but it is rather typical for the human species, as indicated by Mary Midgley. Unfortunately, it is a cold comfort. Similarly, we can derive no satisfaction from the observation that the majority of personages gathering in Davos behave like a crew in a plane that attempts to land in a fog.

10.

Manifesto for the European election campaign 2009

A Green New Deal for Europe

Europe needs a new direction. The financial crisis and credit crunch have brought the failings of current economic and social policies sharply into focus. They have exposed a wider systemic failure. The world is facing a serious and fundamental resource crunch that will impact on every aspect of our lives, from the food we eat to the energy we use. We are also at risk of running out of time to prevent a full-blown climate crisis.

These 'crises' should be seen as an opportunity to transform our economic and social system into one that will offer generations-to-come a future based on stability, sufficiency and sustainability.

Europe faces social, economic and environmental challenges that transcend borders. As the financial crisis once again demonstrated, only by cooperating - at European and global level - can we rise above these challenges. This requires a European Union acting strongly for the future of all its citizens and residents. **The Greens want to build solutions for a sustainable future.**

Rising to the challenges brings real opportunities. Shifting to a greener economy and

combating climate change will boost employment and make us more self-sufficient, reducing our damaging reliance on energy imports. A more sustainable approach to our agricultural, marine and energy resources is crucial at a time when energy and food prices are hitting low and middle income people hard.

The Greens want a responsible Europe.

The European Union should defend social systems and labour conditions from the pressures of fierce and unfettered competition, both within Europe and beyond. Economic interests must not come at the expense of human and civil rights. The European Union must listen and be accountable to its citizens and residents, while championing peace, democracy and human rights around the world.

The dominant neoliberal ideology in Europe has established a system where the interests of the few come before the general well-being of its citizens. They have put the profits of polluting industries ahead of the environment and public health. The mantra of competitiveness and growth has been used to lower social standards and

labour conditions. The neoliberal majority in the European Parliament, the Council and the European Commission is guilty of bowing to the demands of industry lobbies, putting short-term profits before the general interest. **The Greens offer a real alternative for Europe.**

The Green New Deal means: a Europe of solidarity that can guarantee its citizens a good quality of life based on economic, social and environmental sustainability; a truly democratic Europe that acts for its citizens and not just narrow industry interests; a Europe that acts for a green future.

A real alternative for Europe: securing our energy and environmental future

We need a resource revolution to shift from our present course of over-exploitation and environmental destruction. If we continue to ravage our finite natural resources, we will need two planets to sustain our lifestyles within 25 years. This course is not just economically unsustainable, it seriously threatens our climate, ecosystems and biodiversity.

Business as usual is not an option. The impact of a resource crunch and dangerous climate change would dwarf that of any financial and economic crisis. Thankfully, most of the solutions are already at hand. The current economic slowdown is an opportunity to transform our system, so that we can avoid the extremes of the resource and climate crises, and secure a good quality of life.

If we are to avoid dangerous climate change, we need to seriously reduce our greenhouse gas emissions. The Greens want the EU to commit to emissions reductions of 40% by 2020 and 80-95% by 2050, based on 1990 levels, in line with the current recommendations of the UN IPCC. Europe must also play a leading role in forging a binding international climate agreement under the UN framework based on the latest updated science. This agreement must commit industrialised countries to the necessary

emissions reductions, as well as recognising their responsibility to support mitigation and adaptation efforts in developing countries, including reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, particularly from tropical forests.

Combating climate change is a win-win process. A combination of ambitious and binding targets, of incentives and of public investments into green technologies and services will help create millions of green jobs in Europe and tens of millions worldwide, which are much needed at a time of economic slowdown. The EU must set itself the target of creating five million green collar jobs over the coming five years.

We must significantly improve on the currently wasteful way we use energy, while massively expanding energy from renewable sources. This will reduce our dangerous dependence on the import of dirty energy from unstable countries, with the damaging volatility this causes for our economies and societies.

We must capitalise on the already-existing ways to save energy. Using less energy and using it better will be crucial to maintaining a good quality of life at a time of rising energy prices. **The Greens want Europe to place much greater priority on energy efficiency**, setting a binding target to reduce energy consumption 20% by 2020, as well as supporting and promoting the intelligent design of heating and cooling technology both in industry and in the housing sector.

Renewables must be put at the centre of European energy policy for the 21st Century. The Greens are calling for the creation of a European Renewables Community (ERENE) to support the long-term goal of 100% energy from renewable sources. We need a concerted investment drive in green technologies in which the European Investment Bank must play a role. A real renewables boom requires a new approach to energy supply: truly unbundling ownership of distribution and production, while promoting a grid without borders and the smarter use of energy.

Nuclear energy cannot be part of the solution to climate change. Expensive investments in this dead-end technology will not be able to contribute to the urgently-needed emissions reductions and will divert much-needed funds from the promotion of sustainable energy production.

Uranium is a finite fuel source and the EU is overwhelmingly dependent on imports from unstable countries, so nuclear is clearly not the answer to our long term energy security. On top of this, the associated risks of nuclear are as real now as they have always been, whether in terms of operation, fuel production or managing nuclear waste. This is not to mention the possibility of terrorist attacks and nuclear proliferation to questionable regimes and even rogue groups.

Revolutionising how we use energy and ending our damaging dependence on oil means we must also move green. Transport is the fastest growing source of man-made greenhouse gas emissions. **The EU needs to actively work to create a sustainable transport system.**

Ending the direct and indirect subsidisation of inefficient and polluting transport modes, like aviation and road transport, is an important step in ensuring the full environmental costs are taken into account. We want to speed-up investment in trans-European railroad connections and networks. Freight must be shifted from roads to rail and inland waterways on a much bigger scale. Affordable public transport and sustainable transport options in our cities, such as cycling and walking, must be promoted.

The resource crunch we face runs far beyond energy resources. A more sustainable approach to our agricultural and marine resources is vital for our wellbeing, the health of our ecosystems and their wealth of biodiversity.

The Greens want Europe to ensure its citizens have access to healthy food at fair prices, rather than the limited options the food industry wants to offer them. Farming, fishing and food policies should encourage

mutual responsibility between farmers, fishermen, authorities and consumers.

The Common Agricultural Policy has encouraged agricultural irresponsibility, with agro-industry dictating the market terms and gearing production to capitalise on subsidies, regardless of the environmental consequences. The Greens want to use the upcoming review to transform EU agricultural policy in a way that supports and encourages farmers to produce quality food in a sustainable way. The future of agriculture lies in organic farming and fair trade.

Crucial to this is a ban on genetically-modified organisms (GMOs). GM crops pose a serious threat to Europe's biodiversity, as well as the risks of cross-contaminating organic and conventional farming. For this reason, **the Greens are working to make the European Union a GMO-free zone.**

Farming and food policies should promote local markets for agricultural products, eliminating unnecessary transportation. They must encourage more sustainable production methods that aim to conserve biodiversity and water resources, and enhance soil fertility, reducing the use of toxic and polluting pesticides and fertilisers. This approach will help reduce greenhouse gas emissions from intensive agriculture. It will also reduce the risks to public health caused by industrial farming. Animals must be treated ethically, in agriculture as in all other contexts.

Achieving high levels of animal protection is central to the Green agenda. Europe needs much higher levels of protection for both domestic and wild animals. We will continue to work to end the long distance transport of animals, for higher welfare standards for animal farming, and for better implementation of existing animal welfare legislation. More needs to be done to promote a reduction in meat consumption for reasons of climate change, food security, and animal welfare. We want to see the end of the fur trade, and a swift replacement of animal tests with non-animal alternatives.

The Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) has been an exercise in self-destruction, driving

many fish stocks to precarious levels. It needs to be urgently reformed away from the current model of waste and over-exploitation, to a tool which gives fishermen responsibility for sustainably managing fisheries and conserving fish stocks. The EU also needs to greatly enhance binding measures to protect our vulnerable seas and has to revise its exploitative fishing agreements with African countries.

A healthy Europe is a wealthy Europe. EU citizens are concerned about the safety of the air they breathe, the water they use and the food they eat. Environmental pollution damages public health, which in turn places a strain on societies and economies. The EU needs to do more to address the threats to public health, whether water- or air-borne, noise, toxic substances, or through the spread of diseases. The EU has to halt the loss of biodiversity at home and overseas territories.

Social justice and globalisation: Fighting for a fairer Europe

The system needs change. The Greens want to end the careless deregulation that has enabled big business to dictate its own terms regardless of the real impact on the economy and society at large. This approach encouraged the risky speculation and overexploitation that has trapped us in a damaging boom to bust cycle. We want to take this opportunity to **develop a new economy driven by long-term prosperity, not short-term profiteering.** We want a responsible and stable Europe, which invests ethically and where prosperity is defined by the wellbeing of all its people.

Financial markets must be put on a leash, so they cease to be casinos in which people's homes and livelihoods are the chips on the table. Their transnational nature demands a coordinated European response that leads and links in to international efforts. We need an EU-level watchdog with teeth – a body to scrutinise and regulate financial markets and services. EU regulations must rule out any kind of tax evasion and prevent harmful tax competition

for corporate revenues and savings, which undermines social justice. The regulation of the financial markets also implies the negotiation of an international agreement to outlaw all tax havens.

Credit must be tied to realistic valuations and risk. The worst excesses of uncontrolled markets must be reined in, particularly dangerous short-selling practices by traders, such as hedge funds. Astronomical financial sector salaries and bonuses that reward risk and recklessness must be capped. The Greens have long advocated the introduction of a financial transaction levy, which would reduce speculation and generate resources which could be used to finance various social and environmental goals that are presently overlooked or underfunded.

Financial markets must be restructured so that the general public can be offered protection. This means guaranteeing savings and keeping loans affordable. During the financial crisis, low-cost credit must be available to support European enterprises, especially those contributing to the shift towards a more sustainable Europe.

A Green New Deal calls for massive investment in education, science and research in green, future-oriented technologies to put Europe at the forefront of a global economic revolution.

A truly prosperous, innovative, stable and sustainable economy requires a fairer society guaranteeing fair working conditions, equal opportunities and a decent standard of living for all. Europe must defend social values and justice while adapting to the needs of changing times. Cutbacks on environmental protection or compromises on social values would be counterproductive.

The Greens want to strengthen workers' rights. The European Union suffers from profound imbalances. It has developed cutting edge rules on business competition, but labour legislation and social rights have not kept pace. Loopholes and uncertainties have led to decisions by the European Court of Justice

that tend to put business interest before workers' rights. Europe must lead by raising standards, rather than by a race to the bottom in terms of employment conditions. The Greens want a Europe that rejects social dumping and exploitation. Social and labour rights must be reinforced and workers must have a better say in decisions that affect them, through collective bargaining.

There must be equal pay for equal work for men and women alike, as well as for posted, immigrant or temporary workers. Equal opportunities for all must be guaranteed both within and outside the workplace and regardless of sex, age, ethnicity, disability, religion or sexual orientation.

EU policies that weaken public services in the name of competition must end. Public services such as health and education are crucial to the general interest and must not be frittered away by competition rules. We need to balance the freedom to provide social services and services of general interest with the obligation to guarantee equal, affordable and universal access to these services.

Nobody should suffer the indignity of living in poverty. The Green New Deal aims to reverse the widening gap between rich and poor and guarantee a decent minimum living standard for all Europeans. Governments should introduce minimum wages by law or collective agreements and a minimum income above the poverty line, guaranteed by social security, for all in need. The EU should be guided by the principle of equal pay for equal work and not be a battleground for the lowest wage.

Europe must offer greater stability to people of all ages. Senior citizens must be guaranteed a voice in society, enabling them to actively participate in economic, social and civic life. This implies guaranteeing sound pensions. Community-based services must exist to address the individual needs of the frail and vulnerable. Young people must have access to more secure jobs and better access to education, training and housing.

Europe must also play its part in building fairer societies and eliminating poverty in other parts of the world. We need to speed up efforts to deliver on the Millennium Development Goals. The principle of global social and environmental justice must guide all EU policies and its position in global institutions. The Greens want to ensure that European governments finally fulfil their long standing promises and raise EU overseas development aid to 0.56% of GDP by 2010 and 0.7% by 2015.

The Green New Deal puts fair trade first.

Trade must deliver a good deal for all involved. Europe's power in international negotiations is much too often used to strike a bargain for the rich at the economic, social and environmental expense of the poor. Export subsidies for EU agricultural products continue to threaten the economies of poor countries and must be stopped immediately. Socially unfair or environmentally-damaging practices by multinationals elsewhere in the world should be no more acceptable than they would be in our own backyard. Social and sustainable development clauses in trade partnerships should therefore be binding. The WTO must be made to transform its free trade agenda to a fair and sustainable trade agenda, putting the protection of common goods and poverty reduction first. **Europe must practice what it preaches.**

Democracy and human rights: a responsible EU that listens and is heard.

Europe needs to listen and everyone's voice should be heard. The Greens want to reform the EU, so that it can become a truly participatory democracy.

As the only EU institution directly-elected by the people, the European Parliament should be granted the right to initiate legislation. A proportion of MEPs should be elected on Europe-wide transnational lists, which would allow citizens to vote for candidates that represent the whole of the EU, rather than just their national or local constituency. More needs to be done to en-

courage young people to participate, for example by lowering the voting age. Citizens should also have the opportunity of direct democracy through European referenda on issues of Europe-wide concern.

The Greens will fight to apply the Charter of Fundamental Rights, to include all members of society and defend the rights of vulnerable and minority groups. This implies fighting for equal rights for women, ethnic minorities including the Roma, people with disabilities, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender people and religious minorities as well as for social and civil rights. This also means continuing the fight against racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and other religious intolerance, sexism, discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity and all forms of violent political extremism in the European Union. Human rights are for all, particularly within EU Member States.

The fundamental right of equality between men and women must be made a reality. Good legislation already exists but is scattered around Europe. The Greens want to see the best national laws applied across the EU, whether regarding equality, pro-choice issues, domestic violence, maternity and paternity leave or political representation. Only one-third of MEPs and European Commissioners are women. The Greens have an equal number of male and female MEPs and we want the EU to follow our lead.

The Greens demand full transparency for all involved in EU decision-making processes. This implies taking a tough stand against corruption at all levels. The EU itself must be more accountable to its public. It is time to open closed files and closed doors. The Greens will also continue to put the spotlight on the shady and powerful lobbies that seek to influence decisions in Brussels. **Transparency must be an obligation, not an option.**

Organised crime has become a transnational phenomenon and constitutes an emergency in many Member States. Its profits have been growing exponentially both within and

outside the EU. Efforts to prevent criminal organisations, while safeguarding civil liberties, is one of the priorities of the Greens.

Media play a crucial role in the democratic process. The Greens will continue to defend media pluralism and independence and freedom of the press in the European Union and beyond.

The Green New Deal stands for European values and individual freedoms. All who live here should enjoy freedom of opinion and religious expression within a secular society.

Hard-won rights and freedoms must not be sacrificed in the name of the “fight against terrorism” or alleged threats to security. The same applies online. The Greens believe that digital rights should be on a par with civil rights. Governments and commercial interests should not have primacy on your privacy. **Your data is your business.**

Europe has always been a continent of migration and immigration. A Green New Deal will deliver a European immigration policy that provides a fair chance for people who wish to live in the EU. The siege mentality of ‘Fortress Europe’ must not prevail.

Immigration is an opportunity, not a threat. We need positive-minded policies that will allow people to come here legally and efficiently. Immigrants who work in the EU deserve equal rights and equal pay, as well as the opportunity of European citizenship and the right to participate in the political process.

People who seek asylum in Europe deserve to be treated better. The Greens have opposed repressive laws on returning unauthorized migrants and will continue to fight inhumane or xenophobic legislation. Europe has a duty to provide shelter and protection to those who need it. Europe should be a bridge that will allow people to come and live here in a legal way. It will only be able to do this effectively when all EU countries share the effort instead of leaving border countries to take the strain. A revision of

the Dublin Convention, which aims to harmonise EU asylum policies and guarantees protection in line with international obligations, is a must. Europe must also do more to fight the despicable trafficking of men, women and children across its borders.

The European Union must lead by example in its engagement with the rest of the world: this implies a new style of foreign policy. It must devote its energy to solving root causes of international tensions and not just fighting their manifestations. The EU should strengthen multilateral bodies and international law, focus on civilian foreign policy instruments and follow the principle of maximum fairness in all of its external policies, including trade. European policies must champion peace, democracy and human rights in the world and do so consistently and coherently. The EU should also devote more energy and resources to support the international community (particularly the UN) in addressing conflicts that have been long overlooked.

International cooperation and humanitarian aid must be a priority. Establishing a European Civil Peace Corps ready to make non-military interventions for humanitarian purposes would play an important part of this.

We want a European Union that fosters democracy and human rights, while pro-

moting a pluralistic civil society across the globe. **Human rights must not be sacrificed in the name of economic interest.**

Delivering a Green New Deal for Europe

The Greens have fought for a sustainable, social and more democratic Europe since our entry into the European Parliament in 1984. Recognising the need for truly European solutions to European problems, we are the most closely cooperating political family in the European Parliament. This has helped us punch above our weight and have a much greater influence on decisions at European level than our numbers would otherwise allow.

We believe a Green New Deal is needed to overcome the financial, economic, resource, energy and climate crises we face. The Green New Deal means massive investments in sustainable sectors, putting the quality of life first and ensuring the creation of millions of 'green jobs'.

Realising the Green New Deal means building alliances. We will look for allies in civil society, in parliaments and in governments that will work to achieve this change of course. However, ensuring that Europe gets back on track means getting involved, convincing others and voting Green. You can influence what is happening in Europe.

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**GREEN EUROPEAN
FOUNDATION**

Green European Foundation

The Green European Foundation is the European level political foundation affiliated to the Green political family. GEF aims to contribute to a lively European sphere of debate and to 'Europeanise' the political debate within and beyond the Greens.

The foundation acts as a laboratory for new ideas, offers cross-border political education and a platform for cooperation and exchange at the European level.

www.gef.eu



Zielony Instytut

Zielony Instytut (The Green Institute) is the foundation dealing with the implementation of green ideas into political and social life and with the promotion of Green movement in Europe and worldwide. It works for the benefit of democracy, protection of common goods, human rights, civil society, freedom of every individual and self-determination of communities, cooperation and international solidarity, peace, sustainable development and responsible business. The foundation conducts its activities by means of publications, debates, conferences and workshops. The Green Institute cooperates with Greens 2004, the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions, Spaces for Dialogue Foundation, Research Centre on Future at Collegium Civitas and other green think-tanks from European countries.

www.zielonyinstytut.pl

HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG

Heinrich Böll Stiftung

Heinrich Böll Stiftung (The Heinrich Böll Foundation) is a part of the Green political movement. Our main tenets are ecology and sustainability, democracy and human rights, self-determination and justice. We are particularly involved in issues of social emancipation and gender equality in politics and society, respect for cultural and ethnic minorities, and the social and democratic participation of immigrants. We campaign for freedom from violence and an active peace policy.

The task of the Heinrich-Böll-Foundation in Central and Eastern Europe is to support the integration of expanded European Union and its Eastern neighbours. European identity and common values constitute both the subject and the point of reference for all regional activity of the Foundation.

www.boell.pl and www.boell.de