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Ilona Urych[*]
Mateusz Zapisek[**]

The perception of the COVID-19 pandemic threat in Poland. A health security study

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Abstract

The global threats posed by the COVID-19 pandemic offered an impetus for the study of the perception of these threats in Poland by professional groups, which in the course of their duties support state authorities in eliminating the effects of the outbreak of the coronavirus infection the capital city of Warsaw. The aim of this study was thus to identify how the threats caused by the COVID-19 pandemic were perceived in Poland. The analysis made it possible to formulate recommendations for dealing with subsequent phases of the epidemic. These are addressed to entities responsible for ensuring health security and may serve the purpose of more effective restoration of national security to the state it was in prior to the epidemic.

Keywords
health security, COVID-19 pandemic, threats, security, country, Poland

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Introduction

The dynamically changing reality brings about many dangers and challenges concerning nearly all dimensions of human existence, including health, and more broadly speaking, health security. On one hand, this may refer to the efforts of public administration to coordinate the dispersed elements of health, social and rehabilitation care, accident compensation, pensions, sickness benefits as well as occupational health and other benefits to meet the need for healthcare services and the means of subsistence. On the other, health security may be considered from the viewpoint of individuals who consider the available health care to be sufficient and the costs of treatment to be within their financial capacity, and who trust that in the event of the loss of their earning capacity they will have secured financial means enabling them to lead a decent life.[1] However, health security refers to the creation of optimal conditions to ensure the survival and development of people in terms of their physical, mental and social health. Such an interpretation of health security indicates that it is a process in which people strive for biological, psychological and social wellbeing, which enables them to function in many dimensions, and to pursue their life plans and aspirations. Health is the topmost value here, aimed at stimulating active human participation in various forms of physical culture.[2]

The global experience of 2020-2021 has shown that health security is currently mainly discussed from the perspective of protection against global health threats, with a particular focus on new infectious diseases. Thus, the threats posed by the COVID-19 pandemic have dominated the public and scientific discourse. There has been an increasing demand for interdisciplinary research involving researchers from the security sciences.[3] This situation has given rise to a new field of exploration, which is the perception of these threats. What seems particularly interesting is the perception of threats posed by the COVID-19 pandemic in Poland by professional groups who in the course of their duties support state authorities in eliminating the effects of the outbreak of the coronavirus infection in the capital city of Warsaw. The aim of this study was thus to identify how the threat brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic is perceived in Poland. The issues addressed in this article, although multifaceted and complex, required division into three main parts. The first part presents theoretical aspects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the second one – the research methodology and research results, while the third one presents the empirical results. The organisation of the narrative in this manner has made it possible to formulate a summary and concluding comments.

1. P. Supranowicz, M.J. Wysocki, J. Car, A. Dębska, A. Gębska-Kuczerowska, *Gotowość mieszkańców Warszawy do współpracy ze służbą zdrowia. II. Ocena bezpieczeństwa zdrowotnego i emerytalnego*, "Przegląd Epidemiologiczny", 2012, 66 (1), p. 150.

2. I. Urych, *Kultura fizyczna w kształtowaniu bezpieczeństwa zdrowotnego*, ASzWoj 2018, pp. 59–64.

3. F.M. Szymański, C. Smuniewski, A.E. Platek, *Will the COVID-19 Pandemic Change National Security and Healthcare in the Spectrum of Cardiovascular Disease?*, "Current Problems in Cardiology", 2020, 45 (9), pp. 1–9. DOI: 10.1016/j.cpcardiol.2020.100645

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Theoretical aspects of the COVID-19 pandemic

The first reports about a mysterious new disease that causes severe pneumonia began to flow from the city of Wuhan, China, in December 2019. This happened thanks to China's system for detecting unusual pneumonias following previous outbreaks of SARS and MERS. Initially, all cases were closely linked to a fish market in the Hubei province where live animals were traded, so Chinese scientists began to assume it was a zoonotic pathogen.[4] The Chinese government notified the World Health Organisation (WHO) about the new pathogen on 31 December 2019 when 44 cases of infection had been detected. On 9 January 2020, the whole world officially heard about the novel coronavirus, similar to SARS-CoV.[5]

In February 2020, the virus was named SARS-CoV-2 and the disease it causes was named COVID-19. Scientists indicated that it is the seventh virus from the coronavirus family known to infect humans. This group also includes the SARS-CoV virus which caused the 2002-2003 epidemic, and the MERS-CoV virus responsible for the Middle East respiratory syndrome. Other viruses in this group cause mild respiratory infections in humans and animals.[6]

The first symptoms of the COVID-19 infection appear between two and fourteen days after a contact with the pathogen.[7] The most common symptoms are fever, cough and shortness of breath, and fatigue. There are also non-specific symptoms such as weakness, muscle and joint pain, rhinitis, headache, sore throat, organoleptic disorders in the form of olfactory and taste impairment, laryngitis or conjunctivitis, as well as nausea, vomiting and diarrhoea. The variety of symptoms that occur is due to the fact that the cell receptors identified by SARS-CoV-2 are found not only on lung cells, but also on vascular endothelial cells, vascular muscle membranes, erythrocytes and intestinal epithelial cells.[8]

The modes of SARS-CoV-2 transmission are divided into direct and indirect modes. Direct transmission involves immediate transfer of the infectious agent from an infected host or reservoir to the actual infection gate. The direct routes therefore include touch, kissing, sexual intercourse, other contact (birth, medical procedures, injections), through the air over short distances (droplet route, cough, rhinitis), transfusion and transplantation. Indirect transmission, on the other hand, occurs through contact with contaminated objects (food, water, tools), transmitters (birds, insects, mammals) and air (dust, aerosol). Distinguishing between the types of transmission was important in order to select the appropriate methods for controlling infectious diseases.[9] The first symptoms of the

4. A. Afelt, J. Duszyński, A. Ochab-Marcinek, R. Owczuk, K. Pyrć, M. Rosińska, A. Rychard, T. Smiatacz, *Zrozumieć COVID-19*, PAN 2020, p. 12.

5. Ibidem.

6. Z. Drulis-Kawa, *Koronawirus SARS-COV-2 – biologia, wykrywanie i zwalczanie*, https://uni.wroc.pl/koronawirus-sars-cov-2-biologia-wykrywanie-i-zwalczanie/?fbclid=IwAR3t4yzwmn4ChA5zYPBC6rA-YgvL7OCylpaXfo4ZRr1MP-1HJHOsL4Nv5qk, (access 21.21.2020).

7. R. Gierczyński, G. Juszczyk, A. Lipińska-Ojrzanowska, K. Socha, B. Świątkowska, J. Walasiuk-Skorupa, *Ochrona zdrowia pracujących przed zakażeniem koronawirusem sars-cov-2 wywołującym COVID-19 – aktualny stan wiedzy i zalecenia*, Instytut Medycyny Pracy im. prof. J. Nofera w Łodzi 2020, p. 5.

8. Ibidem, pp. 6–7.

9. R. Beaglehole, R. Bonita, T. Kjellstrom, *Basic epidemiology*, World Health Organization 1993, pp. 115–116.

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disease appear between two and fourteen days after a contact with the pathogen, making it difficult to isolate people who are likely to infect others.[10]

The Chief Sanitary Inspector of Poland prepared procedures and case definitions for the monitoring of persons infected with SARS-CoV-2. According to these definitions, each person who has had or may have had contact with the virus can be placed into one of three categories: A (suspected case), B (probable case), C (confirmed case).[11] The Chancellery of the Prime Minister also prepared a procedure used in the case of suspected infection or contact with a sick person, as well as in the case of a confirmed infection. The procedures in the case of contact with a sick person oblige individuals to report this fact to the sanitary and epidemiological service and to enter quarantine. If the condition of the person remains unchanged (no symptoms of the disease), the quarantine ends after ten days. If a person develops any symptoms of COVID-19, they should contact their GP who will assess their health and, if necessary, refer them for a molecular test for the genetic material of the virus. In case of a negative result, the quarantine automatically ends. A positive result means that isolation is mandatory and those who live in the same household as that person are also placed under quarantine.

In contrast, the global methods for preventing and reducing the transmission of COVID-19 are as follows:

- elimination of the source of infection – in the case of SARS-CoV-2, this involves rapid identification of those infected and their isolation from healthy persons,

- cutting transmission routes – these are all actions limiting social contacts, such as restricting assemblies, closing educational institutions, as well as decreasing the probability of infection if contact between people is necessary, i.e. maintaining physical distance from others, hand hygiene, wearing masks, disinfecting surfaces,

- immunization of the population through vaccination – the essence of this strategy is to try to achieve herd immunity in the population so that the epidemic dies out.[12]

Although many countries took various measures to contain the COVID-19 pandemic, it caused over 255 million confirmed cases and over five million deaths worldwide.[13] The resulting rise in

10. R. Gierczyński, G. Juszczyk, A. Lipińska-Ojrzanowska, K. Socha, B. Świątkowska, J. Walasiuk-Skorupa, *Ochrona zdrowia pracujących przed zakażeniem koronawirusem sars-cov-2 wywołującym COVID-19 – aktualny stan wiedzy i zalecenia*, Instytut Medycyny Pracy im. prof. J. Nofera w Łodzi 2020, p. 5.

11. More about this topic: *Definicja przypadku na potrzeby nadzoru nad zakażeniami ludzi nowym koronawirusem SARS-CoV-2*, https://www.gov.pl/web/gis/definicja-przypadku-na-potrzeby-nadzoru-nad-zakazeniami-ludzi-nowym-koronawirusem-sars-cov-2?fbclid=IwAR1nQDZ3ZF2D67cQIfx_SvRJoMP_IYeIR-iDsXJWripYOD1VKFo-og5CgWg, (access 12.04.2021).

12. A. Afelt, J. Duszyński, A. Ochab-Marcinek, R. Owczuk, K. Pyrć, M. Rosińska, A. Rychard, T. Smiatacz, *Zrozumieć COVID-19*, PAN 2020, pp. 19-20.

13. *Coronavirus disease 2019*, https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=covid+19+liczba+zgon%C3%B3w+na+%C5%9Bwiecie, (access 23.04.2021).

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the numbers of hospital admissions and deaths far exceeded the capacity of the current health care system.[14] The challenge posed by the pandemic to all countries was to maintain a health service that is fully operational and capable of treating and saving lives of their citizens. For health is a supreme value, the protection of which is guaranteed by public institutions, and access to medical services must be provided on an equal and fair basis.[15] As Zbyszko Melosik aptly observed: "The pandemic fell on humanity, fell on us, because each of us is humanity, absurdly suddenly. As a health fact, but also as a socio-economic and cultural fact. At the same time, the pandemic not only brings to the surface or amplifies many features of contemporary society, but it also makes us aware of what is important to us and what we can let go of."[16] Thus, "in a manner so brutal and yet so simple, and perhaps because of that so painful, the pandemic forced us to think about the value of security, including national security. From the point of view of national security, the moment when national borders were closed, and individual countries had to cope on their own during the pandemic was significant. We remembered about the relationship between the state and that which is international,"[17] added Cezary Smuniewski.

Methodology and research results

Ensuring security in the broadest sense is one of the basic functions of the state and is considered a public good, which at the same time entitles state authorities to intervene in all areas of security.[18] The Polish state, having all the forces and means necessary to neutralise the threat that SARS-CoV-2 undoubtedly is, is obliged to take appropriate measures to prevent the effects and limit further transmission of the coronavirus.

The interest in the topic discussed above and the current epidemiological situation in Poland have been the factors determining the aim of this study as the diagnosis of the perception of the threat posed by the COVID-19 pandemic in Poland. The main problem addressed by this study is contained in the following question: What is the image of the threats brough about by the COVID-19 pandemic in Poland? This research problem was linked with a description and a diagnosis, and not with verification research, and therefore the formulation of detailed research hypotheses was abandoned, which, according to some authors, may avert the problem of the research hypotheses influencing the final outcome of research.[19]

The study used theoretical methods, such as the analysis and synthesis of literature, and empirical methods in the form of a diagnostic survey with the use of the survey technique, and a research tool in the form of a survey questionnaire. The survey questionnaire on the perception of threats

14. F.M. Szymański, C. Smuniewski, A.E. Platek, *Will the COVID-19 Pandemic Change National Security and Healthcare in the Spectrum of Cardiovascular Disease?*, "Current Problems in Cardiology", 2020, 45 (9), pp. 1–9. DOI: 10.1016/j.cpcardiol.2020.100645

15. P. Grzywna, *Bezpieczeństwo zdrowotne — wprowadzenie do problematyki*, Studia Politicae Universitatis Silesiensis, 2015, Vol. 14, pp. 116–117.

16. P. Nowak, *"Pierwsza pandemia globalizacji"*, https://www.mp.pl/covid19/covid19-aktualnosci/282366,pierwsza-pandemia-globalizacji, (access 25.04.2021). Fragment of a statement by Zbyszko Melosik during an online debate "System wartości w dobie COVI-du" (The system of values in the times of COVID), which was held on 18 October 2021 at the Catholic University of Lublin.

17. P. Nowak, *"Pierwsza pandemia globalizacji"*, https://www.mp.pl/covid19/covid19-aktualnosci/282366,pierwsza-pandemia-globalizacji, (access 25.04.2021). Fragment of a statement by Cezary Smuniewski during an online debate "System wartości w dobie COVI-du" (The system of values in the times of COVID), which was held on 18 October 2021 at the Catholic University of Lublin.

18. B. Bober, *Bezpieczeństwo zdrowotne jako istotny komponent bezpieczeństwa państwa*, Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania i Bankowości 2016, p. 33.

posed by the COVID-19 pandemic in Poland by the respondents included 17 questions. Six closed questions have been analysed in this paper. These were four single-choice and two multiple-choice questions that concerned the following:

- knowledge of the respondents regarding the specifics of the threat of the COVID-19 pandemic prior to confirmation of the first diagnosed case in Poland,
- opinions of the respondents regarding Poland's preparedness for the new epidemiological threat posed by COVID-19,
- respondents' anticipation of multidimensional consequences for the state at the time of the diagnosis of the first case of COVID-19,
- the dimensions of the functioning of the state where, in the opinion of the respondents, the COVID-2 epidemic poses the greatest threat,
- effective actions that the respondents believe will contribute to containing the epidemic,
- opinions of the respondents on whether Poland will be better prepared to face other epidemiological threats in the future.

The study on the threats brought about by the coronavirus outbreak in Poland involved 79 people who are Border Guard officers in the Podlaskie Border Guard Unit and the Warmińsko-Mazurskie Border Guard Unit (78.5%), police officers in the Warszawa Rembertów Police Station (16.5%) and volunteers in the National Hospital (5.1%). The selection of respondents was intentional and incidental.[20] The adoption of the criterion of purposeful sample selection was dictated by the fact that the selected professional groups were those that support the state authorities in eliminating the effects of the coronavirus epidemic in Poland in the capital city of Warsaw in the course of their official duties. Moreover, some officers, inspectors, civil servants and health care workers responsible for these activities refused to participate in the study, which significantly limited the selection of respondents and resulted in the use of the incidental selection of the research sample. Therefore, a random selection, which would have created an opportunity for obtaining information from all employees randomly selected, was not possible.

19. See S. Nowak, *Metodologia badań społecznych*, PWN 1985, p. 25; M. Łobocki, *Metody i techniki badań pedagogicznych*, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Impuls" 2006, p. 26.

20. See e.g. P. Guilford, *Podstawowe metody statystyczne w psychologii i pedagogice*, PWN 1964, p. 186; E. Babbie, *Podstawy badań społecznych*, PWN 2008, p. 212.

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Empirical results

The empirical research was aimed at learning the opinions of officers, inspectors, officials and health care workers on the threats posed by the coronavirus epidemic in Poland. The first question determined whether the respondents had any knowledge of the specific threat posed by SARS-CoV-2 to the country (Table 1).

Table 1. Knowledge of the respondents of the specific threat of COVID-19 pandemic prior to the confirmation of the first diagnosed case in Poland

	Question	Answers			
No. 1	Had you aware been of the specifics of the COVID-19 pandemic threat before the first diagnosed case was confirmed in Poland?	I had been fully aware of the epidemiological situation in the world	I had heard about a new threat, without knowing specific details	I had heard about a new threat and had been familiar with its specifics	I had heard nothing about the subject
		40.5%	44.3%	10.1%	5.1%

Source: Original research.

As indicated by the survey results presented in Table 1, most respondents (94.9%) had known the specifics of the COVID-19 pandemic threat before the first diagnosed case was confirmed in Poland.

The next question made it possible to determine whether according to the respondents Poland had been prepared for the new epidemic threat (Table 2).

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Table 2. Views of the respondents on the preparedness of Poland for the new epidemiological threat posed by COVID-19

No. 2	Question	Answers				
	In your opinion was Poland prepared for the new epidemiological threat of COVID-19?	Definitely yes	Rather yes	Do not know	Rather not	Definitely not
		0%	6.3%	11.4%	38%	44.3%

Source: Original research.

An analysis of the survey results presented in Table 2 shows that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (82.3%) believed that Poland had not been prepared for the new threat. No respondent gave a "Definitely yes" answer, and only 6.3% responded "Rather yes".

The next question concerned the perception of the respondents of the multidimensional consequences of the epidemic for Poland following the detection of the first case of infection in the country (Table 3).

Table 3. The respondents' prediction of multidimensional consequences for the state at the time the first COVID-19 case was diagnosed

No. 3	Question	Answers				
	When the first case of COVID-19 was diagnosed in Poland, did you foresee such multidimensional consequences for the state?	Definitely yes	Rather yes	Do not know	Rather not	Definitely not
		15.2%	31.6%	6.3%	35.4%	11.4%

Source: Original research.

The results of the study presented in Table 3 show that 47% of the respondents were unlikely to have anticipated the multifaceted consequences for the state at the time the first COVID-19 case was diagnosed in Poland. At the same time, a comparable number of respondents (46.8%) anticipated these consequences.

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Subsequent questions included in the survey questionnaire made it possible to determine the individual aspects of the functioning of state for which the COVID-2 epidemic poses the greatest threat according to the respondents (Table 4).

Table 4. The aspects of the functioning of the state for which the COVID-2 epidemic poses the greatest threat according to the respondents

	Question	Answers								
No. 4	For which aspect of state security does the COVID-2 epidemic pose the greatest threat?	Economic	Health	Social	Public	General	Culture	Politics	Ecological security	Military
		85.3%	82.3%	45.6%	34.2%	13.9%	3.8%	3.8%	3.8%	1.3%

* up to three responses could be selected
Source: Original research.

An analysis of the data presented in Table 4 shows that according to the respondents COVID-19 posed the greatest threat primarily to the economic (85.3%) and health (82.3%) aspects. The social aspect (45.6%) and the public aspect (34.2%) were also among those mentioned as the most threatened. The other aspects of state functioning are not significantly threatened in the opinion of the respondents.

The respondents were also asked about effective actions they believed would contribute to curbing the epidemic. The respondents, given a choice of up to five answers, indicated the following actions:

- quarantine (60.8%),

- closing clubs and discos (50.6%),

- banning cultural and professional events (50.6%),

- ordering people to cover their mouths and noses (45.6%),

- restrictions on religious services (31.6%),

- restrictions on movement (31.6%),

- restrictions on gyms, swimming pools, ski slopes, sports clubs (27.8%),

- restrictions in the educational system (16.8%),

- reduced operation of shopping centres and malls (10.1%),

- restrictions in organising special events (10.1%),

- restrictions in public transport (10.1%),

- restrictions on the operation of catering establishments (5.1%),

- restrictions and prohibition of assembly (5.1%),

- restrictions on the hotel industry (1.3%),

- special shopping hours for senior citizens (1.3%).

The next question concerned Poland's preparedness for new epidemic threats in the future (Table 5).

Table 5. Opinions of the respondents as to whether Poland will be better prepared to face other epidemiological threats in the future

	Question	Answers				
No. 5	In your opinion will Poland be better prepared for other epidemiological threats in the future?	Definitely yes	Rather yes	Do not know	Rather not	Definitely not
		8.9%	34.2%	19%	26.6%	11.4%

Source: Original research.

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The results of the study presented in Table 5 show that almost one half of the respondents (43.1%) believed that Poland was prepared for new epidemic threats in the future. An opposite opinion was held by almost 40% of the respondents (38%).

Summary and concluding comments

The survey indicated that most of the respondents (94.9%) had known the specifics of the COVID-19 pandemic threat before the first diagnosed case was confirmed in Poland. The overwhelming majority of the respondents (82.3%) believed that Poland was not prepared for the new epidemic threat. 47% of respondents were unlikely to have anticipated the multifaceted consequences for the state at the time the first case of COVID-19 was diagnosed in Poland. At the same time, a comparable number of respondents (46.8%) anticipated these consequences. According to the respondents, COVID-19 caused the greatest threat primarily to the economic (85.3%) and health (82.3%) aspects. The social (45.6%) and public (34.2%) aspects were also among the top aspects mentioned as at risk. In turn, the effective measures they believed would help contain the epidemic were mainly quarantine (60.8%), closing clubs and discos (50.6%), banning cultural and professional events (50.6%), ordering people to cover their mouths and noses (45.6%), restrictions on religious celecrations (31.6%), restrictions on movement (31.6%) and restricting the activities of gyms, swimming pools, ski slopes, and sports clubs (27.8%). In addition, almost one half of the respondents (43.1%) believed that Poland was prepared for new epidemic threats in the future, while a similar group of the respondents was of an opposite opinion, although that group was almost 4% smaller (38%).

The conducted research allows for concluding that the entities responsible for maintaining security in Poland knew the specificity of the threat related to the epidemic hazard that had developed in China. A significant number of them did not realise the multifaceted consequences of the appearance of the SARS-CoV-2 virus within the borders of Poland for the country. Thus, the majority of the respondents indicated that Poland had not been prepared for the appearance of an epidemic threat. These empirical findings are confirmed by the epidemiological situation in Poland. During the first wave of the pandemic, it was with a considerable delay that primary health care clinics received detailed guidelines if a patient with a suspected coronavirus infection turned up. They were not supplied with personal protective equipment in a quantity adequate for their needs.[21] The fairly poor preparedness of the Polish state for an epidemiological threat may be associated with the lack of appropriate legal instruments enabling a quick response to such a threat. This fact also confirmed the necessity of amending the "Act on preventing and combating infections and infectious diseases in

21. K. Klinger, P. Otto, *Polska nie jest gotowa na atak koronawirusa. Brakuje wyposażenia, lekarze nie wiedzą jak postępować*, https://serwisy.gazetaprawna.pl/zdrowie/artykuly/1455927,koronawirus-w-polsce-jak-postepowac.html, (access 28.04.2021).

humans"[22] as the original version, which had been passed in 2008, did not contain all the provisions necessary for legal restrictions of civil liberties and freedoms. Only one half of the respondents felt that the amended law provided for all powers and resources required to combat the effects of the epidemic and limit virus transmission.

When the first restrictions and procedures were introduced to combat the effects of the epidemic and limit its extent, it was important to focus on three aspects of state functioning: the economic, health, and social aspects. It was these aspects of the state that the respondents believed were most susceptible to destabilisation. The decisions of the government and responsibility of citizens made it possible to reduce drastically the number of infections as compared with other countries. However, each of the decisions made by the government brought about its own consequences. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the closure of schools, colleges and universities, the introduction of restrictions on economic activities, as well as the obligation of a quarantine and the obligation to cover the mouth and the nose.[23]

The closure of schools, colleges and universities was one of the first restrictions to be imposed, with their activities remaining limited until the end of the 2019/2020 school year. This action can be judged as justified in view of the asymptomatic or mildly symptomatic transmission of this disease among children, whereby it should be noted that the children can still infect others.[24] Subsequently, due to the minor increase in infections over the summer holidays, the government decided to resume full-time education and allow for the return of all children to schools. On one hand, this was an appropriate decision because of the opportunity for the children to interact with their peers, which is a very important factor for their mental development.[25] On the other, the flu season began in the autumn of 2020, which coincided with the continued epidemic, placing an additional strain on the health care system. At the same time, the return to in-person teaching when the epidemic was not adequately controlled meant that students began to infect each other, and this directly translated into the need to close schools and return to remote teaching.[26] With these experiences in mind, the issue of education should also be considered during the development of a response plan for other epidemics. What seems to be needed is an algorithm for conduct that would allow a proper balance between the principles of a sanitary regime and the need to protect the health and lives of citizens, and meeting the educational and developmental needs of children and young people.

22. Ustawa z dnia 5 grudnia 2008 r. o zapobieganiu oraz zwalczaniu zakażeń i chorób zakaźnych u ludzi, Dz.U. 2008 nr 234 poz. 1570, [Act of 5 December 2008 on the prevention and combating infections and infectious diseases in humans, Journal of Laws 2008, No. 234, item 1570].

23. M. Mikołajska, *Rok epidemii COVID-19 w Polsce. Sukcesy, porażki, prognozy – eksperci podsumowują*, https://www.medonet.pl/koronawirus/koronawirus-w-polsce,rok-epidemii-covid-19-w-polsce--eksperci-mowia--co-nas-czeka,artykul,90113652.html, (access 29.04.2021).

24. *Dziecko i koronawirus*, https://pacjent.gov.pl/aktualnosc/dziecko-i-koronawirus, (access 28.04.2021).

25. M. Chrapińska-Krupa, *Brak kontaktu z rówieśnikami u dziecka*, https://www.spokojwglowie.pl/brak-kontaktu-z-rowiesnikami-u-dziecka/, (access 28.04.2021).

26. S. Stachura, *Koronawirus w Polsce. "Polskie szkoły nie są w żaden sposób przygotowane do epidemii"*, https://www.medonet.pl/koronawirus/koronawirus-w-polsce,koronawirus-w-polsce--polskie-szkoly-nie-sa-w-zaden-sposob-przygotowane-do-epidemii,film,65601491.html, (access 28.04.2021).

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It is also worth mentioning that the threats posed by the COVID-19 pandemic in Poland were also related to the restrictions in economic activities, which affected financial liquidity of the state and many of its citizens. Therefore, the respondents identified the economic aspect as most susceptible to the epidemic. In turn and in response to the introduced restrictions, the Polish government also introduced the "Anti-Crisis Shield", the aim of which was to stabilise the economy and stimulate investment. The main principles of the Shield consisted in the protection of jobs and security of employees, financing for businesses, protection of health, strengthening of the financial system, and public investments.[27] In the first version of the Shield, financial support was granted to every enterprise, for example in the form of a three-month exemption from social-security (ZUS) contributions or a non-returnable loan. This could be considered a too hasty and ill-considered measure as companies that had not suffered any financial losses also received support. In the subsequent modifications of the Shield, targeted aid was introduced, addressed exclusively to industries particularly affected by the consequences of the epidemic, which seems to be a more reasonable approach. With this in mind, when discussing changes to the financial instruments designed to minimise the impact of economic stagnation, attention should be paid to all industries in which operations were suspended. It is necessary to provide assistance only to those industries that do not have the possibility of securing financial liquidity to maintain their operations at the same level as prior to their suspension.

The mandatory quarantine and covering of the mouth and the nose remain important preventive elements in ensuring health security. By means of a compulsory quarantine for persons with suspected infections and persons who have had contact with a sick person, as well as the order to cover the mouth and the nose, the government was trying to implement the principles of health safety in order to prevent mass infections which would cause the collapse of the health care system, which in turn would endanger life or health of many citizens. An important achievement of the information policy pursued by the government was also the improvement of medical awareness of the public as regards observance of the hygiene and sanitary principles. The habit of washing and disinfecting hands as well as the use of protective face masks are manifestations of the sense of responsibility of the citizens, but also of their awareness of the risk. An important issue that should be noted is the fact that the situation did not reach a collapse in Poland and despite numerous inconveniences there were no situations such as those that could be observed in France or Italy.[28]

The analysis presented above is a modest contribution to the discussion on the role of the state during an epidemiological emergency based on the example of the COVID-19 pandemic in Po-

27. *Tarcza Antykryzysowa*, https://www.gov.pl/web/tarczaantykryzysowa, (access 28.04.2021).

28. M. Mikołajska, *Rok epidemii COVID-19 w Polsce. Sukcesy, porażki, prognozy – eksperci podsumowują*, https://www.medonet.pl/koronawirus/koronawirus-w-polsce,rok-epidemii-covid-19-w-polsce--eksperci-mowia--co-nas-czeka,artykul,90113652.html, (access 29.04.2021).

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land. The presented recommendations for dealing with subsequent phases of the epidemic, which have been addressed to entities responsible for ensuring health security, may serve to restore state security more effectively to the state it was in prior to the epidemic. They can be regarded as challenges the dealing with which is not easy, but certainly achievable.

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The Legal Status of Gibraltar after Brexit in Light of the Provisions of the Protocol on Gibraltar

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Abstract

Gibraltar remains subject of an ongoing British-Spanish dispute over sovereignty. Nevertheless, membership of the United Kingdom in the EU stabilized the cross-border situation. Clearly, Brexit has threatened the established status quo. The legal status of Gibraltar is regulated in a special Protocol attached to the Withdrawal Agreement. It provides for deepened British-Spanish collaboration in the sectors of fishing, environmental protection, police and customs cooperation and the rights of citizens living in border areas (especially important for the Spanish region of Mancomunidad de Municipios del Campo de Gibraltar). However, compared to other Protocols, the arrangements for Gibraltar are extremely narrow. It was undecided to subject the peninsula in a greater extent to EU law than the rest of the United Kingdom. It is likely that these shortcomings will be regulated by a future EU-British Agreement governing the status of Gibraltar.

Keywords

Gibraltar, Protocol on Gibraltar, Withdrawal Agreement, Brexit, British-Spanish cooperation, Mancomunidad de Municipios del Campo de Gibraltar, future Agreement on Gibraltar

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Introduction

Since the 18th century, Gibraltar has been the subject of an incessant British-Spanish dispute over its sovereignty.[1] The divergent positions of the parties were of significant importance during the Spanish accession negotiations to the European Communities.[2] The complicated status of Gibraltar was equally visible during the United Kingdom's membership in the European Union. The British Overseas Territories were not part of the territory of the EU – they were associated with it under Part Four of the TFEU and were not subject to EU law. The sole exception was Gibraltar.[3] Nevertheless, numerous derogations in this regard applied to the peninsula.[4] Gibraltar's status as part of the EU has contributed to peace in the region. Market freedoms played a significant role, which was extremely important for the Spanish town of La Línea de la Concepción (part of the frontier region of Mancomunidad de Municipios del Campo de Gibraltar), where unemployment was highest in the country and whose inhabitants were massively crossing the border with Gibraltar every day for work. However, this did not resolve the British-Spanish dispute, which manifested itself, for example, during the proceedings before the Court of Justice of the European Union in a case concerning the right to vote in the elections to the European Parliament.[5]

Thus, Brexit threatened to aggravate the dispute, especially in the no-deal scenario. Ultimately, on 24 January 2020, the European Union and the United Kingdom concluded a bilateral international agreement regulating the conditions of withdrawal from the EU – the Agreement on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community (hereinafter *Withdrawal Agreement*).[6] It entered into force on 1 February 2020.[7] Three Protocols were attached to the Withdrawal Agreement: on Northern Ireland, on British military bases in Cyprus, and on Gibraltar (hereinafter *Protocol on Gibraltar*), which were to reflect the specificities of the territories covered by them. Under Article 182 of the Withdrawal Agreement, they constitute its integral part.

The aim of this article is to present how the Protocol on Gibraltar has been shaping the legal status of Gibraltar after Brexit. This is urgent as EU-British negotiations on a new international agreement only concerning Gibraltar will begin at any moment.[8]

1. The article was prepared on the basis of the author's master thesis, entitled "Agreement on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union and control of its implementation", defended at the University of Lodz in July 2021 under the supervision of Professor Anna Wyrozumska.

2. Following the unsuccessful referendum for Spain in 1967, General Franco ordered isolation of the peninsula until the 1980s: 1982 - partial opening of the border; 1985 - complete opening of the border.

3. TFEU, Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, OJ C326/47, 2012, Article 355(3): "The provisions of the Treaties shall apply to the European territories for whose external relations a Member State is responsible."

4. They included, *inter alia*, aviation law.

5. *Case C-145/04, Kingdom of Spain v United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*, ECLI:EU:C:2006:543, Judgment of the CJEU of 12th September 2006.

6. Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020, pp. 7–187.

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The legal status of the United Kingdom resulting from the Withdrawal Agreement

The Withdrawal Agreement was concluded for an indefinite period and represents a classic international agreement to which the rules of international law apply, in particular, the obligation to perform it in good faith.[9]

According to the assumptions contained in the Withdrawal Agreement, Brexit was to be carried out in two stages:

– An 11-month transition period was established in order to prevent a sharp change in the British legal order (*cliff-edge*). It started at the very date of the official withdrawal from the EU (1 February 2020) and was not provided for in Article 50 TEU. During its operation, the United Kingdom was treated like any other EU Member State, i.e., was fully subject to all EU laws and the jurisdiction of the CJEU. However, due to the lack of participation in the work of the EU, the British side had no influence on the shape and scope of the applicable law.[10]

– After the end of the transition period (31 December 2020), the UK ceased to be treated as an EU Member State, so *per se* it was no longer subject to any EU law or to the jurisdiction of the CJEU. Nevertheless, the Withdrawal Agreement was concluded in order to conduct an orderly Brexit process; therefore, under its provisions, the UK is still bound by EU law to a limited extent. This shapes the UK's post-Brexit status:

First, the Withdrawal Agreement regulates the legal status of EU nationals legally residing in the UK and British nationals legally residing in the EU. The right of residence and mutual recognition of professional qualifications were, inter alia, guaranteed.[11] However, the free movement of people was not maintained.

Second, the United Kingdom has committed itself to continued application of EU intellectual property rules, such as protection of geographical indications, e.g., Parma ham, Champagne or Tokaji wine.[12]

Third, the provisions of the Withdrawal Agreement foresee a gradual phasing out of the effects of British membership in the EU, such as continued application of the provisions on the European Arrest Warrant in proceedings initiated before the end of the transition period[13] or the question of responsibility for containment of fissile materials located at the British territory.[14]

7. Declaration by the European Union made in accordance with the third paragraph of Article 185 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/188, 2020, p. 188–188.

8. European Commission, *Recommendation for a Council Decision authorising the opening of negotiations for an agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, of the one part, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, of the other part, in respect of Gibraltar*, COM/2021/411 final, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52021PC0411, (access 25.11.2021).

9. See, *inter alia*, Article 26 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, (opened to signature on 23 May 1969, entered into force on 27 January 1980): "Every treaty in force is binding upon the parties to it and must be performed by them in good faith."; *Nuclear Test Case (Australia v. France)*, Judgment of 20th December, 1974, I.C.J. Reports 1974, p. 253.

10. See, PART FOUR of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

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In addition, the UK has to settle all its financial liabilities to the EU, estimated at up to £ 34 billion.[15]

Finally, in accordance with the provisions of the Withdrawal Agreement, disputes arising from its application may be resolved only on the basis of the mechanisms indicated therein.[16] The Withdrawal Agreement is supervised by the Joint Committee – acting as a permanent forum for contact between the EU and the UK.[17] The unique body authorised to resolve disputes is a special arbitration panel established within the system of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Its jurisdiction is obligatory and exclusive, and its decisions are final and binding.[18] As regards the Withdrawal Agreement, the CJEU has retained its jurisdiction limited, as a rule, to EU law.[19]

The legal status of Gibraltar under the provisions of the Protocol on Gibraltar

Introductory remarks

As already mentioned, under Article 182 of the Withdrawal Agreement, the Protocol on Gibraltar (and other Protocols) form an integral part of the Withdrawal Agreement. As in the case of the Withdrawal Agreement, only the United Kingdom and the European Union are parties to the Protocol on Gibraltar.

Nevertheless, the Preamble to the Protocol states that it is to be implemented in accordance with the constitutional orders of the Kingdom of Spain and the United Kingdom, and is without prejudice to the Spanish and British legal position on the sovereignty of Gibraltar and jurisdiction over that territory.[20]

Contrary to other Protocols, the Protocol on Gibraltar entered into force upon the beginning of the transition period (1 February 2020) and all its provisions, except Article 1, ceased to apply as at the end of the transition period (31 December 2020).[21] The purpose of the Protocol is to widen – comparing to the United Kingdom – the scope of EU law and international law applicable to the peninsula. Consequently, it was intended to regulate the life of the frontier population in Mancomunidad de Municipios del Campo de Gibraltar. For this reason, it had to be done as quickly as possible, and in addition, the Protocol for each "enlargement" required Spanish-British consultations in this regard. During the transitional period, the United Kingdom was subject, just like Spain, to all EU law, so in the event of failure to comply with the obligations set out in the Protocol, the European Commission or states reciprocally could bring complaints to the CJEU under Articles 258 and 259 TFEU.[22] Addition-

11. Respectively, Articles 13-23 and Articles 27-29 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

12. Articles 54-61 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020; House of Lords, *Brexit: The revised Withdrawal Agreement and Political Declaration*, European Union Committee 1st Report of Session 2019–20, paras 62 et seq., https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld5801/ldselect/ldeucom/4/4.pdf, (access 26.11.2021).

13. Articles 62-65 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020; House of Lords, *Brexit: The revised Withdrawal Agreement and Political Declaration*, European Union Committee 1st Report of Session 2019–20, paras 69 et seq., https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld5801/ldselect/ldeucom/4/4.pdf, (access 26.11.2021).

14. Article 80 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

ally, the fulfilment of the parties to the Agreement (EU and UK) of their obligations under the Protocol may still be subject of disputes before an arbitration panel. As a result, the division into provisions that no longer apply and those that continue to apply is to be considered as rather technical (the time when a given instruction had to be fulfilled).

Provisions of the Protocol that were to be implemented before the end of the transition period

The regulations in this category can be divided into three groups:

First, Spain and the United Kingdom were to establish Coordination Committees on Environmental and Fisheries issues[23] and on Police and Customs cooperation.[24]

Second, Spain and the United Kingdom were to establish the forms of joint actions necessary to achieve full tax transparency and to safeguard the financial interests of all parties concerned. This was to prevent Gibraltar from turning into a tax haven. In addition, Gibraltar was obliged to comply with international standards, including the field of good budget management as well as transparency and exchange of information on harmful tax practices. In addition, Gibraltar's tax system was to be changed to prevent frauds related to smuggling alcohol and gasoline and began to possess a system of traceability of protection measures for tobacco products which meets the requirements and standards set out in EU law. By 30 June 2020, the British side ensured that Gibraltar was covered by international regulations on tobacco products.[25] The above regulation is to prevent a possible introduction to the EU market through the territory of Gibraltar, inter alia, illegal tobacco products, especially since La Línea de la Concepción is one of the centres of drug trafficking from Morocco to Europe.[26] Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the European Union considers that the United Kingdom has failed to comply with its obligation to properly bring Gibraltar under the tobacco regulation.[27]

Finally, Spain and the United Kingdom were to reach an agreement on the date from which EU aviation law, which did not extend to the territory of Gibraltar as a result of a prior derogation, would apply to it.[28] However, this power was not exercised.

15. M. Keep, *Brexit: the financial settlement - in detail*, House of Commons Library 2021, p. 3, https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8039/CBP-8039.pdf, (access 16.11.2021).

16. Article 168 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

17. Articles 164-166 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

18. Articles 167-181 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

19. Including Articles 158-163 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

21. See the Preamble to the Protocol on Gibraltar in Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

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The provisions of the Protocol that are subject to permanent execution

The wording of Article 1 of the Gibraltar Protocol expressly confirms that Part Two of the Withdrawal Agreement (citizens' rights) applies in its entirety to Gibraltar. This is notably crucial for the rights of frontier workers residing in Gibraltar or Spain, in particular, in the territory of the municipality of Mancomunidad de Municipios del Campo de Gibraltar.

Effective application of Part Two of the Agreement requires close British-Spanish cooperation, to which both countries are bound by Article 1 of the Protocol. To this end, the Spanish and British sides provide each other quarterly with updated information on persons residing in Gibraltar or in the territory of Mancomunidad de Municipios del Campo de Gibraltar.[29]

In addition, Spain and the United Kingdom have established a Coordination Committee as a forum for regular discussions to monitor issues relating to employment and working conditions. However, the Protocol does not provide for the free movement of persons between Spanish and Gibraltar territory.

Monitoring the application of the Gibraltar Protocol

Under Article 165 of the Withdrawal Agreement, a Special Committee on matters related to the implementation of the Protocol on Gibraltar has been established. Its tasks are specified in the Protocol on Gibraltar. These include facilitating the application of the Protocol, discussing any related and problematic issues, examining the reports of the coordination committees, and making recommendations to the Joint Committee on the operation of the Protocol.[30]

De facto, the Protocol on Gibraltar does not contain any provisions significantly modifying the content of the Withdrawal Agreement with regard to dispute resolution. A particular emphasis has been placed on ensuring observance of the rights of cross-border workers and on bilateral British-Spanish cooperation. The indication of the specific obligations of the Kingdom of Spain results not only from historical and political events, but also from the fact that it is a party interested in proper implementation of the provisions of both the Agreement and the Protocol. Three Spanish-British Coordination Committees (Employment and Working Conditions, Environment and Fisheries, Police

22. Article 185 of the Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

23. Article 258 TFEU (Failure of a Member State to fulfil its obligations under the Treaty), Article 259 TFEU (Suing another Member State).

24. Article 5 of the Protocol on Gibraltar in Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

25. United Nations, *WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, adopted in Geneva on 21 May 2003, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: Territorial Application in Respect of Gibraltar*, C.N.271.2020.TREATIES-IX.4 (Depositary Notification), 2020, https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CN/2020/CN.271.2020-Eng.pdf, (access 25.11.2021); United Nations, *Protocol to Eliminate Illicit Trade in Tobacco Products, adopted in Seoul on 12 November 2012 United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: Territorial Application in Respect of Gibraltar*, C.N.272.2020.TREATIES-IX.4.a (Depositary Notification), 2020, https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CN/2020/CN.272.2020-Eng.pdf, (access 25.11.2021).

26. Article 3 of the Protocol on Gibraltar

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and Customs Cooperation) are required to report regularly to the Special Committee.[31] It has an EU-British character, but it cannot be ruled out that the EU side will be represented exclusively or primarily by the Spanish.[32] The Special Committee, in turn, is a subsidiary body of the Joint Committee, which plays a primary role in the process of resolving disputes arising from the implementation of the Agreement. Thus, a potential British-Spanish dispute could directly result in the EU-UK proceedings before an arbitration panel.

It is equally possible for the European Commission to complain, based on Article 258 TFEU, about Spain's failure to fulfil its obligations under the Protocol. This is due to the fact that under Article 216(2) TFEU, agreements concluded by the Union are binding on the institutions of the European Union and its Member States and constitute acts of EU law.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the status of Gibraltar after Brexit under the provisions of the Protocol on Gibraltar does not differ considerably from the rest of the United Kingdom. The lack of solutions providing for the binding of the territory of the peninsula to a greater extent by EU law and, consequently, extension of the jurisdiction of the CJEU is distinctly visible. That model has been adopted in two other Protocols: on Northern Ireland and on British military bases in Cyprus. The British obligation to subordinate Gibraltar to a certain extent to EU law and international law was intended to level out the derogation from the application of EU law in this area during British membership and to avoid the peninsula becoming a tax haven. In addition, there is no provision for free movement of persons between Mancomunidad de Municipios del Campo de Gibraltar and Gibraltar. This significantly hampers effective exercise of civil rights provided for in Part Two of the Withdrawal Agreement and confirmed in Article 1 of the Protocol on Gibraltar. Moreover, the question remains whether the Spanish interests have been adequately secured and whether, in the possible proceedings before an arbitration panel, the objection of inadmissibility of the dispute due to the rights of third parties would not be justified.[33] Nevertheless, it is worth noting that shortcomings were noticed in the provisions of the Protocol. On 31 December 2020, the British and Spanish parties reached a provisional agreement on ensuring the free movement of persons at the Gibraltar border and covering the entire territory with the Schengen regime.[34] However, this has not yet been finally formalised. In addition, the EU's preparations to conclude such an Agreement meet with British blackmail of not approving it at all.[35] It therefore appears that the current legal status of Gibraltar is only of a transitional nature.

in Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020; A. Torres, *La Línea, entre la crisis de ayer y la de hoy*, https://www.publico.es/sociedad/paro-droga-cadiz-linea-concepcion-crisis-coronavirus.html, (access 25.11.2021).

27. *Statement following the third meeting of the Specialised Committee on Gibraltar between the European Union and the UK Government via videoconference*, https://ec.europa.eu/info/publications/statement-following-third-meeting-specialised-committee-gibraltar-between-european-union-and-uk-government-videoconference_en, (access 26.11.2021).

28. Article 2 of the Protocol on Gibraltar in Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

29. Article 1(2) of the Protocol on Gibraltar in Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, OJ L29/7, 2020.

30. Article 6 of the Protocol on Gibraltar in Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy

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33. *Case of the monetary gold removed from Rome in 1943 (Preliminary Question)*, Judgement of June 15th, 1954, I.C.J. Reports 1954, p. 19.

34. *UK-Gibraltar-Spain agreement: statement from the Foreign Secretary*, https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-gibraltar-spain-agreement-statement-from-the-foreign-secretary, (access 25.11.2021); *Chief Minister's Statement – The New Year's Eve 'In-Principle' Agreement: A Post Brexit Deal for Gibraltar - 946/2020*, https://www.gibraltar.gov.gi/press-releases/chief-ministers-statement-the-new-years-eve-in-principle-agreement-a-post-brexit-deal-for-gibraltar-9462020-6542, (access 25.15.2021); *Chief Minister's Statement to Parliament On The New Year's Eve Framework Agreement - 61/2021*, https://www.gibraltar.gov.gi/press-releases/chief-ministers-statement-to-parliament-on-the-new-years-eve-framework-agreement-612021-6604, (access 25.11.2021).

35. R. de Miguel, *UK threatens no-deal scenario for Gibraltar due to plans for Spain-run border controls*, https://english.elpais.com/international/brexit/2021-09-23/uk-threatens-no-deal-scenario-for-gibraltar-due-to-plans-for-spain-run-border-controls.html, (access 25.11.2021).

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Between Hospitality and Diplomacy. Accommodating Foreign Delegations during the 1922 Genoa Conference

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Abstract

During the 1922 Genoa International Economic Conference, the hotels of the city and neighboring coastal resorts played a pivotal role in many respects, including diplomatic activity. They accommodated representatives of the participating countries and hosted related gala events, as well as formal and informal meetings and discussions between delegations, individual figures, or selected groups. Moreover, the most striking and astonishing outcome of the Genoa Conference, namely the Rapallo Treaty between Russia and Germany, was signed right inside the hotel that welcomed one of the delegations. By analyzing these issues, the article deals with the existing academic literature on the role played by hotels as scenes of historical events and within the context of international relations. It also highlights how hosting a diplomatic gathering of such resonance may promote tourism and enhance the image of leading hotels.

Keywords
luxury hotels, big events, tourism promotion, international relations, post-WWI order, Rapallo Treaty

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Introduction

The International Economic Conference, which was held in Genoa from 10 April to 19 May 1922, represented one of the most important gatherings of international diplomacy after the Peace of Versailles (1919). It was to be a milestone in setting a new course in European economic and financial relations as well as resuming diplomatic and trade relations with Russia after the fall of the Tsarist rule (1917). However, as is well known, the results fell far short of expectations, in part because of a sudden turn of events: the Rapallo Treaty between Russia and Germany secretly concluded just a few days after the beginning of the Conference.[1]

When Genoa, an industrial and port city in the north-western part of Italy, was chosen to host an international event of such magnitude, one of the first problems the Italian authorities had to face was organizing accommodation for foreign delegations. Besides providing spaces for the official works of the Conference, it was necessary to welcome the representatives of the many participating countries and their staffs of collaborators, as well as to house dozens of correspondents of national and foreign newspapers that would cover the event. Hotels played a crucial role in this respect, particularly the large, luxury ones.[2]

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that it was not merely a matter of accommodation capacity. Once suitable lodging facilities had been identified, it was necessary to carefully plan how to allocate the delegations to various hotels. Of course, the delegations' numerical size and qualitative composition could not be ignored; however, other aspects related to the sphere of international relations and geopolitical balances also had to be considered in managing hospitality issues.

Moreover, from the point of view of the hosting country, welcoming such an international gathering could constitute an important visiting card and a way to strengthen its political weight in the international arena.[3] It also could be an opportunity to promote tourism in the area where the Conference was going to take place, although this latter instance occupied a very marginal position in the Italian tourism policy of the time.[4] Last but not least, the Conference also represented a chance for the leading hotels that welcomed prominent figures, or key-related events, to gain visibility at the international level, thus enhancing their image and reputation.

1. P. Bernasconi, G.Zanelli, *La conferenza di Genova. Cronache e documenti*, L. Cappelli Editore 1922; J.S. Mills, *The Genoa Conference*, Hutchinson & Co 1992; M. Bottaro Palumbo, *La conferenza di Genova e il Trattato di Rapallo cinquant'anni dopo*, "L'Est. Rivista trimestrale di studi sui paesi dell'Est", 1972, 8 (3), pp. 127–149; B.M. Vigliero, *La Conferenza Internazionale Economica di Genova del 1922*, "La Casana", 1972, 25 (1), pp. 11–21; Convegno italo-sovietico, *La Conferenza di Genova e il trattato di Rapallo (1922)*, Edizioni Italia-URSS 1974; S. White, *The Origins of Détente: The Genoa Conference and Soviet-Western Relations, 1921-1922*, Cambridge University Press 1985; C. Fink, *The Genoa Conference. European Diplomacy, 1921-1922*, Syracuse University Press 1993; P. Battifora, *La Liguria dei trattati/Liguria of Treaties*, De Ferrari 2001, pp. 68–81.

2. S. White, *The Origins of Détente: The Genoa Conference and Soviet-Western Relations, 1921-1922*, Cambridge University Press 1985, p. 123; C. Fink, *The Genoa Conference. European Diplomacy, 1921-1922*, Syracuse University Press 1993, pp. 144–145.

3. L. Monzali, *La politica estera italiana nel primo dopoguerra 1918-1922*, "Italia contemporanea", 2009, 61, nos. 256–257, pp. 379–406.

4. N. Muzzarelli, *Il turismo in Italia tra le due guerre*, "Turistica", 1997, 6

A century later, the symbolic places of the Conference, including the large, luxury hotels, still preserve a cultural value related to that event. Although these aspects have fallen into oblivion in many cases, they eserve to be considered even from a historical cultural heritage enhancement perspective.

Although the studies on the 1922 Genoa Conference have not completely neglected these issues, an overall view is still lacking. The aim of this paper is, therefore, twofold. On one hand, it allows us to shed light on little-known aspects related to that specific event and its cultural legacy. On the other, it contributes to enriching existing literature on the relationships between the hotel industry and diplomatic activity.

This article is organized as follows. The first paragraph describes the connections between hotels and international relations; the second one delves into the issue related to the selection of the hotels that hosted foreign delegations and official events during the Genoa Conference; the third paragraph focuses on the case of the *Imperial Palace Hotel*, where the Rapallo Treaty was signed, while the last one provides a conclusion.

Luxury hotels and diplomacy

Large, luxury hotels – so-called grand hotels or palace hotels – that cropped up in the mid-nineteenth century in major European cities and tourist resorts were the outcomes of the social and cultural transformations that took place throughout that period and the growing demand for hospitality from upper-class travelers and tourists.[5] Initially, these hotels were influenced by two different styles of hospitality. The first one was inspired by the French penchant for court pomp and ceremony, while the second one was influenced by the English taste for modern technologies arising from the industrial revolution. It was the well-known Swiss-born hotelier César Ritz (1850-1918) who, at the end of the 19th century, succeeded in merging these styles into a new model of luxury hospitality addressing the cosmopolitan clientele, whose watchwords were excellence and exclusivity. Specifically, Ritz's model combined elegance, comfort, hygiene, and privacy with excellent cuisine. For these reasons, it quickly established itself as a successful model, thus widely imitated.[6]

As a result, the luxury hotels of the Belle Époque were characterized by the magnificence of common spaces such as foyers, staircases, and vestibules, by a series of interconnected salons with distinct functions (dining room, ballroom, reading room, etc.) and a large number of spacious bed-

(1), pp. 46–78; D. Strangio, *Tourism as a Resource of Economic Development. Legislative Measures, Local Situations, Accommodation Capacity and Tourist Flows in Italy in the 'Inter-War Years'*, in: *Global Tourism and Regional Competitiveness*, ed. A. Celant, Patron 2007, pp. 97–130; T. Syrjämaa, *Visitez l'Italie. Italian State Tourist Propaganda Abroad 1919-1943. Administrative Structure and Practical Realization*, Turun Yliopisto 1997.

5. A. Zanini, *The Emergence of a New Entrepreneurial Culture. Luxury Hotels and Elite Tourism in the Italian Riviera (1860-1914)*, in: *Turismo 4.0. Storia, digitalizzazione, territorio*, eds. G. Gregorini, R. Semeraro, Vita e Pensiero 2021, pp. 29–30.

6. J.M. Lesur, *Les hôtel de Paris: de l'auberge au palace, XIXe-XXe siècles*, Alphil 2005, pp. 140–144.

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rooms, usually at least a hundred. In large cities, they were normally built in a central, convenient location, while in tourist resorts the panoramic situation and outdoor spaces (terraces, gardens, parks, etc.) were an important added value that could contribute to ensuring the leadership of the hotel in the local market. These hotels were equipped to provide the utmost comfort of the time and high quality of service, staffed by numerous, attentive, and discreet personnel.[7]

Therefore, when referring to luxury hotels one is inclined to think of large, fashionable buildings conceived to accommodate upper-class tourists and distinguished guests, such as members of the international jet set, heads of state and government, and to house various kinds of events, including banquets for ceremonies, receptions, and parties, charity galas, business meetings, press conferences, etc.[8]

However, besides performing these primary functions, numerous luxury hotels have also been the scene of historical events, such as diplomatic meetings and peace treaties, as well as intrigues and machinations, thus playing a role in the geopolitical scenario.[9] A growing body of academic literature has highlighted the importance of hotels and hospitality in international relations and diplomacy broadly understood, providing useful interpretative keys to analyze the phenomenon. Specifically, luxury hotels may be the official venue for international negotiations, conferences, or diplomatic encounters. Sometimes this derives from a deliberate choice: the hotel has been selected to host the event because of its location, accommodation capacity (in its broadest sense), or because it represents a neutral ground, ideal for putting at ease every representative of the parties involved in negotiations. Even when the official venue of diplomatic negotiations is not a hotel, luxury hotels in the area usually come into play, performing related functions. First, they accommodate delegations from the guest countries, providing room and board and facilities for the work of the representatives and their subordinate staff, space for informal meetings and backroom deals, as well as opportunities for entertainment and relaxation, etc. Moreover, some of them may be chosen to host formal receptions, such as dinners, working lunches, and gala events, which are an integral part of diplomatic activity.[10]

In providing spaces and atmospheres more or less welcoming, hotels can have an impact on the attitude toward finding a resolution to the dispute, thus contributing to the success or failure of negotiations. Consequently, in the broader context of international relations, luxury hotels can be considered spaces of geopolitical and diplomatic relevance.[11]

7. E. Denby, *Grand Hotels. Reality and Illusion. An Architectural and Social History*, Reaktion Books 1998; L. Tissot, *L'hôtellerie de luxe à Genève (1830-2000). De ses espaces à ses espaces à ses usages*, "Entreprises et Histoire", 2007, 46 (1), pp. 17–37. DOI: 10.3917/eh.046.0017; C. Humair, *The Hotel Industry and its Importance in the Technical and Economic Development of a Region: The Lake Geneva Case (1852-1914)*, "Journal of Tourism History", 2011, 3 (3), pp. 238–242. DOI: 10.1080/1755182X.2011.598573; H. Knoch, *Grandhotels: Luxusräume und Gesellschaftswandel in New York, London und Berlin um 1900*, Wallstein 2016; K. James, A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, D. Maudlin, M. Peleggi, C. Humair, M.W. Berger, *The Hotel in History: Evolving Perspectives*, "Journal of Tourism History", 2017, 9 (1), pp. 92–111. DOI: 10.1080/1755182X.2017.1343784; D. Bowie, *Innovation and 19th Century Hotel Industry Evolution*, "Tourism Management", 2018, 64, pp. 314–323. DOI: 10.1016/j.tourman.2017.09.005; C. Larrinaga, *La hotelería de lujo en Madrid, 1892-1914*, "Pasado Abierto", 2018, 4 (2), pp. 8–26; D. Bagnaresi, F.M. Barbini, P. Battilani, *Organizational Change in the Hospitality Industry: The Change Drivers in a Longitudinal Analysis*, "Business History", 2021, 63 (7), pp. 1175–1196. DOI: 10.1080/00076791.2019.1676230; A. Zanini, *The Emergence of a New Entrepreneurial Culture. Luxury Hotels and Elite Tourism in the Italian Riviera (1860-1914)*, in: *Turismo 4.0. Storia, digitalizzazione, territorio*, eds. G. Gregorini, R. Semeraro, Vita e Pensiero 2021.

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The case of the 1922 Genoa Conference, examined in the following paragraphs, not only allows us to deepen little-known aspects of that event, but also enriches existing academic literature on the connections between the hospitality industry and international relations.

Accommodating foreign delegations

In early 1922, the meeting of the Supreme Council of the major Allied powers held in Cannes (6-13 January) conceived the idea of an International Conference with the ambitious goal of promoting the economic reconstruction of Europe after the conflict. Genoa was identified as the venue and the Italian government was therefore tasked with organizational aspects. In this regard, one of the thorny issues to be addressed was finding suitable space to house delegations from the guest countries.[12] At that time, Genoa was an industrial and port city of about 320,000 inhabitants, and not a tourist destination, although it had numerous hotels of various categories.[13] Nevertheless, several coastal resorts had developed within a few kilometers of Genoa. In the years before World War I, significant investments had been made by Italian and foreign hoteliers in these towns. As a result, these resorts succeeded in establishing themselves on the international market as favorite destinations for high-ranking tourists. Thanks to these premises, they were able to overcome the wartime conjuncture and could therefore represent a valuable complement to the Genoese hotel equipment.[14]

The accommodation of foreign delegations posed several problems not only in terms of quantity and quality of hotel facilities. It was necessary to ensure high levels of comfort, as well as privacy, security, and public order. Moreover, the 1922 Conference would attract the attention of many international observers and the foreign press; thus, the eyes of the international public opinion would be upon Italy, and specifically upon Genoa. Therefore, this event could have been an important showcase to convey the image of the country to the world; however, in case of problems it could have turned into a boomerang. The Italian government was well aware of these issues and worked to find the best viable solutions. From an operational point of view, many activities were delegated to the prefect of Genoa, who, as a representative of the government, was charged with handling several practical aspects.[15]

The first problem concerned the choice of facilities in which to house the delegations. Some wealthy Genoese had made available free of charge to the government their villas in the neighborhood of Genoa. These villas could be suitable locations to host the heads of major delegations, such as the Belgian, French, English, and Italian ones. It was necessary, however, to have a large num-

8. M.W. Berger, *Hotel Dreams: Luxury, Technology, and Urban Ambition in America, 1829-1929*, Johns Hopkins University Press 2011; A. Tessier, *Le Grand Hôtel. L'invention du luxe hôtelier (1862-1972)*, Presses universitaires de Rennes 2012.

9. J.K. Walton, *Tourism and Politics in Elite Beach Resorts: San Sebastián and Ostend, 1830-1939*, in: *Construction of a Tourism Industry in the 19th and 20th Century: International Perspectives*, ed. L. Tissot, Alphil 2003, pp. 287–301; J.K. Walton, *Grand Hotels and Great Events: History, Heritage and Hospitality*, in: *Beau-Rivage Palace: 150 Years of History*, ed. N. Maillard, Infolio 2008, pp. 102–112.

10. S. Fregonese, A. Ramadan, *Hotel Geopolitics: A Research Agenda*, "Geopolitics", 2015, 20 (4), pp. 793–813. DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2015.1062755; S. Baranowski, L.P. Covert, B.M. Gordon, R.I. Jobs, C. Noack, A.T. Rosenbaum, B.C. Scott, *Discussion: Tourism and Diplomacy*, "Journal of Tourism History", 2019, 11 (1), pp. 63–90. DOI: 10.1080/1755182X.2019.1584974; A. Langer, *The Hotel on the Hill: Hilton Hotel's Unofficial Embassy in Rome*, "Diplomatic History", 2022, 46 (2), pp. 375–396. DOI: 10.1093/dh/dhab100

11. R. Craggs, *Hospitality in Geopolitics and the Making of Commonwealth International Relations*, "Geoforum", 2014, 52 (1), pp. 90–100. DOI: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.01.001; A.T. Park, *Accommodating the Post-War Order: the Hotel*

ber of hotel rooms to accommodate all the participants and their staff of collaborators.16 While in the case of mega-events, such as major international expositions (for example World Exhibitions) or major sporting events (such as the Olympic Games), there is a long phase of preparatory work, which imply the reconfiguration of urban spaces, including the construction of new lodging facilities, usually this does not happen for international diplomatic meetings. For these events, it is a widespread practice – at the time, as well as in more recent times – to rely on the existing facilities.[17]

Based on the reports prepared by the prefect of Genoa, it soon emerged that within the city the accommodation capacity of luxury and first-class hotels would not be sufficient for the purpose. It was then crucial to expand the geographical area in which the delegations would be hosted and include some internationally renowned tourist destinations to the west and east of the city. Thanks to special rail connections and car services, the delegations housed in the outlying areas would be able to reach Genoa easily, thus reducing logistical criticalities.

A suitable place was the neighboring seaside resort of Pegli, twenty-minute west of Genoa. However, the town had no luxury hotels; there was only a first-class hotel, the *Grand Hotel de la Méditerranée*, beautifully situated on the seafront, with one hundred rooms.[18] After careful assessments and meticulous inspections, no other place on the west coast was chosen; the Italian government preferred the coastal resorts along the eastern Riviera. Closest to Genoa was Nervi, which had a couple of suitable hotels: the *Grand Hotel Eden* and the *Hotel Savoia*.[19] As it was necessary to find a greater number of rooms, other places along the east coast were chosen, gradually moving away from Genoa up to Santa Margherita and Rapallo, which, on the whole, offered no less than five suitable hotels with hundreds of bedrooms, although distant about forty minutes by train from Genoa.[20]

In the meantime, the Italian government decided that the official sessions of the Conference would be held in the *Palazzo San Giorgio*, an ancient and prestigious public palace situated in the historic center of the city and overlooking the sea. Regarding many national and foreign press correspondents who had come to Genoa to cover the Conference and report on its official and unofficial events, after evaluating several alternatives, including the use of passenger ships anchored in the port, an ad hoc solution was found. It was decided to host all of them in the center of the city, in two large adjoining buildings that were temporarily equipped as hotels. On the whole, 180 rooms were provided. To facilitate journalists' work, other dedicated facilities were set up, such as a "house of the press" with press rooms, offices, telephone, telegraph lines, etc. As the hotel and the house of the press were not

Brauner Hirsch and the Diplomacy of the Paris Peace Conference in Teschen Silesia, 1919-1920, "Journal of Tourism History", 2021, 12 (1), pp. 53–74. DOI: 10.1080/1755182X.2021.1895328

12. M. Petricioli, *L'Italia alla conferenza di Cannes*, in: *La Conferenza di Genova e il Trattato di Rapallo (1922), Atti del Convegno italo-sovietico Genova-Rapallo, 8-11 giugno 1972*, Edizioni Italia-URSS 1974, pp. 394–434; S. Tognetti Buriana, *Echi della preparazione della conferenza di Genova al parlamento italiano*, in: *La Conferenza di Genova e il Trattato di Rapallo (1922), Atti del Convegno italo-sovietico Genova-Rapallo, 8-11 giugno 1972*, Edizioni Italia-URSS 1974, pp. 517–547.

13. G. Felloni, *The Population Dynamics and the Development of Genoa, 1750-1939*, in: *Population and Society in Western European Port-Cities, c. 1650–1939*, eds. R. Lawton, R.W. Lee, Liverpool University Press 2002, pp. 74–90; A. Zanini, *Imprenditoria e ospitalità alberghiera a Genova tra Otto e Novecento*, in: *Imprenditorialità e sviluppo economico. Il caso italiano (secc. XIII-XX)*, eds. F. Amatori, A. Colli, Egea 2009, pp. 1176–1206.

14. A. Zanini, *Un secolo di turismo in Liguria. Dinamiche, percorsi, attori*, FrancoAngeli 2012, pp. 17–48.

15. To reconstruct the aspects presented in this paragraph, a wealth of unpublished sources preserved at the Genoa State Archives were examined. See Archivio di Stato di Genova, *Prefettura di*

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close to each other, a special bus service was also established to transport journalists from the former to the latter and vice versa.[21]

The second problem was how to allocate delegations to the hotels. Some of them were numerically large and would therefore occupy an entire large-sized hotel or two smaller ones. Other countries, on the contrary, would be sending a handful of people; therefore, a medium-large hotel could accommodate two or more delegations. The choice of how to match delegations housed under the same roof was also vital. It was not just a matter of accommodation capacity: it was crucially vital to avoid potential tensions in light of the diplomatic and geopolitical scenario of the time that might thwart the success of the Conference.[22]

Image 1. Genoa's Grand Hotel Miramare et de la Ville. It hosted the British, Belgian, and Swiss delegations
Source: Postcard from the author's collection.

Taking into account all these issues, the Italian government decided how to house foreign guests. Specifically, the delegations from Western European countries and Japan were quartered in Genoa. The luxury and panoramic *Grand Hotel Miramare et de la Ville* welcomed the English and Belgian delegates; they were joined by the Swiss ones at the express request of the owners of the hotel itself, who were Swiss. The neighboring first-class *Grand Hotel Savoia Majestic* housed the French delegation. Both these hotels were close to the main railway station and the harbor station. All other delegates lodged in a hotel in the middle area of the city. The Italians stayed at the *Grand Hotel Bristol* and the *Hotel Splendid*; the Germans were distributed between the *Eden Parc Hotel* and the *Hotel Bavaria*, while the *Grand Hotel de Gênes* and the *Grand Hotel Isotta* accommodated the Japanese. Apart from some subordinate staff of the German and Italian delegations, who had to settle for second-class hotels (the hotels *Splendid* and *Bavaria*), all the others were welcomed in luxury and first-class hotels.[23]

Genova, Gabinetto 1879-1945 [hereafter ASG, *PGG*], box files Nos. 266, 267, and 268.

16. ASG, *PGG*, 268.

17. M. Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*, Routledge 2000; D. Strangio, *A Question of Definition. Literature and Variable Strategies for Mega Events*, "Annali del Dipartimento di Metodi e Modelli per l'Economia, il Territorio e la Finanza", 2016, 17, pp. 149–166. For specific examples, see: A. Fiadino, *The 1960 Olympics and Rome's Urban Trasformations*, "Città e Storia", 2013, 8 (1), pp. 173–214. DOI: 10.17426/38232; D. Strangio, *Mega Events and their Importance. Some Frameworks for the City of Rome*, "Città e Storia", 2013, 8 (1), pp. 229–242. DOI: 10.17426/93202; M. Teodori, *Exceptional Hospitality for a Mega Event and Permanent Housing. Innovative Solutions for the Universal Exposition of Rome in 1942*, "Città e Storia", 2013, 8 (1), pp. 137–171. DOI: 10.17426/34592; D. Strangio, *Les grands événements et le rôle des expositions. Art et Culture de l'Expo 1911 à Rome*, "Sociétés", 2018, 140 (2), pp. 11–21. DOI: 10.3917/soc.140.0011

18. A. Zanini, *Un secolo di turismo in Liguria. Dinamiche, percorsi, attori*, FrancoAngeli 2012, pp. 65–86.

19. A. Zanini, *Nervi: From Health Resort to Cultural Tourism*, in: *Villa Pagoda Hotel*, Tormena 2021, pp. 7–47.

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The delegations of neutral countries, namely Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Luxemburg, were housed in Pegli's *Grand Hotel de la Méditerranée*. Other groups, from Eastern Europe and the Iberian countries, were scattered in various hotels along the eastern Riviera, from Nervi to Rapallo. The luxury *Grand Hotel Eden* of Nervi, with its beautiful park, hosted the Polish and Hungarian delegations, together with the Spanish and Portuguese ones, while the first-class *Hotel Savoia* lodged representatives of Albania, Austria, and Bulgaria. The Yugoslavians were accommodated at the *Grand Hotel Guglielmina* in Santa Margherita. The Russian delegates, who were under strict observation due to the fears of possible attacks and pro- or anti-Russian demonstrations, were confined in the prestigious, but isolated, *Imperial Palace Hotel* in Rapallo. Rapallo also welcomed delegations from East-European countries: Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Lithuania, Greece, and Romania distributed among three different hotels.[24]

Image 2. Genoa's Grand Hotel de Gênes in central De Ferrari square.
It hosted part of the Japanese delegation and was also a support base in Genoa for the Russian delegation
Source: Postcard from the author's collection.

In many respects, the distribution of delegations in various places reflects geopolitical reasons as well as the political and economic weight of the country in light of the new order emerging after World War I. These factors were intertwined with practical aspects when deciding how to assign a delegation to a specific hotel, including the choice between luxury, first-class, or even second-class ones. Taking into account the different categories of hotels, special rates were agreed upon for providing room and board to members of a delegation, while additional services were to be contracted directly on a case-by-case basis.[25]

In addition, the hotels and their directors were asked to meet the needs of foreign delegations to the best of their ability and to provide a welcoming atmosphere in every respect. In other words, they were asked to show the world the style and the warmth of Italian hospitality and welcome. For example, menus were revised and included special dishes to be served at luncheons and receptions,

20. A. Zanini, *Un secolo di turismo in Liguria. Dinamiche, percorsi, attori*, FrancoAngeli 2012, pp. 29–39.

21. ASG, *PGG*, 267 and 268.

22. During the Conference, representatives of not officially invited countries, such as Armenia, Azerbaijan, or Georgia also arrived in Italy. They found accommodation independently at other hotels in Genoa or the Rapallo area (ASG, *PGG*, 267).

23. ASG, *PGG*, 268.

24. See Table 1.

25. ASG, *PGG*, 268. Hospitality expenses of Belgium, French, and British delegations were borne by the Italian government to reciprocate the welcome received during previous diplomatic meetings, while all the other countries had to bear the costs of food and lodging.

such as *Caviar du Volga, Choux-fleurs à la Polonaise, Asperges Sauce Hollandaise, Filets de sole à la Colbert, Charlotte à la Russe, Parfait Moscovite.*[26]

Table 1. Major foreign delegations and their accommodations, by country

Country	Place	Hotel	Category
Albania	Nervi	Hotel Savoia	First class
Austria	Nervi	Hotel Savoia	First class
Belgium	Genoa	Grand Hotel Miramare et de la Ville	Luxury
British Empire	Genoa	Grand Hotel Miramare et de la Ville	Luxury
Bulgaria	Nervi	Hotel Savoia	First class
Czechoslovakia	Rapallo	New Kursaal Hotel	Luxury
Denmark	Pegli	Grand Hotel de la Méditerranée	First class
Estonia	Rapallo	Grand Hotel Verdi	First class
Finland	Rapallo	New Kursaal Hotel	Luxury
France	Genoa	Grand Hotel Savoia Majestic	First class
Germany (1st group)	Genoa	Eden Park Hotel	First class
Germany (2nd group)	Genoa	Hotel Bavaria	Second class
Greece	Rapallo	Bristol Hotel	First class
Holland	Pegli	Grand Hotel de la Méditerranée	First class
Hungary	Nervi	Grand Hotel Eden	Luxury
Italy (1st group)	Genoa	Grand Hotel Bristol	First class
Italy (2nd group)	Genoa	Hotel Splendid	Second class

26. ASG, *PGG*, 268. See also chronicles in local newspapers, especially: "Il Caffaro", "Il Corriere Mercantile", and "Il Secolo XIX".

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Japan (1st group)	Genoa	Grand Hotel Isotta	First class
Japan (2nd group)	Genoa	Grand Hotel de Gênes	First class
Latvia	Rapallo	Grand Hotel Verdi	First class
Lithuania	Rapallo	New Kursaal Hotel	Luxury
Luxembourg	Pegli	Grand Hotel de la Méditerranée	First class
Norway	Pegli	Grand Hotel de la Méditerranée	First class
Poland	Nervi	Grand Hotel Eden	Luxury
Portugal	Nervi	Grand Hotel Eden	Luxury
Romania	Rapallo	Bristol Hotel	First class
Russia	Rapallo	Imperial Palace Hotel	Luxury
Spain	Nervi	Grand Hotel Eden	Luxury
Sweeden	Pegli	Grand Hotel de la Méditerranée	First class
Switzerland	Genoa	Grand Hotel Miramare et de la Ville	Luxury
Yugoslavia	Santa Margherita	Hotel Guglielmina	First class

Source: author's elaboration based on ASG, *PGG*, 268.

Several hotels in Genoa, including the *Grand Hotel Miramare et de la Ville*, the *Grand Hotel Savoia Majestic*, the *Grand Hotel Bristol,* and the *Grand Hotel de Gênes* also hosted some banquets and meetings related to the Conference. Other receptions were held inside various public palaces, such as *Palazzo Ducale* and *Palazzo Reale*, and, on April 22, King Victor Emmanuel the Third offered lunch to foreign delegates aboard the battleship "Dante Alighieri" of the Royal Navy.[27]

Although practical problems, especially logistical ones, were not lacking, Genoa and Italy were able to offer cordial hospitality and elicited words of admiration and gratitude from many quar-

27. For the complete program, including the official and related events, see *Cerimonie, ricevimenti e banchetti durante la Conferenza*, "Il Comune di Genova. Bollettino municipale", 1922, 2 (9), pp. 21–22.

ters for the exquisite welcome they received.[28] However, even if no official event was scheduled outside the city of Genoa, it was the *Imperial Palace* of Rapallo – hosting the Russian delegation – that played a prominent role during the Genoa Conference.

Image 3. Nervi's Grand Hotel Eden. It hosted the Polish and Hungarian delegations, as well as the Spanish and Portuguese ones
Source: Postcard from the author's collection.

The role of the *Imperial Place Hotel*

The *Imperial Palace Hotel* (today *Imperiale Palace Hotel*) is a luxury hotel built on a hill located within a vast park with luxuriant vegetation that stretched on the border between the municipalities of Rapallo and Santa Margherita, along the eastern Riviera.[29] It is situated in a particularly valuable panoramic position, allowing a charming view of the coast from Portofino to Sestri Levante. The original nucleus of the hotel consists of a private liberty-style villa built around 1889-90. At the be-

28. B.M. Vigliero, *La Conferenza Internazionale Economica di Genova del 1922*, "La Casana", 1972, 25 (1), pp. 11–21. See also articles published in "Il Caffaro", "Il Corriere Mercantile", and "Il Secolo XIX" during the period of the Conference and in its aftermath.

29. At that time, the hotel was situated in the territory of the municipality of Rapallo; however, in 1928, municipal boundaries were re-drawn, and the *Imperial Palace* came under the municipality of Santa Margherita.

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ginning of the 20th century, the initial body of the building was refitted and gradually enlarged to be converted into a new, luxury hotel: the *Imperial Palace*. It had 180 bedrooms and was equipped with every comfort of the time: elevator, electric lights, central heating, suites with private bathrooms, etc. Since its opening in 1903, the hotel quickly won the favor of the distinguished international clientele, particularly the British and Americans, as well as prominent people in politics, art, and culture. In nearly two decades of activity, it also hosted the Italian royal family and numerous other members of European royalty and aristocracy, including even some exiles who belonged to the Russian nobility.[30] From the point of view of the Italian authorities, the decision to relegate the Russian delegation to the *Imperial Palace Hotel* was functional to avoid public order problems, ensure adequate protection for the Moscow government's representatives, and keep them under close surveillance. However, a few days before the delegation's arrival, rumors had spread that the Russians had formally requested to be accommodated in a hotel in Genoa because they did not consider themselves sufficiently safe in Rapallo. Such rumors, however, had been neither officially confirmed nor denied.[31] The Italian government prepared impressive security measures and deployed a large number of police and intelligence agents inside and outside the building to monitor the situation constantly. Every day a detailed report was prepared concerning the movements of the delegation members and the entries of other people into the hotel, which was passed on to the prefect of Genoa and the government.[32]

The *Imperial Palace Hotel* undoubtedly constituted an ideal accommodation from the point of view of the Russian delegation as well. It was a prestigious facility, thus showing that the government in Moscow, while being under strict observation, was treated on a par with the great European powers. Since the hotel had more rooms than were needed to accommodate the Russian delegates, the last floor was thus left available to some hotel's regular guests.[33]

The isolated position of the hotel allowed for sought-after privacy but also implied numerous round-trip travels to Genoa, even several times a day. To reduce such travels, the Russians also rented a hall at the *Grand Hotel de Gênes*, in the city's main square. This strategy allowed them to have a support base not far from the Conference venue to implement their diplomatic and communication activity, especially meeting correspondents of the foreign press. The presence of Russian delegates and their movements between Genoa and Rapallo fueled anecdotes and indiscretions that reflected the spasmodic curiosity of the Western international audience, thus allowing them to make headlines.[34]

30. K. Baedeker, *Northern Italy, including Leghorn, Florence, Ravenna and Routes through France, Switzerland, and Austria. Handbook for Travellers. Fourteenth remodelled edition*, Karl Baedeker 1913, p. 134; L. Gravina, *Rapallo e Golfo Tigullio. Guida illustrata*, Tipografia Colombo 1921, p. 32; U. Tegani, *Perle della Riviera. III. Santa Margherita Ligure*, "L'Albergo in Italia", 1933, 9 (2), pp.68–69; G. Pacciarotti, *Grand Hôtel. Luoghi e miti della villeggiatura in Italia, 1890-1940*, Nomos 2006, p. 106; C. Olcese Spingardi, *Grandi Alberghi e Ville della Belle Époque nel golfo del Tigullio*, Sagep 2012, p. 18.

31. See rumors published in Italian newspapers, such as: "Il Mare", 1 April 1922; "La Stampa", 5 April 1922.

32. S. White, *The Origins of Détente: The Genoa Conference and Soviet-Western Relations, 1921-1922*, Cambridge University Press 1985, pp. 122–125. For these reports, see ASG, *PGG*, 266, 267 and 268.

33. S. White, *The Origins of Détente: The Genoa Conference and Soviet-Western Relations, 1921-1922*, Cambridge University Press 1985, p. 123.

34. C. Fink, *The Genoa Conference. European Diplomacy, 1921-1922*, Syracuse University Press 1993, p. 146; S. White, *The Origins of Détente: The Genoa Conference and Soviet-Western Relations, 1921-1922*, Cambridge University Press 1985, pp. 124–126.

However, it was precisely in the privacy and elegance of the *Imperial Palace Hotel* that the well-known Rapallo Treaty was secretly signed between German Foreign Minister Walther von Rathenau and Russian Foreign Commissioner Georgy Vasilyevich Chicherin. This happened on a Sunday, 16 April, the day of the Easter feast, when the Conference's work was suspended and no receptions, banquets, or other official events were scheduled. The purpose of the agreement was the resumption of diplomatic and economic relations between the two states and the final settlement of the aftermath of World War I. It helped to bring closer together two states that, for several reasons, were isolated on the international political scene and would have important repercussions in the geopolitical and diplomatic spheres far beyond the subsequent working sessions of the Genoa Conference.[35]

Image 4. Rapallo's Imperial Palace Hotel. It hosted the Russian delegation. It was also the venue of the 1922 Rapallo Treaty between Germany and Russia Source: Postcard from the author's collection.

Having been, despite itself, the scene of a major international event, the *Imperial Palace Hotel* has become part of the political history of the 20th century. When, in the following days, the Treaty was made public, the news quickly made the rounds of the world, thus bringing to the fore the names of Rapallo and the *Imperial Palace*, which gained impressive popularity and media hype.

The "Oval Hall", where the Treaty was signed, subsequently renamed – not coincidentally – the "Treaty Hall", still retains its elegant appearance of a hundred years ago, in perpetual memory of what happened within those walls. Its relevance in the history of international relations is also recognized by a commemorative plaque. This important legacy has allowed and still allows the *Imperial Palace Hotel* to capitalize on this unique feature in promotional and marketing terms.[36]

35. R. Morgan, *The Political Significance of German-Soviet Trade Negotiations, 1922-5*, "The Historical Journal", 1963, 6 (2), pp. 253–271. DOI: 10.1017/S0018246X00001096; P. Fornaro, *Rapporti economici e politici tra Germania e URSS prima della ripresa delle relazioni ufficiali*, in: *La Conferenza di Genova e il Trattato di Rapallo (1922), Atti del Convegno italo-sovietico Genova-Rapallo, 8-11 giugno 1972*, Edizioni Italia-URSS 1974, pp. 162–174; G.N. Goroshkova, *Il trattato di Rapallo: la sua legittimità storica e il suo antefatto*, in: *La Conferenza di Genova e il Trattato di Rapallo (1922), Atti del Convegno italo-sovietico Genova-Rapallo, 8-11 giugno 1972*, Edizioni Italia-URSS 1974, pp. 561–567; I. Kulinič, *Genova e Rapallo: una nuova tappa nei rapporti fra le Repubbliche Sovietiche e i paesi dell'Europa occidentale*, in: *La Conferenza di Genova e il Trattato di Rapallo (1922), Atti del Convegno italo-sovietico Genova-Rapallo, 8-11 giugno 1972*, Edizioni Italia-URSS 1974, pp. 568–582; R. Himmer, *Rathenau, Russia, and Rapallo*, "Central European History", 1976, 9 (2), pp. 146–183. DOI: 10.1017/S000893890001815X;
S. White, *The Origins of Détente: The Genoa Conference and Soviet-Western Relations, 1921-1922*, Cambridge University Press 1985, pp. 157–161; P. Krüger, *A Rainy Day, April 16, 1922: The Rapallo Treaty and the Cloudy Perspective for Germany Foreign Policy*, in: *Genoa, Rapallo, and European Reconstruction in 1922*, eds. C. Fink, A. Frohn, J. Heideking, Cambridge University

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Concluding remarks

Accommodating foreign delegations during an international event such as the 1922 Genoa International Economic Conference poses several issues in terms of welcoming, security, diplomacy, and geopolitics, which the Italian government tried to address to the best of its ability and available resources. In this regard, hotels played a crucial, peculiar role from many points of view.

Hotels may be considered discreet and motionless spectators of the Conference and its background. They hosted distinguished representatives as well as anonymous members of their staff; they were also the scene of official events, such as receptions and diplomatic negotiations, as well as some *coup de théâtre*, above all the Rapallo Treaty. During the Conference, this allowed hotels to gain visibility and popularity, and enhance their image with the international public. However, some hotels were also symbolic places of this international gathering, becoming pieces within a larger geopolitical mosaic. Therefore, they have rightfully become part of history and thus preserved a cultural value. Many of these hotels are no longer operational and the buildings have been converted into private apartments, such as Genoa's *Grand Hotel Miramare et de la Ville*, *Grand Hotel de Gênes, Grand Hotel Isotta*, or even Nervi's *Grand Hotel Eden*. As a result, the memory of the events that took place inside those buildings between April and May 1922 has fallen into oblivion.

In other cases, however, that memory is still alive today. The most striking example is – not by chance – that of the *Imperial Palace Hotel*. The hotel was immediately in the spotlight as the headquarters of the Russian delegation. However, after the signing of the Rapallo Treaty between Germany and Russia, it gained a place among historical sites having a role in international geopolitics and diplomacy. This is, probably, the most important legacy of the 1922 Genoa International Economic Conference in terms of historical heritage, able to link luxury hotels, geopolitics, and diplomacy. However, these aspects deserve to be widely considered from a historical cultural heritage enhancement perspective that goes beyond the marketing strategies of individual hotels.

Press 1991, pp. 49–64; P. Battifora, *La Liguria dei trattati/Liguria of Treaties*, De Ferrari 2001, pp. 87–103.

36. *History of the Imperiale Palace Hotel*, https://www.imperialepalacehotel.it/en/luxury-hotel-portofino-bay/history, (access 05.09.2022).

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The City, NGOs and COVID-19. Non-governmental organisations in Warsaw and the new horizons of societal security during the pandemic (research concept)

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Abstract

The authors present a concept of research concerning the share of the non-governmental organisations operating in Warsaw (Poland's capital) during the COVID-19 pandemic in creating societal security. The elaborated research concept covers a description of the state of research, the arising research questions, suggested research hypotheses and methods. The article's contents are meant to serve the implementation of a research project, whose results will be useful by increasing the body of knowledge on the functioning of NGOs during the pandemic, which should contribute to improving the operation of such entities in unanticipated circumstances in future. Learning the failures and successes of NGOs (scientific monitoring) in creating societal security should be seen as an intrinsic part of care for the well-being of society and the functioning of a political community. The article contemplates conceptualisation and construction of research

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projects in the area of security studies, social policy and politology, attention being given to the contexts and problem references to social culture, law and administration. The core content of the work includes: a synthesis of the state of research in the proposed research area; theoretical assumptions of the role of NGOs in social life; and a methodology of postulated research.

Keywords
societal security, COVID-19, pandemic, non-governmental organisations, aid activities, Warsaw

Introduction

The unexpected outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic took the majority of states in the world by surprise. Even the highly industrialised countries were unable to fight it effectively. No specific procedures as well as the fear of losing one's health or life paralysed many areas of private and public life. In Poland, in the context of the pandemic, a great role was played by NGOs, primarily as regards helping those who were particularly vulnerable. Thanks to their specificity (*inter alia*, deep enrooting in the society's tissue, ability to respond promptly, flexibility of structures and teams as well as their competences) non-governmental organisations started to adjust their internal regulations and operating methods to the new circumstances, to the new challenges, so as to bring help as promptly as possible and thus mitigate the consequences of the SARS-CoV-2 virus and consolidate the level of security of local communities.

The article is aimed at presenting the concepts of the postulated research concerning the efforts undertaken by the aid organisations operating in Warsaw during the COVID-19 pandemic in order to resolve the problems in the area of societal security that had been observed since early 2020. Why should such research be carried out? The sudden wave of infections and introduction of new sanitary restrictions required firm preventive measures from the authorities. Despite the existence in Poland of the law on infectious diseases[1] and the relevant procedures[2] it turned out in practice that public authorities had not been sufficiently prepared. The reasons for the weakening of the existing level of societal security should be perhaps sought not only in the suddenness of the outbreak of the pandemic itself, but

1. Ustawa z dnia 5 grudnia 2008 r. o zapobieganiu oraz zwalczaniu zakażeń i chorób zakaźnych u ludzi, Dz.U. 2008 nr 234 poz. 1570, [Act of 5 December 2008 on the prevention and combating infections and infectious diseases in humans, Journal of Laws 2008, No. 234, item 1570]; Ustawa z dnia 17 marca 2021 r. o zmianie ustawy o zapobieganiu oraz zwalczaniu zakażeń i chorób zakaźnych u ludzi, Dz.U. 2021 poz. 616, [Act of 17 March 2021 on amendment of the Act on preventing and combating infections and contagious diseases in humans, Journal of Laws 2021, item 616]; Ustawa z dnia 7 października 2020 r. o zmianie niektórych ustaw w celu przeciwdziałania społeczno-gospodarczym skutkom COVID-19, Dz.U. 2020 poz. 1747, [Act of 7 October 2020 on the amendment of certain Acts

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also in the lack of cohesion in the crisis management system. Noticing this powerlessness, third sector organisations commenced efforts aimed at ensuring security and support for the people. The carrying out of the postulated research is significant because of the need to fill a gap which has occurred in the area of societal security and which substantially endangered the functioning of local communities for instance in Warsaw. It will be possible to fill this gap as a result of gaining information on the types of activities of third sector organisations aimed at consolidating the area of societal security as well as the people who became their immediate beneficiaries. The following research methods have been used in writing this paper devoted to the concept of the postulated research: analysis, synthesis, deduction as well as participatory observation carried out by the authors during the COVID-19 pandemic in Warsaw.

It should be expected that the research carried out according to the concept presented further on in this paper will be of a cognitive (especially from the viewpoint of security studies that are developing in Poland) and utilitarian value. The latter will be able to reveal itself in relevant recommendations for potential changes in Polish and European legislation. This concerns such legal regulations which may contribute to enhancing the effectiveness of the *Act on the Prevention and Control of Infectious Diseases in Humans*[3] and the *Act on Crisis Management*.[4] The importance of such recommendations seems to be especially crucial from the viewpoint of containing negative consequences in the area of security brought about by similar events in the future.

The state of research in the proposed research area

Following our examination (of reports, scientific papers, documents available in online databases) it should be stated that the research concerning the role of non-governmental organisations and their support to the people during the COVID-19 pandemic has been primarily focused on the health aspect. However, they also deal with socio-political and economic issues (such works have been published e.g. in Poland, the US, India or Iran). Similar thematic areas are touched upon in the Polish online service entitled *Nauka Polska* (Polish Science).[5] The abovementioned services offer several dozen works on public security in connection with the COVID-19 pandemic and the threats associated therewith. However, the authors studying the changes caused by the pandemic in the area of the security environment do not include *non-profit* organisations in the group of entities that contribute to increasing the level of societal security – Romania[6] and Iran[7] are the exceptions.

So far, at an early state of conducting the research, numerous consultations and interviews on the functioning of non-governmental organisations and their aid for the inhabitants of Warsaw have

in order to prevent social and economic consequences of COVID-19, Journal of Laws 2020, item 1747].

2. Rozporządzenie Ministra Zdrowia z dnia 10 grudnia 2019 r. w sprawie zgłaszania podejrzeń i rozpoznań zakażeń, chorób zakaźnych oraz zgonów z ich powodu, Dz.U. 2019 poz. 2430, [Ordinance of the Minister of Health of 10 December 2019 on reporting suspicions and diagnoses of infection, contagious diseases and death caused thereby, Journal of Laws 2019, item 2430].

3. Ustawa z dnia 5 grudnia 2008 r. o zapobieganiu oraz zwalczaniu zakażeń i chorób zakaźnych u ludzi, Dz.U. 2008 nr 234 poz. 1570, [Act of 5 December 2008 on the prevention and combating infections and infectious diseases in humans, Journal of Laws 2008, No. 234, item 1570].

4. Ustawa z dnia 26 kwietnia 2007 r. o zarządzaniu kryzysowym, Dz.U. 2007 nr 89 poz. 590, [Act of 26 April 2007 on crisis management, Journal of Laws 2007, No. 89, item 590].

5. The Polish scientific portal gathering people and scientific institutions within the database of the Information Processing Centre of the State Research Institute. See: https://nauka-polska.pl/#/home/search?_k=0jx737, (access 28.10.2022).

6. M.S. Nemțeanu, D.C. Dabija, *Best practices of nongovernmental organisa-*

been carried out. Basing on the opinions of experts in the area of security, psychology as well as those who work in the socio-economic sector several key conclusions may be drawn as regards their situation the first two years of the pandemic.

One of the main negative effects of the pandemic is the degeneration of interpersonal relations, and in some cases actually the atrophy of social communication at its various level. This situation occurs *inter alia* between employers and employees, among co-workers, social groups as well as within the family circle. It is one of the most frequently mentioned social problems noticed by and notified to voluntaries. Similar opinions are voiced by the community of academic researchers, e.g. by Marlena Sokół-Szawłowska, who measures the negative impact of the pandemic on mental health.[8]

As a result of the pandemic, also the number of people showing mild to severe symptoms of depression has increased.[9] With a view to the abovementioned degeneration of relations – in the broad meaning of the word – as a result of quarantines and sanitary restrictions, since the beginning of 2020 individuals became step by step more alienated within the society. In the research report entitled "Symptoms of depression and anxiety among the Poles during the COVID-19 epidemic. A longitudinal studies report" published as a result of research carried out *inter alia* by a team from the Psychology Department of the University of Warsaw headed by Małgorzata Gambin one can read that there has been a significant increase of the symptoms of depression, particularly in the first year of the pandemic.[10] A similar situation was reported by Katarzyna Hamer and Maria Baran with respect to the feeling of stress and an excess of negative changes taking place in the lives of the Poles.[11] Of no less importance is the issue of employment and instability associated therewith. Enforced and almost instantaneous redirecting of thousands of white-collar workers to do their jobs remotely (online) revealed several important issues connected with the durability of employment. Distance working had two pretty serious consequences in the social dimension. First, people spent longer hours doing their jobs (at a computer) since they could utilise the time that would normally be used for commuting. The additional number of worked hours was tantamount to a growth of effectiveness and thus doing the same amount of work that had been that far performed by alternating hourly shifts. This led to a surplus of workforce for the work to be done, as a result of which employers got rid of some of the staff. Another important element associated with the transfer of work to home was that it became difficult to separate professional and personal life. So far, home had been the place where an individual could rest in the environment of their own creation, according to their own rules, free from the tension associated with performing a job and in consequence spend "the evening" with their near-

tions in combatting Covid-19, in: *6th BASIQ International Conference on New Trends in Sustainable Business and Consumption*, eds. R. Pamfilie, V. Dinu, L. Tăchiciu, D. Pleșea, C.Vasiliu, ASE 2020, pp. 626–633.

7. E. Maserat, F. Jafari, Z. Mohammadzadeh, et al., *COVID-19 & an NGO and university developed interactive portal: a perspective from Iran*, "Health Technol", 2020, 10, pp. 1421–1426. DOI: 10.1007/s12553-020-00470-1

8. M. Sokół-Szawłowska, *Wpływ kwarantann na zdrowie psychiczne podczas pandemii COVID-19*, "Psychiatria", 2020, 18 (1), pp. 57–62. DOI: 10.5603/PSYCH.a2020.0046

9. Encyclopaedia Britannica defines depression as "a mood or emotional state that is marked by feelings of low self-worth or guilt and a reduced ability to enjoy life. [...] A person who is depressed usually experiences: feelings of sadness, hopelessness, or pessimism; lowered self-esteem and heightened self-depreciation; a decrease or loss of ability to take pleasure in ordinary activities [...]."From this succinct description it may be inferred that depression is a state of profound dejection or breakdown, but is also treated as a serious illness. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "depression". *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Invalid Date, https://www.britannica.com/science/depression-psychology, (access 28.10.2022).

est and dearest. Upon the closing of the entire family in quarantine, the two so far separate spheres of life had been squeezed into a single space: the duties of a job had clashed with the educational responsibilities vis-à-vis the children, who also had their classes online.[12] As Teresa Chirkowska-Smolak and Mikołaj Czumak note in such a situation parents were deprived of a relevant social support which before the pandemic they could have received from their superiors at work. Living in such circumstances could be a convenient form of spending time for a short period, though long term it starts to upset the abovementioned personal relations.

Theoretical assumptions for the role of NGOs in social life

On the basis of relevant literature in the area of sociology and security studies,[13] it is possible to specify the theoretical preconditions for the establishment and activities of third sector organisations in social life. The concepts concerning aid organisations include:

– Interdependence theory,

– Welfare state theory,

– Social origins theory.

The theory of interdependence is a concept the characteristic of which is that its participants model the society with the simultaneous acceptance of non-governmental entities as well as state authorities. The inner relations between the participating parties are characterized by – as the name itself suggests – interdependence, which eliminates the element of competition and replaces it with mutual complementing each other.[14] The correlation underlined by Lester M. Salamon allows for common resolution of social problems exploiting the potential of both sectors (e.g. owing to the fact of having a larger budget at its disposal state administration may decide to outsource certain tasks to non-governmental institutions). This affiliation contributes at the same time to a compensation of expenses associated with administrative efforts which does not take place when the tasks are outsourced to other entities.[15] In such a case, one should not altogether exclude the weakness of organisational structures of private entities (voluntary failure), which Salamon enumerates as follows:[16]

– *philanthropic insufficiency* – ensuring sufficient support as regards the delivery of goods;

10. M. Gambin, M. Sękowski, M. Woźniak-Prus et al., *Objawy depresji i lęku wśród Polaków w trakcie epidemii COVID-19. Raport z badań podłużnych*, University of Warsaw Psychology Department 2021.

11. K. Hamer, M. Baran, *Wpływ pandemii COVID-19 na zachowania i postawy i dobrostan Polaków – podsumowanie 10 miesięcy pandemii*, SWPS University 2021. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13406.36166; The document available in the archives of SWPS University. The report reads that the most affected group of the Poles during the pandemic included young people at the age of 18 to 24 years.

12. T. Chirkowska-Smolak, M. Czumak, *Ryzyko braku relacji zawodowych. Konstrukcja Skali Niepewności Zatrudnienia w Sytuacji Pandemii*, "Człowiek i Społeczeństwo", 2021, Vol. 51, p. 146. DOI: 10.14746/cis.2021.51.8

13. L.M. Salamon, *The Rise of Nonprofit Sector*, "Foreign Affairs", 1994, 73 (4), pp. 109–122. DOI: 10.2307/20046747; P.J. DiMaggio, H.K. Anheier, *The Sociology of Nonprofit Organizations and Sectors*, "Annual Review of Sociology", 1990, Vol. 16, pp. 137–159; E. Leś, *Zasada subsydiarności i jej użyteczność w reformowaniu instytucji pomocy społecznej w Polsce*, in: *Opiekuńczość czy solidarność?*, ed. G. Skąpska, Fundacja Międzynarodowe Centrum Rozwoju Demokracji 1998, pp. 97–112.

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– *philanthropic paternalism* – constituting an interdependence between the sphere of activity of an organisation and its source of funding;

– *philanthropic amateurism* – being a consequence of the low level of training of the voluntaries in an organisation;

- *philanthropic particularism* – focusing efforts on several selected areas to the detriment of other important social problems.

The welfare state theory assumes that a considerable part of the tasks performed to meet social needs, described as "common" or "public", lies within the framework of responsibilities of state authorities, whereas third sector entities play a lesser role therein, which – as noted by Paul J. DiMaggio and Helmut K. Anheier – finds its direct reflection in the aspect of giving support to the people in dire situations.[17] The theory does not explain the prerequisites underlying the development of a welfare state. Ewa Leś, on the other hand, distinguishes the notion of "a welfare state crisis",[18] which occurred as a result of socio-economic adversities in the 20th century and re-oriented the West European countries as regards the role played by non-governmental organisations and their impact on social polies that are pursued. The cropping up of institutions in the non-governmental area as well as the implementation of ever new undertakings providing aid to the society bore heavily on the state budget thus revealing its weakness as regards fulfilling the function of a guardian. Alongside the formation and development of new NGOs the problem of the state apparatus was revealed in the context of organisational failure. The abovementioned theory underlines the roles played by non-governmental organisations vis-à-vis the realities prevailing in a given period in a civil society, consideration being given to the moment of their establishment.[19] The wording of the above theory warrants drawing a conclusion that what occurs is the emergence of two parties that are separate to each other – the non-governmental sector and the public sector, at the same time suggesting that the rank of one of them is diminishing while the other's is adequately growing. Moreover, E. Leś interprets the changing role of non-governmental institutions as a method for "hibernation" of social problems which cannot be resolved with the use of resources and means available at a given time.[20] Jerzy Hauser disagrees with this concept and claims that "the stress on an active role of a civil society and non-governmental organisations is a result of, among others, a critical assessment of the role of the state in resolving social problems."[21] Examples of such a critical assessment include the inefficiency of state entities, unequal access to services with respect to social classes or the insufficient level of services provided by public administration.

14. L.M. Salamon, *The Rise of Nonprofit Sector*, "Foreign Affairs", 1994, 73 (4), p. 109.

15. Ibidem, p. 39.

16. Ibidem, pp. 30–33.

17. P.J. DiMaggio, H.K. Anheier, *The Sociology of Nonprofit Organizations and Sectors*, "Annual Review of Sociology", 1990, Vol. 16, p. 146.

18. E. Leś, *Zasada subsydiarności i jej użyteczność w reformowaniu instytucji pomocy społecznej w Polsce*, in: *Opiekuńczość czy solidarność?*, ed. G. Skąpska, Fundacja Międzynarodowe Centrum Rozwoju Demokracji 1998, p. 50.

19. P.J. DiMaggio, H.K. Anheier, *The Sociology of Nonprofit Organizations and Sectors*, "Annual Review of Sociology", 1990, Vol. 16, p. 152.

20. E. Leś, *Zasada subsydiarności i jej użyteczność w reformowaniu instytucji pomocy społecznej w Polsce*, in: *Opiekuńczość czy solidarność?*, ed. G. Skąpska, Fundacja Międzynarodowe Centrum Rozwoju Demokracji 1998, p. 51.

21. J. Hauser, *Zarządzanie publiczne*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar 2008, p. 83.

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The latter concept (concerning the importance of social history[22]) is based on a factor which positions non-profit institutions in the social system. As Ewa Leś notes when analysing the statement made by researchers Lester, M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier: "contrary to what is claimed by the advocates of economic theories, an individual consumer has no free choice among the market, the third sector or the state as a provider of basic services (...) since the capability to choose is fundamentally limited by the past models of historical development, which significantly determine the range of options available at a given time and place."[23]

There is a correlation between the above theories and the internal security sphere described by Barry Buzan with respect to satisfying need in the social area.[24]

Research methodology

The analysis of the current state of research in Poland in the area of security studies in what refers to the activities of NGOs clearly shows that there such studies are but a few. As a result, the area that requires to be investigated in depth and the existing current reality analysed is significant. Creation of security becomes in a large measure possible thanks to drawing conclusions, referring them to the historical experience and today's realities as regards the legal system as well as the political and social situation. Basing on the aforementioned elements it is possible to works out strategic goals which would provide a foundation for an effective strategy[25] both with respect to societal security as well as crisis management.[26] The determination of the relationships between the abovementioned elements of effective planning would allow for efficient preparation of social institutions for a possible outbreak of a pandemic in future. That is why time is so important as regards initiating research concerning the indicated subjects as well as performing an in-depth analysis of the processes and efforts undertaken thereunder by third sector aid organisations. One of the assumptions of the concept is to distinguish the threats that arise for the society and the functioning of NGOs,[27] including the non-governmental sector in other countries.[28]

With a view to the maximum accuracy and effectiveness, research should be limited not only in time (the duration of the pandemic) but also as regard place. Thus, from the viewpoint of the authors of this research concept, the postulated research should be restricted[29] to the activities of NGOs operating in the capital city of Warsaw[30] and holding the status of public benefit organisations.[31] The services provided for the society include, *inter alia*, the implementation of tasks addressed to: the elderly, the sick and the lonely, those who live in hard conditions (financially and

22. E. Leś, *Zasada subsydiarności i jej użyteczność w reformowaniu instytucji pomocy społecznej w Polsce*, in: *Opiekuńczość czy solidarność?*, ed. G. Skąpska, Fundacja Międzynarodowe Centrum Rozwoju Demokracji 1998, p. 53.

23. Ibidem, p. 53. The researchers distinguished four models of development of third sector organisations with respect to social and economic conditions. They are: liberal model, corporate model, static model and social-democratic model.

24. B. Buzan, *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Wheatsheaf Books Publisher 1983; 2nd reviewed edition: B. Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Harvester Wheatsheaf 1991, pp. 18–24. The author distinguishes the dimension of internal security, one of which concerns the social sphere. In the social area, the threats that can destabilise the state as a result of erroneous political decisions include: social problems (including the phenomenon of social exclusion), a high rate of unemployment, poverty and privation may contribute to the migration of people as well as the lack of ensuring adequate living and development conditions.

25. The effective strategy should be understood as the implementation of efforts as a result of which it will be possible to effectively prepare state and

otherwise), etc. In light of the assumptions of the concept, the postulated research problems fit into a research gap.

In light of the above, the main research problem should be worded as follows: "Through what actions non-governmental organisations consolidated societal security during the COVID-19 pandemic in Warsaw?" Given the so formulated main research problem, the detailed problems should be as follows:

1. "What criteria should be applied in order to be able to determine the role of NGOs in ensuring societal security during the COVID-19 pandemic in Warsaw?"

2. "What instruments should be used to investigate societal security? To what extent those instruments are adequate for studying societal security during the COVID-19 pandemic in Warsaw?"

3. "What instruments are used to investigate the effectiveness of NGOs' efforts in the area of societal security?"

4. "What threats to societal security were identified by NGOs?"

5. "What efforts were undertaken by NGOs in Warsaw for building societal security?"

6. "What are the main threats triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic to the functioning of the NGOs working for creating societal security?"

The proposed main research problem is important with a view to two key elements: first – enumeration of aid campaigns for the inhabitants of the capital city of Warsaw which allowed for containing the growing anxiety as well as the deteriorating level of security in the new uncertain times; second – the successive phases of changes and preparations that had to be faced by aid organisations so as to effectively support the people in their returning to the right state of security.[32] Working out a reply to the detailed problems will make it possible to expound on the researched problem more deeply and get an answer as to the types of mechanisms and processes that took place in the area of societal security. In reference to the outlined research problem it is possible to specify the research objectives.

private entities through **utilisation of the arising opportunities, undertaking challenges, reducing risks and preventing threats.** Obviously, it should not be forgotten that the above efforts should be preceded by improving the awareness and education of the society as regards contemporary threats that should be minimised.

26. Ustawa z dnia 26 kwietnia 2007 r. o zarządzaniu kryzysowym, Dz.U. 2007 nr 89 poz. 590, [Act of 26 April 2007 on crisis management, Journal of Laws 2007, No. 89, item 590].

27. *Professor discusses how non-profits have been affected during the pandemic*, https://ocm.auburn.edu/experts/2020/05/181612-nonprofits.php, (access 26.10.2022).

28. H. Aly, *This global pandemic could transform humanitarian aid forever. Here's how*, https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2020/06/08/coronavirus-transform-humanitarianism-aid, (access 28.10.2022).

29. R. Bäcker, L. Czechowska, G. Gadomska et al., *Metodologia badań politologicznych*, Polskie Towarzystwo Nauk Politycznych 2016, pp. 33–38. With a view of the categorisation of the research area used are: the **objective criterion** describing the ontological nature of the researched object (efforts of NGOs for building societal security), the **substantive criterion** describing what or who is the carrier of the object that is of interest to the researcher (so-

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The main objective of the research should be "to determine the role of third sector organisations and their activities aimed at consolidating societal security during the COVID-19 pandemic in Warsaw." Given so formulated main objective of the research, detailed objectives should be as follows:

1. "Determination of the role of non-governmental organisations in the area of societal security during the COVID-19 pandemic."

2. "Determination of threats in the area of societal security recognised by NGOs."

3. "Recognition of aid efforts carried out for the society and its security in Warsaw during the COVID-19 pandemic."

4. "Determination of threats to third sector organisations."

Attainment of the postulated research objectives will make it possible to determine the exact role of non-governmental organisations in the process of protecting the society against the increasing number of negative consequences in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. Of no lesser importance will be the presentation of how the NGOs operating in Warsaw alleviated the situations of threat to the people and prevented their further spreading. On the basis of the proposed problems as well as stipulated research objectives to be attained through the postulated research it is possible to put forward the main hypothesis as well as the supporting ones.

Therefore, the main research hypotheses should be as follows: "The efforts undertaken by non-governmental organisations during the COVID-19 pandemic contributed to enhancing the level of societal security in Warsaw." In light of so formulated main research hypothesis, the following detailed hypotheses should be further specified:

1. "On the basis of scientific knowledge, it is possible to determine the role of NGOs in creating societal security during the COVID-19 pandemic."

2. "The appropriately selected research methods and techniques used for analysing the activities of NGOs allow for a critical recognition of the functioning of those entities in Warsaw during the COVID-19 pandemic."

ciety and societal security associated therewith), the **aspect criterion** and its functionality (NGOS providing services in Warsaw).

30. An important criterion determining the selection of Warsaw as the area of research is availability of data and effectiveness of their use, analysis and interpretation.

31. Artykuł 3 ustawy z dnia 24 kwietnia 2003 r. o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie, Dz.U. 2003 nr 96 poz. 873, [Article 3 of the Act of 24 April 2003 on public benefit activities and volonteers, Journal of Laws 2003, No. 96, item 873].

32. This phrase is used to refer to the situations whereby "the threat is insignificant and its perception is right." The model of state of security has been elaborated by a Swiss politologists D. Frei. See: R. Jakubczak et al., *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski w erze globalizacji*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej 2008.

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3. "The use of adequate research methods makes it possible to recognise and identify the activities of non-governmental organisations aimed at creating societal security during the COVID-19 pandemic."

4. "The conclusions drawn from the pro-society experience of the NGOs active during the COVID-19 pandemic in Warsaw may contribute to the improvement of the processes of creating societal security in big cities."

The abovementioned hypotheses are to be helpful in making a clear presentation of the role of the third sector in protecting the people during the pandemic. It is also important to outline the exact impact on the sphere of security in the "new" reality with the use of the mentioned research methods and instruments. Thus they are to be convergent with the identified research objectives and problems.

Striving to deal with the research problem, research objectives and taking into account the presented hypotheses, it is necessary to select the optimum research methods and techniques. Given the current state of knowledge we believe that it would suffice to apply the following methods: analysis, systemic analysis, decision analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, analysis of legal texts, in-depth interview and comparison.

Analysis is based on dividing the main research problem into its individual components (NGOs, their statutory tasks and those concerning alleviating the consequences of the pandemic or the types of aid services) and they investigating each of those elements. The results obtained will make it possible to work out a new and optimum way of resolving the problem.

Systemic analysis consists in delimiting the investigated system and its elements, as a result of which a critical approach occurs due to mental limitations. Moreover, it allows for a comprehensive approach to and examination of political phenomena.[33] The examination of the political system will provide a general outline of the pursued anti-pandemic policy as well as the support the third sector was receiving from the beginning of 2020.

The **decision analysis method** is used for the comprehensive approach to the political phenomena, the analysis of which should take into account the decision-making centre and process as

33. J. Kowalski, W. Lamentowicz, P. Winczorek, *Teoria państwa*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1978, p. 32.

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well as the political decision and its implementation.[34] This method will make it possible to trace the decision-making process of aid organisations in order to understand their efforts undertaken from the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Synthesis is a mental process consisting in combining the components and reproduction of the knowledge about the research subject. In this case, the combination of the activities of NGOs for societal security, definite types of services, groups of beneficiaries and their specificity will make it possible to have a holistic view of the research subject.

Induction consists in drawing conclusions as to the general characteristics on the basis of the knowledge acquired from its subsets. The character of the subsystems within aid organisations provides grounds for specifying the main area of the activity of a non-governmental entity in the nee "pandemic" reality.

Deduction is directed at deriving a detailed statement from a given reason with the use of rules of logical inference.[35]

The **analysis of legal texts** serves to reconstruct the undertakings or the organisational structure of a given institution (entity) in the form of a legally drawn documents. This method will constitute a useful element for defining the legal framework in the area of which NGOs could have functioned before the pandemic and in the period of its prevalence, as well as the gradual intensification of restrictions.

In-depth interview is such a form of an interview in which there are no questions set in advance, and they are ordered and formulated at the discretion of the interviewer. Such interviews are carried out with people who have certain qualifications.[36] With a view to the fact that this type of interviews is used as the primary method of obtaining data it will be possible to trace the steps undertaken by certain third sector organisations and their workers. The form of interviewing offers a possibility of formulating questions in such a way so that the authors of the concept will be able to exploit aid areas which constitute the core area of activity of a given entity.

The **comparative method** consists in comparing similar or identical characteristics as well as distinguishing the processes and traits which set the compared entities apart. This method makes it

34. M. Jasiukiewicz, M. Sobczak, J.M. Soroka, *Nauka o polityce*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej 1985, pp. 45–46.

35. E. Nowak, K. Głowiński, *Teoretyczne metody badawcze w naukach społecznych*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Zarządzania i Dowodzenia Akademii Obrony Narodowej", 2013, No. 2 (6), pp. 139–142.

36. W.W. Skarbek, *Wybrane zagadnienia metodologii nauk społecznych*, Naukowe Wydawnictwo Piotrkowskie 2013, p. 71.

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possible to make optimum decisions with respect to the policy. The critical part of this method is the difficulty arising from need to appropriately select the compare entities. This method is important from the viewpoint of the planned diversification of third sector organisations which developed various ways of implementing aid efforts for the society during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The method[37] that will be used for investigating the activities of NGOs in Warsaw and on this basis making an observation as to the potential of a given entity is the **in-depth interview method**. This will allow for performing an accurate analysis of the acquired information from the theoretical part – elaboration of the assumptions and plans that will help attain the planned objectives. In the practical part, interviewees (NGO workers) will be able to share their experience and tasks they implemented during the field work with due respect for all sanitary regulations. The following questions will be helpful in getting answers to those queries.

The identified research methods will allow for gathering data necessary for making a classification of aid campaigns carried out by NGOs as well as their impact on societal security.[38]

37. Ibidem, pp. 62–67.

38. B. Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Harvester Wheatsheaf 1991, p. 19.

Conclusion

The outcome of the research carried out according to the presented concept may contribute not only to the effective functioning of NGOs, but also to consolidation of societal security. The postulated research will contribute to the understanding of the social mechanisms that arose during the COVID-19 pandemic as well as the exact role of aid institutions acting for the prevention of the pandemic and alleviation of its consequences. Drawing conclusions from the prevailing situation should be perceived as an important part of the processes of building a secure tomorrow. In this building of a secure tomorrow an ever greater role of the non-governmental sector should be recognised, which means *inter alia* a growing role of well, adequately and efficiently operating NGOs. Making them more efficient should be seen as an important part of societal security. Due to providing a whole gamut of aid services NGOs have always been able to reach to the most needy social groups, which need support because of their characteristics.

Carrying out participative observation in the area of social life with a focus on the goods that form the foundation of security (freedom of development, movement or undisturbed functioning) the authors saw how extensive the restrictions of those goods were from the beginning of 2020. Given the insignificant impact of single individuals and social groups on the prevailing situation NGOs formed

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lifebuoy which helped the population of Warsaw to endure the hardest moments. The carrying out of the proposed research will allow for quick and efficient implementation of the recommendations, as a result of which state authorities and non-governmental entities will be able to prepare themselves and avoid any possible future difficulties should such a situation as that during the abovementioned pandemic repeat itself in the future.

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Legal and normative acts

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China in Ethiopia: The Long-term Perspective

by Aaron Tesfaye. 2020. New York: State University of New York Press. ISBN 9781438478340. Paperback. 191 pp. $31.95.

DOI: 10.58183/pjps.01112022

The China-Africa relations are at present a growing research area, though tackling it with a mid-level analysis is rare. Professor Tesfaye approaches this topic, analysing the specific case of Ethiopia, with well-deserved aplomb. Looking into the long-term, he questions both Chinese aims and the agency of Ethiopia, a necessary and informative approach that concretely sets the tone for a discussion.

While China is undoubtedly the major partner in any of the African projects, the book does not neglect the African desire. Professor Tesfaye focuses the discussion on a few vital areas that are explored in depth. The dynamics of the Ethiopia-China relations sits at the centre of the book. By following an intuitive layout, an understanding is created that allows for a positive engagement with the ideas presented in later chapters. It is then understandable that the book does not engage in the contentious debate about political models for Africa, but rather relies on the realities prevailing in Ethiopia when discussing the topic.

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The book is divided into five chapters, an enlightening introduction and a powerful conclusion. To that end, the first chapter of the book takes the reader through a faithful account of the past Sino-Ethiopian relations. It traces the historical records from the earliest encounters to the present status quo. Going from the phases of pro-US to pro-USSR inclination, this relationship had been long fraught with both obstacles and risks. On the Chinese side, a habit of prioritising ideology led to a period of heightened tensions, while they also supported the Ethiopian and minority forces in their quests for power or recognition. This period ended in 1991, when Ethiopia strategically partnered with China, which is described in chapter two. This partnership came as a response to domestic and international challenges. China was seen as a partner with the technological knowledge to help modernise Ethiopia. To that end, chapter three discusses the bilateral relations within an economic framework. This framework, the Growth and Transformation Plans (GTPs), allowed Ethiopia to finance investment projects such as dams and roads with Chinese aid. Cooperation led to an increase in trade, while Chinese and Ethiopian entrepreneurs travelled between the two countries for economic benefit.

Chapter four discusses the strategic partnership between the countries. China's three wishes are outlined as follows: secure extraction of minerals needed for industrialisation; find allies in international organisations to assist in its aspirations to gain power; and finally propagate Chinese ideas and culture. Ethiopia for its part receives attractive foreign investments and a major partner, namely China in a theoretically reciprocal manner.

Chapter five investigates long-term aims of both parties. China and Ethiopia both benefit from the Belt and Road Initiative. Chinese interests in Djibouti and Ethiopia are thereby secured and - upon their modernisation - can cover some of the costs of the project. Ethiopia in turn becomes the recipient of regional integration that ideally stabilises the neighbourhood to their liking, and Djibouti becomes an important partner. Ethiopia's unique federal experiment will be tested as these efforts could drive regions apart or bring them closer together.

It is only natural that the book as such would seek to answer more than one question. To that end it posits three major questions with ancillary ones for support. These are all answered competently at the end of the book and are brought to a satisfying conclusion. The first question is about the interests of China in the region. It especially focuses on the potential hierarchy of these interests and identification of the reasons thereof. The second question deals with the different objectives China

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has, specifically when looking at the short or the long term. Finally, the third question discusses the challenges China might face. This means it looks at local and international rivalries in the region, potential partners for China and the ways in which they might overcome them.

To this end Professor Tesfaye focuses on the types of relationships that Africa cultivates towards the West and China, dividing them into North-South and South-South relations respectively. He also places a focus on the African desire for a truly genuine partner in their development. This complements the Chinese entry into the peacekeeping space as it takes on a responsible role on security issues and seek to stabilise this vital region. Professor Tesfaye is an expert in the field of Sino-African relations. With multiple publications in this realm, he can truly be considered an authority. His experience gives him a wealth of first-hand information and expertise that can be brought to bear in the process of writing a work such as this. Educationally, he is Chair of the Department of Political Science at William Paterson University and teaches there as well. His two awards of Fulbright Scholarship at two Ethiopian Universities show that his academic expertise is recognised on the continent. He is without a doubt a leading expert when discussing China and the Horn of Africa and their relations within the neighbourhood. Showing his expertise, Professor Tesfaye built an intuitive book that can be easily read and understood. To that end, he laid out the research methodology clearly early on. The book relies on three years of field studies as well as many primary sources. These sources range from ministerial archives and interviews to data from various project analysts and officials. He searched other references from secondary sources at the William Paterson University and a miscellany of archives.

One of the main focuses of the book is the South-South nature of the relations between China and different African countries. While it is maintained that there is a diversity of approaches that China uses in the pursuit of African partners, the reciprocity of this dynamic welcomes interrogation. That is achieved throughout the book by Professor Tesfaye and he reaches the conclusion that, simply due to economic heft, China is the senior partner and main beneficiary of this relationship. This does not mean that there is not any measure of reciprocity, but rather to an advantage for China.

When discussing Africa, the ever-present question of developmental aid is present here, too. An important distinction is made between traditional and Chinese packages. In fact, it is clearly shown how the stricter nature of traditional aid makes the Chinese policy of non-interference in domestic politics a tantalising opportunity for countries that seek to forge their own path not linked

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to Western-type democracy. This Chinese policy then allows for a discussion of the home region effect as analysed in the book, concluding that these rent-seeking behaviours make the less structured Chinese developmental aid more attractive. This is a much discussed phenomenon that is handled deftly by Professor Tesfaye.

In fact, it is a very important area to be aware of when studying the Ethiopia-China relations as Ethiopia is likely the largest recipient of Chinese aid. Professor Tesfaye admits that this assertion is difficult to prove conclusively due to the secretive nature of the operation of banks and institutions. Still, he proves very competently that this is most likely the case by discussing the areas of interest for China in the region and why Ethiopia makes an excellent partner.

One of these reasons is the political position of Ethiopia. Generally stable, it is home to the African Union and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, being also of geostrategic importance by acting as an anchor in a tumultuous region. This position allows China to have greater influence in the region, especially with its interests in Djibouti. Another reason is economic, which is also one of the long-term aims that China pursues. At this point, Ethiopia is largely agrarian. China hopes to promote industrialisation by building infrastructure and promoting factories. This drive to industrialisation can be seen as a desire for Ethiopia to play for China the same role as China played for the global economy.

The dependency theory is also briefly but poignantly discussed. It is Professor Tesfaye's opinion that to impose this idea on Africa would do a disservice to the dynamics that are present there. He calls upon Dr. Rohit Negi in his dissemination of the idea. The latter believes that it is premature to apply this aged theory to Africa while developments and their results are not yet certain.

The greatest strength of the books lies in its being a comprehensive work that positions the reader well to expand their inquiries. It achieves this both by employing the expertise of a talented author as well as by making prudent use of its primary sources in conjunction with literature at large. It does date itself somewhat with the memories of a Trump presidency at the effects of his policy. This is, however, an effective warning of the risks African nations take when Western powers can present such diverse leadership in a short timeframe.

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The information presented in the book is clear and well laid-out. With tables that are easy to read and understand the points made are all the more strengthened. Professor Tesfaye has produced an informative work that allows for a clear dive into the depths of the topic while being a good primer for those first starting out reading about Africa in general and the Sino-Ethiopian relations specifically. With a clear baseline and the historical content, it becomes a pleasure to engage in the ever more complex but no less clear topics as they are presented. While the Sino-African relations are studied with some frequency, the book goes well beyond the basics and addresses the mid-level gaps in literature that are rarely filled. This provides the author with greater freedom in presenting his findings. Aiding this is the clarity of the text and tone. In short, it is a thorough analysis of the Chinese interests in Ethiopia that does not discount the latter's agency. Still, it leaves enough space for additional research to benefit from.

For both the lay reader and the more well-read scholar this book is a comprehensive starting point. It is in itself a valuable academic text, which is well worth its price. The information contained therein will undoubtedly spark the interest of many readers in pursuing further research into this area of inquiry.

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