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### **Editorial Words**

Dear Distinguished Readers,

In the realm of academia, where the pursuit of knowledge and the sharing of wisdom take center stage, we are delighted to introduce the second issue of Volume 27 of the ASEJ Scientific Journal. This publication, in partnership with the Bielsko-Biala School of Finance and Law, continues to serve as a repository of intellectual exploration and a testament to the wealth of contemporary research.

Within the pages of this volume, a diverse collection of scholarly articles awaits. Each article represents a facet of our collective commitment to understanding the intricate tapestry of global concerns. From the realm of education to the intricacies of energy security, from the digital landscape to geopolitical intricacies, these articles provide valuable insights and open doors to meaningful discourse.

The essence of this volume lies in its unwavering dedication to furthering our comprehension of complex subjects. These articles, penned by experts and scholars who are leaders in their fields, are a testament to the rigorous examination and exploration of topics that resonate with our ever-evolving world.

As you embark on this intellectual journey through Volume 27, No. 2, we invite you to consider the broader tapestry of knowledge it presents. Each article adds depth and dimension to the ongoing conversations surrounding the most pressing issues of our time. Together, they form a mosaic of thought, offering fresh perspectives, innovative solutions, and a deeper understanding of the complexities that define our contemporary world.

These articles are more than words on paper; they represent the collective pursuit of wisdom and the desire to share it with our readers. In each piece, you will find the dedication of researchers who have invested their time, expertise, and energy to illuminate the issues at hand.

We encourage you to engage with these articles, to discuss and debate their findings, and to contribute to the ongoing dialogue that drives the pursuit of knowledge. We trust that this volume will not only inform but also inspire, and that the insights it offers will be a valuable addition to your intellectual journey.

The imperative role of risk management in ensuring the security of logistics processes within small service enterprises is illuminated, emphasizing the significance of mitigating risks in this sector. Safety management in the context of ISO 9000 quality management systems is dissected, underscoring the pivotal role of these systems in ensuring the safety and quality of organizations.

We invite you to immerse yourselves in this eclectic collection of scholarly works, each a beacon of knowledge and insight into these crucial subjects. The articles contained within this volume aspire to stimulate discussion, foster a deeper understanding, and inspire further exploration. We trust that the journey through these pages will be an intellectually enriching experience for all our readers.

Doc. Dr Kateryna Pilova Editor of the ASEJ, Issue 2, Volume 27, 2023.

# The Polish Senate and the Armed Aggression of the Russian Federation on Ukraine

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Abstract— The paper explores activities undertaken by the Senate of the Republic of Poland in the early stages of full-scale armed Russian aggression on Ukraine. The activities of the Senate are analysed from a number of angles. Firstly, political positions and viewpoints expressed by the Senate as a whole are examined. Secondly, the participation of the Senate in the legislative procedure regarding help offered to Ukraine and Ukrainian citizens is discussed. Thirdly, the bilateral relations between the Polish Senate and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine are scrutinized and fourthly, individual activities of Tomasz Grodzki, the Marshal of the Senate, are looked upon. The Senate as a whole as well as its individual members showed a considerable level of commitment to the Ukrainian cause, however, the efficiency of undertaken steps was significantly hindered by the unequal position of the Senate against the Sejm and by the political conflict stirred by the fact that it is the opposition that enjoys the majority in the upper house of Polish parliament. Despite these unfavourable conditions, time and again, the efforts of the members of the Senate brought the expected results and considerably contributed to the shape of relevant legislation and to the development of Polish-Ukrainian relations.

Keywords— armed aggression, the Parliament, the Senate, war refugees, humanitarian aid

### I. INTRODUCTION

On 24 February 2022, the armed forces of the Russian Federation launched a "special military operation" on the territory of Ukraine, which was in fact a full-scale, unprovoked armed aggression aimed at destroying the Ukrainian state. It should be noted that the aggression launched in February 2022 was not the beginning of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict as military operations and the occupation of a part of Ukraine's territory had been taking place since 2014.

The full-scale military conflict had been preceded by claims

from the Russian Federation presented to the international community. Russia expected NATO to withdraw from accepting new members and demanded partial demilitarization of NATO's eastern flank countries and Ukraine itself. NATO, of course, did not succumb to Russian demands.

The full-scale armed aggression on Ukraine has disturbed the existing political order in Europe, and at the same time triggered uncontrolled dynamics of changes in international relations on a global scale. Due to the political interest related to the geographical location and numerous economic ties, the Russo-Ukrainian war has had a huge impact on the security of the Republic of Poland, international position of Poland and its internal situation, both economic and political.

The paper describes the involvement of the upper house of the Polish parliament with regard to the war in Ukraine. The Senate, like the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, could not remain indifferent to the events of the war.

The activities of the Senate and its bodies will be analysed in the following areas:

- bilateral Polish-Ukrainian relations;
- legislative response to the influx of war refugees;
- the subject of war used in the political dispute between the government majority and the opposition.

### II. POSITIONS OF THE SENATE ON THE WAR IN UKRAINE

Until 2022, Polish-Ukrainian parliamentary commitments of the Senate of the Republic of Poland could be observed mainly within the framework of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Republic of Poland and Ukraine and the Polish-Ukrainian Parliamentary Group, as well as within the tripartite format of

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the Parliamentary Assembly of Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine. The issue of the conflict, which had been ongoing since 2014, appeared regularly in the proceedings of the above-mentioned initiatives, but usually in the context of economic relations and European prospects of Ukraine. A clear shift of priorities took occurred under the influence of the growing Russian threats against Ukraine and the demands of the Russian Federation towards NATO, of which Poland is a member.

At the end of 2021, the increasingly aggressive Russian rhetoric became a clear and more inevitable threat due to unprecedented build-up of the Russian Federation's armed forces near the borders of the Ukrainian state. The change in the political and military situation was also noticed in the Senate of the Republic of Poland. This was reflected in the resolution on support of Ukraine adopted unanimously by the Senate on 4 February 2022. The Senate expressed support for political and financial aid for Ukraine, the supply of arms to this country and the participation of soldiers of NATO member states in the training of Ukrainian military. The text of the resolution adopted by the senators contains a phrase that well reflects the position of the chamber on contemporary Polish-Ukrainian relations: Today, when Ukraine is faced with mortal danger the threat of another invasion - it is particularly important that the authorities of the Republic of Poland reliably support its neighbour. There is no safe Poland without an independent Ukraine. Free Ukraine is one of the guarantors of Poland's security (Resolution of the Senate of the Republic of Poland of 4 February 2022). The resolution adopted as early as the beginning of February 2022, is an important testimony that Polish parliamentarians were fully aware of the impending escalation of the international situation.

After the outbreak of a full-scale war on 24 February 2022, the subject of war started to dominate Polish-Ukrainian relations but the Senate of the Republic of Poland, in its first position after the resumption of Russian aggression, presented the Ukrainian issue in a much broader context. On 9 March 2022, senators adopted a resolution on Ukraine's European aspirations, in which they called on all European Union Member States to jointly support the accelerated process of Ukraine's integration with the European Union. Full membership of Ukraine in the European Union is a moral obligation of the current generation of Europeans. The values that ensured Western Europe's 77 years of peace and prosperity are now under threat. The Ukrainian soldier, while defending the borders of his own country, defends the whole of Europe (Resolution of the Senate of the Republic of Poland of 9 March 2022). The position of the Senate did not focus on the current military situation but pointed to the European perspective as a solution to the geopolitical deadlock in which Ukraine found itself. A bilateral meeting of the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the European Union of the Senate with representatives of the Committee for Ukraine's Integration with the EU of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, had a similar overtone. During the meeting, the participants called the western world for support of the process of Ukraine's integration with the EU.

On 26 October 2022, the Senate adopted a resolution calling

on all countries which are advocating for peace, democracy, and human rights to recognize the government of the Russian Federation as a terrorist regime. In addition, the Senate expressed appreciation to all institutions and organizations that undertook to investigate and document the crimes committed against the Ukrainian society and appealed to the international community to give full support to the International Criminal Court investigating responsible for these crimes (Resolution of the Senate of the Republic of Poland of 26 October 2022).

As the war with Russia progressed, one could observe a considerable change in the rhetoric of the Polish Senate with respect to the situation in Ukraine. The first document showing this new rhetoric is a resolution adopted on the first anniversary of the outbreak of war with Russia. The resolution was adopted in the presence of the Ukrainian ambassador to Poland, Vasyl Zvarych. In the resolution, the Polish Senate pays tribute to the fallen soldiers and civilians, including Polish citizens, joins in pain with the families of the fallen, and expresses gratitude to all those who support fighting Ukraine (Resolution of the Senate of the Republic of Poland of 21 February 2023). The anniversary resolution no longer advocated the acceleration of Ukraine's accession to the European Union, instead it focused on the heroism and sacrifices of the Ukrainian nation. Such a change of emphasis can be interpreted as evidence that geopolitical postulates became more realistic and the awareness of the obstacles standing in Ukraine's road to western structures was raised. This is also evidenced by the realistic tone of the resolution on Ukraine's membership in NATO adopted on 11 May 2023. In the content of the resolution, the Senate, in the face of political difficulties with the possible access of Ukraine to NATO, states that during the NATO summit in Vilnius, Ukraine should receive much more than the previous declarations on the open-door policy, and the summit itself should be an important stage in Ukraine's preparation for full membership. The Senate of the Republic of Poland believes that the admission of Ukraine to NATO should be a political decision - as in the case of Finland and Sweden - resulting from a strategic analysis of challenges and threats beyond the eastern border of the Alliance. (...) The Senate of the Republic of Poland calls on NATO member countries to apply a similar extraordinary procedure to Ukraine (Resolution of the Senate of the Republic of Poland of 11 May 2023).

The last relevant resolution worth mentioning here was adopted by the Senate in connection with illegal deportations of Ukrainian children to Russia. In the Resolution the Senate called on international organizations and institutions with appropriate legal competence to bring the perpetrators of these war crimes in Ukraine to justice (Resolution of the Senate of the Republic of Poland of 30 March 2023).

### III. LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY OF THE SENATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND IN CONNECTION WITH THE WAR IN UKRAINE

The most important task of the Senate of the Republic of Poland is participation in the legislative process. The full-scale aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine and, above all, the mass influx of war refugees from the attacked areas, made it necessary to undertake legislative work in many areas of Polish law.

The most important legal act in this respect was the Act of 12 March 2022, on assistance to Ukrainian citizens in connection with the armed conflict on the territory of their state. This act was amended many times over the following months, and the Senate submitted many significant amendments. During the session of 11-12 March 2022 alone, the Senate proposed over 60 amendments. Most of the proposed changes were aimed at facilitation and simplification of procedures regarding residency of war refugees in Poland and increase of the scope of assistance provided by the Polish state agencies. Another very important amendment extended provisions of the act to people who fled from Ukraine due to the armed conflict but chose different routes to reach Poland (e.g. a large group arrived via Slovakia) and to those who did not have Ukrainian citizenship but were legally residing on the territory of Ukraine on the day when the armed conflict began. The original wording of the act from before the amendments limited the act provisions to Ukrainian citizens and their spouses who entered Poland legally after 24 February 2022 directly from the territory of Ukraine. Also noteworthy are the Senate's amendments, which clarified the rules for granting cash benefits to people who provided accommodation and meals to Ukrainian refugees on the basis of an appropriate request of the person concerned, instead of concluding an agreement with the municipality. The procedure for admitting children to nurseries, children's clubs or taking custody of the child by its legal guardian was also specified in detail. The aforementioned amendments of the Senate were adopted by the Sejm.

The Senate of the Republic of Poland also submitted significant amendments to the amendment to the Act on assistance to Ukrainian citizens in connection with the armed conflict in the territory of that state, adopted by the Sejm on 14 December 2022. The senators were asked to introduce some of these amendments by the Ombudsman, Marcin Wiacek (Wiacek, 2023). Among the 30 proposed changes, the most important was proposed by deputy marshals of the chamber, Bogdan Borusewicz, Gabriela Morawska-Stanecka and Michał Kamiński. The amendment postponed the date from which refugees would start to pay for living in places of collective accommodation by the period of one month. The Sejm rejected this amendment at the session on 13 January 2023, while another Senate amendment was unanimously adopted, which allowed the Office for Foreigners to use the database of fingerprints submitted by Ukrainian refugees when applying for a PESEL number.

The analysis of the fate of the amendments proposed by the Senate shows that the Council of Ministers and the Sejm majority primarily supported amendments of a formal and ordering nature. Most of the more substantive amendments of the Senate were rejected by the Sejm, which indicates that after the initial period of suspension of internal political conflicts and common voice at onset of a full-scale war, the relations between the majority coalition supporting the government in the Sejm and the opposition-dominated Senate returned to the logic ruled by disputes and conflicts. This is evidenced by the fate of the

Senate's legislative initiatives, e.g. the resolution adopted at the Senate session on 12 April 2022 on the submission of a bill on non-punishment of volunteers defending the freedom and independence of Ukraine. As written by the applicants, the purpose of the act is to free Polish citizens who voluntarily fight with arms in hand on the side of Ukraine from criminal liability and to capitalize on the knowledge about their qualifications and combat experience by the military authorities. The act was intended to protect the Poles who fought with Russia against charges and criminal proceedings. According to the senators, in the existing international context, the participation of a Polish citizen in Ukraine's fight against Russian aggression cannot be perceived as a violation of the constitutional obligations of loyalty to the Republic of Poland, concern for the common good (Article 82 of the Constitution), and even more so - the obligation to defend the Homeland (Article 85 of the Constitution) (Resolution of the Senate of the Republic of Poland of 12 April 2022). The Minister of National Defence took a critical stance towards the Senate's proposal of the act, and the marshal of the Sejm, Elżbieta Witek, used the mechanism of parliamentary obstruction and refused to give the bill a parliamentary number, thus blocking its legislative process. The representative of the applicants, senator Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, considered these actions to be motivated by reluctance to the opposition's initiatives (Rzeczpospolita, 12 August 2022). After many months of inaction, on 20 December 2022, a separate draft act on the exclusion of Polish citizens from criminal liability for service in the Armed Forces of Ukraine after 20 February 2014 without required authorisations was submitted to the marshal of the Sejm. It was signed by MPs from PiS, KO, Left, Polish Coalition- PSL, Poland 2050 and PPS. The proposal of the Senate remained unconsidered.

The Senate of the Republic of Poland also proposed amendments to other laws regulating matters related to the war in Ukraine. Some of them were included in the final form of legal acts. For example, on 12 April 2022, the Senate proposed 30 amendments of a legislative nature to the Act of 7 April 2022 on special solutions to counteract the support of aggression against Ukraine and to protect national security. Some of these amendments were adopted by the Sejm. In turn, on 9 March 2023, the Sejm adopted the Senate's amendments that will enable refugees from Ukraine to download the Diia.pl document for their children.

### IV. THE SENATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND IN POLISH-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS

Bilateral parliamentary relations between the Polish Senate and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine were marked by high intensity long before the outbreak of the war with Russia. The Polish-Ukrainian parliamentary group consisted of 9 senators with Marcin Bosacki acting as the deputy chairman of the body.

A good example of close relations between the Senate and the Verkhovna Rada was a visit of the Polish Senate delegation to Ukraine upon invitation from the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Ruslan Stefanchuk. The visit took place on 17 and 18 February 2022 in the period of growing tensions on the

Russian-Ukrainian border when the threat of use of armed force by the Russian Federation was already real. The delegation was headed by the marshal of the Polish Senate Tomasz Grodzki who was accompanied by his deputies: Bogdan Borusewicz, Michał Kamiński and Marek Pęk; other members of the delegation included the head of Foreign Affairs and EU Committee Bogdan Klich, the head of the Legislative Committee Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, the head of Family, Senior and Social Policy Committee Jan Filip Libicki and Senator Wojciech Konieczny. On 18 February 2022 Tomasz Grodzki made a speech in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. In the light of ongoing international situation, the visit of the Polish delegation reverberated widely in the Ukrainian media.

After the full-scale war with Russia broke out, members of the Polish Senate paid another official visit to Ukraine. This time, the marshal of the Polish Senate Tomasz Grodzki travelled to Kyiv with his Czech counterpart Miloš Vystrčil. The visit took place on 14 April 2022 and the Polish delegation also included two deputy marshals: Gabriela Morawska-Stanecka and Michał Kamiński and the deputy head of the Foreign Affairs and EU Committee Marcin Bosacki. The joint delegation of Polish and Czech senators visited Borodianka, Buchach and Irpin - towns which were especially affected by Russian aggression.

In his speech delivered in Ukrainian language, Tomasz Grodzki emphasized that the visit to Ukraine was paid not just to show off an empty gesture but to urge yet one more time to put an end to the crimes committed by the Russian occupants. The marshal said that it was imperial chauvinism which took the Russians on the path of homicide. Tomasz Grodzki stated that peaceful Ukrainian citizens were being murdered just for the mere fact of being of Ukrainian origin, so if it was not homicide, he did not know what was. The Polish marshal also remarked that we need new Nuremberg, we need Ukrainian Simon Wiesenthal who will tirelessly track down criminals guilty of homicide on the Ukrainian people. Tomasz Grodzki made it clear that the International Criminal Court had already initiated relevant legal proceedings. Our joint duty will be to make sure that no criminal will sleep peacefully (extracts from a speech delivered by T. Grodzki, 2022). According to Grodzki, the most important task for the nations supporting Ukraine was determination in supplying weapons and participation in rebuilding Ukraine after war damage. Finally, the marshal of the Polish Senate stressed once more that his House is determined to facilitate fast access of Ukraine into EU structures.

On 29 August 2022, the seat of the Polish Senate in Warsaw was a venue of a joint press conference of marshal Tomasz Grodzki and the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Ruslan Stefanchuk, who had come to Warsaw upon invitation of the Polish Senate. The main item on Stefanchuk's itinerary was, however, participation in a major event titled 'the Campus of the Future' organised in Olsztyn by Rafał Trzaskowski, the Mayor of Warsaw and a member of the opposition party Civic Platform. Stefanchuk's attendance at 'Campus' was badly received by some political commentators who did not like the fact that Stefanchuk combined an official international visit

with attending a political enterprise of one specific political party. The club of Law and Justice accused Tomasz Grodzki of using the authority of the Senate to promote his own political circle.

On 2 December 2022 a bizzare situation occurred. Ruslan Stefanchuk of the Verkhovna Rada reported that he had been targeted by Russian pranksters who had pretended to be Tomasz Grodzki. Stefanchuk in his statement on Facebook assured that it was not just a prank but an element of hybrid war and yet another pathetic method of Russian propaganda (PAP, 02/12/2022).

During the 12th Parliamentary Assembly of the Polish Seim and Senate, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine which took place on 7 December 2022 in Vilnius, the marshal of the Polish Senate Tomasz Grodzki was the head of the Polish delegation. The Assembly culminated with signing a declaration in which the parties agreed that close cooperation between parliaments of Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine and their coordinated activities are of the utmost importance in these difficult times for Ukraine and the whole Europe. The declaration was signed by the marshal of the Polish Senate Tomasz Grodzki, the speaker of the Lithuanian Seimas Viktoria Čmilytė-Nielsen and the chairman of the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada Ruslan Stefanchuk. The Assembly reaffirmed the inherent right of Ukraine to individual and national self-defence and emphasized that Ukrainian victory in the war started by the Russian Federation is of existential significance for Ukraine and the whole Europe (Declaration, 2022). The signatories of the document outrightly rejected irresponsible and provocative Russian rhetoric on the possibility of using nuclear weapons, and deplored Russian occupation of the nuclear power plant in Zaporizhzhia as a direct threat to nuclear safety. The Assembly negatively received Russian attempts to annex the temporarily occupied Ukrainian territories and appealed to the whole international community to maintain and intensify sanctions against the Russian Federation. The members of the Assembly called for further political economic, financial, military, and humanitarian aid for Ukraine for as long as it is necessary to defeat the aggressor and proposed a review of Russian membership in the UN and the OSCE.

Another important affair in Polish-Ukrainian relations occurred on 25 May 2023 when the chairman Ruslan Stefanchuk visited the Polish Sejm. Due to the weight of the visit, the members of the Senate were also present. For the first time, a high Ukrainian official publicly addressed the issue of the Volyn slaughter committed by Ukrainian nationalists on Polish citizens of Volyn in 1943. As was observed by commentators, although the actual apology was not articulated, Stefanchuk expressed regret and announced intentions to reveal the truth about this matter.

### V. POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES

On one occasion, the Polish Senate became an arena of a heated political dispute related to Russian aggression on Ukraine. On 25 March 2022, marshal Tomasz Grodzki delivered an online address to the Verkhovna Rada. The address included wording which incited a media dispute and political unrest in the higher house of the Polish parliament. Tomasz Grodzki commenting on the efficiency of the sanctions against the Russian Federation claimed that he owned Ukraine an apology for these Polish companies who shamefully continue business relations with Russia and forward goods to Belarus and further, he continued that the Polish government who still did not stop the import of Russian coal is unable to freeze the assets of Russian oligarchy. He accused Polish government of hypocrisy, even if not intended, and of financing criminal regime who uses the resources to murder innocent people (T. Grodzki, the Address, 2022). In reaction to these words, the Senators' Club of Law and Justice filed a motion for removal of Tomasz Grodzki from his office. The debate and vote on the motion was held in the Senate on 12 April 2022. Law and Justice Senator Stanisław Karczewski formulated a number of charges against T. Grodzki, one of them accused the marshal of conducting his own international agenda which greatly exceeded his constitutional powers and undermined the uniformity of Polish international policy (Karczewski, 2022). On the other end, Marcin Bosacki, a Civic Coalition representative, argued that thanks to the much-criticized address of marshal Grodzki, the draft proposal of an act on freezing the Russian assets and banning Russian coal import was finally sent for consideration of the Sejm. In the vote that followed, 45 senators voted in favour of removing Grodzki from the office, 52 voted against, 1 senator abstained, which meant that Tomasz Grodzki managed to hold on as the marshal of the Polish Senate.

### VI. CONCLUSIONS

Bearing in mind the above analysis of activities of the Polish Senate in the face of full-scale armed aggression of the Russian Federation on Ukraine, special attention must be paid to prewar close bilateral relations between Polish Senate and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine which laid solid foundations for enhanced actions within parliamentary diplomacy after the outbreak of war on 24 February 2022.

The undisputable leader of any Senate activity was marshal Tomasz Grodzki. However, his words and actions were not always supported by the whole house (i.e. the Address of 25th March 2022 or participation of Ruslan Stefanchuk in 'Campus of the Future') and on a number of occasions became the subject matter of dispute and controversies not only within the Senate itself but in the whole public domain.

When it comes to the stands and viewpoints taken by the Polish Senate, one may observe a considerable evolution of content of the adopted resolutions. In the initial phase immediately after 24 February 2022, the Senate continued its earlier rhetoric focusing on strategic issues such as the access of Ukraine to the EU as a deterrent against Russian imperialism. However, with the influx of refugees and confirmed messages about Russian war crimes, the centre of gravity fell on legal and humanitarian aspects related to liability of the Russian perpetrators for the crimes committed.

As for legislation, the Senate showed high activity in proposing amendments and preparing own draft proposals which were aimed at facilitating Ukrainian war refugees legal stay in Poland and organizing, sorting, and increasing the amount of aid. However, in the climate of already 'well established' parliamentary practice, most of the proposals were rejected by the Sejm majority. Fortunately, selected solutions were adopted and later played an important role in shaping the legal framework of the refugee support system in Poland (e.g. granting help for such Ukrainian refugees who entered the territory of Poland from third countries).

The Polish Senate has been actively striving for representation of joint Polish-Ukrainian interests against third parties. The manifestation of these efforts were various academic, political, and business events. 'Germany and Poland towards Ukraine' was a conference with participation from German ambassador to Poland held on 14 November 2022. Another event was a business conference 'Ukraine in the Railway Infrastructure System of the European Union' held on 1 December 2022. The conference was organized by the Polish-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce (PUIG). There were also more symbolic initiatives such as the international poster exhibition 'NO WAR! Russian Aggression on Ukraine on Posters from All Over the World' which was opened on 14 December 2022.

All facts and processes cited above lead to a final conclusion that despite numerous weaknesses of the Polish Senate resulting from its constitutional placement and unfavourable parliamentary conditions, the senators managed to play a vital role in supporting Ukraine in the early phase of Russian aggression.

### VII. REFFERENCES

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