Climate Conference in Katowice (COP24) and Statement of Polish Power Representatives about Energetic Policy under the prism of domestic opinion-forming press

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Abstract:  
The following article is concerned on the press discourse which was created on the background of the climate conference, COP24, in Katowice (the event took place from 3 to 15 December 2018). Author of the research, by means of content analysis and critical discourse analysis, researched the following press titles: “Gazeta Wyborcza”, “Polityka”, “Rzeczpospolita”, “Do Rzeczy” and “Nasz Dziennik”. Then, author chose that articles, that were dealt about session of climate summit in Katowice, and he studied them under the perspective of three subjects: 1) hopes, which press commentators had in case of COP24; 2) opinions about official statements of Polish politicians during conference’s inauguration; 3) opinions about importance of COP24 for Poland and global climate policy. The main results of the research show, that the chosen press titles had expressed various, but usually critical, opinions about climate conference in Katowice. Conservative press payed a higher attention to economic and social interest of Poland. For liberal press, though, more important was inclusive work in the global field of environment protection and creating Polish good image.

Key words: Poland, COP24, discourse, climate policy, energetic policy, environment protection.

1 Introduction

One of the most important issue in the actual global policy is a negative human’s influence on the climate changes. It is connected with growth of the fear of public opinion around the topic of future condition of the Earth (Public Opinion Research Center in 2018). Also, scientist warn, that climate warms faster and faster way, and one of the main reason of this situation is accumulation of greenhouse-gases in the atmosphere. This situation has a lot of negative effects for humanity, for instance: melting glaciers, rise in sea levels, extreme weather phenomenon, heatwaves and long-lasting drought. One of the basic problem, connected with protecting of climate, is coordination energetic and climate policies all countries, that are discharging harmful gases to the atmosphere. It is very difficult and important task, because of the fact, that we have that number of different energetic and climate policies that are states and economic interests which have effect on them. Forum of the United Nation is one of the main platform where reach to attempts codification rules in global climate policy. First interest in issue of environment by the UN was in 60s, but distinct breakthrough happened in 1992, during the second global conference in Rio de Janeiro which was dealt with climate problems highlights. During the conference in Rio de Janeiro was manifested in the aim of signing United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which came into effect in 21th March 1994. That was a beginning of organizing Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which is called Conference of the Parties (COP). From 3rd to 15th December 2018, 24th session of climate conference took place in Katowice, under the honor patronage of Polish presidency which was leaded by Michał Kurtyka. Around 300 thousand delegates from 200 countries came on the conference session. Their main goal was negotiated rules to implementation obligations in case of reducing climate changes, which was passed during COP21, that was Paris’ session of climate conference from 2015.

COP24 was also a moment, when domestic and foreign political commentators draw their attention, with more or less interest, on the Poland and its statement against climate changes. The press observers had apprised statements of Polish Rule, as official representative’s state, that had obtained a presidency of COP24, in two different ways. On the one hand, it was seen as declaration on the international forum about future climate policy. But, on the other hand, statements of Polish Rule were overlooked as a play in the internal policy, which goal was providing popularity of Party, which keeps the Rule, in coming election year.

The goal of this article is researched into standpoints opinion-forming press titles on the topic of COP24, in the context of actual climate policy. The essence of this study is attempt of presenting journalism discourses, that were created during the climate summit in Katowice. According to the task, it could be fulfil by means of answers on following questions: How hopes, in the topic of COP24, were express by the press? How statement of president Andrzej Duda and statement of government’s PM Mateusz Morawiecki were appraised by the press? And, in what way, commentators had evaluated results of COP24?
The answers on these questions were got by means of analysis contents, that were published in the Polish opinion-forming press in November and December 2018 year. The auxiliary method was critical discourse analysis consists in “detailed description, explanation and criticism dominant discourse”. It that way “discourse” will be understood also as a public debate, according to following definition:

debate is understood as a set of communication-related occurrences held with the aim to negotiate the meanings by actors participating in it. Consequently, one can list three types of a debate: public debate, debate of politics and political debate. The public debate covers, according to the definition, all messages which are available publicly (an institutional debate carried out by institutions performing public services, a debate connected with given social groups and one developed in the media) (Świder 2018: 36; Balczyńska-Kosmn 2013: 143-153).

The relation of content analysis with critical discourse analysis made possible proceed careful estimation, as well as deciphered particular narratives in the topic of statements’ Polish Power representatives about climate policy during COP24, which was created by the Polish journalist represented different world views.


2 The hopes related to COP24

One of the most significant elements of political discourse, which was created around COP24, was an articulation of expectations connected with climate conference in Katowice. This aspect was appraised by “Gazeta Wyborcza” and “Polityka” in critically way. The above-mentioned press titles had represented sceptic point of view in the topic of Polish statement about climate policy and reducing emission greenhouse gases. In the “Polityka” Adam Grzeszczak wrote that, opinion of Polish Rule in this matter it can summarize to the words “we can limited ourselves, but slowly” (Grzeszczak 2018: 38).

He also pointed on depending attitude of Polish representatives during COP24 from requirements of internal policy, he wrote: “MP is afraid miner’s riots more than smog” (Ibidem: 39). In that article also appeared information about PRE_COP24. It was social climate conference which took part in 8-12th August 2018. According to “Biuletyn Pre_COP24” (official bulletin of this event), that meeting had to be form of preparing to climate summit in Katowice and occasion to broad discussion on the topic of Polish alternative road to clean environment. According to Adam Grzeszczak main goal of PRE_COP24 was reached to participants of COP24 with message, according to which the fight with climate changes has not result in decarbonization and moving on the renewable energies, as well as environmental protection is important, but more important are work places and economic independent” (Grzeszczak 2018: 38). In the ironic way, their hopes expressed Sylwia Chutnik and Grażyna Plebanek in the column “Summit of the strangeness” in the “Polityka”. Authors wrote: “We count on, horrendous air pollution, as well as horrendous return of propaganda, will not scare participant off from real topic of ecology in serious way. That fight will be difficult, because caring about Earth will not collapse is still considering as exaggeration of leftist. The populist are trying a lot so that, all people think in this way” (Chutnik, Plebanek 2018: 95). The fragment about propaganda concern on official advertising spot of COP24, in which Poland was present as the global leader in implementation technologies favorable for the climate. That movie was sharp criticized by “Gazeta Wyborcza” in the commentary which was wrote by Tomasz Ulanowski, Gabriela Łazarczyk and Dominika Uhlig. Authors, in negative way, highlighted every information which appeared in two-minutes spot and they confronted it with statistic data (Ulanowski, Łazarczyk, Uhlig 2018: 2). “Gazeta Wyborcza” also condemned choice of climate summit sponsors. They were Jastrzębska Spółka Węglowa, Tauron, Polska Grupa Energetyczna and PGNiG. Aleksandra Gurgul and Dominika Wantuch recognize that “it is like associate of health conference about lung cancer made cigarettes’ manufacturer” (Gurgul, Wantuch 2018: 2). According to this commentator government of Law and Justice Party gave clear signal to others UN’s countries: “you could go from the carbon away, invest in windmills and other ecological exaggerations of modern world, but we have our policy. And what is more, we will boast about it” (Ibidem). Authors considered that, it is policy from 19th century and authorities continuously are taking back us to its. Very similar evaluation “Gazeta Wyborcza” gave for place of conference – Katowice. That city was regarded as Polish coal basin. Wrong city for climate summit (Wantuch 2018a: 2).

In the “Do Rzeczy”, Tomasz Cukiernik wrote, that we should use Polish presidency on COP24 to convinced others countries to the Polish arguments in energy policy (Cukiernik 2018: 83). In this context, he indicated, that the Polish politicians should care more about economic and social interest of country than reduce emission of CO2 to the atmosphere. On the very beginning, in another way, “Nasz Dziennik” responded to the COP24. Contents which was
published in this daily newspaper, distinctly pointed that in the matter of climate summit it has attitude close to the attitude which was represent by authorities. Commentators did not try admonish ruling how they behave and what they do during the climate summit. An example is interview with Jan Szszycko, former minister of environment in the govern of Beata Szydlo. That interview was published by “Nasz Dziennik” in the issue from 1-2nd December. Jan Szszycko emphasized that summit in Katowice is “extremely important – more important than this in Paris. The next one after COP14 and COP19” (Kamięniecki 2018: 6). He also considered that, during COP24 Poland should show point in the case of way, in which it wants to gain climate neutrality and build agreement between all countries, but on the base of consensus, and accept activities, which leaded to situation that to the year of 2020 will start Paris’ agreement (Ibidem). Jan Szszycko was complimentary about all Polish achievements up to now in the sphere of climate protection: “Yes, just, we had cared about climate and had fixed them under the recognition of the concentration CO₂ in the atmosphere. Poland made economic growth, we are model for others. And that’s why entrust Poland with organization COP24, believe that Poland has enormous abilities for dialogues in international arrangement, abilities convincing others. Admittedly, it will propose that road map, that goals will complete” (Ibidem).

The observers from “Rzeczpospolita” were more cautious in expressing theirs hopes. One day before start of COP24, that newspaper published an article by Michał Niewiadomski. Author expected that Poland, which boasts itself because of economic growth and international promotion from group of developing States to group of developed countries, show that will accept realization of ambitious goals in climate protection (Niewiadomski 2018a: 2). Michał Niewiadomski acknowledged Katowice as good place to organizing climate summit on account of symbolism and history of that region. According to him, on the one hand, Silesia’s capital symbolizes miners from mine “Wujek”, which lost their life during “suppressing revolution of Solidarity”. And, from the other hand, “Silesia is also an example the great transition from mining and industrial region to basin of modern business which develops in dynamic way” (Ibidem). The sign of hopes which journalists from “Rzeczpospolita” had in relation to COP24, is also article “Will Katowice summit ended with success?” Author explained what is a goal of COP24 – created “operating manual”, which will help to implement guidelines of Paris’ agreement. She also payed attention to fact that Poland, in relation to Europe, stands out from developing energetic policy. According to her, Poles should reduce coal combustion in that way, that it will not hit in Polish energetic security. On that background, authors recognized that, Polish Rule during the conference will declare gradually, but not absolute, limitation energy from coal combustion. According to Barbara Oksińska, Polish representatives would be trying to direct the dialog to the topic increasing absorption of CO₂, as well as development of electromobility and ‘zero footprint’ in transport (Oksińska 2018: a23).

3 The statements of Polish Rule during COP24

Another element, which we could separate from the Polish political discourse about COP24, are statements’ representatives of Polish Rule which was delivered by Michał Niewiadomski. That representatives were president Andrzej Duda, the Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki and the Minister of Energy Krzysztof Tchorzewski. “Gazeta Wyborcza”, “Polityka”, “Rzeczpospolita”, as well as “Do Rzeczy” approached to these statements in critical way, but opinion, from every that press titles, had different dimension.

On the front cover of “Rzeczpospolita” from 4th December, was published an article “The Coal’s schizophrenia” by Iza Ksiazkiewicz. The journalist judged statement of president Andrzej Duda in critical way. Polish head of state had convinced during the inauguration of COP24 that we can reduce emission of greenhouse gases and at the same time do not given up from coal (Kacprzak 2018:1). Michał Niewiadomski, who had hopes about used COP24 in building good image of Poland on the international arena, also responded to declaration of Polish president. His commentary entitled “All myths of president” was polemical towards thesis of Polish head state. Author noticed that increasing absorbing of CO₂ by the forests is not effective and will not allow reduce amount of harmful gases which are gathering in atmosphere in sufficient way. He also considered that fear of unemployment in Silesia is groundless, because economic of that region is fast-developing and it could absorb couple thousands of people who work now in coal’s mines (Niewiadomski 2018b: a2). The same author, in the commentary which was published on 5th December, compared president Andrzej Duda to president Donald Trump, who deny greenhouse effect. Thereby, he cast doubt on opinion of scientist from NASA who specialize in global climate. Michał Niewiadomski wrote that, if we become dependent on coal, we will gain reputation poisoners and destroyers of our planet. Another thing is that, in this situation our economy is becoming less and less competitive” (Niewiadomski 2018c: a2). He completed his commentary by critic of prime minister Mateusz Morawiecki: “It’s a pity that, climate summit wouldn’t be occasion to reflection about future of Poland. As if, we still aren’t aware of we aren’t lonely island, but we are part of the world. Instead of announcements pro-environmental reforms, we have performance of embarrassing declarations’ head of State. Where is prime minister Morawiecki with his economy 4.0 and civilization’s challenge fight of clean air, which he strongly accented during his expose?” (Ibidem). Criticism of COP24 by “Rzeczpospolita” reached also conference’s
arrangement. Zuzanna Dąbrowska, in her column, compared them to “the local harvest home mixed with St. Hubertus’ Day” (Dąbrowska 2018: a6). She also criticized statement of President Duda during the St. Barbara’s Day (it is annual day of miners on 4th December). Polish President said then that, he will not allow kill Polish coal-mining as long as he will be the President (Ibidem). The observers from “Rzeczpospolita” also paid attention on bad image, which Poland had been building during climate summit in Katowice. It noticed also that, one thing is a real harmful influence on environment, and completely another presenting them on the global forum. Paweł Kowal gave example of Germany which, according to author, for all that is bigger poisoner than Poland, it has better image and because of that present as country which cares more on the climate policy. Kowal asserted that bad Polish image depends for interior policy, inter alia votes of miners and cetre-right character of Law and Justice Party. But, he wrote, that “ecology hasn’t dig in the Right, so instead of semi-smiles may worth show that, Christian’s Poland treats this topic in serious way” (Kowal 2018: a3).

The statements of Polish Rule during COP24 also were criticized by “Gazeta Wyborcza”. That newspaper charged Andrzej Duda, Mateusz Morawiecki and Krzysztof Tchórzewski with they strongly embelished ecological achievements of Poland, because of they want through it exculpated their policy oriented on coal (Krzyk 2018: 2). “Polityka” represented similar opinion which was expressed in commentary by Jerzy Baczyński. That author acknowledged summit in Katowice as defeat on the field of image and statements of politics as element which made “the most evils”. He quoted words of president Duda who said “coal’s combustion isn’t contradicted with climate protection” and that, Poland has “coal for 200 years and we intend used it”. Jerzy Baczyński also quoted words’ minister of energy, Krzysztof Tchórzewski, who said during St. Barbara’s Day towards miners: “Gentlemen miners, we need more coals!” and words former prime minister Beata Szydło about “academic discussion in Katowice”. Baczyński recognized that choice of conference place, time (during Day of Miners), sponsors, marketing (at the spearhead with “hypocritical movie”) and statements of politics which “sounded as provocation”, had negative influence on international image of Poland. Jerzy Baczyński did not see any sense in that “global making of backwoods”. The situation as a whole, it is mean organization and presenting Poland during COP24, he found as “made in unconvincing, incoherent and unpleasant way” (Baczyński 2018: 8).

The statements of Polish politicians also met by postulating their negative opinion the conservative weekly “Do Rzeczy”. Łukasz Warzecha analyzed statements of Polish representatives during COP24 in the article “Ecological soap in eye”. He was upset, while on the inauguration of climate summit president Duda had not questioned ecological dogmas which was “imposed by the Left”. Warzecha also had not understood why president said in this situation that “Poland is standing on the coal and will be standing”. In his opinion: “Discontinuity – it is the mildest term about Polish statement” (Warzecha 2018: 36). That critical grade is resulted from completely different conditions than opinion of “Polityka”, “Gazeta Wyborcza” as well as “Rzeczpospolita”. Łukasz Warzecha acknowledge that statements of Polish politicians were too gentle and unintelligible: “President presented on the inauguration of COP24 story which doesn’t hold water” (Ibidem: 37). He also noticed that statement which was represented by Polish Rule was a result of the calculation before coming election: “The minor’s lobby stands behind that kind of approaching, so it’s pure policy. Simply, the authorities do not want to run to the risk of lost disproportionately influential group of voters. Hence is absurd meandering between putting goals of global ecobobby and more and more unprofitable and problematic coal energy” (Ibidem). In that context “Do Rzeczy” criticized official statement of Polish Rule about climate policy. But, that criticism was a result different expectations. In opinion of Łukasz Warzecha, in statement of Polish representatives during COP24, were any distinct declarations on the topic of individual kind of future Polish energetic policy.

After inauguration of COP24, “Nasz Dziennik” had not published any comments and any articles, which could express opinion about statements of Polish Rule in the topic of climate policy during conference in Katowice.

4 General evaluation of COP24

The last element of discourse around climate conference in Katowice was its comprehensive evaluation. In that case, we can recognize that “Gazeta Wyborcza” and “Polityka” judged COP24 unambiguously in negative way. For the opinion of “Polityka” representative text is commentary by Jerzy Baczyński, which was mentioned above. In this subject we could also add that, author of this text treated to France ‘yellow vest’ as an example of using climate policy during constructing populist’s political message. Baczyński acknowledge that people care about environment protection less if they have to resign with their consumption (Baczyński 2018: 8). “Gazeta Wyborcza” had focused on the general critics of COP24. In the issue from December 14th, Gabriela Łazarczyk criticized climate summit, but in the wider context than only Polish matters. She wrote that “not only Polish poisons promoted themselves in Katowice” and she pointed on the Gazprom, Mars, Coca-Cola and coal mines from South Africa and Brazil. According to author these companies had tried present themselves from the best side during COP24. At the same time, they were one of the biggest “poisoners” of environment in the world. They had cared about good image and lobbied “for slowing
down climate policy” (Łazarczyk 2018: 15). Two days after closing conference session, December 17th, “Gazeta Wyborcza” published commentary by Dominika Wantuch which summarized COP24. The journalist wrote that conference was “series of failures for Polish diplomacy, which was ended by statement of Secretary-General of the United States, that on the discussion about ambitious climate goals will be time in the next year. That isn’t in Poland” (Wantuch 2018b: 2).

She acknowledged, that COP24 was wasting a money: “truly, we could reach to final conclusion without spending 250 million złoty, blocking Katowice for two weeks and calling police from whole world to secure event. We could send e-mails and added smile emoticon at the end” (Ibidem). But, she pointed that, Polish citizens could motivate by declarations of president Duda to care matters of environment more. It could be potential to come into being some social movement which will have real influence on the Rule in the case of climate policy. One way or the other, general sense of that commentary, in the best, express one sentence: “For 250 million złoty Polish government organized itself in Katowice festival of nonsense, mishaps and failures” (Ibidem).

That situation looked different in “Rzeczpospolita”. Along with climate summit drew to a close, the observers from that newspaper, more and more, were considering this event as the failure on the image’s field. They pointed that Polish authorities couldn’t went out beyond actual election game and used chance to improve their international image (Chrabota 2018: a4). In the “Rzeczpospolita” appeared strongly picture of COP24 as unexploited chance in building good Poland’s image. But, summarize of climate summit in that newspaper has also another side. It was success of Michał Kurtyka, Polish Head of the COP24. He provided negotiations on the document a document which determines implementation rules, that were accepted during COP21 in Paris (Niewiadomski 2018d: a2) with all delegates. In that situation, discourse which was created in “Rzeczpospolita”, on the one hand was critical in relation to official statement of Polish Rule about climate policy. But, on the other hand, commentators from that newspaper were sympathetic to Polish Head of the COP24, who leaded the conference in the aim of obtaining its main goal successfully.

“Nasz Dziennik” dedicated quite a lot of space to COP24 in “Nasz Magazyn” which was enclosed to issue from 15-16th December. Piotr Adamczyk wrote in that newspaper, that by the way of climate conference in Katowice “media had presented Poland in stubbornly way as the biggest enemy of accepting ambitious climate goals, especially plan of reducing CO₂ emission (Tomczyk 2018: m2). He also mentioned about “anti-Polish climate propaganda” and asserted that “ecology became beforehand politics and business toll for the richest countries of EU, which is using to discipline smaller European countries” (Ibidem). At that same, about an issue in the sphere of climate summit wrote also Piotr Falkowski. In his article, he quoted words of Sławomir Grajcarek, activist of miner’s trade union and coordinator PRE_COP24. He said: “Surely, COP24 will not bring any revelation, like didn’t bring its all previous COP. It is only talking, games of lobbyists” (Falkowski 2018: m4). Author pointed on the wave of unemployment which will flood Silesia if Poland resign from electricity from coal combustion in radical way. He cited simulation of PGE, according which “reconstruction of work place for miners from closed mines would require expenditures of billions of euro. It’s clearly that, Poland can’t afford for that steps. For all of that, participants of international conferences, like COP, tray hard to suggest thing like that” (Ibidem). Piotr Falkowski also pointed on, in his opinion, high extent of politicization climate summits which were organized by the UN: “Many experts stopped take part in this event. They acknowledged that it is political and image battle. Visit on the place of conference confirms that impression” (Ibidem).

In that context in clearly seen that “Nasz Dziennik” had sympathized with official statement of Polish Rule in the most extent among all of analysis of the press titles. The statements of politicians and commentator which were appeared in that newspaper directed in distinct way on less importance of COP24, but emphasized Polish achievements on the field of climate protection. “Nasz Dziennik” was focused on criticizing the main stream of climate policy, which was represented by the EU and the the UN. For commentators from that newspaper it was toll to realization their economic interest.

Łukasz Warzeca had judged climate conference in Katowice, as well as Polish energetic policy in “Do Rzeczy”. The journalist doubted in success of COP24 and wrote that “by the way of summit, we can see in clearly way shallow of energetic policy in performance of Law and Justice government. We all will pay for it. And quite literally” (Warzeca 2018: 38). After the conference closing in Katowice, in “Do Rzeczy” did not appear any commentary or opinion according to this this topic.

5 Conclusion
The analysis of Polish political press discourse around COP24 was provided on the base of contents from “Gazeta Wyborcza”, “Polityka”, “Do Rzeczy” and “Nasz Dziennik”, allowed draw several conclusions about views which was represented by that press titles in relation to climate conference in Katowice, as well as statements of Polish Rule representatives which was announced during inauguration of COP24.
“Gazeta Wyborcza” criticized every part of conference which was provided by the Polish Government. From promotion of COP24, through choice of conference place and its sponsors to statements of Polish politicians. However, journalist from that newspaper, had not judged in negative sense of organizing that kind of event. From analysis of articles clearly follows, that this press title approved the policy of unhesitating reducing emission of CO₂ to the atmosphere. By this way, “Gazeta Wyborcza” is in opposition to official statement of Polish authorities, which prefer policy based on coal combustion in large extent. “Polityka” had a very similar opinion. But, journalists, who published in this weekly press, had hopes that COP24 would bring some positive results. That hopes were lost after statements of president Andrzej Duda, the Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki and minister of energy Krzysztof Tchórzewski. These politicians were criticized is sharply way and afterwards “Polityka” considered summit in Katowice as failure. “Rzeczpospolita” was cautious in opinion about climate conference before its inauguration. In that newspaper appeared hopes related to COP24. It could be an occasion for promotion Polish climate policy, improving international image and boasting of economy development and historical heritage. Like in the “Polityka”, commentators from “Rzeczpospolita” strongly criticized statements of Polish Rule during inauguration of conference in Katowice. Hopes were ended, and COP24 considered as image failure on the international arena. At the same time, ending of conference was received as success. But, according to “Rzeczpospolita” it was more personal success of Michał Kurtyka in negotiating than some achievement of Polish policy. “Do Rzeczy” also responded critically to COP24. But, opinions, which were presented in that weekly press, were a result of different point of view in the sphere of climate policy than that from previous titles. After hopes of strong statement which could be sign how energetic and climate policies accept Poland, “Do Rzeczy” became disillusioned with Polish Rule. The observer from that title acknowledge statement of Polish politicians as nondescript, maneuvering between requirements of EU and expectations of Polish miners. That weekly press recognized COP24 as failure, but not why that, Polish Rule did not represent desire to participate in reducing of CO₂ to the atmosphere, but that representatives did not give distinct declaration, that they would not do it and they did not justify ant of their arguments. “Nasz Dziennik”, just as “Do Rzeczy”, represented view that main stream of climate policy which is represented by EU and UN is harmful for Polish interests. But, opposite to “Do Rzeczy”, “Nasz Dziennik” acknowledge COP24 as quite important event. During the lectures of contents from that newspaper, we can know that Poland presented hard statement in the energetic policy and boasted its achievements in the sphere of climate protection in good way. At the same time, commentators from that newspaper, asserted that COP24 is not good platform to thorough and merits-related deliberations about climate policy, because of its strongly politicize.

Results from analyses of opinions by Polish press titles, which was presented above, are some outlook on the discourse which was created around COP24. It is also some insight in the sphere of views about climate policy which are representing by discussed above daily and weekly press titles. It is necessary to add, that analysis does not exhausted subject matter which was withdrawal. It is rather opening to researches about Polish press discourse around issue of climate policy. Results from researches which was presented above, could be also the start point for wider researches in the topic of climate policy which is providing by Polish Rule.

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