

IMPACT OF POLISH MEMBERSHIPS IN NATO AND THE EU
ON POLISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA

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ABSTRACT

IMPACT OF POLISH MEMBERSHIPS IN NATO AND THE EU ON POLISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA

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This thesis examines the impact of Poland's NATO and EU memberships on Polish foreign policy towards Russia by taking the historical background of Poland's relations with Russia into account. The main objective of the thesis is to examine the change in Polish foreign policy towards Russia in the aftermath of its memberships in NATO and the EU in 1999 and 2004 respectively. The thesis argues that Poland has changed its accommodative approach towards Russia and started to pursue a more assertive foreign policy after its NATO and the EU memberships due to its decreasing dependency on this country. In this thesis, the concept of interdependence is employed to explain Polish foreign policy on Russia.

The thesis has six chapters, including Introduction and Conclusion chapters. The second chapter explores the historical background of Polish-Russian relations. The third chapter analyzes the main characteristics of Polish foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. The fourth chapter examines the impact of Poland's NATO membership on Polish foreign policy towards Russia. The fifth chapter discusses the impact of Poland's EU membership on its foreign policy towards Russia.

Keywords: Poland, Polish Foreign Policy, NATO, EU, Russia

ÖZ

POLONYA’NIN AB VE NATO ÜYELİKLERİNİN RUSYA’YA YÖNELİK DIŞ POLİTİKASI ÜZERİNDE ETKİSİ

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Bu tez, Polonya’nın Rusya ile ilişkilerinin tarihsel arkaplanını göz önüne alarak, Polonya’nın AB ve NATO üyeliklerinin Rusya’ya yönelik dış politikası üzerinde etkisini incelemektedir. Tezin temel amacı, Polonya’nın Rusya’ya yönelik dış politikasının sırasıyla 1999 ve 2004 yıllarında gerçekleşen NATO ve AB üyelikleri sonrası değişimini ortaya koyabilmektir. Tez, Polonya’nın Rusya’ya yönelik uyumlu yaklaşımını değiştirdiğini ve NATO ve AB üyelikleri sonrasında bu ülkeye karşı azalan bağımlılığı nedeniyle daha iddialı bir dış politika yürütmeye başladığını savunmaktadır. Bu tez, Polonya’nın Rusya’ya yönelik dış politikasını açıklamak için “karşılıklı bağımlılık” kavramını kullanmaktadır.

Giriş ve Sonuç bölümleri dahil olmak üzere, tez altı bölümden oluşmaktadır. İkinci bölüm, Polonya-Rusya ilişkilerinin tarihsel arkaplanını incelemektedir. Üçüncü bölüm, Polonya’nın Soğuk Savaş sonrası dış politikasının temel özellikleri üzerinde durmaktadır. Dördüncü bölüm, NATO üyeliğinin Polonya’nın Rusya’ya yönelik dış politikası üzerinde etkisinin analizini yapmaktadır. Beşinci bölüm ise, AB üyeliğinin Polonya’nın Rusya’ya yönelik dış politikası üzerinde etkisini tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Polonya, Polonya Dış Politikası, AB, NATO, Rusya

*To My Family
and Utku*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEECs	Central and Eastern European Countries
DELG	Defense Export Loan Guarantee
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
ERT	European Round Table of Industrialists
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
EU	European Union
MoD	Ministry of Defense
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NMD	National Missile Defense
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PHARE	Poland and Hungary Assistance to Economic Restructuring
SAPARD	Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
WWII	World War II

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CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION

New conditions of the post-Cold War era enabled Poland to establish “The Third Republic” as well as to implement new foreign policy perspectives. The main principles of Polish foreign policy were characterized with Poland’s motivation to integrate into the West. Therefore, the EU and NATO memberships were “twin goals” of Polish Foreign Policy. While the EU membership was perceived as a project of integrating with market economy and gaining economic prosperity, NATO membership was prioritized as a means of security guarantee. In this context, Poland’s foreign policy towards Russia has been altered dramatically after its integration into the Western economic and political structures as compared to its policy towards Russia in the early 1990s.

This thesis analyzes impacts of Poland’s EU and NATO memberships on Polish foreign policy towards Russia. It also examines main characteristics and motivations of Polish foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. In this respect, it tries to find out changing dynamics of Polish-Russian relations in the post-Cold War era with a special emphasis on historical background of relations. It focuses on economic and military impacts of NATO and the EU memberships on Polish Foreign Policy. In this framework, the thesis makes the analysis of the key controversial issues which affect Poland’s Russia policy.

In parallel to enlargement processes of the EU and NATO, dynamics of Polish-Russian relations have diversified. Poland, the largest country among CEECs, joined NATO during the first round of the enlargement. Beside its NATO membership, Poland has sought to develop close relations with the USA, while it has demonstrated a more robust stand against Russia.

On the other hand, several problems have occurred between NATO and Russia since 1999. Military operation to Kosovo, deployment of NATO forces in Bulgaria, Romania and the Baltic Sea, National Missile Defense (NMD) system led by the USA and recent controversies on possibility of a new enlargement phase over Georgia and Ukraine have been the most apparent ones.¹ Poland has been one of the important actors of some of these debates. Indeed, Polish foreign policy has recently displayed contradicting attitudes against Russia's policies in some critical issues.

In the context of the EU membership, Poland is concerned with Russia's partnership initiatives with individual member states, particularly on energy issues. Poland's veto against the start of partnership negotiations between Russia and the EU was the reflection of these concerns. Taking into account Moscow's priority to develop closer partnership with the EU, Polish reaction on this process may continue to be an important dispute.

In the context of NATO membership, Poland's ambitious support for a next phase of enlargement over Ukraine and Georgia is now becoming a tension matter for Russian-Polish relations. Furthermore, Warsaw's deal to host the USA-led NMD systems in its territory can be seen as the second controversy.²

Poland's NATO membership and its transatlantic relations have created a literature on Poland's role in Central and Eastern Europe. In a sense, perceived as a "loyal" and "strategic" ally of the USA in the region, the country is often seen as a new "Protégé" or "Trojan Horse" of America. In their study, "America's Protégé in the East? The Emergence of Poland as A Regional Leader", Zaborovski and Longhurst claimed that Poland and the USA have

¹ "Bucharest Summit Takes NATO Agenda Forward", Bucharest, Romania, 2-4 April 2008, *NATO Official website*, <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2008/0804-bucharest/index.html>, accessed on April 10, 2008.

² Kim Ghattas, "Missile deal frays USA-Russia ties," *BBC News*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7573686.stm#map>, accessed on August 22, 2008, accessed on August 24, 2008.

developed very close relations which can be led to think that Poland will be America's new protégé in the region.³ According to the authors, at the core of this strategy, the USA has managed to establish closer relations with a number of countries like Poland that may be viewed as regional leaders.

In this context, most of the scholars, from realist and neorealist perspectives, tend to explain Polish Foreign Policy's actions towards Russia by its "instinctive Atlanticism" and with the concepts of "Poland's Weakness and American Power"⁴. On the other hand, from a historical perspective, the article 'Some Remarks on History Factor in Current Russo-Polish Relations' by Marek Czajkowski, an academician from Jagiellonian University, demonstrates the significance of historical background in current relations.⁵ Although Czajkowski stated that the history should be forgotten or left to historians, he blamed Russian politicians to distort history in order to reach their political goals calling these actions "history cleansing". Similarly, most of the articles and observations on Polish-Russian relations need to review these historical precedents because of unsolved disputes and tensions between them.⁶

In a general sense, Poland has pursued a pro-Western foreign policy since 1989. However, the thesis underlines that a "dual track" policy -between the Russia and the West- was adopted by Poland in the early 1990s because of its continuing economic, political and military links with Russia. In other words, before the realization of NATO and the EU membership, Polish foreign policy displayed a more cautious and balanced policy on Russia. Following its NATO

³ Marcin Zaborowski and Kerry Longhurst, "America's Protege in the East? The Emergence of the Poland a Regional Leader", *International Affairs*, Vol.79, No.5, p.1009.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1012.

⁵ Marek Czajkowski, "Some Remarks on History Factor in Current Russo-Polish Relations", *Johnson's Russia List*, September 5, 2005, <http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/9246-24.cfm>, accessed on February 15, 2008.

⁶ Richard Bernstein, "For Poland and Russia, Old Enmity Persists," *International Herald Tribune*, July 4, 2005.

and the EU memberships, a shift in Polish foreign policy is observed. In recent years, Poland has chosen to implement an anti-Russian foreign policy even taking the risk of contradicting with the EU's "old member states."

This thesis argues that despite the asymmetric nature of the relations, Poland is now a less "vulnerable" country against Russia. Poland holds the veto card in the EU, which threatens Russia's motivations to develop strategic partnership with the EU. Moreover, Poland's military engagement with NATO provides the country an area of manoeuvre to support NATO bids of Ukraine and Georgia, as well as to accept hosting the USA-led NMD systems in its territory.

Instead of analyzing Polish foreign policy from a realist or a neo-realist approach, this thesis examines the issue from a different theoretical perspective. The "interdependence theory" of international relations is used to understand Polish Foreign Policy's transformation during the last two decades. This thesis argues that realist and neorealist analysis of Polish foreign policy can not provide a sufficient ground to understand its transformation without referring to Poland's "relatively decreasing dependence" on Russia.

In international relations theories, liberal authors criticized realism and neorealism particularly in the 1980s. Commonly accepted as the founder of neoliberalism, John Nye and Robert Keohane developed the concept of "interdependence" as a source of power in international relations. Neoliberal critics against realism and neorealism firstly emerged on realists' "ignorance of international economic processes and institutions" ground.⁷ The liberal authors emphasized the constraints and opportunities that the states experience because of the changes in world economics, in patterns of international interactions, norms and institutions and technological innovation.

⁷ Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Power in the Global Information Age*, London and New York: Routledge, 2004, p.26.

In a general sense, they criticized modernists and traditionalists that they do not have an adequate framework to understand the politics of global interdependence. The concept of “interdependence” was defined as a mutual dependence with its major types. These types were related to the concept of power, which is argued to remain fundamental to the analysis of world politics. For Nye and Keohane, while affecting world politics and governmental actions, interdependence also influences patterns of interdependence.⁸ So, “Interdependence refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries.”⁹ The inflow of money, goods, people and messages across international boundaries may be shown as the international transactions causing these effects.

The concept of interdependence was not defined as a balanced dependence. Indeed, it was indicated that less dependent actors might utilize the interdependent relationship as a source of power bargaining over an issue to affect other issues.¹⁰ From that perspective, it is argued that “manipulating asymmetries in interdependence can be a source of power in international politics.”¹¹ The role of power in interdependence is distinguished by two terms by Nye and Keohane: “sensitivity” and “vulnerability”. Sensitivity can be defined as the “degrees of responsiveness- how quickly do changes in one country bring costly changes in another.”¹² In other words, sensitivity dependence refers to the “liability” of one country to the effects imposed from outside before it alters policies to change the situation. On the other hand,

⁸ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, [written under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University], Boston: Little, Brown, 1977, p.5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.11.

¹¹ Joseph S. Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts: an Introduction to Theory and History*, New York; London: Pearson, c2003, p.201.

¹² Keohane and Nye, *op.cit.*, p.12.

vulnerability has been defined as the “liability” of the country to suffer from the external changes even after it altered the policies.

In this theoretical framework, this thesis argues that the concept of interdependence with “sensitivity” and “vulnerability” can be applicable to the examination of Polish foreign policy against Russia, particularly for a comparative analysis before and after its EU and NATO membership. It is underlined that the EU and NATO membership of Poland have dramatically shifted its “dependence” on Russia. That can be examined on the two sources of interdependence as “sensitivity” and “vulnerability”.

Although the asymmetric characteristic of Polish-Russian relations is obvious, the thesis argues that the EU and NATO membership of Poland has relatively decreased Poland’s dependence on Russia in the post-Cold War era. Increased military capacity of Poland through modernization programs of NATO and its economic integration with the EU are the clues of this decreasing dependence on Russia. Consequently, Polish foreign policy on Russia has gradually transformed in the last two decades.

Historical background is important for a better understanding of Polish-Russian relations. Therefore, the first chapter of the thesis examines the background as well as the “utilization” of history by Poland. The impact of historical conflicts and tensions between Poland and Russia is, even today, one of the important inputs of the foreign policy discourses. However, “uses of history”¹³ has been more influential for Poland’s domestic and foreign policy as compared to Russia’s. It is argued that a strong awareness of history is dominant in the Polish Foreign Ministry, which affects the approach about international affairs and “is

¹³ The term “uses of history” is also used by Tomasz Zarycki, in his article “Uses of Russia; the Role of Russia in Modern Polish National Identity, *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.18, No.4, 2004, pp.595-627.

consciously employed as a guide to policy-making.”¹⁴ For instance, Polish Defense Minister Radoslaw Sikorski expressed his reaction to Russian-German Baltic pipeline agreement in 2005 by referring to the World War II, Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939”.¹⁵

The second chapter of the thesis focuses on the shift of Polish foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. The chapter starts with the analysis of impacts of historical burdens on Polish foreign policy from different perspectives. Economic and social problems and structural problems such as poverty and corruption are merged with the heritage of the Cold War. In this regard, “discourse of backwardness”, “rebirth of Russian expansionism”, and “different interpretations of the history” are mentioned. Russian image in Poland also carries one of the important narratives of East-West opposition in Europe. In this respect, Poles generally find themselves as the historical eastern border of Europe. The second chapter also focuses on main principles and objectives of Polish foreign policy after the end of Cold War. Uncertainties of the new era and continuing economic and political links to Russia urged Poland to adopt a more pragmatic approach in foreign policy. In this framework, it is argued that foreign policy of the “third republic” was based on a ‘dual track’ policy between “the West and the East” in the beginning of 1990s.

The third chapter of the thesis aims to make an analysis of Polish foreign policy in the context of NATO enlargement. To a large extent, Russian-Polish relations after the September 11 have developed around the notion of NATO membership and transatlantic links of Poland. Moreover, NATO membership of Poland has been the first important step for the country to integrate with market economy and to gain a significant amount of financial and technical supports from the

¹⁴ Dr Stephen Wood, “A New ‘Partner in Leadership’? Poland in Contemporary International Affairs”, Postdoctoral Fellow, National Europe Centre, ANU, *National Europe Centre Paper*, No: 114, July 11, 2003, p.3.

¹⁵ Michael Kaczmarek, “Gas Pipelines: The Battle against Energy Dependence”, *Euro Topics*, June 20, 2007, accessed on March 3, 2008.
http://www.eurotopics.net/en/magazin/magazin_archiv/gas_pipelines_2007_06/debatte_pipelines

USA for military modernization. Inflow of considerable amounts of financial and technical aids to Poland and modernization of Polish Army are significant elements of this analysis.

The third chapter also analyzes NMD plans of the USA, Poland's support to the system and a general assessment of Russia's reaction to the NMD. In this context, it is argued that Poland's accession to the NATO has been a significant factor that decreased the "sensitivity" and "vulnerability" against Russia in military terms. Accordingly, the chapter emphasizes that Poland has been able to demonstrate a clear diplomatic support to NATO bids of Ukraine and Georgia and deployment of interceptors to its land as a part of the USA led NMD system.

The last chapter focuses on Polish foreign policy towards Russia in the context of the EU enlargement. Russian foreign policy on the EU enlargement is also examined. It is possible to say that Putin's Presidency demonstrated a difference from that of Yeltsin in terms of identifying a strategic approach and objectives. First of all, despite its vehement opposition to NATO enlargement, Russia has been more moderate on the EU expansion due to several reasons. It is argued that Poland's EU membership has been more acceptable for Russia because of its strategic objectives to develop closer economic links with the EU.

Russian foreign policy was particularly based on developing bilateral relations with "old members" of the EU which deepened the concerns of the Poland in some aspects. Especially, Russia's attempt to establish energy links with individual member states is crucial for Poland. The chapter argues that Poland is still dependent on Russia's energy supplies. In this regard, Polish veto on the start of the negotiations for Russia-EU partnership agreement is examined. Although the negotiations were eventually launched in May 2008, Warsaw has recently announced that the country may continue to block negotiations unless the EU powers support NATO enlargement over Georgia and Ukraine. Within this framework, the chapter focuses on three important dynamics of Polish

foreign policy towards Russia policy: Russia's reaction to the EU enlargement, energy concerns of the EU and Eastern Policy of Poland is also examined.

CHAPTER

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A review of historical tensions between Poland and Russia is important for this thesis. In fact, Polish-Russian relations, not only on political but also on academic level, can hardly be explained without referring to the old frictions. Historical roots of mutual suspicion and mistrust between Poland and Russia can be traced back to 17th century. The partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795, Poland-Soviet War in 1919, invasion of Poland in 1939 and Cold War years can be marked as standpoints of traumatic memories of Polish and Russian people.¹⁶ Those memories still have considerable impacts on foreign policy perspectives. Even today, the historical prejudices are being referred in most of the academic and political debates on Russian-Polish tensions.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the historical background of Russian-Polish tension and so-called Russo-phobia in Poland. It argues that some historical traumas have critical impacts on the current relations. The chapter does not provide the detailed explanation of historical events, but focuses on the key controversial periods of history. Within this scope, this chapter makes a brief introduction of common history and impacts of partitions of Poland, Soviet-Polish War in 1920, the invasion of Poland in 1939 and Soviet domination in Cold War years.¹⁷

2.1 The Partition of Poland and the Russian Empire

The common history of Russia and Poland can be launched with their common ethnic origins. Both Russian and Polish nations are Slavic. The Polish and

¹⁶ Stachura, *op.cit.*, p.6.

Russian states were established almost in the same centuries. The history of Russia begins with the first East Slavic state; Kievan Rus.¹⁸ The first Polish State was established with the baptism of Mieszko I in 966, duke of the Slavic tribe of Polanias and founder of the Piast dynasty.¹⁹ His conversion from Paganism to Christianity was Poland's first recorded historical event. In 1000, an independent Polish Catholic Church organization was set up, but it was formed according to the Czech system, rather than German one. Thus, the Polish Church could turn directly to Rome, and the Pope, for protection and would not fall under the influence of the Germans.²⁰

One of the important milestones of Polish history was the foundation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 14th century. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth displayed a profound influence on the European map.²¹ The Commonwealth was of the largest and most powerful state in Europe for the next three hundred years.²² The land of Commonwealth was almost larger than the lands of France and Spain.

Coming to the 17th century, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ceased to be an influential player in the European politics while Russia turned to be an empire.²³ Poland's economy and growth were damaged by the nobility's reliance on agriculture and serfdom which delayed the industrialization of the country.²⁴ By

¹⁸ "History of Poland, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_history, cited from Sergey Solovyov, *History of Russia from the Earliest Times*, Eds. G. Edward Orchard, St. Petersburg: 1851-1879, in 29 volumes, translated in 50 volumes from the Moscow edition of 1959-1966.

¹⁹ Norman Davies, *God's Playground, a History of Poland*, New York : Columbia University Press, Vol.1., 2005, p.4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.53.

²¹ Stachura, *op.cit.*, p.6.

²² Fatih Özbay and Bülent Aras, "Polish-Russian Relations: History, Geography and Geopolitics", *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 1, March 2008, p.28.

²³ Stachura, *loc.cit.*.

²⁴ "History of Poland": <http://www.historia.org.pl/index.php?id=about>, accessed on December 5, 2007.

the beginning of the 18th century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the second largest European country, was an area of struggle of its rising neighbors. At the heart of this balance of power, Poland was a major battleground for wars, including the War of Polish Succession (1733-5), and later the Seven Years' War (1756-63), and it suffered widespread devastation.²⁵

Europe witnessed the collapse of one of the largest countries, Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth, following the three partitions in the 18th century. The country was separated into three parts under the domination Austria, Prussia and Russia in 1772, 1793 and 1795.²⁶ The partitions of Poland left a permanent remark on Poles' memories since they had to attempt to regain their independence during 123 years of partition. Russian intervention to Polish politics and its involvement in the partition affected the foreign policy perception of Polish people in 20th and 21st centuries.

The emergences of Russia, Prussia and Austria as ambitious and expansionist neighbors were of the crucial reasons of the partition. However, there were some internal weaknesses of Poland which made the country a symbol of Europe's economic decline and political disorder, the 'Republic of Anarchy'.²⁷ One of the important internal weaknesses of Poland was its differentiated political system of elected monarchy with a strong notion of nobility. In an era of the steady accumulation of power within the hands of European monarchs, Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth developed a decentralized system dominated by a landed aristocracy that kept royal authority firmly in check.²⁸

²⁵ Stachura, *op.cit.*, p.7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

The Russian factor in the process of partitions was notable. Russian influence was de facto established over Poland as early as 1717.²⁹ In fact, 18th century was the start of imperial stretch of the Russian Empire. John P. LeDonne, called the years between 1650-1831 as the years of Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire based on the conceptualization of client-patron relations.³⁰ According to John P. LeDonne, Poland was one of the client states of Russia in the wake of western expansion of Russian Empire.³¹ Catherine II the Great was the key figure of this Grand Strategy. It forced Poland to prevent the persecution of Protestants and Orthodox in Poland that created an opportunity to influence Polish internal affairs.³² Thus, during the reign of Empress Catherine the Great, Russia intensified its manipulation in Polish domestic affairs.

Eventually, Polish Commonwealth was separated into three partitions in 1772, 1793 and 1795. Poland lost its entire lands to Prussia, Austria and Russia. Polish people lived under the domination of Austria, Prussia and Russia for 123 years.

2.3 The Second Polish Republic and the Soviet-Polish War

Although Poles had several attempts to regain independence during the partition of 123 years, these uprisings were suppressed dramatically.³³ Because of the losses of life and property during numerous uprisings in the 19th century, Poles turned a constructive effort with a slogan of “organic work” in which all social

²⁹ John P. LeDonne, *The Grand Strategy of Russian Empire, 1650-1831*, Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, p63.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.61.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.63.

³² *Ibid.*, p.64.

³³ “The Poles did not give up for a full independence. In 1830, on the surge of general European protest against the decisions of the Congress of Vienna, an armed insurrection, the November Uprising, broke out in Russia Partition on 29 November 1830. The Tsar was dethroned and a National Government was created. Despite initial success, it ended in failure.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_history#Second_Republic, accessed on November 27, 2008.

classes participated.³⁴ Instead of the traditional armed resistance, the Polish people concentrated on practical work on social, economic and educational fields. Their efforts were directed towards achieving recognition of Poland and their representation of nation. Leadership of these parties contributed to rebirth of the state and motivated nationalist activities.³⁵ In the following years, the “question of Poland” had been discussed in the USA by Woodrow Wilson’s message to the Congress.³⁶ Italian, British and French governments released the declaration for the creation of an independent Poland on June 3, 1918.³⁷ These years are deemed as the start of closer relations with Poland and the West.

After World War I, the collapse of Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the defeat of Germany resulted in a dramatic change on the European map. The revolutionist movement in Russia created a climate which enabled Polish people to realize their ultimate aim of independence. Thus, the long lasting struggle of Polish people to regain their independence ended with victory by the end of World War I. However, at the very beginning of the foundation of the Second Republic, Poles faced with another conflict with Soviet Russia, successor of Russian Empire.

After the surrender of Germany in November 1918, Poland officially regained its independence by the foundation of Second Republic of Poland. However, it had to reaffirm its independence after a series of military conflicts, the most notable being Polish-Soviet War in 1919-1921³⁸. In the wake of the withdrawal of German troops, both Polish and Bolshevik forces tried to fill the vacuum and gain territory. Most of Polish historians underline the importance of Polish leader

³⁴ Stachura, *op.cit.*, p.10.

³⁶ Ilya Prizel and Andrew A. Mitcha, *Polish Foreign Policy Reconsidered: Challenges of Independence*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995, p.3.

³⁷ Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*, Cambridge: UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.229.

³⁸ *Polish History*, <http://poland.gov.pl/Border,conflicts,354.html>, accessed on December 1, 2008.

Pilsudski whose aim was to establish an effective barrier against German and Russian expansionism in Eastern Europe.³⁹ On the other hand, from Bolshevik perspective, Polish land was crucial to extend the “revolution” into the heart of Europe. Poland stood on the way of the German Communist Party which seemed to be one of the closer parties to realize revolution in Europe.

Soviet-Polish war lasted two years. Lord D’Abernon, a British diplomat, mentioned the battle as “the eighteenth decisive battle of the world”.⁴⁰ The turning point of the war was the defeat of the Red Army near Warsaw. Some historians highlight this war since Bolshevik Russia missed the chance for a “revolutionary march across Europe”. However, in “A Concise History of Poland”, Lukowski and Zadawski call these allegations only speculations. They state that “the Poles like to think that in 1920 they saved Western Civilization from Bolshevik hordes”.⁴¹ From the Soviet Russia perspective, the War created bloody images because of the death of nearly 20.000 Soviet prisoners of war in the Polish concentration camps after the war.⁴² On the other hand, in Poland’s official discourse, the war has been called as the "Miracle on the Vistula" due to the strong Polish resistance in Warsaw.⁴³ The war was concluded with a peace treaty in Riga dated March 18, 1921 which was relatively favorable for Poland. Between the years 1919-1939, Poles caught an opportunity of 20 years of independence under the Second Polish Republic. Peter Structura emphasized role of the Soviet-Polish War on the establishment of Polish national confidence and identity after living 123 years without a state.⁴⁴ However, Polish foreign policy

³⁹ Stachura, *op.cit.*, p.29.

⁴⁰ Lukowski and Zawadzki, *op.cit.*, p.229.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.230.

⁴² “War Legacy Continues to Hurt Russo-Polish Relations,” *Russia Today*, September 17, 2007: <http://russiastoday.ru/features/news/14259>, accessed on March 5, 2008.

⁴³ “Border Conflicts”, *Polish History*, <http://poland.gov.pl/Border,conflicts,354.html>, accessed on January 15, 2008.

⁴⁴ Stachura, *op.cit.*, p 182.

had been influenced by threats perceived from rising Nazi Germany and Soviet Union. In a sense, at the very beginning stage of the foundation of the Second Republic, Poles felt that they again faced with another conflict with Soviet Russia, successor of Russian Empire.

2.4 Invasion of Poland in 1939 and World War II

Another crucial trauma for Poles was the invasion of Poland by Germany and the Soviet Russia⁴⁵ in 1939 just before the outbreak of the World War II. Thus, after regaining independence in 1919, the Second Republic of Poland could just live 20 years before this invasion. The invasion of Poland has also been accepted as the start of World War II. Poland's western allies, the United Kingdom (UK), Australia and New Zealand declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939, soon followed by France, South Africa, Canada, and others. The memories of Polish people regarding the years between 1939 and 1941 had a long-term impact on Polish public opinion.

The invasion began September 1, 1939, one week after the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.⁴⁶ In addition to clauses of non-aggression, the treaty included a secret protocol dividing the independent countries of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania into Nazi or Soviet influence spheres.⁴⁷ All these countries were invaded, occupied, or forced to surrender by Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, or both.

During World War II, Poland suffered heavy losses mostly because of the Nazi occupation. 6 million people, over 15 percent of Poland's population, died

⁴⁵ It is also called "the September Campaign," "Kampania wrześniowa," in Poland and "the 1939 Defensive War," "Wojna obronna 1939 roku"; in Germany,

⁴⁶ Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih (1918-1994)*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 9. Baskı, 2001, p. 65.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

between the years 1939 and 1945.⁴⁸ On the other hand, occupation by the Soviet Union from 1939 to 1941 was also tragic for Poles. In 1940 and 1941, up to half a million people from all social classes and all ethnic groups were deported from the Soviet-occupied territories to Siberia and Soviet Central Asia.⁴⁹ The Soviet NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) captured Polish officers, civil servants, policemen and guards.⁵⁰ On orders signed by Josef Stalin and the Politburo on March 5, 1940 over 21.000 such prisoners were shot in April 1940, of these 4000 perished in Katyn near Smolensk.⁵¹

The mass graves at Katyn Forest were found by Germany in 1943, after its army invaded the region in 1941. That event resulted in a crisis between the Soviet Union and the Polish “government in exile”⁵² which ended with the suspension of diplomatic relations.

Katyn massacre has been one of the historical tensions between Poland and Russia. First of all, the recognition of Katyn Massacre took a long time for Soviet Union, in fact, during the Cold War; Polish Communist authorities avoided to take the Katyn massacre to the agenda.⁵³ Therefore, Katyn remained

⁴⁸ Polish History, *A Country Study: Poland*, Library of Congress Call Number, [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+pl0047](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+pl0047) accessed on June 5, 2008.

⁴⁹ Davies, Norman, *God's Playground, a History of Poland*, New York : Columbia University Press, Vol.2., 2005, p.595.

⁵⁰ Zbigniew Gluza, *The Katyn Massacre*, <http://www.poland.gov.pl/The,Katyn,Massacre,2579.html>, accessed on June 5, 2008.

⁵¹ Lukowski and Zawadzki, *op.cit.*, p.256.

⁵² “Government of the Polish Republic in Exile was the government of Poland after the country had been occupied by Germany and the Soviet Union during September-October 1939. The Polish Government in Exile commanded Polish armed forces operating in Poland and abroad during the war. The Polish Government in Exile based first in Paris and then in London, was recognized by all the Allied governments. Politically, it was a coalition of the Polish Peasant Party, the Polish Socialist Party and the National Democratic Party, although these parties maintained only a vestigial existence in the circumstances of exile.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_government_in_Exile, accessed on February 5, 2008.

⁵³ Özbay and Aras, *op.cit.*, p.34.

as a forbidden topic in postwar Poland. Katyn was erased from Poland's official history in the Cold War years, but apparently came to the surface by the end of the Cold War.

2.5 Poland in the Cold War

Just before the end of World War II, at the Yalta Conference, Poland fell into the orbit of the Eastern Bloc represented by the Soviet Union.⁵⁴ Eventually, Stalin promised to hold free elections. Elections were held in 1947 under the control of the Soviet Union. A new Communist government established in Poland, similar to most of Eastern Bloc countries.

The People's Republic of Poland was officially founded in 1952, which was the largest country among Soviet satellites. Being a part of COMECON system, Polish economy, which transformed to a planning economy under communist rule, was highly embedded to Soviet economy.

In 1956, the regime of Wladyslaw Gomulka became temporarily “more liberal”.⁵⁵ Similar tendency occurred under Edward Gierek government in the 1970s. It is generally argued that Poland was able to pursue a semi-sovereign foreign policy.⁵⁶ The de-Stalinization policies of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev during the early-1950s was seen as a turning point for Poland's limited sovereign foreign policymaking. “Khrushchev's secret speech at the 1956 Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress released Polish frustrations against the tenets of Soviet Marxist domination.”⁵⁷ However, it was not possible for Warsaw to follow an

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁵⁵ Joshua Spero, “Poland’s Security Dilemma Between Germany and Russia Again; Bandwagoning and Balancing in Foreign Policy from 1989 to 1993”, *Ph.D. Dissertation Defended at the Johns Hopkins University*, 2001, p.34.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.36.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

entirely independent foreign policy. Poland was an important country of the Soviet Bloc because of being located at the heart of Central Europe. The country had also great military significance for the Soviet Union as the home of communications equipment between the Soviets and their satellite countries. Several tactical nuclear warheads were also located in Poland.⁵⁸

Following the global economic crisis in the 1970s, the emergence of Solidarity Movement was highly significant since many trade unions worked together for the same cause. The delegates of 36 regional trade unions formed the original Solidarity. The key figure of the Solidarity was Lech Walesa who co-founded the movement and won Nobel Prize in 1983. Historian Norman Davies in “God’s Playground- a History of Poland” explains this decade of 1980-1990 as one of the cornerstones of Polish history. According to Davies, Solidarity Movement was the only independent organization of its kind in Soviet Bloc history which created an unprecedented challenge to the ruling Party’s monopoly.⁵⁹ However, between 1981 and 1983, the military element within the Communist system started a violent counter attack by introducing martial law, suppressing all Solidarity activities.⁶⁰ From 1983 to 1990, in all their attempts, the Polish military leaders aimed to restore a viable Communist order.⁶¹

The Solidarity has a special importance in Poles memories. In current official history, it is regarded as a movement in favor of the independence and democracy. In this regard, the threat of Soviet intervention during 1980s was recorded as another suppression of the Soviet Union in Poles’ memories.

⁵⁸ “Cold War Files: The Solidarity Movement of Poland”, *Cold War International History Project*, www.coldwarfiles.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=units.welcome&thisunit=22 - 15k, accessed on January 11, 2008.

⁵⁹ Davies, *op.cit.*, (Vol.1), p.482.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.491.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.482.

Furthermore, the impact of Solidarity on Poland was evident that Walesa served as President between the years 1990 and 1995.

On the other hand, Katyn event continued to be a forbidden issue for Poles under Soviet domination until the 1980s.⁶² In 1981, for instance, Polish trade union Solidarity built a memorial with the simple note on it "Katyn, 1940". However, the police changed and replaced it with an official monument it: "To the Polish soldiers – victims of Hitler fascism – reposing in the soil of Katyn".⁶³

Polish intellectuals and academicians put pressure on the Polish government and the Soviet one during the late 1980s.⁶⁴ In April 1990, the Soviet Union formally stated “profound regret” and admitted the responsibility of the Soviet secret police during the 47th anniversary of the discovery of the mass graves.⁶⁵ In the post-Cold War era, however, Katyn Massacre persisted to be one of the important historical symbols of Polish-Russian conflict. Russia did not admit the massacre as a war crime nor as a crime against humanity which both creates a constant tension for Polish governments.

To sum up, abovementioned historical events was notable for a better understanding of Polish foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. Poland’s dilemma between its neighbors Russia and Germany has been an important geopolitical factor which effects foreign policy understanding. Economic, military and political links between two countries was also effective on Polish foreign policy in the first years of the post-Cold War era. The next chapter examines the impact of historical burdens on Poland’s post-Cold War foreign

⁶² Benjamin B Fischer, "The Katyn Controversy: Stalin's Killing Field", *Studies in Intelligence*, Winter 1999–2000, <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/pdf/v43i3a06p.pdf>, accessed on June 18, 2008.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ “Katyn Massacre”, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Katyn_Massacre#cite_note-fa1990-61 cited in “Chronology 1990; The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe”, *Foreign Affairs*, 1990, pp. 212, accessed on March 5, 2008.

policy. It also analyzes the main principles and objectives of the Polish foreign policy in the way of Poland's EU and NATO memberships. The chapter also focuses on Poland's dualistic foreign policy in the early 1990s between Russia and the West.

CHAPTER

III. POLISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA

This chapter examines main characteristics of Polish foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. In this respect, the chapter makes an analysis of impacts of historical background on Polish Foreign Policy. It focuses on the “image” of Russia in official discourses and public opinion of Poland. The chapter also examines the main principles and objectives of post-Communist Polish Foreign Policy. Within this context, the last part of this chapter focuses on so-called “dual track” policy of Poland between the years 1989-1993.

3.1 Feeling the Burden of the History

The impact of historical conflicts and tensions between Poland and Russia is, even today, emerging as an important part of foreign policy discourses. It is argued that a strong awareness of history is dominant in the Polish Foreign Ministry which permeates thinking about international affairs and “is consciously employed as a guide to policy-making.”⁶⁶ Moreover, most of the diplomatic crises are followed by statements of Russian and Polish officials referring to the historical memories. Historical burden of the relations has been particularly effective on Poland’s official discourse and foreign policy perspective. The impact of the historical constraints is so effective on bilateral relations so that “Meetings of History-related Group for Difficult Issues” - between Russian and Polish Foreign Ministries- are regularly met since 2002.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Wood, *op.cit.*, p.3.

⁶⁷ “Communiqué on the Meeting of the Co-chairmen of the Group for Difficult Issues between The Republic of Poland and Russia”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland Website*, <http://www.msz.gov.pl/Communiqué,on,the,meeting,of,the,Co-chairmen,of,the,Group,for,Difficult,Issues,between,The,Republic,of,Poland,and,Russia,14644.html>, accessed on April 7, 2008.

Several authors emphasized Poland's geopolitical dilemma between Russia and Germany -throughout the history-.⁶⁸ Therefore, the integrating and unifying roles of the contemporary images of "Russian threat" is crucial for establishment Polish national identity following the end of the Cold War.⁶⁹ Moreover, it is argued that the "potential threat from Russia" is the "backbone" of the Polish foreign policy.⁷⁰ It was also directly influential on Poland's goals of being both a NATO and EU member.⁷¹

A historical sensitivity against Russia can also be observed in Poland's public opinion. In a recent survey, 59 percent of Poles replied the question of "Which states does Poland have to fear?" as; Russia; while Germany coming right after with 23 percent.⁷² In the same survey, 69 percent of attendees replied the question of "What is your opinion of the relations between Russia and Poland?" as bad.⁷³

In fact, it is possible to say that the "interpretation" of the history in Poland is not entirely homogenous. Two main perspectives of history interpretation could be mentioned for a better understanding of social fragmentation. Tomas Zarycki, underlines the influence of the 'right' interpretation of history.

The camp of the left subscribes to the tradition of modernization and secularization, based on the Soviet-supported effort of building a modern Polish nation state.....The second tradition –that of the Polish right– is to a large extent based on the trust in the role of religion in general, and the

⁶⁸ Prizel and Mitcha, *op.cit.*, p.6.

⁶⁹ Tomasz Zarycki, "Uses of Russia; the Role of Russia in Modern Polish National Identity," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.18, No.4, 2004, p.614.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.599.

⁷² Cornelius Ochman and Alexey Ignatiev, Petr Shopin, "Polish-Russian Relations", *KICES Working Papers*, No.8, March 2007, p12.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

Catholic Church, in particular, and views itself as the backbone of the Polish national identity and social cohesion.⁷⁴

For most of the conservative Polish historians, Polish-Russian relations are seen as a common history of “wars, invasions and uprisings”. Indeed, common history of two countries experienced 16 wars, “14 belonging to a series of Russian expansion movements; after 250 years of Russian domination in Poland that provoked six Polish uprisings.”⁷⁵ It can be argued that Polish foreign policy perspectives and public discourse have been apparently influenced by abovementioned “right-wing” interpretation of Russian image since 1990.

In a general sense, the impact of historical tensions can be examined in three respects. Firstly, the economic dimension: Russia and Cold-War heritage is perceived as a reason of socio-economic backwardness in Poland. Moreover, Poles are concerned with their dependency on Russian energy supplies. Secondly, the geopolitical dimension: the notion of belonging the “Western civilization” rather than the Eastern one and threat perceptions on potential “rebirth of Russian expansionism”. Thirdly, the psychological dimension, reflection of national indignation on the different “interpretation of history” by Russia on international level are important.

First of all, the uses of Russian image and history in Poland can be seen in the discourse of “backwardness”. The economic and social problems, and structural problems such as poverty and corruption are explained by the heritage of the Soviet Bloc and the Soviet Union policies on Poland. It is argued that position of the East in Poland is identified with backwardness that points out the lack of

⁷⁴ Tomasz Zarycki, “History and Regional Development, A Controversy Over the ‘Right’ Interpretation of the Role of History in the Development of the Polish Regions,” *Post Communist Transformation*, Vol.38, No.3, May 2007, p.487.

⁷⁵ Andrzej Nowak, “The Russo-Polish Historical Confrontation”, *Sarmatian Review*, January 1997, <http://www.ruf.rice.edu/sarmatia/197/Nowak.html/>, accessed on March 1, 2008.

specific characteristic of ‘modernized state or economy’ of a Western type.⁷⁶ Moreover, the negative discourse on Russia and the Soviet past also became institutionalized in the formal discourse of the textbooks or media.⁷⁷ Hence, the negative public opinion about Russia has been effective on foreign policy making process, as it is highly embedded to domestic policy.

Another impact of the historical traumas on Poland is the reaction towards any trace of “Russian expansionism” after the Cold War. An article from Polish newspaper “Gazeta Polska” is a good example for that approach:

966 beginning, 1772 Russians entered, 1793 Russians entered, 1795 Russians entered, 1831 Russians left but they entered again, 1863 Russians left but they have entered again, 1918 Russians have left, 1920 Russians entered but left soon, 1939 Russians entered, 1944 Russians entered, 1981 allegedly Russians were about to enter, 1992 Russians say they will leave in a moment, 1993 Russians have left, 1994 Russians say they will come again, 1995 Russians say it too early for NATO, 1996 Russians have invented the corridor to have a way to enter.⁷⁸

Secondly, Russian image in Poland carries one of the important narratives of East-West opposition of European continent. In that respect, Poles generally find themselves as the historical western border of the Europe. According to Zarycki, Russia is often presented negatively, “as a country of lower civilization and a threat in Poland in several dimensions such as economics, politics and military.”⁷⁹ Moreover, that image goes back to the regional disparities in Poland, which is rooted in the former partition of the country in the 18th century. The bad vision of Russian partition zone that is thought to be less

⁷⁶ Harald Wydra, *Continuities in Poland's Permanent Transition*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, p.83.

⁷⁷ For instance, the official web site of the Republic of Poland mentions the cold war years as the years of “domination under Soviet control”.

⁷⁸ Zarycki, *Uses of Russia...., op.cit.*, p.608, cited in Prokop, “Mit Rosji w dzisiejszej Polsce,” *Gazeta Polska* 16, 1996.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.595.

developed than the other partitions is notable.⁸⁰ This approach has been feeding the antagonism against Russia, while urging foreign policy steps towards the West.

Thirdly, different “interpretation” of common history has been one of the significant conflicts, particularly since 1989. Katyn Massacre could be given as key example of these problems. The official Russian Commission investigating the Katyn event determined that the massacre was not a crime against humanity or a war crime, but an ordinary criminal act.”⁸¹ This issue has been a constant debate particularly for Poland.

For instance, the Polish Minister of Culture, Kazimierz Michal Ujazdowski submitted a draft proposal to the Polish Parliament, calling for the removal of Soviet monuments In May 2007.⁸² He described these monuments as “symbols of foreign domination and Communist dictatorship over Poland”.⁸³ Russian response to this attempt came from Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov at a ceremony to commemorate Soviet diplomats who died in WW II. He said Moscow is angry at attempts to re-write history:

The memory of the victory does not fade away, it is sacred for us, and we cannot put up with blasphemous attempts to abuse history or re-write it. These attempts are becoming a part and a tool of foreign policy of some states. Regrettably, such organizations as NATO and the EU are ignoring these attempts.⁸⁴

On the other hand, another diplomatic crisis was raised by Russia. In June 2005, Putin invited Chancellor Gerhard Schröder of Germany and President Jacques

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.604.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² “Poland Wants Removal of Soviet Monuments”, *Russia Today*, May 8, 2007, available at <http://russiatoday.ru/news/news/4854>, accessed on March 26, 2008.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Chirac of France to celebrate the 750th anniversary of the founding of Kaliningrad, a tiny Russian enclave sandwiched between Poland and Lithuania. However, Putin didn't invite the leaders of two states. Polish weekly newspaper, *Warsaw Voice*, announced this news with a head title of "Russian Snub". Russian President Vladimir Putin said the presidents of Poland and Lithuania had not been invited to the celebrations of the 750th anniversary of Kaliningrad as the event was "a purely internal Russian undertaking".⁸⁵ The leaders of France and Germany accompanied the undertaking which was held on June 3, 2005. The newsletter emphasized the statement of Putin's foreign affairs adviser Sergei Prikhodko -who was asked why the presidents of Poland and Lithuania had not been invited to the celebrations-: "This is a holiday of Russian nation and only our friends were invited speaking the same language."⁸⁶

To conclude, the historical burden of relations has been reflected on foreign policy perspectives of Poland. Obviously, uses of history and the image of Russia have been more critical for both Polish domestic and foreign policies.

3.2 Main Objectives and Principles of Polish Foreign Policy

In the early 1990s, Poland found itself in a geopolitically complicated situation where its old 3 neighbors; East Germany, Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia transformed. These states were replaced by seven new countries; United Germany Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Slovak and the Czech Republic, and Russian enclave Kaliningrad. The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union created the conditions for Poland to establish "Third Republic" and implement a new foreign policy. The main driving force and characteristic of Polish foreign policy in post Cold War era were strongly linked to its motivation to integrate with the global economy and Western political system, values and institutions. In a sense, following the end of the

⁸⁵ "Russian Snub", *Warsaw Voice*, 6 July 2005, <http://www.warsawvoice.pl/view/8880/>, accessed on February 12, 2008.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Soviet hegemony, Poland aimed to become a part of western economic and political orders through the EU and NATO memberships.

The principles and objectives of Polish foreign policy were, therefore, important indicators of transforming from socialism to market economy. On the other hand, aforementioned historical burdens and geopolitical dilemmas were vehemently effective on foreign policy perspectives. The physical security and economic prosperity were perceived as critical benefits, which might be gained by the goal of Western integration. In international relations terms it is argued that “Poland has a ‘realist’ orientation which was influenced by history, national identity, and their place in the Polish psyche.”⁸⁷

The shift in Poland’s post communist foreign policy and defense doctrine were expressed in a number of key declarations and documents in the early and mid-1990s. Foreign Minister Professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski, an academician and a well-known lawyer, was active in Polish foreign policy during 1989–93. Skubiszewski’s foreign policy had three main aims, which were repeated in numerous speeches addressed to the Sejm and foreign policy declarations during this period. These objectives gained almost complete consensual support at both the political elite and public opinion levels.⁸⁸ In this scope, there were three identified aims of Polish foreign policy in the early 1990s. The first was to “regain and re-establish Polish national independence and sovereignty”, second, ‘Return to Europe’ by the EU membership, and the last; implementation of ‘dual track’ policy depending on a cautious policy on Russia.⁸⁹

The main objectives of Polish foreign policy can be evaluated in line with the EU and NATO memberships. Polish policymakers believed the importance of assuring Poland's long-term economic prosperity which could only be realized

⁸⁷ Wood, *op.cit.*, p.3.

⁸⁸ Prizel and Mitcha, *op.cit.*, p.23.

⁸⁹ George Sanford, “Overcoming the Burden of History in Polish Foreign Policy,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.19, No.3, 2003, p.182.

through Poland's integration into Western Europe, in this case, through EU membership. On the other hand, Poland sought a military integration and a security guarantee to remove itself from its historical role as “the perennial weak leg of the Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow triangle.”⁹⁰ Achievement of this objective, according to Polish officials, required Poland to join the NATO at the earliest possible moment. From this perspective, four dimensions of Polish foreign policy are analyzed in this chapter.

In the first place, the collapse of the Soviet Bloc and globalization waves in the early 1990s were key driving forces defining Poland's foreign policy direction. That's to say the EU membership was seen as a project of integrating to market economy and gaining economic prosperity. The transformation process was set up in two main spheres as institutional and social transformations; while institutional reform concerned to wide-ranging changes in the political and socio-economic systems of the country; within the social sphere, the process referred the transformation of individual and collective mentalities of the society, and its attitude towards the state.⁹¹

In other words, transformation or transition created a fundamental shift in state-society relations as a natural consequence of change in economic system. The EU membership and integration to market economy processes, however, were not easily realized. In the period of immediate post-communism, what was dangerous was the assessment in various European capitals that “Polish Economy was too backward for Poland to be deemed a candidate for EC membership”.⁹² In this process, Polish foreign policy played an active and a decisive role to define Poland's respond to these difficulties. For instance,

⁹⁰ Ilya Prizel, *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland*, Cambridge University press, p.110.

⁹¹ Teresa Los-Nowak, “Contemporary Government Attitudes towards European Union”, *Poland and the European Union*, edited by Karl Cordell; [contributors Andrzej Antoszewski ... et al.], London; New York: Routledge, 2000, p.10.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.9.

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski was seemed to acknowledge that the capability and range of Polish foreign policy options were large extent derivatives for Poland's economic condition. For Skubiszewski, "the EU could play a significant role in the efforts to reconstruct the Polish Economy."⁹³

Secondly, historical burdens and dilemmas of sovereignty have become other critical determinants of Polish Foreign Policy. The country had a stormy modern history dominated by the loss of independence for 123 years, grievous threats during the Second World War and the years of the Communist period.⁹⁴ The centrality of dilemma of its geopolitical position between two powerful German and Russian neighbors has consequently produced a very resistant national identity.⁹⁵ In a sense, Poland's NATO membership goal and its closer link with the USA were other basic motivations of Polish Foreign Policy, particularly after the September 11.

In this respect, both Polish national identity and the ideological basis of the country's foreign policy are heavily permeated and conditioned by the historical inheritance.⁹⁶ In their book "Polish foreign policy Reconsidered", Ilya Prizel and Andrew A. Michta stressed that the restructuring of post-Cold War Europe was a significant opportunity for Poland to change its centuries-old dilemma of being a medium sized and relatively weak power located at a crucial point of Europe's geopolitics between Germany and Russia.⁹⁷ In that sense, the establishment of Polish foreign policy in 1989 based on securing and strengthening independence,

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Sanford, *op.cit.*, p.178.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Prizel and Mitcha, *op.cit.*, p.6.

instituting Poland's return to Europe and pursuing good relations with neighbor states.⁹⁸

In a sense, relationships on eastern and western borders became the main issues for the Third Republic. Reunification of Germany was one of central issues to Poland's security and future integration with the West. Although Poland was excluded from the early phases of so-called "4+2" Great Powers talks⁹⁹ on Germany's future, the USA insisted on unification of Germany in the existing external borders.¹⁰⁰ On November 14, 1990 Poland and Germany finally signed the Treaty that confirmed the Oder-Neisse frontier. The solution of border problems with Germany was unexpectedly immediate and followed by a treaty of friendship signed in Bonn on June 17, 1991.¹⁰¹ However, as will be mentioned in the following chapter, relations with Russia remained complicated.

The third element was the impact domestic politics on foreign policy. During the 1990s, Poland passed through several elections, which played important roles on foreign policy. Despite the common consensus of different parties on NATO membership, the EU accession was problematic in some aspects. On the other hand, psychological reflection of Polish public opinion against Russia can be deemed as a preventive factor to develop relations with the East.

Lastly, the "Eastern policy" of Poland was important. The "Eastern" policy has been emerged in two dimensions: Russia and newly independent Eastern countries. Development of regional co-operation (without Russia) was seen as

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ "The Treaty on the Final Settlement With Respect to Germany, (or the Two Plus Four Agreement) was negotiated in 1990 between the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the German Democratic Republic (GDR), and the Four Powers which occupied Germany at the end of World War II in Europe: France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union."
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_on_the_Final_Settlement_with_Respect_to_Germany, accessed on March 10, 2008.

¹⁰⁰ Lukowski and Zawadzki, *op.cit.*, p.328.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

one of the paths leading to political stabilization and more dynamic economic growth in Poland, as well as in East Central Europe as a whole. In 1991, Visegrad Triangle, latter named as Visegrad Group (the Czech and Slovak Federative Republics, and Hungary) was established. This arrangement formed a bilateral free trade zone between Budapest and Warsaw in which both the Czechs and the Slovaks were invited to join. The Visegrad also aimed to coordinate strategies of these countries to join to the West European economic and military organizations.¹⁰²

Polish foreign policy towards Russia before and after NATO and the EU membership demonstrates some critical differences. Although Warsaw pursued a more cautious ‘dual track’ policy between Russia and the West between the years 1989 and 1994, the country’s NATO and EU membership contributed to the decrease of Poland’s dependence on Russia. Thus, both memberships provide the opportunity to embrace a more assertive policy towards Russia.

3.3 Polish foreign policy towards Russia before NATO and the EU Membership

Analysis of Polish foreign policy in the post-Cold War era displays a clear shift in terms of Russia policy. First of all, pro-western approaches became dominant after 1989. That meant a deviation from Cold War foreign policy approach, settled in a Soviet-dominated Marxist-Leninist and Socialist Internationalist framework from 1948 to 1989.¹⁰³ Secondly, Polish Foreign Policy’s evolution in the last two decades reveals a differentiation before and after Poland’s EU and NATO memberships, particularly in terms of its Russia policy. In this context, for the first half of the 1990s, Polish foreign policy motivations were mainly characterized by a “dual approach” between the West and the East. In other

¹⁰² “Poland-Foreign Relations”, *Country Studies*, <http://countrystudies.us/poland/88.htm>, accessed on April 28, 2008.

¹⁰³ Sanford, *op.cit.*, p.190.

word, before the realization of NATO and the EU membership goals, Polish foreign policy displayed a more cautious and balanced policy on Russia. Skubiszewski was the key figure of this policy as being the Minister of Foreign Affairs who continued to serve this task despite changing four governments.

To a large extent, the first years of the post Cold War era were the years of “uncertainty” for Poland. In 1990, Poles were perceived as “uncomfortably exposed on both their western and eastern flanks.”¹⁰⁴ Uncertainty about the recognition of the Oder–Neisse boundary by a united Germany’s continued (Poland’s post-WWII Western frontier) which led Poland to perceive the presence of Soviet troops as a guarantee of its territorial integrity.¹⁰⁵ Poland was limited with, the need to maintain good relations with Russia. However, Skubiszewski’s “initial response was a “dualistic” approach which combined symbolic acknowledgment of the autonomy of the Baltic States, Belarus, and Ukraine, with formal recognition of the Soviet center”¹⁰⁶

Therefore, one of the significant aspects of Polish foreign policy in the early 1990s was the “dual track” policy introduced by the first Minister of Foreign Affairs, Skubiszewski. This policy was based on “maintaining relations with the Soviet Union, but favoring the West.”¹⁰⁷ For him, the two most important state-to-state relationships of Warsaw should be considered as Bonn and Moscow.¹⁰⁸ This concept can be identified as a ‘third way’, somewhere between the Western capitalism and the East.

¹⁰⁴ Sarah Meiklejohn Terry, “Poland’s Foreign Policy Since 1989: The Challenges of Independence,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 33, 2000, p.10.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ George Blazyca, “Poland on the eve of EU Membership”, *European Studies Occasional & Working Paper, (New Series)*, March 2003, p.13.

¹⁰⁸ Spero, *op.cit.*, p.57, cited in 5:Gorski, DwutorO\1/osc Polskiej Polityki Wschodniej, 35-36 and Vinton, “*Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy, 1989-1993*”.

In a general sense, Skubiszewski's foreign policy focused on three main areas. In the first place, Poland should secure and strengthen its independence. Second, Warsaw required improved neighborhood relations with all its bordering states, founded on equal partnership, international law, and territorial inviolability. Finally, the independent Polish state must re-integrate into Europe.¹⁰⁹ In line with these aims, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in his address to Sejm in 1990 revealed the new Polish Foreign policy perspective towards Russia.

We have opened a new chapter in Polish-Soviet relations. They are no longer determined by ideology and relations between the communist parties. They have become normal relations between states and their governments, guided by the weal of their people and the *raison d'Etat*.¹¹⁰

On the other hand, in his first major foreign policy address in 1989, the Foreign Minister Skubiszewski said that Poland “has no intention of destabilizing the existing international order”, which was thought as a message that Poland would not leave the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet-led European¹¹¹ This dichotomy displays the characteristics of Polish foreign policy in the first years of the 1990s.

The foreign policy approach of Skubiszewski is commonly examined with Gomulka's semi-sovereign foreign policies in the 1960s and the underground arguments of diaspora publication named “Kultura”. Following WWII, some of Polish writers found themselves in exile and many of them came together around the Paris-based “Kultura” published by Jerzy Giedroyc and Mieroszewski.¹¹² The key arguments of Giedroyc and Mieroszewski were based on improvement

¹⁰⁹ Spero, *op.cit.*, p.57.

¹¹⁰ Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, *Sejm Exposé (an Excerpt on Polish Foreign Policy)*, Warsaw: January 18, 1990, <http://www.zbiordokumentow.pl/1990/1/1.html>, accessed on March 15, 2008.

¹¹¹ Marvine Howe, “Polish Foreign Minister Pledges No Withdrawal from Warsaw Pact”, *New York Times*, September 26, 1989.

¹¹² Spero, *op.cit.*, p.41.

of Russian-Polish relations on no expense of Polish independence and interest.¹¹³ According to several authors, Skubiszewski was influenced by Kultura and the basic motivations of Gomulka.

The evolution of Polish Security Policy was affected by the uncertainty about Poland's role in Europe. Although Warsaw has defined the goal of NATO and the EU memberships as vital national interests¹¹⁴, bilateral relations between Russia and Poland from 1989 to 1993 were dramatically improved by both Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's presidencies. Eventually, it reached its highest point in 1993. In that year, President Yeltsin visited Warsaw and made a gesture of apologizing for Katyn and Soviet acts of oppression on Poles. Additionally, agreements on the extension of gas pipeline network and supply of Russian gas to Poland were signed in 1993. More importantly, Russian troops left the country in the same year.

Positive tendency in Polish-Russian relations started to decline in 1994. Some of the scholars explained the shift in Polish-Russian relations with the uncertainty of political developments in Russia during Yeltsin's illness, the revival of Communist Party, the war against the Chechens, the concern over the dependence of energy supplies and Russia's opposition campaign against Poland's membership to NATO.¹¹⁵

However, from the perspective of Interdependence theory, motivations of Polish foreign policy can be analyzed through the concepts of vulnerability and sensitivity. Coming to 1994 and 1995, a gradual progress can be observed in Poland-NATO relations. Partnership for Peace (PfP) was introduced in January 1994 to CEECs and accepted by all member governments. Poland was the first state which presented an individual programme for PfP in July 1995. The USA

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Prizel and Mitcha, *op.cit.*, p.23.

¹¹⁵ Lukowski and Zawadzki, *op.cit.*, p.329.

Congress empowered the President Clinton to pursue enlargement with Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary in October 1995. In December 1995, NATO Foreign and Defense Ministers stated that the Alliance was ready to admit the new members.

All of these developments were effective on changing direction of Polish-Russian relations. Moreover, after the official invitation of the first three states, a Charter signed between Ukraine and NATO¹¹⁶ which increased Russia's concerns and reactions on NATO enlargement.

To sum up, Polish foreign policy demonstrated a pro-western stand in the post-Cold War era. However, it also tried to balance Russia policy because of the uncertain conditions and its continuing economic and military links with Russia. It is argued that Poland's NATO and the EU memberships altered this approach in the late 1990s and particularly after the September 11. Next chapter analyzes Poland's NATO membership and economic and military impacts of the accession to find out changing foreign policy patterns towards Russia.

¹¹⁶ For more on "Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Ukraine" dated Madrid, 9 July 1997 <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/ukrchr.htm>, accessed on April 16, 2008.

CHAPTER

IV. IMPACT OF POLAND'S NATO MEMBERSHIP ON POLISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA

The analysis of Polish foreign policy towards Russia requires consideration of Poland's links with the West and its relatively decreased dependence on Russia. Indeed, contrary to the improvement of bilateral relations between the years 1989-1993, Polish-Russian relations worsened on the eve of Poland's NATO accession. Furthermore, there have been other critical debates between NATO and Russia in a wide spectrum. It is obvious that Poland has aimed to be an important actor in some of these debates as the USA's close ally.

In this regard, the aim of this chapter is to examine Polish foreign policy towards Russia in the context of its NATO membership. In a general sense, this chapter emphasizes that NATO enlargement has not been acceptable for Russia differently from the EU enlargement process. NATO is still perceived as the most significant threat to the national security in most of the Russian official documents. Furthermore, the thesis argues that the USA's NMD initiative, which has been supported by Poland, will continue to increase tension between Russia and Poland.

Another focus of this chapter is the economic and military impacts of NATO membership on Poland. The chapter examines modernization of Poland's military through financial and technical aids of NATO. The chapter argues that NMD will play a key role in the future debates between Russia and Poland.

4.1 Pre-accession Process

Following the end of the Cold War, several debates and scenarios were put forward concerning the future of NATO. These scenarios were shaped in line

with the allegations that NATO would disappear as it lost its “raison d’etre”, and; around the ideas which defined NATO as the core of Pan-European security system which would include Russia¹¹⁷. In fact, none of these scenarios came entirely to be true since NATO expanded without Russia. Russia not only passed through this process as a partially excluded partner, but also witnessed accession of CEECs and Baltic States to NATO, which have been perceived as an important part of its near abroad¹¹⁸.

As being the largest country in the region, Poland was included to the first wave of NATO enlargement in 1999. Polish Foreign Policy’s basic motivation to integrate with the western economic, political and military systems was firstly turned into fact with NATO accession. Beyond its NATO membership, main driving force of Polish foreign policy was to develop closer relations with the USA. Russia, without any exemption, vehemently opposed to the NATO enlargement since 1990s. Crucial concerns of Russia were based on new NATO concept adopted by Washington Treaty in 1999 which led NATO to realize military operations without UN transactions. The provisions of NATO’s new strategic concept were criticized by Russia, since they did not exclude “the conduct of use-of-force operations outside of the zone of application without the sanction of the UN Security Council.”¹¹⁹

CEECs immediately established diplomatic relations with NATO following the break-up of the Cold War. The visit of a delegation from the Warsaw Pact to the NATO Assembly in October 1989 was CEECs’ first historical step towards

¹¹⁷ Vladimir Baranovsky, “NATO Enlargement: Russia’s Attitudes”, *IISS/CEPS European Security Forum*, Brussels: 9 July 2001, <http://www.eusec.org/baranovsky.htm>, accessed on April 11, 2008.

¹¹⁸ “Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev in an interview with the Warsaw weekly *Polityka*.: stated that “Eastern Europe has not been pushed to the background by us. The countries of this region have never fallen out of Russia’s field of interest. Considering their geographical proximity and traditional centuries-long ties, we include them rather in the first circle.” Terry, *op.cit.*, p.20.

¹¹⁹ “The Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation”: <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>, accessed on May 7, 2008.

NATO. In October 1991, after the dissolution of Warsaw Pact, the Presidents of three states; Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary declared in Krakow that their countries were interested in NATO membership. NATO's response to this step was positive, but also deliberative. The North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) was established to function as a forum for dialogue and collaboration with Central and Eastern Europe for external relations with CEECs in December 1991. For the following two years, the process was slow because of the uncertainties on NATO's new mission and role, the stability of CEECs and more importantly the place of Russia in this process.

The visit of Boris Yeltsin to Warsaw in August 1993 was unexpected in terms of his statements on Poland-NATO relations. The joint Russian-Polish declaration was signed on August 25th 1993 during that visit. It was stated that Polish membership of NATO "does not contradict the interests of other countries or Russian interests". However, this neutral attitude was converted into a strong opposition towards Russia within two years.¹²⁰ In September 1993, President Yeltsin sent letters to the leaders of the USA, the UK, France and Germany in which he stated that Russia might see enlargement of NATO as a threat to its national security.

Clinton's Administration seemed to be more sensitive on Russia's concerns about enlargement. A new period of partnership between NATO and CEECs was started on an institutional base of Partnership for Peace (PfP). PfP was introduced in January 1994 to CEECs and accepted by all member governments. Poland was the first state to sign in, by approving documents in February 1994 and presenting an individual programme for PfP in July. In October 1995, the USA Congress empowered President Clinton to pursue enlargement with Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. In December NATO foreign

¹²⁰ "On his first visit to Poland as the leader of Russia, President Boris N. Yeltsin was shown how much this former Warsaw Pact nation wants to join the West, specifically NATO. Mr. Yeltsin and President Lech Walesa issued a joint statement that repeated Poland's desire for NATO membership and pointed to Mr. Yeltsin's "understanding." Jane Perlez, "Yeltsin 'Understands' Polish Bid for a Role in NATO", August 26, 1993, *New York Times*.

and defense ministers stated that the alliance was ready to admit new members. But it was clearly evident that only the Visegrad group was being given serious consideration.¹²¹

NATO prepared “The Study of NATO Enlargement”¹²² in the year 1995. The document was presented in autumn 1995 and included the criteria and principles of NATO Enlargement for possible members. It defined enlargement as “a unique opportunity to build improved security architecture throughout the Euro-Atlantic area which would provide increased stability and security for all in that area, without recreating dividing lines”. The Study revealed the security definition of NATO in a broader sense;

NATO views security as a broad concept embracing political and economic, as well as defense, components. Such a broad concept of security should be the basis for the new security architecture which must be built through a gradual process of integration and cooperation brought about by interplay of existing multilateral institutions in Europe, such as the EU, WEU and OSCE.¹²³

It also set out the criteria for accession of new members: a democratic political system; a free-market economy; a solution of minority problems; open borders; civil control of the military; capacity for full participation in NATO and the ability to share the costs of enlargement. Additionally, the ability to station the USA troops and nuclear weapons on the territory was a key element for new members, and here again Russia’s position played a crucial role.¹²⁴ This was one of the key issues of all debates between the years 1995-1997. Author Elzbieta

¹²¹ Prof. Dr Habil Elzbieta Stadtmüller, “The Issue of NATO Enlargement in Polish – Russian Relations”, University of Wrocław, Institute of International Studies, *Final Report for NATO Fellowship*, 2000-2001, p.7.

¹²² For more on “The Study of NATO Enlargement”, <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/enl-9501.htm>, accessed on March 13, 2008.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Stadtmüller, *The Issue of NATO...*, p.8.

Stadmüller asserts that Russian opposition was considered many times, and even dominated the debates among Western countries.¹²⁵ However, Polish foreign policy reflected its intentions on NATO enlargement clearly. Speaking at a 1996 conference, Polish Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz defined Poland's interest in NATO; "...from a pan-European security perspective: first and foremost, NATO guaranteed the continued political and military presence of the USA in Europe....Second, as a direct result of NATO's existence and the USA presence"¹²⁶

In October 1996, Clinton declared the year 1999 as the possible date for membership of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Coming to 1997, PfP was replaced by Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) to develop a political framework, which encompassed both the wider membership and broader goals of NATO's partnership with most of the European countries. The year 1997 was critical because of the July Madrid Summit. At the summit, these three states were invited for official accession negotiations. Following the official invitation of first three states, a charter was signed between Ukraine and NATO.

In May 1999, during 50th Anniversary celebration of NATO, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic were officially accepted as members. On the occasion of ratification of the Act of Poland's Accession to NATO, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, the President of the Republic of Poland, expressed Poland's pleasure to join in NATO with these words in his televised address: "This is an unusual moment in our history. Our dreams have come true and our joint efforts have yielded success. We are returning to where we belong."¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Terry, *op.cit.*, p.30, cited in J. Onyszkiewicz, 1997, in: Białorus, Polska, Ukraina: Bezpieczny region w bezpieczny Europie, *konferencja 23–25 maja 1996r. Stowarzyszenie Euro-Atlantyckie*, Warsaw.

¹²⁷ *Television Address of the President of the Republic of Poland Aleksander Kwaśniewski on the Occasion of the Ratification of the Act of Poland's Accession to NATO*, Warsaw: February 26, 1999, <http://www.zbiordokumentow.pl/1999/1-2/7.html>, accessed on March 13, 2008

Poland, according to George Sanford, passed through a dangerous transitional period between the fall of communism and its integration within the Euro-Atlantic security system.¹²⁸ On the other hand, this integration was the start of a new period for Polish-Russian relations with its own tensions, ups and downs. As mentioned before, military and economic aspects of NATO expansion have been perceived as “a threat on national security” by Russia. In this regard, in the following parts of this chapter focuses on the economic and military aspects of Poland’s accession to the NATO and Russian attitude to expansion of NATO.

4.2 Economic and Military Impacts of Poland’s NATO Membership

Beyond several debates on the political level, economic and military impacts of the NATO enlargement have been generally underestimated. However, transition process in the context of NATO enlargement brought its own costs and benefits for Poland, NATO and Russia. The next parts of this chapter focus on two dimensions of Poland’s NATO membership which is argued to reduce Poland’s economic and military dependence on Russia: First, economic dimension of the enlargement; costs and benefits of NATO membership for Poland and financial and technical support of NATO members (particularly the USA); and the second, increased military capacity of Poland.

In the first wave of the enlargement, Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic faced with the need of adaptation to new economic and social systems. Moreover, NATO membership changed the appearance of their military forces. Under the burdens of economic depression, NATO members, particularly the USA, have provided technical and financial supports for newcomers.

In a sense, NATO expansion has brought three outcomes on the economic dimension: First, a huge amount of financial support by NATO for military modernization of new member states, second; a more secure area for Western

¹²⁸ George Sanford, *op.cit.*, p.193.

investment and trade, and lastly, an increase on trading opportunities for western arms companies.

First of all, financial support provided by NATO members, mainly by the USA, was an indicator of the West's ambition on NATO enlargement. In January 1997, at one of his speeches, President Clinton emphasized the significance of enlargement with these words; "our first task is to help to build, for the first time, an undivided, democratic Europe. When Europe is stable, prosperous and at peace, America is more secure."¹²⁹

In 1997, another strategic document was published by "New American Century Project"¹³⁰ which is accepted as the voice of neo-cons in the USA. In a project memorandum, William Kristol, one of the key figures of the project, defined NATO expansion as a strategic interest for the USA reinforced by "the fact that, the world's largest trade and investment relationship takes place between the United States and Europe." Accordingly, based on the short history of the USA's trade with the three prospective members of NATO, the USA could expect expanding its commercial ties with those countries as their economies reform and develop. Kristol pointed out that US exports to the three states had expanded at double-digit rates in recent years.¹³¹ He also underlined that despite the interest of the USA and NATO's expansion not being limited to trade between the USA and Europe, they shouldn't overlook the obvious point of the economic stake in seeing Europe free, stable and prosperous.¹³²

¹²⁹ "President Clinton's Message to Congress on the State of the Union", *New York Times* February 5, 1997.

¹³⁰ For more information on New American Century Project, <http://www.newamericancentury.org/>, accessed on April 22, 2008.

¹³¹ William Kristol, "Why NATO Enlargement is in America's Strategic Interest", *Project Memorandum*, October 8, 1997, <http://www.newamericancentury.org/nato-19971008.htm>, accessed on April 25, 2008.

¹³² *Ibid.*

The USA met the most important portion of the cost of NATO membership of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. The financial aid was also included the removal of Soviet weapons and modernization of military forces. Poland was the first NATO candidate which prepared its own comprehensive study on the cost of joining the alliance. The Reporters calculated that Poland would need to spend \$1.3 billion on achieving interoperability and compatibility with NATO forces and another \$7.8 billion on modernization of its armed forces.¹³³ Moreover, NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act of 1996 also defined NATO candidates as priority destinations for weapons' transfers with the Excess Defense Article (EDA) program. Weapons purchased for the US military were sold at a "deep discount" or simply given away under the EDA program.¹³⁴

On the other hand, a more serious report on NATO expansion was prepared by the US Department of State and submitted to the Congress on February 24, 1997. The study, namely "Report to the Congress on the Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Rationale, Benefits, Costs and Implications" indicated impacts of NATO expansion on economic and military levels, as well as costs to the USA for a ten year period (1999-2009).

The report identified the USA's priorities in the region and underlined crucial aspects of enlargement by mentioning benefits on security and economy levels. Creation of a secure investment environment and security border for Europe was identified as the USA's priorities;

Central and East European states -most of them already strongly pro-American and pro-Atlantics are reconstructing their foreign and defense policies to bring them into line with Alliance....As NATO enlargement helps resolving uncertainties. It will also foster a more stable climate for

¹³³ "Report to the Congress on the Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Rationale, Benefits, Costs and Implications," *The Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, USA Department of State*, February 24, 1997, http://www.fas.org/man/nato/offdocs/us_97/wh970224.htm, accessed on May 2, 2008.

¹³⁴ Kathryn Schultz and Tomás Valásek, "The Hidden Costs of NATO Expansion", *Interhemispheric Resource Center and Institute for Policy Studies*, Vol.2, No. 35, May 1997, p.2.

economic reform, trade and investment. USA direct investment in the region currently exceeds \$8 billion.¹³⁵

The second point was the costs of expansion and the role of the USA in terms of financial aids. It was estimated that the total cost of NATO enlargement for first group of new members for the USA, current members and new members combined would be on average about \$2.1 to \$2.7 billion per year, for a total of \$27-35 billion.¹³⁶ That meant that the USA's share of overall costs would average \$150-200 million per year for the first ten years after accessions; and some share of the costs of enhancing NATO's reinforcement capabilities and the military capabilities of new member states in addition.¹³⁷ It was also mentioned that these costs might increase if there is a dramatic increase in the threat, or the USA takes a decision to bear a larger share of the costs.¹³⁸

The US Department of Defense estimated that the total costs associated with enlargement from 1997-2009 will be about \$2.1 to \$2.7 billion per year, or a total of about \$27 to \$35 billion.¹³⁹ In this framework, the USA provided important amounts of financial aids and grants to the region, which were discussed in the US domestic politics. Some American authors criticized the USA and other NATO members, claiming that they would create an unnecessary armament climate. It was alleged that NATO expansion would foster a considerable increase in the arms market, particularly for the USA companies. Indeed, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic were added to the Pentagon's Defence Export Loan Guarantee (DELG) program. As a self-financing program, DELG permits the Pentagon to guarantee up to \$15 billion in private sector loans

¹³⁵ "Report to the Congress on the Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Rationale, Benefits, Costs and Implications," *The Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, USA Department of State*, February 24, 1997, http://www.fas.org/man/nato/offdocs/us_97/wh970224.htm, accessed on May 2, 2008.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

to underwrite the sale or lease of US weapons or services.¹⁴⁰ Some of the authors questioned the aim of this weapon transfers to the region;

West is using weapons transfers as a foreign policy tool for a region that has in recent history been tension-ridden...Given the absence of a direct military threat, the marketing objectives of suppliers to ensure "product loyalty" and the legitimacy that NATO expansion confers on the transfers of advanced offensive weaponry: whose interests are being secured?¹⁴¹

These financial aids also created a pro-USA military attitude in new member states, particularly in Poland. Especially after September 11, the USA's financial support towards Poland became determinant on Polish Foreign policy motivations. In 2003, Polish President Kwasniewski at his speech at West Point Military Academy expressed that the USA's leading role in the world is "unquestionable" and "should be exercised", and Poland will act jointly with the USA for transatlantic security.¹⁴²

Moreover, in January 2003, Poland announced that it was accepting a \$3.8 billion loan from the US Congress, the largest military loan in memory, to buy 48 of those Fighting Falcons (Lockheed Martin).¹⁴³ In March 2003, Poland was one of the few states who supported the USA intervention in Iraq. Furthermore, Polish military forces have been the third largest group after the USA and the UK troops. Poland's support to the USA in Iraq war was also linked not only to common beliefs but also to 'political and economical calculations based on "rational" cost-benefit assessments of the situation, Poland was expecting to gain two main benefits: "contracts for reconstruction in Iraq" and "the removal of visa

¹⁴⁰ Kirsten Ruecker, "Military Buildup in Central and Eastern Europe: NATO Membership for Sale", *Occasional Papers On International Security Policy*, www.basicint.org/pubs/Papers/BP22.htmBASIC PAPERS, July 1997, Number 22, accessed on March 15, 2008.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Zaborowski, *America's Protégé in the East...*, p.1011.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.1010, cited in "Polish Pride, American Profits", *New York Times*, January 12, 2003.

requirements” for Poles traveling to America.¹⁴⁴ In December 2005, Bradley Graham from Washington Post mentioned that Poland asked for additional USA military assistance to modernize its own forces as it considers whether to extend the presence of Polish troops in Iraq.¹⁴⁵ As will be mentioned in the next chapter, during the recent debates on National Missile Defense system plans of the USA in the region, Poland Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski has stated that “his country is counting on USA military aid” for deployment of the USA anti-missile interceptors.¹⁴⁶

Although budget constraints remain as a limit for military modernization, Poland has been able to use the US assistance on acquiring 48 F-16 multi-role fighters, C-130 cargo planes, High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle (HMMWVs), and other key items to the military's structuring.¹⁴⁷

The inflow of cash for military modernization of new NATO members was a concern of Russia in the last decade. Russia not only had to withdraw its troops from the region, but also faced with a significant level of financial and technical supports of the West for CEECs. Therefore, military dimension of NATO expansion has been one of the crucial issues, which has been producing a constant debate between Russia and NATO. In the context of Russian-Polish relations, military dimension can be examined in three titles; increasing defense budgets and military capabilities of Poland, disputes on the implementation of arms control treaties, and Poland’s support on National Missile Defense plan of the USA.

¹⁴⁴ Marcin Zaborowski, “From an America’s Protege to Constructive European, Polish Security Policy in the Twentieth Century”, *European Institute for Security Studies*, December 2004, p.13.

¹⁴⁵ Bradley Graham, “Poland Links Bid for USA Aid to Presence in Iraq-Money Sought to Modernize Force”, *Washington Post*, December 10, 2005.

¹⁴⁶ “Poland Relying on US Military Aid”, *Presstv website*, February 4, 2008, <http://www.presstv.ir/detail.aspx?id=41646§ionid=351020606> , accessed on May 5, 2008.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

In terms of military modernization, NATO membership brought two important outcomes for Poland and other newcomers: A new military system with new qualifications, and modernization of weapons and equipments of the army. NATO classified military capabilities of newcomers in three levels which is completed by “mature capability” of military forces. During the phase, new members were expected to replace “aging equipment stocks”, and to continue to downsize, restructure and modernize their forces. At the same time, they were expected to increase their capacity to operate with other NATO forces in their own countries and elsewhere.¹⁴⁸ Current member states would also modernize their forces and make them more deployable and sustainable both for collective defense and non-Article V operations.¹⁴⁹

As mentioned previously, Poland’s military capabilities and defence budget increased considerably following its NATO membership. Poland benefited from more than half of NATO’s financial support allocated to three new members with almost \$700 million support which accounted \$1.3 billion in total.¹⁵⁰ Poland is commonly accepted as having the best military establishment in the region which is well ahead of both the Czech Republic and Hungary in its potential and willingness to increase defense spending to meet NATO standards.¹⁵¹ As table 1 illustrates, the Polish Ministry of Defence (MoD) Budget expenditures’ share in state budget increased in the period of 1991-2001. Although the rate of defence expenditures has decreased in total GDP, taking into account the dramatic increase Poland’s GDP, the MoD expenditure increased from 1,821.2 mil PLN to 12,242.3 mil PLN between 1991 and 1999 (Table 2).

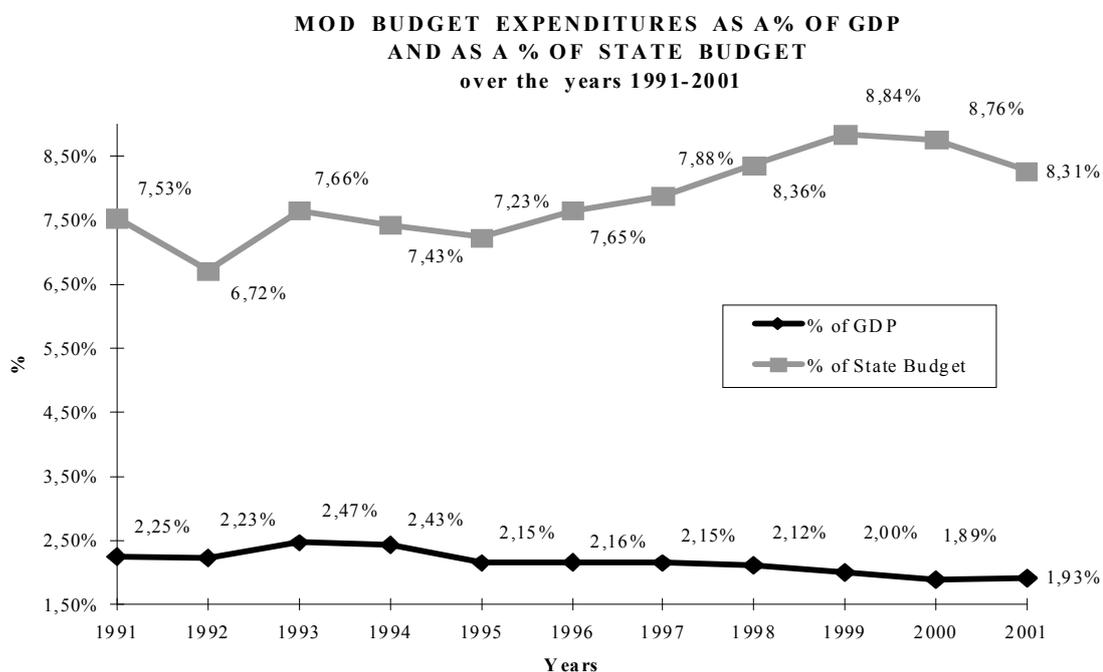
¹⁴⁸ “Report to the Congress on the Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Rationale, Benefits, Costs and Implications,” *The Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, USA Department of State*, February 24, 1997, http://www.fas.org/man/nato/offdocs/us_97/wh970224.htm, accessed on May 2, 2008.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Terry, *op.cit.*, p.36.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.37.

Table 1: MoD Expenditure in GDP and in State Budget



Source: Polish Ministry of Defense web site

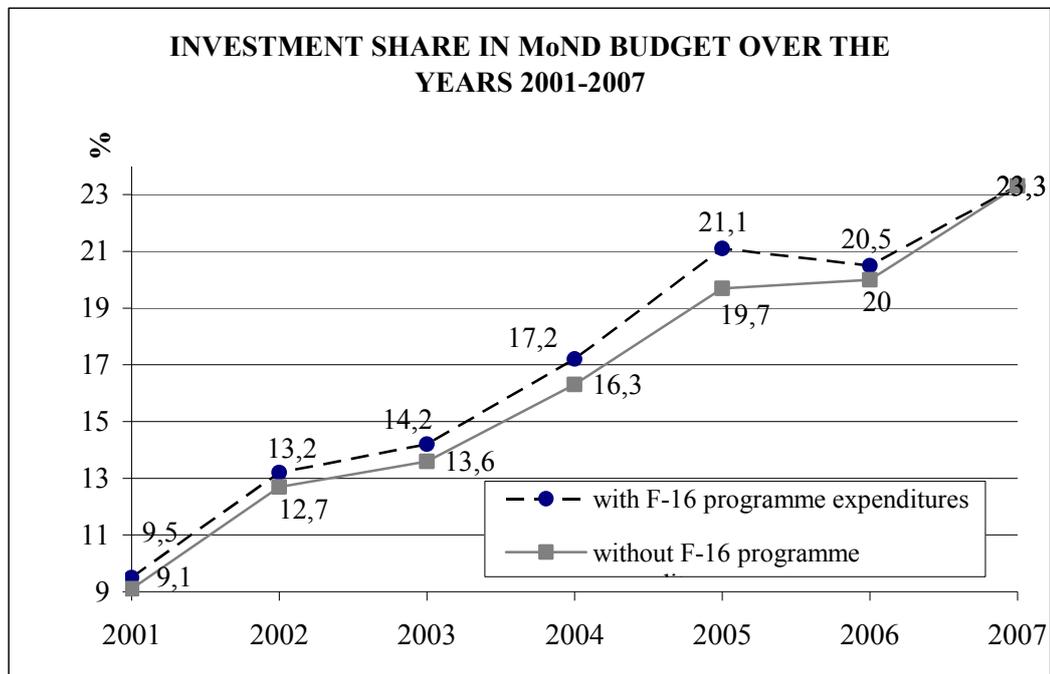
Particularly for the years 2001-2007, in parallel to NATO membership process, investment share in MoD expenditure has increased dramatically. (Table 3) NATO membership process required a reduction of number staff but an increase on investment share and supply procurement. As shown in Table 3, F-16 programme expenditure was notable.

Table 2: MoD Expenditure between 1991 and 2001

Years	Amount in mil PLN (current prices)				As % of			
	GDP	State budget expenditures	Part 29 - MOD Budget		GDP		State Budget	
			Total	Expenditures in Section 752 "National Defence"	Part 29	Section 752	Part 29	Section 752
1991	80,882.9	24,185.8	1,821.2	1,807.1	2.25%	2.23%	7.53%	7.47%
1992	114,944.2	38,189.0	2,564.4	2,536.5	2.23%	2.21%	6.72%	6.64%
1993	155,780.0	50,242.8	3,846.5	3,309.2	2.47%	2.12%	7.66%	6.59%
1994	210,407.3	68,865.0	5,117.0	4,127.5	2.43%	1.96%	7.43%	5.99%
1995	306,318.3	91,169.7	6,594.4	5,249.4	2.15%	1.71%	7.23%	5.76%
1996	385,449.1	108,661.3	8,313.2	6,003.3	2.16%	1.56%	7.65%	5.52%
1997	469,372.1	127,919.8	10,076.7	7,275.0	2.15%	1.55%	7.88%	5.69%
1998	550,405.6	139,751.5	11,686.9	8,358.7	2.12%	1.52%	8.36%	5.98%
1999	611,576.2	138,425.2	12,242.3	9,209.4	2.00%	1.51%	8.84%	6.65%

Source: Polish Ministry of Defense web site

Table 3: Investment Share in Total Polish MoD (2001-2007)



Source: Polish Ministry of Defense web site

Another controversial issue is the ratification and implementation of “Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe” (CFE). The original CFE was signed

during the last years of the Cold War. The Treaty established comprehensive limits on key categories of conventional military equipment in Europe, and regulated the destruction of excess weaponry.¹⁵² This treaty was the most significant document regulated limits of conventional forces in Europe. However, coming to the end of 1990s critical problems occurred. The beginning of this controversy, almost simultaneously occurred with the first wave of enlargement in 1999.

NATO-Russia tension on CFE finally caused the suspension of the Treaty by Russia in April 2007. Parliament's lower house, the Duma, unanimously agreed to temporarily abandon the CFE.¹⁵³ In his article published in *Time*, Expert Yuri Zarakhovich underlined Putin's "extraordinary circumstances" which caused the CFE's suspension. First, Putin asserted that missile shield in Europe will see through entire Russia's defenses all the way to the Urals; Russia seeks to counter that, but the treaty stands very much in the way.¹⁵⁴ Second, NATO countries have failed to ratify the treaty's 1999 amended version, a failure that Putin insists on upsets the balance of forces in Europe.

The first reaction against Russia's suspension was voiced by NATO spokesman James Appathurai. He stated that: "The allies consider this treaty to be an important cornerstone of European stability and they would like to see it ratified as soon as possible. NATO regrets this decision by the Russian Federation. It is a step in the wrong direction."¹⁵⁵ It can be argued that suspension of the CFE by Russia did not prevent the USA to develop plans on a defense system. Following

¹⁵² "Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe":
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_on_Conventional_Armed_Forces_in_Europe, accessed on May 15, 2008.

¹⁵³ Yuri Zarakhovich, "Why Putin Pulled Out of a Key Treaty Saturday," *Time*, July 14, 2007.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Slobodan Lekic, "Suspension of CFE Treaty is a 'Step in the Wrong Direction,' NATO Says", *Independent*, July 16, 2007.

Russia's moratorium on April, the USA-Poland official talks on NMD were started in May 2007.¹⁵⁶

The USA's plans on NMD system has been a crucial concern for Russia. As it will be mentioned in detail in the next section, NMD plans has also become the most controversial issue for Russian-Polish tension, particularly after the September 11.

4.3 Polish foreign policy towards Russia after its NATO Membership

Poland's NATO membership has been a significant factor that affected foreign policy aspirations of the country. Its accession to NATO was the first important step for the country to integrate with the market economy, as well as to benefit considerable amounts of financial and technical supports from NATO and the EU. In contrary to the "dual track" approach of the first half of the 1990s, Polish foreign policy is becoming more assertive towards Russia. Following its membership in 1999, and particularly after the September 11, Warsaw seemed to contradict with Russia. In two recent debates concerning the deployment of NMD system and Warsaw's support on NATO bids of Ukraine and Georgia, Polish Foreign Policy's assertive characteristic has become more obvious.

In the analysis of Polish Foreign Policy, most of the scholars underline the impact of pro-western and pro-USA strategic approach of Poland as the key factor. Poland and the USA, since 1989, have developed closer relations. Additionally, a considerable number of Polish-Americans can be seen as "a Polonia" with about 10 million populations in the USA and no "American politician would be wise to or is likely to alienate them."¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, for some authors, the USA has sought to manage its international relations through a mixture of multilateralism and unilateralism which have been managed

¹⁵⁶ Karin Zeitvogel, "USA and Poland a Begin Formal Talks on Missile Shield", *RIA Novosti*, Warsaw: May 11, 2007.

¹⁵⁷ Wood, *op.cit.*, p.5.

to establish close relationships with a number of states that may be viewed as regional leaders.¹⁵⁸

Even though pro-American motivation of Polish foreign policy is obvious, some other reasons should be considered for a better understanding of Polish foreign policy after its NATO membership. In this context, two significant factors can be mentioned. First, Warsaw is now becoming increasingly “less dependent” on Russia in terms of economic, political and military aspects as compared to the early 1990s. Being a full member of the western Alliance and the EU, Polish foreign policy seems to be saved from “uncertain” conditions of the post Cold War era.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, NATO membership was the first critical step of integration with the West. The economic and military contributions of the accession were followed by the start of negotiations with the EU. Poland benefited from NATO’s military modernization programs that radically reduced military dependence on Russia. On the other hand, serious technical and financial aids and the EU funds ensured a considerable recovery in Polish economy. Integration with the Western markets also dramatically decreased the share of trade with Russia. Following the dissolution of COMECON system, a radical geographical restructuring of foreign trade was evident for national economy process of Poland.¹⁵⁹ In early 1991, most of Poland’s trade with the European states amounted around two-thirds of its total.

More importantly, NATO membership of Poland eliminated the “uncertain” conditions of its security and removed the country from a vacuum of a “gray zone”. In the framework of the “interdependence theory”, it can be argued that EU and NATO membership of Poland have created a dramatic shift in terms of its “dependence” on Russia.

¹⁵⁸ Zaborowski and Longhurst, *op.cit.*, p.1009.

¹⁵⁹ George Blazyca and Ryszard Rapacki, *Poland into the New Millennium*, [Eds. by George Blazyca and Ryszard Rapacki], Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: E. Elgar Pub., 2001, p.210.

In this framework, aforementioned economic, political and military transformations influenced Poland's dependence on Russia. Apart from its dependence on energy issues, which will be mentioned in the next chapter, Poland has become less "sensitive" and "vulnerable" to Russia. Poland now holds voting power both in NATO and the EU which provides Poland a stronger hand against Russia. From that perspective, despite the asymmetric feature of the relations between Poland and Russia, Polish foreign policy is now able to pursue a more assertive policy towards Russia.

Secondly, Russia's response to the enlargement process, as well as its new foreign policy" concepts, which have been adopted by Putin's presidency, should be considered to analyze the transformation of Polish Foreign Policy. The first round of NATO expansion caused a considerable reaction in Russia supported by a massive domestic campaign. The scale of this campaign was unprecedented that Russia saw the emergence of its first foreign policy consensus bringing together representatives of all major political forces "from communists to democrats and from liberally oriented enthusiasts of market reform to proponents of 'Russia's specific identity'."¹⁶⁰ From Warsaw's perspective, Russia's efforts to regain its "superpower" label and develop closer links with some European countries can be deemed as a new initiative of "Russian expansionism".

Russia stated its rejections about NATO enlargement several times. Two waves of enlargement in 1999 and 2004 had critical impact on Polish-Russian relations. In fact, in most of Russian official documents, the word "expansion" has been used instead of enlargement. For instance, in Russia's National Security Concept, two of the six threats against Russia were directly related to NATO enlargement.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Baranovsky, *loc.cit.*

¹⁶¹ "Russian National Security Concept", published in 2000: <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html>, accessed on May 7, 2008.

Therefore, the main driving force on Russian Foreign Policy was the anxiety for feeling isolated and marginalized from European security.¹⁶² When it became clear that the expansion of NATO membership was inevitable, Russia faced with the danger of becoming the hostage of its own wide anti-enlargement¹⁶³. In a sense, Russia tried to be a part of the process, which it wouldn't be able to terminate.

Before official invitations of these three states to NATO, the “Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russia Federation” was signed in Paris on 27 May 1997 by the Heads of States and Governments of the North Atlantic Alliance, the Secretary General of NATO and the President of Russian Federation.¹⁶⁴ The Founding Act, regulating legal framework of relations between Russia and NATO, was seen as an initiative to eliminate concerns and rejections of Russia on NATO enlargement. It regulated the principles, mechanisms and areas of consultation and cooperation between NATO and Russia. The Act was not politically obligatory a treaty as Russia had originally wanted. However, it created the NATO-Russia Council for permanent consultation, and NATO repeated that it had no intention of deploying nuclear weapons on the territory of new members.¹⁶⁵ In Political and Military Matter Chapter (Chapter IV), it gave a clear guarantee to Russia in terms of new member states;

The member States of NATO reiterate that they have no intention, no plan and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of new members, nor any need to change any aspect of NATO's nuclear posture or nuclear policy - and do not foresee any future need to do so. This subsumes the fact that NATO has decided that it has no intention, no plan, and no reason to establish nuclear weapon storage sites on the territory of those members,

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ “Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation”, Paris, 27 May 1997, <http://152.152.94.201/docu/basicxt/fndact-a.htm>, accessed on April 11, 2008.

¹⁶⁵ Stadtmüller, *The Issue of NATO...*, p.9.

whether through the construction of new nuclear storage facilities or the adaptation of old nuclear storage facilities.¹⁶⁶

On the other hand, after Putin took presidency in Russia, some important documents revealed Russia's reaction and position against NATO, such as National Security and Foreign Policy Concepts, Military Doctrine (2000) and Defense White Paper 2003. The "Concept of National Security of Russian Federation" and the "Concept of Foreign Policy of Russian Federation" prioritize CIS areas reminding "the old Tsarist strategy which regarded Russian control of a cordon of buffer states as the best guarantee of security in Russian Empire".¹⁶⁷ The Concept mentioned six fundamental threats in the international sphere. Two of these threats were directly related to NATO enlargement: First; "the strengthening of military-political blocs and alliances, above all NATO's eastward expansion" and second, "the possible emergence of foreign military bases and major military presences in the immediate proximity of Russian borders."¹⁶⁸

In the same year, Foreign Policy Concept of Russia identified general principles and objectives of Russian Foreign Policy where relations with NATO revisited. Emphasizing the importance of cooperation with NATO, the document clearly mentioned the conditions of closer relations with NATO; as "non-use or threat of force", "non-deployment of conventional armed forces groupings, nuclear weapons" and their delivery vehicles in the territories of the new members.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, this concept stated that NATO's political and military guidelines "do not coincide with" security interests of Russian Federation and "occasionally

¹⁶⁶ Founding Act on Mutual Relation., *loc.cit.*

¹⁶⁷ Fraser Cameron and Jarek M. Domanski, "Russian Foreign Policy with Special Reference to its Western Neighbours", *EPC Issue Paper*, No. 37, July 2005, p.5.

¹⁶⁸ "Russian National Security Concept", published in 2000:
<http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html>, accessed on May 7, 2008.

¹⁶⁹ "The Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation":
<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>, accessed on May 7, 2008.

directly contradict” with them.¹⁷⁰ The “concept of foreign policy” document makes it clear that strategic partnerships and good relations with its CIS neighbors, on bilateral and multilateral bases, are the top priorities of Russian foreign policy. It states that the partnership with the CIS is a “guarantee of national security and stresses the importance of specialized regional institutions in the CIS area”.¹⁷¹

To sum up, Russia’s response and new concepts adopted by Putin Presidency against NATO enlargement were perceived or introduced as the clues of new phase of “Russian expansionism” by Warsaw. Moreover, two significant actions of Polish foreign policy can be highlighted as examples of assertive policies. First, the USA-Poland deal on the deployment of NMD system interceptors in Polish land which is alleged to deploy against Iran, and second, as it is mentioned in the next chapter, Warsaw’s eastern policy which support a further enlargement wave of NATO and the EU towards Ukraine.

4.4 Poland’s Support on the National Missile Defense and Russia

In the last decade, Warsaw seemed to abandon its “dual track” policy of 1990s which is based on prioritizing the West but also making efforts to maintain good relations with Russia. Following its NATO membership, Poland has become the leading partner of NATO and the USA operations.

Among other things, one critical step of Warsaw was remarkable in terms of its Russian policy. Warsaw’s recent compromise to host¹⁷² National Missile Defense system¹⁷³ in its land should be considered in the analysis of Polish

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Marcin Zaborowski, “Poland and Transatlantic Relations in the Twenty-First Century”, *Defence Studies*, Vol.2, No: 2, 2002, p.125.

¹⁷³ “National Missile Defense (NMD) as a generic term is a military strategy and associated systems to shield an entire country against incoming Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs).

foreign policy against Russia. The USA-Poland deal on NMD has emerged as a crucial factor for Polish-Russian relations. Kremlin frequently states its rejections on NMD and defines this initiative as a threat.

Many intellectuals have pointed out the movement from multilateralism to unilateralism in the USA foreign policy after the September 11.¹⁷⁴ The USA rejected a number of international treaties and agreements including the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), the International Landmine Ban Treaty, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Programme of Action on Illicit Trade in Small and Light Arms, , and a new protocol designed to verify compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention.¹⁷⁵

The USA also withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) in December 2001. The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) was also one of the significant treaties which aimed to ensure the strategic stability and arms control during the Cold War.

After its withdrawal from ABM, the USA has accelerated its effort to establish a National Missile Defense system. In fact, the history of missile defense systems in the USA goes back to the Sentinel and Safeguard programme announced by the US Defense Secretary Robert McNamara in 1963 and 1967. In 1972, under Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty of Cold War, countries were allowed to deploy a single ABM system with only 100 interceptors to protect a single target. In this scope, while the Soviet Union deployed a system namely A-35 using a missile

The missiles could be intercepted by other missiles, or possibly by lasers. They could be intercepted near the launch point (boost phase), during flight through space (mid-course phase), or during atmospheric descent (terminal phase)”
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Missile_Defense, accessed on May 17, 2008.

¹⁷⁴ “For instance, Maynes; Spiro, Boniface, Nye, Hoffman, Prestowitz”, David Skidmore, “Understanding the Unilateralist Turn in US Foreign Policy”, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2005, p.207.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

code-named “Galosh”, the USA deployed “Safeguard” to defend ballistic missile sites at Grand Forks Air Force Base, North Dakota, in 1975.¹⁷⁶

Following the end of the Cold War, the initiatives of the USA on missile defense systems were not ended. During Clinton’s presidency, the National Missile Defense Act of the USA was signed in July 22, 1999. This law stated:

It is the policy of the United States to deploy as soon as is technologically possible an effective National Missile Defense system capable of defending the territory of the United States against limited ballistic missile attack with funding subject to the annual authorization of appropriations and the annual appropriation of funds for National Missile Defense. The Administration's program on missile defense is fully consistent with this policy.¹⁷⁷

In December 1999, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted a resolution which aimed at pressing the USA to abandon its plans on missile defense. The UN resolution, originally sponsored by Russia, China and Belarus, was approved by the Assembly's Disarmament Committee and called on the parties of the ABM treaty "to refrain from the deployment of antiballistic missile systems for the defense of the territory of their country and not to provide a base for such a defense." The USA vetoed the resolution and withdrew from the ABM treaty on December 15, 2001.¹⁷⁸

The September 11 attacks created a new “security environment” discourse for the USA which was also emphasized in a White House fact sheet in May 2003. White House released a fact sheet on National Missile Defense explaining the

¹⁷⁶ “National Missile Defense”, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Missile_Defense, accessed on June 1, 2008.

¹⁷⁷ “National Policy on Ballistic Missile Defense Fact Sheet”, *The White House website*, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030520-15.html>, accessed on May 17, 2008.

¹⁷⁸ Anthony Goodman, “U.N. Opposes USA Plan for Antimissile Defense”, December 2, 1999, http://www.space.com/news/un_antimissile_991202_wg.html, accessed on May 17, 2008.

necessities and objectives of this initiative. It set out the “changing security environment” for the USA.¹⁷⁹

According to this release, the capabilities planned for operational use will include ground-based interceptors, sea-based interceptors, additional Patriot (PAC-3) units, and sensors based on land, at sea, and in space. The deployment of NMD was started in Alaska in 2002, and continued with several tests on interceptors in following years up to 2006. In this scope, Ground-Based Midcourse Defense System was tested successfully. Therefore, the next stage of the plan focused on the deployment of interceptors in Europe. Poland and Czech Republic are the USA’s partners in Central Asia for NMD.

¹⁷⁹ The document stated “As the events of September 11 demonstrated, the security environment is more complex and less predictable than in the past. We face growing threats from weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the hands of states or non-state actors, threats that range from terrorism to ballistic missiles intended to intimidate and coerce us.”: National Policy on Ballistic Missile Defense Fact Sheet, *The White House Press Releases*, May 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030520-15.html>, accessed on May 17, 2008.

Figure 1: USA Missile Defense: Long Range Threat Protection



Source: BBC News¹⁸⁰

From the very early stage of NMD plans, the USA marked Poland as a potential ally to deploy ground-based interceptors. Polish expert Lukasz Kulase points out that initial consultations between two countries was started in 2003, but even before that date, the issue was on the agenda of a number of Polish-American meetings.¹⁸¹ In November 2005, BBC announced that the USA has been talking to Poland and the Czech Republic over the possibility of setting up a European base to intercept long-range missiles.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Available at; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7573686.stm#map>

¹⁸¹ Lukasz Kulesa, "Missile Defense Dossier; The Polish Perspective", *Fondation pour la Recherche Strategie*, April 12, 2007, p.1.

¹⁸² "USA Considers Polish Missile Base", *BBC website*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4445284.stm>, accessed on May 18, 2008.

From Poland's domestic perspective, Polish scholars underlined dividing lines of opponents and supporters of Poland's involvement to the NMD. For opponents, although the system's characteristics might be defensive, its presence would encourage the USA to try offensive strategies, including the use of force, in the confrontations with states armed with ballistic missiles and WMD capabilities. Thus, Poland would find itself in "grave danger on account of the USA deployment."¹⁸³ On the other hand, for the majority of supporters, the main argument is based on Poland's historical approach on the USA.

From the historical perspective, starting with the Wilsonian idealism, through the USA involvement in World War II, the Cold War struggle with communism, to the enlargement of NATO, the USA is seen as a solid supporter of free and democratic Poland, ready to commit its own resources for the security of its friends and allies.¹⁸⁴

Far beyond these debates, in 2005, the newly elected government included a clause to the manifesto program to "work towards the inclusion of Poland" in the US Missile Defense system.¹⁸⁵ Negotiations between Poland and the USA have been pursued since 2005, followed by the official proposal of Bush administration to Poland in 2007. In January 2007, the USA officially offered Poland and the Czech Republic to deploy the US missile defense assets on Czech and Polish territories.¹⁸⁶ Coming to August 2008, Poland and the USA signed a deal with Poland to position USA missile interceptors on Polish soil.¹⁸⁷

The USA initiative on NMD was started by the Clinton Presidency and followed by the Bush Administration more seriously. Especially, the September 11 attack

¹⁸³ Lukasz Kulesa, *op.cit.*, p.1.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.2.

¹⁸⁶ "US to Start Talks on Eastern Europe Missile Defence System": http://www.spacewar.com/reports/USA_To_Start_Talks_On_Eastern_Europe_Missile_Defence_System_999.html, accessed on May 18, 2008.

¹⁸⁷ Ghattas, *loc.cit.*

was a cornerstone for the USA to accelerate its efforts towards missile defense systems. It is possible to differentiate Russia's reaction towards NMD, separately from Clinton and Bush administrations. In 1999, during Clinton Presidency, NMD plans were announced deployment of 100 interceptors in Alaska. Russia, strictly opposed to this attempt. The Report, prepared and submitted to the US Congress in 2002, "National Missile Defense: Russia's Reaction"¹⁸⁸ made a comparative analysis of the USA NMD plans for Bush and Clinton administrations as well as Russian concerns, alternatives and possible responses to the NMD.

In that sense, the report mentioned two key concerns of Russia over NMD. First concern was about the strategic stability and arms control, and the second was about the scope and intent of NMD.¹⁸⁹ Russian concerns about the strategic stability and arms control were based on the importance of the ABM Treaty. Therefore, Russia's response was based on the significance of ABM Treaty which is thought to be the "cornerstone of strategic stability". Additionally, from Russian perspective the ABM Treaty is the cornerstone of the entire network of agreements that reduces offensive nuclear weapons.

Furthermore, according to Russia, deployment of missile defenses would undermine stability and upset arms control.¹⁹⁰ Moscow argued that NMD would cause a new armament race as well as an offensive advantage to the USA: "If a nation could intercept missiles launched in retaliation, particularly if it had diminished their numbers in its initial strike, it might believe it could launch a first strike without fearing retaliation."¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Amy F. Woolf, "National Missile Defense: Russia's Reaction", *Congressional Research Service*, The Library of Congress, USA, June 14, 2002.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

Clinton administration could be seen more moderate on Russia's concerns over NMD. For this period, the USA-Russian relations were based on the discussions on mutual proposals from both the USA and Russia. There were two stages of the discussions. First of all, Clinton sought to convince Russia that possible modifications on ABM Treaty would permit only a limited NMD system, however, proposals on the modification of ABM Treaty was rejected by Russia. In 2000, Clinton and Putin declared a joint declaration on "Principles of Strategic Stability".¹⁹² Both Presidents agreed on the essential contribution of the ABM Treaty to reduce in offensive forces, and reaffirm their commitment to that Treaty as a cornerstone of strategic stability.

The second stage was Russian proposals on "Global Missile and Missile Technology Non-Proliferation Control System" and "Cooperation on Theater Ballistic Missile Defenses" in Europe instead of an NMD. However, none of these proposals concluded by the Clinton Presidency. Moreover, the Bush administration demonstrated a more decisive position for NMD plans of the USA. The September 11 could be seen as a key cornerstone for not only NMD discussions, but also for the USA-Russian relations in a broader scope. Immediately after the September 11, Putin called President Bush to state Russia's support to the USA on its war against terrorism. Bush and Putin held a series of meetings on a wide range of issues, including the USA-Russian economic cooperation, Russia's relations with NATO, and the situation in Afghanistan in November 2001.¹⁹³

Following the September 11, some authors interpreted this positive tendency in USA-Russian relations as a new opportunity for all parties to develop transatlantic links. In their book, "Changing Transatlantic Security Relations", Hallenberg and Karlsson argued that the metaphor of a strategic triangle could be once again

¹⁹² "Joint Statement by the Presidents of the United States of America and Russian Federation on Principles of Strategic Stability": <http://clinton4.nara.gov/textonly/WH/New/Europe-0005/factsheets/js--strategic-stability.html>, accessed on May 20, 2008.

¹⁹³ Michael Jasinski, "Bush-Putin Summit", *Nonproliferation Program Center for Nonproliferation Studies*, Monterey Institute of International Studies, December 2001: http://www.nti.org/e_research/e3_6a.html, accessed on May 20, 2008.

applied to international relations considering the relations among the EU, the USA and Russia after the September 11.¹⁹⁴ On the other hand, unilateralist foreign policy directives of Bush administration, which excluded settled international law and organizations such as UN, have become two important key controversies between the USA and Russia, particularly after 2003. Obviously, by the arrival of Bush administration, White House's policy towards Russia's concerns on NMD was dramatically differentiated from the approach of the Clinton Presidency.

First of all, Bush administration did not see the ABM Treaty as "the cornerstone of strategic stability". Moreover, Secretaries Rumsfeld and Powell stated that the treaty is 'ancient history' and 'not relevant in the current strategic framework'¹⁹⁵ The second difference was about the scope of NMD plans, limited approach to missile defenses that had been pursued by the Clinton Administration was not accepted by Bush administration. In May 2003, the fact sheet published by White House, Furthermore, clearly rejected the discussions on "theater missile defense"¹⁹⁶

From the early stages, Russia strictly opposed the US plans of deployment in Europe. Despite several statements from Russian officials on political and military levels, NATO countries agreed on the protection of the territory of all member countries from missile threats, calling for an "indivisible security". On 19 April 2007, high-level representatives of the USA, Poland and the Czech

¹⁹⁴ Jan Hallenberg and Hakan Karlsson, "Changing Transatlantic Security Relations: Do the USA, the EU and Russia Form a New Strategic Triangle?", *Changing Transatlantic Security Relations: Do the USA, the EU and Russia Form a New Strategic Triangle*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, p.1.

¹⁹⁵ Woolf, *op.cit.*, p.20.

¹⁹⁶ "National Policy on Ballistic Missile Defense Fact Sheet", *White House web site*: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030520-15.html>, accessed on May 17, 2008.

Republic briefed other NATO members on proposals to place parts of the USA missile defense system in Poland and the Czech Republic.¹⁹⁷

On the other hand, following the deployment of interceptors in Alaska, new debates began over deployment of interceptors in Europe. Russia's reaction was followed by military responses against the NMD. In 2004, Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov declared that Russia has successfully tested a modernized anti-ballistic missile system.¹⁹⁸ In this context, Russia's main discourse against NMD is developing around the notion of a "new Cold War".

For instance, just after the start official negotiations among Poland, the USA and the Czech Republic, at his speech in Munich Security Conference, Putin accused the Bush administration of what he called an "almost uncontained use of military force" that has led other countries to seek nuclear weapons.¹⁹⁹ Putin, referring to NMD plans of the USA stated that;

Today we are witnessing an almost uncontained hyper use of force, military force in international relations; force that is plunging the world into an abyss of permanent conflicts...The potential danger of the destabilization of international relations is connected with obvious stagnation in the disarmament issue. It is important to conserve the international legal framework relating to weapons destruction and therefore ensure continuity in the process of reducing nuclear weapons.²⁰⁰

Another backlash of Moscow was the statements of Russian Chief of General Staff Yury Baluyevskiy in May 2007. Baluyevskiy claimed that Russia again appeared on the list to the USA threats referring to an interview of Condoleezza

¹⁹⁷ "NATO United on Missile Defence Approach", April 19, 2007, *NATO news*: <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2007/04-april/e0419a.html>, accessed on May 17, 2008.

¹⁹⁸ "Russian Missile Defense System Test Successful", *NewsMax Wires*: <http://archive.newsmax.com/archives/articles/2004/11/29/91940.shtml>, accessed on May 17, 2008.

¹⁹⁹ Andrew Tully, "Russia: Washington Reacts to Putin's Munich Speech": <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2007/02/mil-070213-rferl03.htm>, accessed on May 22, 2008.

²⁰⁰ "Putin's Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy", *Munich Conference on Security Policy*: <http://www.securityconference.de/konferenzen/rede.php?sprache=en&id=179>, accessed on May 22, 2008.

Rice, the US Secretary of State, published in "Le Figaro." Moreover, the main argument of Baluyevskiy was that "deployment of the USA NMD elements in Europe is the beginning of a new round of an uncontrollable arms race."²⁰¹ He explicitly mentioned that a US missile defense system close to Russia's borders constitutes a threat to European security.

Furthermore, Baluyevskiy warned Poland and the Czech Republic about their agreement to base antimissile "shields" in their territories.²⁰² According to him, the governments of Poland and the Czech Republic have ignored "not only the opinion of neighbors and the opinion of their NATO allies, but also the position of a significant part of their own population, who are extremely cautious about the construction a new "Berlin wall" in their territory, capable of dividing Europe into two camps once again."²⁰³ Overall, Russian diplomats as well as high profile officials have repeatedly expressed Russia's position against NMD.

To sum up, NATO membership of Poland was the first important step of enabled the country to integrate with the West. Warsaw enabled to use important amount of financial and technical aid. I argue that economic and military impacts of the accession decreased Poland's military and economic dependency on Russia in some aspects. The examination of Polish-Russian relations in the context of the USA-NATO-Poland relations reveals critical disputes. Poland's support on NMD and NATO bids of Ukraine and Georgia are emerging as important tension matters for bilateral relations.

Poland has developed closer relations with the USA which caused a foreign policy dilemma after the September 11. The next chapter examines the EU accession process of Poland. It analyses costs and benefits of the integration into

²⁰¹ "Yuri Baluyevskiy: on NMD, Russian Chief of General Staff about Antimissile Defence of the USA in Europe: A Contribution to European Security or a New Stage of Confrontation?", *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, May 4, 2007: http://www.osce.org/documents/fsc/2007/05/24472_en.pdf, accessed on May 22, 2008 .

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

the EU. The chapter also focuses on dilemmas of Polish foreign policy between the USA, the EU and Russia. The chapter argues that Poland's energy dependency on Russia constitutes one of the key concerns of Poland which resulted in Polish veto against the start of Russia-EU Partnership negotiation. In this scope, the Ukraine policy of Poland and Russia is mentioned as the second controversial issue.

CHAPTER

V. IMPACT OF POLAND'S EU MEMBERSHIP ON POLISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA

This chapter analyzes Polish foreign policy towards Russia in the context of Poland's EU membership. Before the analysis of dynamics of Polish foreign policy towards Russia, the chapter examines the process of the EU accession and costs and benefits of membership for Poland. The chapter argues that economic and social integration of the country to the Union has played a key role in decreasing its vulnerability to Russia. The chapter also focuses on energy and the "Eastern" policy of Poland as two important dynamics of Polish foreign policy which are standing as key disputes between Russia and Poland.

5.1 Poland's EU Membership

The EU membership was the second dimension of Poland's integration with the West. Poles, for many reasons, perceived themselves as a part of Europe and sought to integrate with social and economic functioning of the EU. Thus, the EU membership of the country was seen as an economic transformation as it benefited from a considerable amount of the EU financial and technical aids and became an important trade partner of EU single market. However, accession process to the EU was more challenging, not only for officials in Warsaw but also for different segments of the society. Poland passed through a notable economic and social transformation which created a more dynamic and radical integration with the Europe.

Eventually, Poland successfully acceded to the EU in May 2004. The country was the largest member state among the newcomers both with its population and territory. The EU membership has also been one of the crucial cornerstones of

the Polish Foreign Policy. Warsaw is now emerging as one of the striking countries in internal and foreign debates of the EU. Poland is especially interested in the Eastern dimension of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Therefore, Russia policy is one of the significant priorities of the Polish Foreign Policy.

5.1.1 Poland's Accession to the EU

Full membership to the EU was the second key objective of Polish governments after the collapse of Soviet Bloc. Contrary to NATO membership, the EU accession process of the country required a social and structural transformation of the Polish State as well as the society. Therefore, Poland's accession to the EU, complicated by the domestic policy, could be seen as a more problematic process compared to NATO membership.²⁰⁴ Poland's EU membership has also been a challenge for the Union. Relatively high population of the country could be seen as a test case for an enlarged EU.

Poland's accession process to the Union started in the beginning of the 1990s. The first official and critical step for Poland's EU membership was the signing of Treaty of Association in December 1991. It was under the Bielecki's government which was elected on autumn 1990 with Walesa's Presidency. In these years, due to the factors of cultural tradition, Catholic faith and historical prejudices towards "eastern" Russia, a big majority of Polish society was conditioned to be a part of Europe.²⁰⁵

The Treaty of Association, entered into force in February 1994, established the legal basis between Poland and the EU. Within the scope of the Treaty, a wide

²⁰⁴ Terry, *op.cit.*, p.37.

²⁰⁵ Christopher Bobinski, "Polish Illusion and Reality", [Eds. by Dimitri Trenin and Anatol Lievin], *Ambivalent Neighbours; The EU, NATO and the Price of Membership*, Washington D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003, p.231.

spectrum of issues were covered such as establishment of a free zone, trade in industrial and agricultural products, movement of workers and capital, liberalization of payments, competition, public procurement and supply of services. The program, adopted under the Treaty, aimed to eliminate “really existing socialism” elements from Poland’s economic, politic and social life and at the same time to harmonize them with EU norms.²⁰⁶

Another cornerstone of the EU enlargement was the Copenhagen Summit held in June 1993. The Union made a concrete step towards the enlargement by declaring the Copenhagen Criteria for candidate states. Coming to 1994, at the Luxembourg summit, Poland’s application was officially accepted. In line with these developments, the Polish Government established a special ministerial committee on European integration in October 1996. The Constitution of Poland was amended in 1992 which enabled transition to a parliamentary democracy. The new constitution was adopted in 1997.

Accession negotiations with the EU was started in 1998 and concluded in 2002. Following the completion of negotiation talks, Poland’s full membership to the Union commenced in 2004. It is argued that the EU accession of the country was engaged with domestic policy debates. Despite smooth accession to the NATO, the EU membership process was affected by politic rivalries in internal level.²⁰⁷ Center right government led by Jerzy Buzek executed the first phase of negotiations between March 1998 and September 2001. In 2000, Jerzy Buzek was under pressure to resign, after one of his coalition partners, the Freedom Union of finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, decided to withdraw from government.²⁰⁸ The timing of this political crisis was important as negotiations

²⁰⁶ Los-Nowak, *op.cit.*, p.16.

²⁰⁷ Bobinski, *op.cit.*, p.240.

²⁰⁸ “Government crisis in Poland”, EurActiv, Monday May 29, 2000, <http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/government-crisis-poland/article-116605>, accessed on April 10, 2008.

on accession to the EU are in a critical phase. Moreover, the administration headed by Buzek seemed to have a more “tough” stand against Brussels when compared with former governments.²⁰⁹ Therefore, negotiations in this period were tense and slow-going. However, the 2001 election was won by SLD (successor of Communist Left Democratic Alliance) with a 43 % share of votes. SLD made efforts to frepair relations with the EU. Eventually, Treaty of Accession for the fifth enlargement round of the EU was signed on April 16, 2003.

The impacts of the EU membership on Poland can be examined on a multi-dimensional level since harmonization with Community *Acquis* affected almost all parts of Polish social, economic and political life. However, this chapter mostly analyzes visible economic impacts and changing foreign policy perspectives for a better understanding Polish foreign policy towards Russia in the context of the EU membership.

5.1.2 Costs and Benefits of the EU membership for Poland

The EU project of Poland is commonly identified by its willingness to integrate with global economy. It is argued that Polish economy demonstrated a considerable recovery which was supported by EU funds, foreign direct investments from the EU member states and increased rates of exports in the EU market.²¹⁰

During the accession process, the country enjoyed high amounts of EU funds under Phare, Sapard and other structural funds.²¹¹ Even after the realization of

²⁰⁹ Bobinski, *op.cit.*, p.237.

²¹⁰ Emilio Rossi and Zbyszko Tabernacki, “The Recent Economic Recovery in the New Member States”, *The Central and Eastern European countries and the European Union*, [Eds. by Michael Artis, Anindya Banerjee, Massimiliano Marcellino], Cambridge: UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.17.

²¹¹ Ewa Balcerowicz, “The Impact of Poland’s EU Accession on its Economy”, *Studies & Analyses*, CASE No. 33, Center for Social and Economic Research, Warsaw: 2007, p.11.

the enlargement, Poland has been a “net beneficiary” of EU funds. Poland was allocated 3.1% of the EU budgetary expenditures in 2004, while it contributed 1.4% to the EU budgetary revenues, which meant 1.7% of net transfers. The amount of net transfers was EUR 1.7 billion, which is estimated as 0.75% of the country’s gross national income. Furthermore, the supply of the Union funds was increased considerably in the recent years, and reached 1.7% of GDP in 2006 and 3.0 % in 2007.²¹²

On the other hand, for the years 2004 and 2005, Poland succeeded to realize a considerable economic growth at an average rate of 4.2% per year. Becoming the seventh trading partner of the EU, the Polish economy has been unexpectedly integrated with the Western economy. While, exports to the EU member states accounted for 13.2% of GDP in 1999, it raised to 20.1% in 2005 with EUR 77.6 billion amount which was 5 times more than 1994 figures and was calculated as 78% of all Polish exports.²¹³

Another significant indicator of its economic integration with the EU economy can be illustrated by increasing rate of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Polish economy. As shown in Table 4, one of the clear impacts of the EU accession has been the increased foreign portfolio investments in Poland. Starting to grow in the two years before the accession, in 2004, it increased by 2.5 times (to EUR 8.5 billion), and in 2005 by 39% (to EUR 11.8 billion), and surpassed the 2005 FDI inflow by 54%.²¹⁴ The huge amount of this capital has been flown from the EU-15. The EU-15 States were the major investors in Poland for the pre-accession period and they have dominated since the formal accession. Foreign investments originated mostly from the Netherlands (EUR 16.4 billion), Germany (EUR 12.3 billion) and France (EUR 9.6 billion).²¹⁵

²¹² *Ibid.*, p.24.

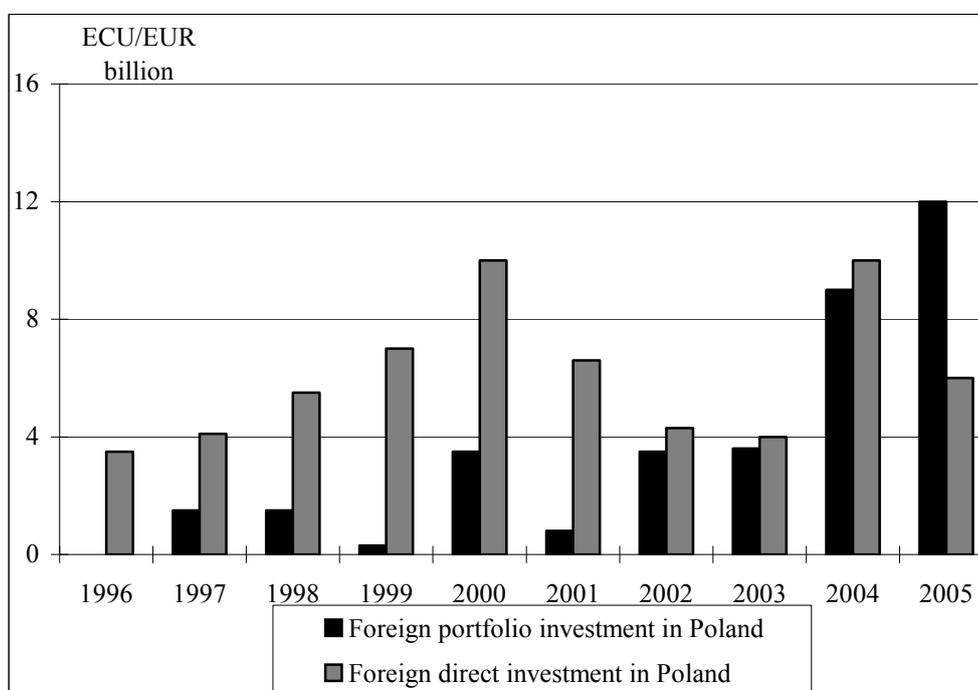
²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.19.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.21.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.22.

Although, above mentioned figures indicate an increasing dependency of Polish economy to the Union in recent years, Polish foreign policy demonstrated some critical contradictions with “old members” of the EU, namely German-Franco frontage. In other words, close economic links and integration to the EU economy have not been directly reflected to the foreign policy. This contradiction became more apparent before the outbreak of Iraq war. Polish government was faced with the dilemma of opting between the USA and the EU’s approaches.

Table 4: Foreign Investments in Poland, 1997-2005 ²¹⁶



5.1.3 Dilemmas of Polish foreign policy

As the largest Central European country joint to the Union, Poland has become a different case for the EU from the beginning of the enlargement process. The country not only holds the largest territory in the region but also has the largest

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.21.

population which is more than the sum of Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.²¹⁷ That is why it enjoyed the largest amount of the EU pre-accession funds and had a more problematic negotiation process when compared with other CEECs. Furthermore, in some of significant internal debates of the EU such as the Constitution, ESDP and EU budget, Warsaw seemed to be a hard player for the EU decision-making processes. Although the country does not have an economic strength to dominate EU policies, because of its geopolitical location and population, Poland can be seen as a medium-sized power which is not easily negligible for the EU decision makers.²¹⁸

Warsaw's primarily goals of being a EU and NATO member turned out to be a reality after 1999 and 2004 accessions. In a large extent, these two priorities of Polish foreign policy were simultaneous and complementary. However, Polish officials were forced to make a critical decision in 2003 as the war in Iraq divided the NATO allies into two camps.²¹⁹ Poland's political and strategic dependencies on the USA caused frictions and concerns in the EU, particularly among old members of the Union such as France and Germany. Some of the EU diplomats even expressed their views that Poland is the new "Trojan Horse" of Washington in the EU, which may cause an increasing influence of the USA in the EU affairs.²²⁰ Indeed, Warsaw's confrontation with France and Germany due to its support to the USA's Iraq war led to the question of "dilemma" of Polish foreign policy between the EU capitals and Washington.

²¹⁷ Malgorzata Pruska, "The Significance of the Visegrad 4 in American Foreign Policy Thinking", February 2005, http://www.iips.cz/upload/ss_akce/V4-malgorzata_pruska.doc., accessed on April 18, 2008.

²¹⁸ Janusz Bugajski and Ilona Teleki, "Poland", *Atlantic Bridges: America's New European Allies*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007, p.79.

²¹⁹ Oleg Mikhalev, "Dilemmas of Polish Politics", *International Affairs*, Vol.52, No.1, February 2006, p.96.

²²⁰ Bugajski and Teleki, *Poland...*, p.83.

In a conference conclusion paper, where Stefan Meller - former Polish Minister of Foreign affairs- and Prof Roman Kuzniar from - University of Warsaw's former Head of International Relations Department- were speakers, it was stated: "NATO is no longer trusted after the separation before the Iraq War, Therefore, it is understandable that Poles would seek the USA presence in Europe."²²¹ Moreover, a study by a scholar from National Defense Academy of Warsaw clearly reveals the security priority of Poland. He states that "...thanks to American-Baltic treaties, the Danish-American NATO presence made the possibility of excessive German-Russian rapprochement in this area relative, and in this way, prevent from these countries domination in this region of Europe."²²² In this sense, NATO and the USA are seen as the vital security guarantees of the country because of EU's insufficiency in military aspects and Poland's weakness to finance modernization of its military. Furthermore, bilateral links between some of the EU members and Russia are perceived as a new strategic threat by Poland.²²³

Despite the opposition axis of Germany-France-Russia and Poland's candidate status for the EU in 2003, Polish Prime Minister Leszek Miller signed the "Letter of Eight" in January 2003 stating its support to the USA policy to combat with Saddam Husein Regime.²²⁴ France President Chirac vehemently criticized Warsaw's first contradiction with Germany and France as he dismissed the letter as "irresponsible" and added that the candidate-countries "missed an opportunity

²²¹ "European CFSP and The Polish point of view": Meeting was held under Chatham House Rule; Professor Roman Kuźniar, University of Warsaw, former director of the Polish Institute for International Affairs, Stefan Meller, former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs and Maciej Popowski, Ambassador Representative of Poland to the Political and Security Committee, www.boell.be/download_en/Text_Polish_CFSP.pdf, accessed on May 25, 2008.

²²² Roman Popinski, "The Consequences of NATO and the EU Enlargement for Three Regions", *Academy of National Defense*, www.bmlv.gv.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/09_spd_02_popi.pdf, accessed on May 5, 2008.

²²³ Bugajski and Teleki, *Poland...*, p.91.

²²⁴ For more on "the Letter of Eight": <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/media/2003/0130useur.htm>, accessed on May 25, 2008.

to keep quiet."²²⁵ In January 2003, the European Parliament adopted a non-binding resolution, criticizing unilateral action of the USA in Iraq and its contradiction with the UN and international law. Subsequently, Berlin criticized Polish Prime Minister Miller for failing to notify Germany about his pro-USA position although two leaders had good relations.²²⁶ This tension between the EU countries did not prevent Poland to send military forces to Iraq; even more, Poland provided the third largest allied force in Iraq following the USA and the UK. Polish military forces of 2500 troops constituted an important share of international forces of 10.000 soldiers from Spain, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania.²²⁷ However, "while public opinion in Poland generally supported the USA and its war on Terror, it did not favor direct participation in Iraq"²²⁸

Another crucial crisis was arisen with France when the Ministry of Defense of Poland announced that French-produced Roland missiles had been found at Al Hilla. It was alleged that they had been manufactured in 2003 and reached Iraq despite the weapon supply embargo. However, later it was discovered that Roland missiles had not been produced for fifteen years. "Poland offered France its official apologies. The scandal, however, was a loud one and merited discussion at the EU Rome Summit."²²⁹

Recent changes in political scene of Poland are thought to contribute to moderate this contradiction between Warsaw and Brussels. New Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk, leader of the conservative liberal Civic Platform, took over the

²²⁵ Mikhalev, *op.cit.*, p.97.

²²⁶ Bugajski and Teleki, *Poland...*, p.92.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.93.

²²⁸ Wojtek Wolfe, "Leaving out the Public: Polish Media Coverage and Policymaking on the War in Iraq", *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISA's 49th Annual Convention, Bridging Multiple Divides*, Mar 26, 2008, http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p251315_index.html, accessed on June 5, 2008.

²²⁹ Mikhalev, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

government from Kaczynski. He made efforts to repair the damage done by his predecessor in terms of relations with the EU. Kaczynski and his brother, President Lech Kaczynski have been seen as strong supporters of the USA and its foreign policy because of “their skepticism of Russia and Germany, Poland's historical foes, and a belief that Washington's friendship offers the best protection against future trouble from those neighbors.”²³⁰

The most important factor underlying this policy revision by Tusk was aforesaid public opinion in Polish Society against the deployment of Polish Soldiers and discomfort on anti-Europe leadership of former Prime Minister Kaczynski. Donald Tusk promised to withdraw Polish soldiers from Iraq during his election campaign in 2005. However, Polish Defense Minister Jerzy Szmajdzinski announced that the withdrawal would be completed by the end of 2008.²³¹ The 2005 election was interpreted by the EU as a start of a new age between Poland and the Union. In his first official visit to Brussels, he made “all the right noises to repair strained relations between his country and the European Union.”²³²

5.2 Changing Dynamics of Polish foreign policy towards Russia after the EU Membership

Polish foreign policy towards Russia has mainly characterized with two controversies in the context of the EU membership. First, Polish concerns on energy issues, particularly on Russia-Germany agreement for a new gas pipeline that is deemed to by-pass Poland's role in energy routes. And secondly, Poland's eastern policy, particularly on Ukraine.

²³⁰ “New leader in Poland, Donald Tusk, looks to mend fences”, *International Herald Tribune*, October 23, 2007.

²³¹ “Poland Confirms Iraq Withdrawal”, *BBC News*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4436165.stm>, accessed on May 25, 2008.

²³² “New Era for EU-Polish Relations”, *Der Spiegel*, December 5, 2007.

In a general sense, the striking feature of Polish and Russian Foreign Policies in the EU arena is the diplomatic methods adopted by two governments. While Warsaw, as an EU member, vehemently supports development of a common attitude towards Russia; Kremlin seems to make deliberate efforts to co-operate with the EU member states on bilateral levels.

It can be argued that the future of the EU-Russian strategic partnership is a more complicated subject matter, depending on several factors.²³³ However, accession of CEECs and Baltic States to the EU is obviously arising as one of the critical limits for Russia-EU strategic partnership. As the most assertive country among new members of the EU, Poland is trying to become one of the important actors of the process. On the contrary, Moscow works to prevent the influence of the newcomers of the EU, particularly some traditional Russia skeptics such as Poland and the Baltic states.²³⁴

This part focuses on dynamics of Polish foreign policy towards Russia. Energy concerns and the Eastern policy of Poland are examined as the key dynamics of Polish foreign policy towards Russia. Within this scope, the chapter briefly analyzes Russia's policy towards the enlargement.

5.2.1 Russia's Policy towards the EU Enlargement in 2004

It is obvious that Russian perspective towards the EU has considerably evolved since 1990s. Most of scholars argue that although first steps of the enlargement were taken in the early 1990s, Russian foreign policy towards the EU enlargement was full of paradoxes and twists until the beginning of the new

²³³ Marek Menkiszak, "Russia Vs. The European Union: a "Strategic Partnership" Crisis," *Centre for Eastern Studies*, Warsaw: 2006, p.42.

²³⁴ Dimitri Trenin, "Russia Redefines Itself and Its Relations with the West", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol.30, No.2, 2007, p.98.

century.²³⁵ It is commonly argued that Russian understanding of the EU was affected by its internal “identity” debates following the break-up of Soviet Union.

On the other hand, Putin’s Presidency demonstrated a clear deviation from that of Yeltsin in terms of identifying a strategic approach towards the EU. Therefore, this part briefly examines the evolution of Russian foreign policy towards the EU for a better analysis of its reaction on Poland’s EU accession. It is argued that contrary to its attitude towards the NATO enlargement, Putin’s economic pragmatism and multi-polarity²³⁶ approach forged Russia to show a more moderate reaction to the enlargement.

The main feature of Yeltsin’s presidency was generally formulated as “lack of a sound strategic approach” towards the EU enlargement. In the years after the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc, Russia dramatically found itself in a new unipolar world order and simultaneously in a tendency “globalization” of capitalist economy. Russia entered into a cycle of turbulence. Economic depression, social discomfort and transformation of mode of production caused an important crisis for the ex-super power. The new conditions of international arena urged Russia to re-define its foreign policy perspectives. In this context, “the development of EU-Russian relations in the 1990s can be seen as full of paradox and ambiguity.”²³⁷ It can be argued that Russia’s internal controversy to locate itself in post-Cold War Europe was influential on this paradox.

²³⁵ Elana Klitsinova, “EU-Russian Relations; Russia n Perspective”, *Perspectives on EU- Russia relations*, [Eds.by Debra Johnson and Paul Robinson], London; New York: Routledge, 2005, p.35.

²³⁶ Since 2000, the key documents on Foreign Policy perspectives usually stressed the notion of Multi-polarity. The Foreign Poliscy Concept mentioned that “Russia shall seek to achieve a multi-polar system of international relations that really reflects the diversity of the modem world with its great variety of interests.”

²³⁷ Klitsinova, *op.cit.* , p.35.

Although preparations for the EU enlargement began as early as 1993, Russia did not pay much attention to the EU integration during Yeltsin's Presidency.²³⁸ In fact, no response was given until 1999 when the adaptation of CEECs to *acquis* and Schengen visa system came to the agenda. While Russia vehemently opposed to the enlargement of NATO, the EU enlargement seemed to be more proper for the region. It can be argued that Russian attitude towards enlargement became more clear with Putin's administration.

By the end of the Yeltsin years, Putin's Presidency had clear implications about new strategies, objectives and diplomacy means of Russia for the new era. The first critical step was to define an attitude towards the West. Putin has terminated the discussions in Russian Foreign Policy regarding the place of Russia in Europe. The striking theme in official statements emphasized that Russia has been an inalienable part of integrating Europe, "a reliable, constructive and predictable partner for Europe." For the EU, Russia is also an important partner with which there is considerable interest to engage and build a strategic partnership. Therefore, it is possible to say that the process of the EU enlargement was encountered by a more moderate approach by Moscow when compared with its reaction to NATO expansion. "Ideologically as well as psychologically, Moscow, both elites and society, traditionally perceived the EU as very friendly, especially in comparison with NATO expansion."²³⁹ Indeed, Putin's administration primarily sought to develop closer relations with the EU.

In 2000, Russia prepared its "Medium-Term Strategy for Development of Relations between the Russian Federation and the European Union (2000-2010)". This strategy was a response to the EU's Common Strategy on Russia. The Strategy determined means and objectives of Russia's relations with the EU

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.40.

²³⁹ Artem V. Malgin, "Russia - EU relations within European Politics", *Moscow State Institute of International Relations*, Iee Document no. 22, p.8:

for 2000-2010.²⁴⁰ The strategy also underlined “the consistent evolution of the general foreign policy concept of Russia in the European area” and “the objective need to establish a multi polar world, common histories of nations and responsibility of European States for the future of the continent, and complementarities of their economies.”²⁴¹ In a general sense, there are two key objectives for Putin Presidency’s foreign policy strategy towards Europe; Enhancing a multipolar world order and protecting Russia’s influence area of CIS and near abroad, Modernization of Russian economy and mobilizing the economic potential of the European Union

The second driving force for developing good relations with Europe was based on the need of modernizing its economy and benefiting from economic potential of the EU. Putin’s policies on the EU focused on to develop closer relations with an enlarged economic and political union on Russia’s borders, which has the “lion’s share of Russian trade and is emerging as a new security actor across the European continent and in world affairs.”²⁴²

Especially, by Putin’s presidency, foreign policy on the EU was affected by the need of “economic modernization of the country” and increasing competitiveness in the global market. It is commonly shared that the EU has seen as important source of modernization resources for Russia.²⁴³ At the St. Petersburg Summit in May 2003, the EU and Russia agreed to foster their co-operation by creating in the long term four ‘common spaces’ in the framework of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. It was decided to create a common

²⁴⁰ “Medium-term Strategy for Development of Relations between Russian Federation and the EU” October 10, 1999: <http://presidency.finland.fi/netcomm/News/showarticle1610.html>, accessed on April 25, 2008.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Dov Lynch, “Russia’s Strategic Partnership with Europe”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2004, Vol.27, No.2, p.99.

²⁴³ Timofei V. Bordachev, “Strategy and Strategies,” [Eds. Arkady Moshes], *Rethinking the Respective Strategies of Russia and the European Union*, Special FIIA - Carnegie Moscow: 2003, p.31.

economic space; a common space of freedom, security and justice; a space of co-operation in the field of external security; as well as a space of research and education, including cultural aspects. The EU- Russia Industrialists Round Table process has also been a significant indicator that European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT) member companies together account for a level of foreign direct investment in Russia in excess of € 32 billion and around 150,000 employees. As a result, ERT takes an active interest in fostering the EU- Russia economic relationship.²⁴⁴

Indeed, the EU has become most important trading partner of Russia in the last decade, which is absorbing most of its oil and gas output. According to the official figures announced by the Commission the EU is Russia's main trading partner, accounting for more than 54% of its overall trade. Russia is the EU's third trading partner, after the USA and China. Total trade with Russia amounted to € 209 billion in 2006 (compared with € 85 billion in 2003). "For the first six months of 2007, total trade amounts to € 105 billion, which is € 4 billion more than the level reached in mid-2006 (€ 101 billion)."²⁴⁵

Russia has become the EU's third trading partner, after the USA and China. Within this scope, energy issues played a central role for Russia in terms of its relations with the EU. Putin tends to use Russia's energy card not only for its relations with the EU but tries to benefit from its advantages in every platform. It is argued that Putin has little alternative available to him to achieve his goal of making his country a great power.²⁴⁶ Indeed, Russian oil production grew by 2.7% in 2005 to 9.44m barrels per day (bpd). During the same period, oil majors

²⁴⁴ An European Round Table of Industrialists view on the potential of the Common Economic Space; "Seizing the Opportunity: Taking the EU- Russia relationship to the next level", May 2006, *ERT web site*: <http://www.ert.be/doc/0147.pdf>, accessed on July 5, 2008.

²⁴⁵ "Russia-EU, Bilateral Trade Relations", *EC official website*: http://ec.europa.eu/trade/issues/bilateral/countries/russia/index_en.htm, accessed on June 5, 2008.

²⁴⁶ "EU-Russia Energy Dialogue", *Euroactiv website*, September 24, 2007: <http://www.euroactiv.com/en/energy/eu-russia-energy-dialogue/article-150061#summary>, accessed on June 5, 2008.

increased refining by over 10 per cent to above 4m bpd. Russia exports around 5m bpd of crude oil and 100m tones of refined products.²⁴⁷ The state has been the main driving force behind recent developments in the oil sector. The state-owned gas company Gazprom diversified into this area, acquiring a 75% in the Sibneft oil company. Energy products accounted more than 60% of Russia's overall exports to the EU, which is equal to more than €60 billion annually. 60% of Russia's oil is exported to the EU, representing over 25% of total of the EU oil consumption. Furthermore, 50% of Russia's natural gas exports arrive in the EU, representing over 25% of total EU natural gas consumption.²⁴⁸

In this framework, Russia-EU energy dialogue has been one of the important strategic pillars for both parties. In October 2000, the EU and Russia agreed to start an Energy Dialogue dealing with issues such as security of supply, energy efficiency, infrastructure (pipelines), investments and trade. Russia tends to use energy routes to support its position against the EU.

On the other hand, the impact of the EU enlargement on Russia-EU relations has become more apparent in recent years. The accession of the old "Soviet satellites" to the EU can be seen as a critical factor on development of a "strategic partnership" between the EU and Russia. As it will be mentioned in detail, Polish veto against the start of negotiations for Russia-EU partnership agreement urges Russia to continue to seek bilateral partnerships in the EU, particularly with old member states like Germany.

In a sense, Russia's bilateral relations with old member states have also been emerging as a foreign policy tool. According to Trenin, "Russia does not seek to dominate Europe, but it will exploit the EU's various vulnerabilities at a tactical level". In a sense, "to capitalize on the EU's internal divisions, Moscow prefers

²⁴⁷ "Russia: Energy Overview", *BBC website*, February 13, 2006: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4699942.stm> , accessed on June 5, 2008.

²⁴⁸ "European Commission External Relations: Russia", *EC official website*: http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/russia/intro/index.htm, accessed on May 25, 2008.

to deal with the EU's members separately, rather than as a group.²⁴⁹ Therefore, Germany- Russia cooperation on energy pipeline projects has a considerable impact on both internal debates in the EU and future prospects of Energy and Common Foreign and Security Policy.

5.3.3 Poland's Energy Policy towards Russia

In the context of EU membership, the second dynamic of Polish foreign policy towards Russia is Poland's energy concerns. Within this scope, two dimensions can be highlighted: First, Poland's energy dependency on Russia and, the second; new pipeline projects which are seemed to exclude Poland from key energy routes in Europe. Poland is concerned with Russia's bilateral relations with some EU member states in energy issues. Therefore, Warsaw made great efforts to ensure a EU level common energy policy. Furthermore, Poland tend to use its veto card in EU-decision making level to prevent a partnership between Russia and the EU before the realization of an common energy policy in Community level.

Poland's energy dependency on Russia can be seen as a heritage of Cold War. Apparently, from the perspective of energy, the relationship between two countries is much more asymmetric. Poland, as a part of old Soviet Bloc still depends on Russian gas and oil. As illustrated by Table 5 and Table 6²⁵⁰, high amounts of Poland's crude oil and natural gas import are being provided by Russia. It can be argued that energy still constitutes the critical "dependency" element of Poland on Russia.

²⁴⁹ Trenin, *op.cit.*, p.98.

²⁵⁰ Keith C. Smith, *Russian Energy Politics in the Baltics, Poland, and Ukraine, -A new Stealth of Imperialism*, Washington D.C: The CSIS press, 2004, p.10.

Table 5: Use of Russian Oil in Selected Countries ²⁵¹

	Russian crude oil as percentage of total crude oil consumption	Russian crude oil as percentage of total crude oil imports
Ukraine – 2003	61	86.6
Poland – 2002	91	94.5
Lithuania - 2004	90	100
Belarus - 2004	75	100

Table 6: Use of Russian Natural Gas in Selected Countries ²⁵²

	Annual Imports from Russia (Trillion cubic feet)	Annual Imports from Russia (Billion cubic meters)	Russian gas as a percentage of total gas consumption	Russian gas as a percentage of total gas imports
Ukraine	1.01	28.6	39	51
Poland	0.26	7.4	58	84
Lithuania	0.10	1.4	88	100
Belarus	0.60	17.0	94	100

Moreover, some patterns of Putin’s foreign policy on energy have led serious objections of Poland. Especially, two recent developments increased the tension and concerns of Polish side; German-Russian deal on a new pipeline under Baltic Sea and Energy crisis in Ukraine in 2004. In fact, both of these events can be related with Russia’s energy policies.

Energy policy of Russia has considerably evolved from the beginning of the 2000s. Most of the scholars underline energy as a key strategic card of Russia for economy and international politics. In line with this, energy sector, fostering intensification of formal and informal links, is one of the core elements of Russia-EU relations.²⁵³ This relationship is commonly described as a mutual pragmatism. On one hand, EU’s energy, as well as secure supply needs, is

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ Debra Johnson, “EU-Russia Energy Links”, *Perspectives on EU- Russia relations*, Eds.by Debra Johnson and Paul Robinson, London: New York: Routledge, 2005, p.175.

gradually increasing. On the other hand, EU is seen as an important energy market for Russia.²⁵⁴

An important feature of Russia's energy links with the EU is the tendencies of individual member states, such as France and Germany, to co-operate with Russia. These initiatives, based on establishing bilateral relations with Russia, attracted vehement reactions of the Polish government. Poland advocates the need of the adoption of an EU level energy policy on Russia. From that perspective, some of the scholars argue that Russia "has deliberately taken advantage of this lack of cohesion to gain favorable energy deals and heighten European dependence on Russian supplies and pursuing a divide and conquer strategy of amassing bilateral deals with member states"²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.177.

²⁵⁵ Zeyno Baran, "EU Energy Security: Time to End Russian Leverage", *Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2007, Vol. 30, No.4, p.131.

Figure 2: Primary Russian Oil and Gas pipelines to Europe ²⁵⁶



Source: BBC News

In December 2005, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder finalized the deal on North European Gas Pipeline²⁵⁷, worth some \$5bn (£2.7bn). According to the agreement, Russia's Gazprom will own 51% of

²⁵⁶ “Primary Russian Oil and Gas pipelines to Europe”: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4699942.stm>, accessed on June 5, 2008

²⁵⁷ “Russia and Germany Sign Gas Deal”, *BBC News*: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4225736.stm>, accessed on May 25, 2008

the pipeline, with Germany's EON and BASF companies taking 24.5% each.²⁵⁸ The 1,200km (744 mile) pipeline will deliver Russian gas to Germany and eventually to other Western European nations by 2010.²⁵⁹

Potential consequences of this pipeline for Poland can be examined in several dimensions. However, three direct impacts can be highlighted. First of all, this pipeline would by-pass the country from the most important energy route between Russia and Europe. Secondly, it would increase Russia's strategic gains to use potential gas cut-off threats against Poland. And lastly, a new pipeline would cause a loss of transit revenue for Poland which it gains from current pipeline.²⁶⁰ Within this framework, for some of authors, Russian strategy is causing a wedge between Eastern and Western Europe, by separating gas supply of the Western Europe from that of Eastern Europe.²⁶¹ Furthermore, the undersea route grants Moscow the ability to manipulate the European energy market more effectively.”²⁶²

Unsurprisingly, immediate reaction of Poland raised by the Radoslaw Sikorski, Polish Defense Minister at the time. He protested the Russian-German Baltic pipeline in early may 2006. Furthermore, Sikorski compared this project with the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939.²⁶³

Additionally, Polish media reflected concerns over Russian-German agreement on construction of a gas pipeline under Baltic sea. Poland's newspaper, *Zycie Warszawy*, defined the pipeline as "dangerous for our energy security", in which

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ "Russian-German Gas Link Launches" *BBC News*, December 9, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4512472.stm>, accessed on May 25, 2008

²⁶⁰ "New Leader in Poland, Donald Tusk, Looks to Mend Fences" *International Herald Tribune*, October 23, 2007.

²⁶¹ Baran, *op.cit.*, p.134.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p.135.

²⁶³ Kaczmarek, *loc.cit.*

the country would "remain at the Kremlin's mercy".²⁶⁴ Witseas, German Chancellor Schroeder has tried to calm Poland's worries. In the same days of the deal, Shröder stated that "There are no grounds for concern; the Baltic Sea pipeline is a European scale project that is not directed against anybody and that should be open to later participation by third parties."²⁶⁵

In the same months, the second trauma for Warsaw was emerged as the Ukrainian energy crisis following to the "Orange revolution". "Reformist" and pro-Western Viktor Yushchenko was elected as president in 2004 election which was resulted with the ouster of the pro-Russian leadership.²⁶⁶ Following the elections, Gazprom stated that it would start the talks with Ukraine on increasing the price of gas. Ukraine rejected this proposal and argued that an existing agreement guaranteed a low price until 2009. However, Russian state television announced the cut-off of supplies to Ukraine on December 31 2005. For many observers this gas cutoff demonstrated the intertwined relations between Gazprom and Russian government, and the use of Gazprom as an instrument of foreign policy.²⁶⁷ From a Ukrainian journalist's perspective, Putin's Russia, with the help of its "hyper-monopoly" Gazprom, began a determined counter-offensive against Europe. Taras Wozniaki, an Ukrainian journalist, argued that "Two decades after the collapse of the USSR, Russia has only recently acquired the material, political, and ideological resources sufficient for such an attack."²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ "Baltic Deal Worries Polish Press", *BBC News*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4226296.stm>, accessed on May 25, 2008.

²⁶⁵ "Russia and Germany Sign Gas Deal", *BBC New*: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4225736.stm>, accessed on May 27, 2008.

²⁶⁶ Bernard A. Gelb, Jim Nichol and Steven Woehrel, "Russia's Cutoff of Natural Gas to Ukraine: Context and Implications", *CRS Report for Congress*, February 2006: <http://italy.usembassy.gov/pdf/other/RS22378.pdf>, accessed on May 28, 2008.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ Taras Wozniaki, "What is Putin Trying to Achieve?", *The geopolitics of Russia's gas counter-offensive*, Eurozine, March 15, 2006, <http://eurozine.com/pdf/2006-03-15-wozniak-en.pdf>, accessed on June 5, 2008.

To sum up, for the future prospects of Russian-Polish relations, energy politics would probably play a crucial role. Moreover, Polish concerns about Russian-German deal on a new pipeline may cause a new division in the EU between so-called old and new member states.

5.2.2 “Eastern Policy” of Poland and Its Significance for Polish-Russian Relations

All of the post-Communist Polish governments have prioritized to ensure a “cordon” of free states among its eastern neighbors in order to create a buffer zone against Russia’s so-called “neo-imperial” influence. Russia’s constant interest on its “near abroad”, particularly on Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova has been interpreted by Poland as a further implication of Russia’s imperial ambitions in the region.²⁶⁹ Indeed, Poland sought to establish a NATO-the USA presence in the region. Therefore, Poland has been a vehement supporter of the EU and NATO membership of its eastern neighbors, particularly of Ukraine. Poland Foreign Policy priorities adopted by the Parliament included democratic transformation of Ukraine. Moreover, since 1998, Poland made great efforts in the EU for the adoption of an “Eastern Policy”.

Establishment of closer links between Ukraine, the EU and NATO has been one of the key foreign policy perspectives of Poland. Therefore, Warsaw has focused on being one of the main actors of the EU Eastern policy and involved the discussions on the “Wider Europe-New Neighborhood”²⁷⁰ concept in 2002. Furthermore, Poland was one of the leading countries, which supported the adoption of European Parliament resolution on European Neighborhood Policy in 2003. In a sense, Poland involved to the controversial election in Ukraine in

²⁶⁹ Zaborowski and Longhurst, *op.cit.*, p.1021.

²⁷⁰ The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was first introduced in a Commission Communication on Wider Europe in March 2003. Paper is available at http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/enp/index_en.htm, accessed on June 15, 2008.

2004. During the 2004 elections, Western countries and Polish officials forced “pro-Russian” authorities to repeat the vote with a popular uprising.²⁷¹

In fact, Russia perceived Poland’s involvement in Ukraine “Orange Revolution” as a consequence of its reliance and harmonization with the USA policies in the region.²⁷² Brezinski formulates Putin’s perception on Revolution of the Roses in Georgia in 2003 and of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine as “fiercely denounced as the USA engineered upheavals and as a foretaste of similar”.²⁷³ Moreover, following Ukraine’s “Orange Revolution” in 2004, Poland’s support and initiatives during the process were criticized by Russia. Putin, at his end-of-the-year news conference, advised his Polish counterpart “to mind his own business instead of lecturing Russia on democracy”.²⁷⁴

Putin and his entourage, as mentioned before, specified Russia’s near abroad as still a crucial part of Russian interests, which based on maintaining “Russian hegemony in former Soviet territories by the control of loan conditions, telecommunications, industrial plants and energy supplies”.²⁷⁵ In this scope, Ukraine is seen as a part of Russian dominated Eurasian. Although the lack of detailed data on Ukraine’s economy, it is estimated that Russian direct and indirect owns in Ukraine as 80%, even more Ukraine’s dairy industry per cent is 40% Russian owned. Over 75 per cent of Ukraine’s military production and all nuclear reactors depend on Russian fuel.²⁷⁶ Obviously, economic dependency is

²⁷¹ Zoltán Dujisin, “Poland-Russia: Once an Enemy, Always an Enemy”, *Inter Press Service*, Prag: 2007, <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=39606>, accessed on February 8, 2008.

²⁷³ Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Putin’s Choice”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No.2, Spring 2008, p.104.

²⁷⁴ Igor Torbakov, “What is behind the growing tension in Russian-Polish Relations?”, *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Volume 2, Issue 158, August 2005, (also published at *Rossiiskiy vestnik*, February 17; *Gazeta.ru*, May 12, August 8, *New York Times*, July 3, *Moscow Times*, August 9 2005)

²⁷⁵ Stephen Velychenko, *Ukraine, the EU and Russia: History, Culture and International Relations*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.7.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

accompanied with a cultural convergence that in 2000, 20% of the population was Russian speaking Russians, 33 % were Russian speaking Ukrainians and % 47 were Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians.

In this context, Polish politics to back Ukraine's integration the West will continue to constitute dispute for Polish-Russian relations. In a sense, the most recent Polish attempts to back Ukraine's NATO bid in Bucharest Summit held in April 2008 can be deemed as a further proof of continuing tension between Russia and Poland. "At the summit, the United States and ex-Soviet satellites in central Europe backed the Membership Action Plan for Ukraine and Georgia, while Germany and France led the opponents."²⁷⁷ Additionally, Poland advocates that the EU's relations with Ukraine should be raised to "Strategic Partnership" level.²⁷⁸ Furthermore, when Ukraine's Prime Minister Yushchenko announced their willingness to join the EU, Polish President Kwasniewski officially declared Warsaw's support to the process.²⁷⁹

In terms of the EU's Eastern Policy, Poland obviously distinguishes Russia from Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. On one hand, significant efforts have been made by Poland to realize a "partnership" between Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus and the EU. On the other hand, Polish government used its veto power in EU for blocking Russia-EU partnership negotiations in 2006 when Finnish Presidency attempted to launch the talks with Russia over re-negotiating the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the EU and Russia. Thus, Polish government prevented the symbolic beginning of talks on the occasion of the EU- Russia Summit on 24 November 2006 in Helsinki. Poland showed Russian embargo on

²⁷⁷ Adam Jasser and Gabriela Baczynska, "NATO dispute hangs over EU- Russia talks: Poland", *Reuters*, April 9, 2008 <http://www.reuters.com/articlePrint?articleId=USL0992561320080409>, accessed on June 5, 2008.

²⁷⁸ Janusz Bugajski and Ilona Teleki, "Washington's New European Allies: Durable or Conditional Partners?", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol.28, No.2, Spring 2005, p.102.

²⁷⁹ "Poland backs Ukraine's NATO bid; Russia lobbies against embracing ex-Soviet neighbor", *International Herald Tribune*, March 28, 2008.

Polish meat as a reason of this veto. (Moscow had launched the ban at the end of 2005, alleging breaches of food certification rules in Poland.) Warsaw wanted “Russia to lift its ban on Polish meat imports and argued that the year-old ban was imposed due to political reasons and demands a different approach to the EU’s energy co-operation with Russia.”²⁸⁰

Although Russia agreed to lift a two-year-old ban on Polish meat imports in December 2007, Polish Foreign Minister Anna Fotyga said that 'Lifting the embargo is no longer sufficient'.²⁸¹ Poland made some efforts to relate the EU Energy Declaration for lifting veto on the talks. Although Poland withdrew its veto on the start of the negotiations on May 2008, its veto may be seen at the next stages of this process.

Poland has been also an enthusiastic supporter of Ukraine’s NATO membership. During the Bucharest Summit of NATO, Poland supported NATO bids of Ukraine and Georgia. In April 2008, Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk’s stated that Poland may “use its veto power” again for EU-Russian partnership negotiations unless the EU powers agree put a way on Ukraine’s NATO application. In the same days, Polish President Lech Kaczynski said that he must tie these two issues, NATO enlargement and Russia-EU partnership negotiations, together even though he would prefer not to do.²⁸² On the other hand, at his reply to a question that “Russia was the only victor of the summit because it delayed Ukraine's and Georgia's entry indefinitely”, Kaczynski stated that: “We achieved a clear opening of NATO perspective for Georgia and

²⁸⁰ “Polish Veto Still Hanging over EU- Russia Summit,” November 20, 2006, *Euractiv*: <http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/polish-veto-hanging-eu-russia-summit/article-159825>, accessed on June 7, 2008.

²⁸¹ “Poland Says EU Energy Declaration is Price for Lifting Its Russia Veto”, May 25, 2007: <http://www.forbes.com/markets/feeds/afx/2007/05/15/afx3721405.html>, accessed on June 5, 2008.

²⁸² Jasser and Baczynska, *loc.cit.*

Ukraine, if this is what Russia was aiming for, then it is its victory indeed.”²⁸³ Obviously, rationale behind Polish officials’ attempt to relate two different institutional processes of NATO enlargement and EU-Russian relations clearly reveals ambition of Polish Foreign policy to become an actor for the next enlargement phase of NATO.

Overall, EU membership of Poland has been critical in terms of its economic and social integration with the West. Poland has also become a net beneficiary of EU funds. Taking into account its territory and population, Poland is a medium-sized country in the EU which is emerging as a striking country for both internal and foreign policy of the EU. Poland’s Russia policy and its transatlantic links can be seen as two important factors for its foreign policy in the EU. Poland’s “Eastern” policy and its energy dependency on Russia are two key dynamics of Polish foreign policy towards Russia.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER

VI. CONCLUSION

The end of Cold War was the start of a new era for CEECs to re-establish their relations with the West. Poland was the largest country of this transition period with its land and population covered in the region. Eastern enlargement decisions of NATO and the EU were simultaneously embraced by Poland. Therefore, NATO and the EU membership were deemed as two complementary phases of its integration with the western. In this respect, while the EU membership was an economic project of Poland to integrate with European and Global economy, NATO was perceived as a guarantee of security.

On the other hand, Russia, as a historic empire and a super-power of the Cold War, passed through a compulsory re-identification process of its foreign policy approaches during Yeltsin and Putin's Presidency. Despite a degree of ambiguity during Yeltsin presidency, the arrival of the Putin to the Kremlin revealed Russia's attitude towards NATO and the EU enlargement more obvious. This thesis has come to the conclusion that despite Russia's continuous opposition to the NATO enlargement, the eastern enlargement of the EU was more acceptable for this country.

In the first place, the analysis of Poland's EU and NATO membership is required to examine the stormy history of the country. Taking into account, 123 years of partition, wars, occupations, and uprisings, the impact of historical prejudices on Polish policy-makers is not negligible. This impact has been more apparent following the Cold War, particularly on its foreign policy towards Russia. In that sense, three dimensions of historical impact can be mentioned in: economic; geopolitical; and psychological dimensions. Economic dimension displays the 'uses of Russia' as a reason of socio-economic backwardness in Poland. On the

other hand, geopolitical dimension is based on the notion of belonging the Western civilization rather than the East and threat perceptions on potential “rebirth of Russian expansionism. Thirdly, the different interpretation of official history among Poland and Russia stands as a psychological factor. This analysis displays that historical controversies between two countries are effective on bilateral relations. In the first place, the “uses” of the history can be observed on Polish foreign policy discourses. In any case of disputes, mass media and Polish officials tend to refer to old memories of the past. In the second, adverse public opinion against Russia is an important component of domestic policy, naturally a significant input of foreign policy.

In a general sense, Polish foreign policy towards Russia has considerably evolved in the post-Cold War era. First of all, pro-western approaches has become effective since 1989. However, transformation of Polish Foreign Policy, from a Soviet-dominated Marxist-Leninist and Socialist Internationalist framework to a Western ally, did not occur immediately. Polish Foreign Policy’s evolution in the last two decades has demonstrated a differentiation before and after its EU and NATO membership. This thesis argued that Polish foreign policy was characterized with a “dual approach” between the West and the East in the first half of the 1990s. In a sense, before the realization of NATO and the EU membership, Polish foreign policy adopted a more cautious and balanced policy on Russia. Skubiszewski was the key figure of this policy as the Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1989 to 1993.

Additionally, this thesis underlines the shift in the Polish foreign policy towards Russia after its NATO and the EU memberships. In contrary to the “dual track” approach of the first half of the 1990s, Polish foreign policy demonstrates a more robust stand against Russia. Following its NATO membership in 1999 and the September 11 attack in 2001, Warsaw had very serious foreign policy acts contradicting with Russia’s priorities.

Basic assumption of this study is the asymmetric feature of the relations between Russia and Poland. Despite its relatively decreasing power after the Cold War, Russia is still one of the most important states in the world arena. From this perspective, Poland's relations with Russia have effected by Warsaw's new role and motivations in NATO and the EU. In the analysis of the shift in Polish Foreign Policy, most of the scholars from realist and neorealist perspective, emphasize the impact of pro-western and pro-USA strategic culture of Poland as the key factor.

On the contrary, this thesis used a different theoretical framework. It is based on the theoretical approach of "Interdependence theory", which emphasizes the concepts of "sensitivity" and "vulnerability" in asymmetric relations. In this context, NATO and the EU membership have been two critical processes for Poland in decreasing its sensitivity against Russia. Despite its energy dependency on Russia, Poland is less dependent on Russia in economic and military dimensions. In a sense, while NATO membership was effective on military dimension, the EU membership process decreased Poland's socio-economic dependency on Russia. Thus, Warsaw is enabling to respond Russian Foreign Policy in some aspects.

Poland now holds the security guarantee of NATO. NATO membership provided two opportunities for Warsaw. Firstly, to benefit from high amounts of financial and technical aids to modernize its military. Moreover, Warsaw has developed closer relations with the USA since 1999. In this framework, Poland's support to the NMD is now becoming a crucial matter for Polish-Russian relations. Two recent debates; Poland's decision on the deployment of NMD inceptors in its territory and Warsaw's support on NATO bids of Ukraine and Georgia can be seen as crucial elements of this tension.

Significantly, the EU membership process was marked with socio-economic transformation of Poland. The country enjoyed considerable amounts of grants and funds as well as an institutional reform during pre-accession process.

Following the accession, Poland has continued to be a net beneficiary of the EU budget. As the largest new member of the Union, Poland was also a different case for the EU. It is argued that the EU accession of the country was more engaged with domestic policy debates. In spite of the smooth membership of NATO, the EU accession process was influenced by domestic policy debates. Long and controversial negotiation process was hard to manage by both Brussels and Warsaw. Moreover, a series of problems and discussions demonstrated that Warsaw would be a hard negotiator in the EU decision-making process.

In the context of EU membership, there are two important dynamics of Polish-Russian relations. Poland is concerned with energy deals between Russia and some of the EU members. Especially, Poland opposes to the new pipeline project between Germany and Russia which might by-pass Poland from the main energy routes in Europe. New Baltic pipeline would decrease Poland's income which it gains from the current pipeline. Moreover, Poland would be more sensitive to Russia's energy supplies as Kremlin would use its energy card in any case of political dispute. For that reason, Poland raised its concerns on EU Energy Policy and called member states to adopt a common attitude and policy towards Russia. Poland tends to use its veto card on Russia-EU Partnership negotiations as it did in 2006.

To sum up, Poland's Foreign Policy has contradicted with Russian foreign policy priorities in some critical issues in recent years. From NATO membership perspective, Poland's support and efforts for a next phase of enlargement over Ukraine would constitute an important tension matter for Russian relations. Additionally, Warsaw's support to NMD can be deemed as the second controversial matter which is becoming as a serious problem in international arena as well.

In relation to the EU membership, the key element of Polish foreign policy has been Poland's concerns on partnership initiatives of Russia with individual member states of the EU, particularly on energy issues. Energy security is now

getting more important for all countries as a global problem. In line with this process, Poland's concerns are based its energy dependency on Russia. The concrete reflection of these concerns was Polish veto against the start of negotiations with Russia-EU partnership agreement that expired in 2006. Although Poland withdrew its veto on the start of the negotiations on May 2008, Polish veto may continue at the next stages of this process.

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