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POLISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE U.S. SECURITY DIMENSION OF THE POLISH FOREIGN POLICY

IRE210

HISTORY OF POLISH–AMERICAN RELATIONS

„Poland is the most pro-American country in the world — including the United States“

„The Poles and Americans have similar attitudes towards security and foreign policy in general, which is a consequence of our particular historical experiences“ (Hill 2002)

the concept of Poland as a ‘new Atlanticist’



HISTORY OF POLISH–AMERICAN RELATIONS –KEY POINTS

- American War of Independence—Tadeusz Kościuszko and Kazimierz Pułaski.
- President Woodrow Wilson’s 14-point plan of 1918, the 13th of which called for the restoration of Polish independence.
- Arthur Bliss Lane - I saw Poland betrayed: An American Ambassador reports to the American people (1948)
- Solidarność and Radio Free Europe ([R.Reagan](#))
- Phenomenon of Polish-Americans



ARTHUR BLISS LANE

Carlyle

J Saw Poland Betrayed

AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR
REPORTS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE





<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9EzeW5KoPUI>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oeCHq2neweA>



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poland

THE PLATTA LAW FIRM & GRAM-X PROMOTIONS PRESENT
AN EVENT PROUDLY SPONSORED BY THE PLATTA LAW FIRM

PULASKI DAY MUSIC FESTIVAL IN CENTRAL PARK

POLONIJNE WYDARZENIE STULECIA! 10 WIELKICH GWIAZD NA JEDNEJ SCENIE!

KRZYWY & CUGOWSKI

BEDNAREK FEAT. RAGING FYAH

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ANDRZEJ KRZYWY LIDER DE MONO

YSZKONI

OMACZEK BEDNAREK

FESTIWAL POPROWADZA / THE EVENT WILL BE HOSTED BY:
RITA COSBY & ANDRZEJ MEYNARCZYK

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12 ROKU ŻYCIA
WSTĘP WOLNY!!!**

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ZPOCZNIE SIĘ PO PARADZIE PUŁASKIEGO!

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LIMITOWANE WIEKOWYCH Bilety w cenie zniżkowej *early bird* można nabyć tylko do 10 Września.
(*nie dotyczy koncertu) Liczba miejsc ograniczona. Rezerwacje wstępnie. (Data: 12.12.19) *wzrost od 150cm, 160cm i 170cm (nie dotyczy koncertu) *wzrost od 150cm, 160cm i 170cm (nie dotyczy koncertu)

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POST-COLD WAR DETERMINANTS OF POLAND'S SECURITY POLICY (ZAJĄC 2016: STR. 1 - 30)

- Geopolitical location (advantage or curse?)
- Demographic, social and economic potential
- History and identity in Poland's security policy
- Strategies and concepts of Poland's security policy

SKUBISZEWSKI 1992:

„Since the moment of the breakthrough in Poland, the government has been guided by the imperative of reversing the former bad role and function of our position between the powers of the East and the West – a position boiling down mainly to domination from the East.

As early as the second half of the eighteenth century this position always had disastrous effects.

For the past three years we have been striving to ensure that this position is to our advantage. [...] Poland has a geostrategic location that makes its position militarily significant. That has a bearing on the whole region‘

.

POLAND'S STRATEGIC CULTURE

- What is strategic culture?
- Main characteristics:
 - I. Emphasis on the territorial defence
 - II. Active eastern policies
 - III. Preference for a strong US-led Alliance
 - IV. An ambivalent position towards multilateral security institutions
=the 'instinctive' atlanticism in Polish strategic culture (Zaborowski 2003)

'GO WEST': SECURITY POLICY IN TRANSITION

1991 – COMECON and Warsaw Pact were dissolved

=) Poland faced the necessity of transforming its internal as well as its foreign and security policy.

Factors:

- Internal discussion in the U.S.
- Process of integration in Western Europe
- Discussion about the Euro Atlantic security structure (NATO, CSCE, WEU)

MAZOWIECKI 1989:

„Poland desires to participate in the creation of a new Europe and overcoming the world's divisions which are now totally anachronistic. (...)

Our openness to the whole of Europe does not mean repudiation of our previous ties and obligations. Our reiteration that the new government will honor Poland's alliance obligations, is not tactical placatory expedient. This stems from our understanding of Poland's raison d'état and our analysis of the international situation.

If the days comes when European security will no longer require military blocks we will say goodbye to them without regret.“

POLAND'S REORIENTATION TOWARD THE WEST

- Internal discussion about the future:
 - Kołodziejczyk and Skubiszewski
- Fear of being trapped in a security 'gray area' or a 'buffer zone'
- =) Western Europe and the United States rapidly became the most important focus point in Polish foreign and security policy!
- The main goal: *'return to Europe'* (V. Havel)
 - Bilaterally
 - Multilaterally

POLAND'S REORIENTATION TOWARD THE WEST

- **1989** - Bush st. Plan for Economical Recovery
- Polish–American military cooperation began to grow relatively quickly:
 - IMET program
 - Collaboration between the two countries' intelligence services (Persian Gulf War, Middle East)
 - Polish war ships and unit of engineers in Iraq

POLAND AND THE NATO ACCESSION I.

- **August 1990** - North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC)
- **June 1991** - Partnership with the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe
- **November 1992:**
 - *Principles of Poland's Security Policy* (Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa)
 - *The Security Policy and Defense Strategy of the Republic of Poland* (Polityka bezpieczeństwa i strategia obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej)

POLAND AND THE NATO ACCESSION II.

- **Mid 90ties** – Accession to NATO was accepted in Poland as a matter of national consensus and no other option was seriously considered!
- **1992** - Lech Wałęsa - **'NATO-bis' concept**
- **September 1993**- Lech Wałęsa - letter to the NATO - expressing Poland's desire to join the North Atlantic Alliance and stressed that the admission of Poland to NATO *'would remove that invisible barrier which still keeps Europe divided into two parts—states which enjoy fully ensured and guaranteed security, and states which do not'* (Wałęsa 1993).

POLAND AND THE NATO ACCESSION III.

- **1993 Partnership for Peace (PfP)**
 - The Partnership for Peace was not synonymous with NATO enlargement to the east!
 - Disappointment in Warsaw ('partnership for appeasement' or 'partnership for postponement') but they signed it (February 1994)
What was the source of disappointment?
 - The role of proponents of the EU enlargement in the USA: Zbigniew Brzezinski, Madeleine Albright, Richard Holbrooke, Henry Kissinger, Richard Lugar, and RAND Corporation analysts such as Richard D. Asmus, Richard L. Kugler, and Stephen Larrabee, etc.

POLAND AND THE NATO ACCESSION IV.

- **September 1995** - NATO members approved the *Study on NATO Enlargement*
- **December 1995** - the North Atlantic Council called on partner countries to establish national programs of cooperation with NATO and to initiate individual consultations in the matter.
- **April 1996** - Poland submitted to Brussels the *Individual Discussion Paper* on NATO enlargement.
- **May 1996** - consultations between NATO and Poland began.

POLAND AND THE NATO ACCESSION V.

- **July 1997** - NATO officially invited Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary—the first countries of Central Europe—to join the Alliance.
- **On 16 December 1997** – at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council, the accession protocols concerning those three countries were signed.
- *Following their ratification by all NATO member states and candidate countries, on 12 March 1999 Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary became full-fledged members of the Alliance.*



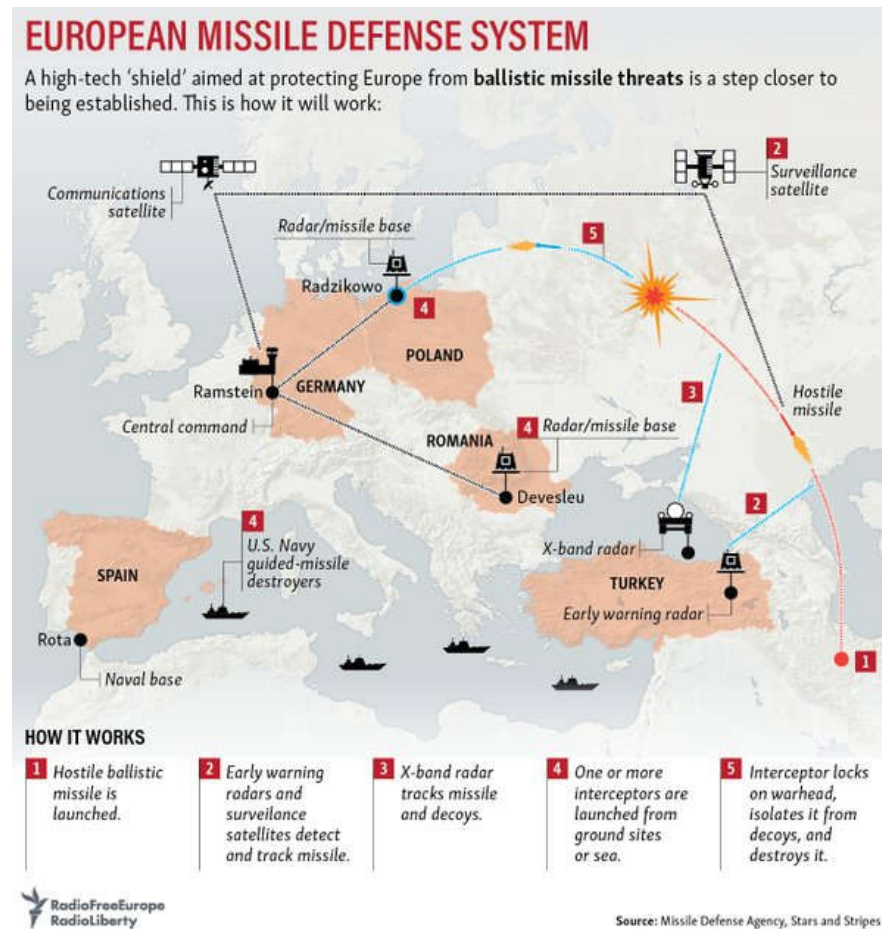
POLAND AS A NATO MEMBER

The Polish position towards NATO:

- Central role of the North Atlantic Treaty's Art. 5
- Warsaw intensified its efforts to strengthen NATO collective defense (art. 5) after the 2008 Georgian–Russian war.
- Lisbon summit (November 2010)
- Support for the modernization!
- Growing tension between Russia and Poland = Closer Polish – American Ties?

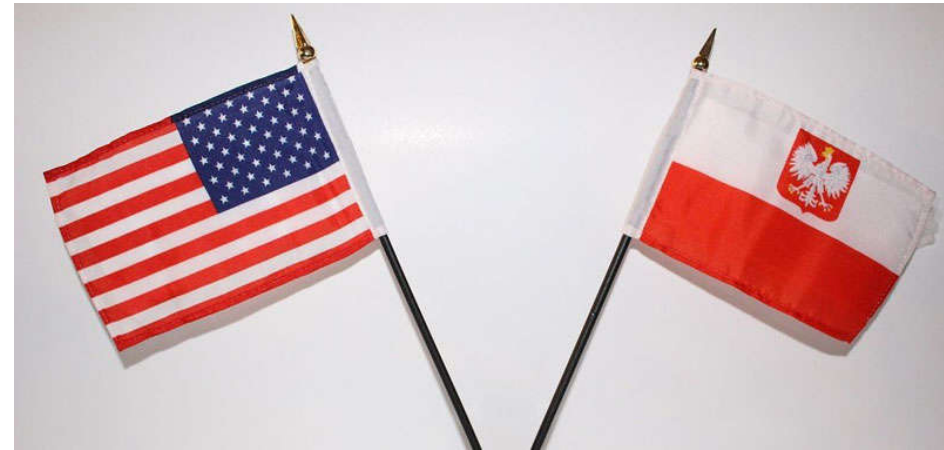
EUROPEAN INTERCEPTOR SITE (EIS)

- Warsaw had expressed its readiness to participate in this project as early as 2005.
- The agreement was signed by Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Radosław Sikorski and US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on 20 August 2008.
- Barack Obama, decided not to go ahead with the agreement.



OBAMA ADMINISTRATION AND POLAND

- **September 2009**- **European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA)** was announced.
- **October 2009** - Poland said it would participate in the Obama administration's new EPAA program by hosting SM-3 missiles (agreement signed on 3 July 2010).
- *„The golden age of Polish-American relations has passed“* (Economist, 19.7.2012):
 - Obama turned to Asia
 - Obama focused on relations with Russia



THE CURRENT SECURITY POLICY OF POLAND

- The Ukraine crisis and growing tension in Eastern Europe:
 - **'Komorowski Doctrine'** (2011)
 - **Reform of the Polish Armed Forces' command and control system** (2014)
 - July 2015 - the Polish parliament adopted a law in keeping with which *no less than 2% of GDP annually was earmarked for the financing of Poland's defense needs beginning with 2016, no less that 20% of which would be spent on modernization.*
 - Cyber Security Doctrine of the Republic of Poland (2015)
 - 2016 – NATO Summit in Warsaw (Eastern Flank)

POLAND AND VISA WAIVER PROGRAM

- What is Visa Waiver Program (VWP)?

*"We very much want you to shop on Fifth Avenue and anywhere else in the United StatesI am going to make this a priority. And I want to solve this issue before very long. My expectation is that this problem will be solved during my presidency."
(Obama, 2011)*

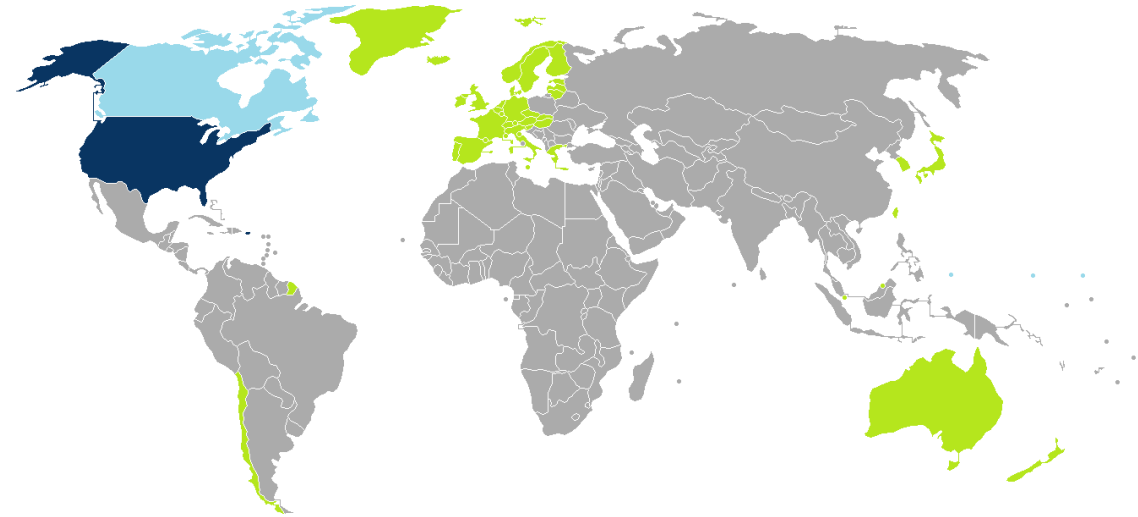


TABLE 1

Visa Refusal Rates

NATIONS THAT JOINED VISA WAIVER PROGRAM IN 2008

Estonia	3.9
South Korea	4.4
Czech Republic	5.2
Hungary	7.8
Latvia	8.3
Lithuania	9.0
Slovakia	5.3
Poland (2016)	5.37

SOURCES: U.S. Department of State, "Calculation of the Adjusted Visa Refusal Rate for Tourist and Business Travelers Under the Guidelines of the Visa Waiver Program," <https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/Statistics/Non-Immigrant-Statistics/refusalratelanguage.pdf> (accessed July 2, 2017), and U.S. Department of State, "Non-Immigrant Statistics, Fiscal Year 2008," <https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/visas/Statistics/Non-Immigrant-Statistics/RefusalRates/FY08.pdf> (accessed June 29, 2017).

TABLE 2

Total Overstay Rates

FOR NON-IMMIGRANT TRAVEL, FY 2016

Czech Republic	0.90
Estonia	0.69
Hungary	2.23
Lithuania	1.57
Latvia	1.22
Slovakia	1.51
South Korea	0.76
Poland	1.58

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "Fiscal Year 2016 Entry/Exit Overstay Report," <https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Entry%20and%20Exit%20Overstay%20Report%2C%20Fiscal%20Year%202016.pdf> (accessed May 16, 2017).

BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

U.S. TRADE IN GOODS WITH POLAND

YEAR	IMPORT	EXPORT	TOTAL
1989	387.1	413.6	26.5
1995	663.6	776.1	112.5
1998	783.8	882.1	98.3
2004	1,821.5	929.2	-892.2
2010	2,963.7	2,982.9	19.2
2013	4,885.4	3,778.3	-1,107.1
2016	5,970.0	3,661.0	-2,309.0

Source: census.gov

THE CURRENT SITUATION

How to define
the current
relations
between
Poland and
the U.S.?



WARSAW AND TRUMP (2017 – 2018)

- Donald Trump in Warsaw
- Great expectations
- BUT - the controversial 'Holocaust Law' (2018)
- Isolation?



THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

zapletal@fss.muni.cz