

10 & 11 – Polish Foreign Policy Relations to Russia and Germany

Polish Politics in a European Context

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Foreign Policy in a vacuum

Until 1989 Poland could not conduct its own foreign policy

- Environment has changed completely
 - dissolution of the USSR,
 - German unification,
 - unclear future policy of the US
 - EU becomes a foreign policy actor
- Important actors adapt only slowly to the new conditions
- Common mood of idealism

Attention very soon moves to the Balkans and Middle East

Polish
FP

Poland
- East

PL - DE

PiS vs.
PO

Foreign Policy agenda

- Accession to EU and NATO
- Co-operation with US and Western Europe
- Disarmament in Europe
- Recognition of Poland as an equal partner
- Good relations with all neighbours
- Commitment to multilateral foreign policy (UN, OSCE, ...)
- Democracy and human rights in Europe
- Financial aid for Poland's transformation and reconstructions

Consensus on foreign policy goals among the elites

Polish
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PiS vs.
PO

Key dates

- 1991 Membership in the **Council of Europe**
Europe Agreement with EU
- 1992 Withdrawal of Soviet troops
Poland applies for membership in **NATO**
Partnership of Peace membership (NATO association)
- 1994 Poland applies for EU membership
- 1995 Founding member of **WTO**
- 1996 Participation in **SFOR Mission in Bosnia-H.**
- 1999 **NATO** accession
Participation in KFOR mission (NATO command) in Kosovo

Polish
FP

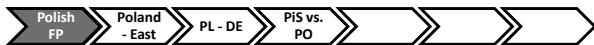
Poland
- East

PL - DE

PiS vs.
PO

Key dates

- 2002 Poland buys F 16 fighter jets from US (and not French)
- 2003 Poland participates in **Iraq invasion**
- 2004 Poland blocks agreement on EU constitution
EU accession
 Active support for the „Orange revolution“ in Ukraine
- 2005 Diplomatic conflict with Belarus
- 2005 Russia boycotts import of Polish food stuff
- 2006 Participation in the **ISAF Mission in Afghanistan**
- 2008 Withdrawal from Iraq
 Poland agrees on missile shield
 Poland openly sides with Georgia in the Ossetian War



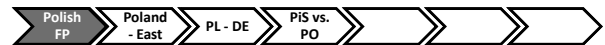
Assessment

Success

- + NATO and EU membership
- + Good relations with nearly all neighbouring countries
- + Active participation in UN and NATO missions
- + Poland achieved financial support
- + Reliable partner because of continuity in foreign policy

Problems

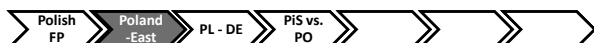
- Conflict between symbolic “PR” foreign policy and real action
- Conflict with Western Europe because of strong pro-US position
- Conflicts with Belarus and Russia
- Limited willingness to become a donator (e.g. In 2010 Poland gives aid to Haiti 12,000€ / Denmark 1.3 million)
- Poland does not see itself sufficiently respected



Poland and the East

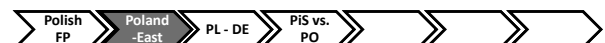
Poland and Ukraine

- Poland is the most important partner for Ukraine since independence
- Ukraine sees Poland as its bridge to the West
- Problems with common history
- Poland is giving one-sided support to Jushchenko
- Poland is the country supporting the strongest Ukraine’s accession to NATO and EU
- Poland is afraid of “losing” Ukraine to Russia
- Poland needs a stable Ukraine for its energy security (alternative pipeline goes through Belarus)



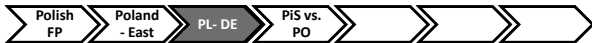
Bilateral relations with Russia

- Poland did not pay much attention to relations during Yeltsin’s presidency
- Since Putin Russia has a more self-confident foreign policy towards its “Near Abroad”
- Russia criticises Poland’s activities in BLR and UA
 - Russia considers Poland’s pro-US standing as provocation
 - Meat conflict
 - Russia blocked Polish food imports for 2 years due to hygienic reasons
 - Poland blocked the ratification of the EU-Russia agreement
 - Energy
 - Poland sees Baltic Sea pipeline as an anti-Polish act
 - Poland is dependent on Russian energy supply



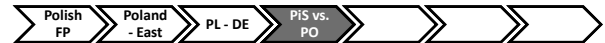
Bi-lateral relations with Germany

- Achievement
 - Close relations – Germany is Poland’s main partner
 - Poland is a key partner for Germany
- Problems
 - German Expellees (Centre against Expulsion and Prussian Trust)
 - Energy Policy
 - Labour migration to Germany
- Mutual perception
 - Negative perception of Poland in Germany
 - Ambivalent perception of Germany in Poland



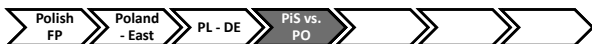
Conservative – rural view on FP

- Determining factors**
- Germany and Russia are “natural enemies” of Poland
 - Poland’s sovereignty cannot be given up
 - Poland is considered a morally superior nation
- Effects on foreign policy**
- US are the only real ally – Poland has to show solidarity with the other “victims” of Russia (Georgia, Ukraine, Lithuania)
 - Communist were traitors, first selling sovereignty to Moscow now selling it to Brussels (supported by their liberal allies)
 - Modernisation of the society (rights of gays, ethnic and religious minorities and women) undermine are considered decadent and undermine society
- Foreign Policy is treated mainly in a symbolic way**



Liberal – urban view on FP

- Determining factors**
- History can be overcome
 - Sovereignty has to deliver something for the nation
 - Poland is backward in aspects of civilisation
- Effects on foreign policy**
- Polish foreign policy has to be professional (personnel and how it is conducted)
 - Poland chooses partners depending on the topic – cooperation has bring gains (economics, security)
 - Conservatives want to keep the country backward and closed – have to be excluded from foreign policy
- Pragmatic approach to Foreign Policy**



President vs. Premier

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ President should participate in EU summits ➤ Opposition to Lisbon Treaty ➤ Opposed to the Euro ➤ Unconditional support for missile shield ➤ Opposition to Kosovo’s independence (principle of non-interference) ➤ President sided openly Georgia during conflict | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Foreign Minister should participate ➤ Quick signature of Lisbon Treaty ➤ Quick accession ➤ Missile shield has to bring gains for Poland ➤ Poland as EU member and US ally has to accept Kosovo ➤ Premier made statements only in line with EU and NATO |
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