

Piotr Klodkowski, Skalny Visiting Professor

IR 241 Polish Foreign Policy after Communism, 1989-2019

The fall of the communist regime in 1989 allowed Poland to reorient its foreign policy. For the first 25 years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the withdrawal of Soviet/Russian combat troops from Poland, policy priorities, including membership in NATO and the EU, were rarely questioned by any Polish government. Since the 2015 elections, however, when the conservative and populist Law and Justice Party (PiS) gained the majority in parliament, the foreign policy of Poland has been undergoing substantial changes. The political and military alliance with the United States is still an undisputed priority, but the role of Poland in the EU has been slowly marginalized, and the PiS government has focused instead on building regional alliances in Central Europe at the cost of strategic bonds with Ukraine. In this course, we will examine the relationship of Poland to the rest of Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries, the transformation of Poland's ties to the United States, Russia, and European countries following the fall of communism, and the role of domestic politics and decision makers in shaping contemporary Polish foreign policy.

A typical class will usually consist of a Power Point presentation, discussion on a given topic and the instructor's sum-up. There is a compulsory reading/viewing list but the students are encouraged to step beyond the compulsory resources. Suggestions on the proposed topics and the reading list will be taken into consideration.

Course requirements and assessment

The students are obliged to actively take part in the classes and complete all assignments on time.

The course is graded as follows:

100 – 90 points: A

89 – 77 points: B

76 – 63 points: C

62 – 50 points: D

>50 points: F

The requirements are as follows:

1. Active participation in discussions: 0-20 points

All students are required to actively participate in the discussions, using their best knowledge of proposed topics.

2. Two presentations: 0-20 points

Each student is required to prepare 2 presentations on topics proposed by the instructor. The topics may be modified after consultations with the instructor. The presentation (PowerPoint or other) should last ca 15 minutes.

3. Midterm task: essay outline: 0-10 points

A 500-700 word outline of the final essay, with a preliminary bibliography and a list of sources. Essay topics should be consulted with the instructor. The outlines should be submitted by midterm.

4. Final essay: 0-50 points.

A 4,000 – 5,000-word essay, focused on Polish Foreign Policy in an international perspective. It might be an analysis of Poland's bilateral relations with selected countries or international political bodies (e.g. Polish-German relations after 2004, Polish-EU relations since 2004, Poland vs NATO – challenges and areas of cooperation). Essay topics should be consulted with the instructor. The final essays should be submitted by May 1st.

Course schedule – topics discussed and problems analyzed

1. Introduction – course overview
2. Introduction to Poland's Present and Past – Sovereignty/Independence vs Partitions
3. Poland vs. History of Europe in the 19th - 20th Century. How does the European history shape Polish attitudes toward geopolitics/international relations? Defining Polishness after the partitions in the 18th century.
4. Poland vs. History of Europe in the 19th - 20th Century. Reviving or constructing Polish national identity in the 20th century.
5. Communist/Post-communist Legacy. How has the communist/early post-communist political and social legacy determined Polish foreign policies? WW 2 and the communist period 1945 – 1989
6. Communist/Post-communist Legacy. The collapse of communism and its implications 1989 - 2000
7. National vs European Sets of Ideologies. What are the ideological pillars of Poland's foreign policy and how can they be constructed or modified? Piłsudski and Dmowski.
8. Domestic Policy vs Foreign Policy. How do domestic policies determine Polish foreign policy? Is there at present a surge of extreme nationalism/antisemitism in

Poland which may have a serious impact on its foreign policy? Poles, Jews and Poles of Jewish origin. Poland vs Israel.

9. Domestic Policy vs Foreign Policy. Nationalism vs universalism and European values
10. Poland and Its International Security. Avoiding the “twilight zone” and protecting the sovereignty. How do Poles perceive NATO and their military obligations in the Alliance? What was the Polish contribution to NATO (or US) military missions in the Middle East and South Asia?
11. Poland and Its International Security. NATO vs Russia. Is Russia perceived in Poland as an eternal enemy, a political opponent or an international competitor? What is the role of Ukraine in Polish foreign policy? How safe is Poland in a changing international order?
12. Poland as an ally of the United States. How do Poles perceive the military and political alliance with the United States? What might be the political illusions and realities of Poland’s relations with America and how are they analyzed in the context of Poland-Russia/ US-Russia bilateral relations?
13. Poland as a Declared and Perceived “pro-American Member of the European Union”. Are there any conflicting interests resulting from Poland’s membership in the EU and NATO? What have been the security priorities for Poland vis-à-vis NATO and the European Union?
14. Religion vs Politics in Poland. What has been the social and political role of the Roman-Catholic Church in Poland? What was the position of John Paul II in communist and post-communist Poland?
15. Religion vs Politics in Poland. How does the powerful Roman Catholic Church influence the domestic and foreign policies of the PiS government? Is Western Europe perceived by the majority of Catholic dignitaries in Poland as a moral and social threat (a post-Christian or anti-Christian land)? What might be the political consequences of such an attitude?
16. Foreign Policies of EU Western and EU Central/Eastern Countries. How different are the foreign policies of EU Central/Eastern European countries vis-à-vis the foreign policies of EU Western countries?
17. Foreign Policies of EU Western and EU Central/Eastern Countries. Is there a political split between the EU East and the EU West after the refugee crisis in Europe? The cases of Poland and Hungary
18. Poland vs V-4 and EU Countries. What political/economic position at present does Poland have in Central Europe (V-4 countries), in the European Union and in non-European countries? V-4 vs Russia. The concept of “Intermarium”.

19. Regional vs Global Foreign Policy. Does/did Poland have regional or/and global foreign policies? How do they differ from each other?
20. Poland's Economic Prosperity vs Its Foreign Policy. How does Poland's economic situation and its business relations with various EU and non-EU partners translate into viable foreign policy? Do business interests or pure nationalistic ideology (or a combination of both) shape the current Polish foreign policy?
21. Global Ambitions of Polish Foreign Policy Makers. What is the strategy to promote Polish economic interests in Asia (South Asia, Middle East and Far East)? What is Poland's political position on migration processes resulting from military conflicts and natural disasters in the Middle East and Africa respectively?
22. Poland and Its Policies in the Muslim World. What do Poles think of Muslim communities in Europe? How does Poland build its relations with Muslim countries? What are the opportunities and challenges for Polish policy-makers in the Middle East and South Asia?
23. Poland-India Bilateral Relations. What are the common interests of Poland and India? What are the perspectives of Indo-Polish cooperation in Europe and in South Asia? Indian community in Poland.
24. Promoting Polish Culture Abroad. Does Poland have its own well-constructed soft power policy? What are the cultural and geographical priorities of Poland in its promotion activities? Polish cinema and literature abroad.
25. Polish Diaspora and Its Role in Polish Foreign Policies. How big and influential are the Polish communities abroad? What are the priorities of Poles in Europe, in post-Soviet states and in the United States? What is the policy of Polish governments vis-à-vis various Polish communities abroad?
26. Polish Foreign Ministers and their Roles in Shaping Poland's Foreign Policies after 1989. Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Bronisław Geremek and Radosław (Radek) Sikorski. What were their views on Poland's position in Europe and in the world? How did they accomplish their tasks? What mistakes were made in Polish foreign policy after 1989?
27. Defining Polish Foreign Policies in the 21st Century. What are the opportunities and threats for Poland in the immediate neighborhood, in the European Union and NATO? Who are the trusted allies/partners and who are the perceived opponents/enemies? What is the connection between liberal democracy and foreign policy?
28. Sum-up of the course.

READING LIST

Adam Balcer, Piotr Buras, Grzegorz Gromadzki, Eugeniusz Smolar “Polish Views of the EU: the Illusion of Consensus”, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw 2017 (available on-line)

http://www.batory.org.pl/upload/files/pdf/rap_otw_eu/Polish%20views%20of%20the%20EU.pdf

Agnieszka Bińczyk-Missala, “Poland’s Foreign and Security Policy: Main Directions”, Revista UNISCI / UNISCI Journal, N° 40 (Enero / January 2016, available on-line)

<https://www.ucm.es/data/cont/media/www/pag-78913/UNISCIDP40-6ABińczyk-Missala1.pdf>

Norman Davies, Heart of Europe. The Past in Poland’s Present, Oxford University Press 2001 (selected chapters): The Duel: Dmowski versus Piłsudski, pp.113 – 129; chapter 8 – Liberation 1983 – 1999, pp.407 – 433 (available in the library)

Andrzej Dybczyński, Double-Track Asymmetry: Poland’s Alliances in the 21st Century, “The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs”, No 1/2017, pp. 24 – 37

Francis Fukuyama, “Against Identity Politics. The New Tribalism and the Crisis of Democracy”, Foreign Affairs, Sept-Oct 2018, pp.90 – 115

Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse, “Sovereignty in the European Union”, “The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs”, No 3/2016, pp. 106 – 123

An interview with Gleb Pavlovsky, “From Putin’s Russia to a non-Putin’s Russia”, New Eastern Europe, May-August No 3-4 (XXXII)/2018, pp.117 – 123

Patryk Kugiel, End of European Soft Power? Implications for EU Foreign Policy, “The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs”, No 1/2017, pp. 59 – 72

Roman Kuźniar, Poland’s Foreign Policy after 1989, Scholar, Warsaw 2009 (e-book)

Ziemowit Szczerek, “New separatisms. Or what could happen if the West disappeared from Eastern Europe?”, *New Eastern Europe*, May-August No 3-4 (XXXII)/2018, pp. 15 – 21

Adam Zamoyski, Poland. A History, Harper Press 2009 (selected chapters) 16. The Polish Question; 20. War; 21. The Cost of Victory; 22. Trial and Error; 23. Papal Power; 24. The Third Republic (will be available in the bookstore)

ON-LINE RESOURCES:

<https://geopoliticalfutures.com/poland-challenges-european-identity/>

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/10/05/polands-new-populism-pis/>

<https://www.economist.com/special-report/2014/06/26/the-second-jagiellonian-age>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2T7CHQPYbxs>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=paoMHZ1_NG4

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RVR1epdvqbl>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CLqOhr3dVWs>