

Poland as an ally

Tokyo Seminar 25.VI.2015

- 1. Poland within the alliance and the alliance from Polish point of view
- 2. The nature of the new challenge – the change of strategic environment
- 3. Recommendations kto vinovat? chto delat?

Poland in NATO

- Existential nature of the alliance Russian revisionism
- Non-existential
- Hard security emphasis
- US connection – atlanticist bent
- Recalcitrant ally
- Quod omnis tangit ab omnibus approbare debet
(Nic o nas bez nas)

- Middling power – its own ideas about regional order and aspirations to have an input into alliance policy

- Non-existential function of the alliance – diluting German preponderance
- An instrument against German soft and benevolent hegemony

- American “pivot” and the apparent loss of strategic purpose
- Major geopolitical/geoeconomic change in Europe – Germany preponderance
- Attempts to influence the policy of the alliance and American policy in line with German strategic culture and with the principles of its policy towards Russia which was fundamentally flawed and based on a mythologized and historically incorrect model of Ostpolitik. The problem with that is that it leads not to suboptimal results but to results that are directly contrary to the ones that are intended.

- Awareness that we are living on the edge of an important boundary, political and social and since 1999 also security and since 2004 – institutional
- At the same time a very empathetic attitude towards those on the other side
- Vertriebene component of the Polish society
- Vergangenheitbewältigung – Giedroyc and Kultura monthly
- absolute imperative of giving up on any revisionist attempts in the East and the policy of national reconciliation, vision of order based on national states (what is good for us must be good for others)

- Scepticism as to the depth and direction of Russian transition
- 1991-1992 brief promise of Polish-Russian reconciliation – repudiation of past imperial practices and Vergangenheitbewältigung
- Russian reaction Central European candidacy for NATO membership just reinforced scepticism and confirmed that Russia's objectives remained „imperial”

- Revisionism – playoff of 1991
- Internal sources of Revisionism – peculiarities of Russian transition – problems with legitimacy of the regime
- Regime survival interest define foreign policy
- Need for „gurantees” against external influences
- Post-Soviet area hegemony & CEE buffer zone