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**EVOLUTION OF THE ROLE OF POLAND
IN THE EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY SYSTEM:
BENEFICIARY AND PROMOTER OF NATO'S "OPEN DOOR" POLICY
(introduction to the subject and research postulates)**

The issues regarding this subject concern many wide fields of international policy, such as global security, functionality of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, Atlantic Alliance), the role and position of Poland on the international arena. Polish foreign policy and security issues oriented on profiting from NATO's "open door" policy by gaining access to the organization and its further widening for consolidation of the international environment is a confluence of the aforementioned areas, being also the subject of initiated research. This article consist of two parts. The first one is the report on initiated research, therefore containing introduction to the subject, marked ranges, corresponding assumptions and arguments. The second part drafts the catalogue of established research postulates, specifies sources and analysis concepts, that are the means to accomplish the postulates. This article does not claim the rights to exploit the subject. Its aim is to shows plots of international policy, that are very important, yet unexplored, as well as to present them comprehensively.

Although issues concerning Polish foreign policy after 1989, efforts to access NATO, role of Poland in the international arena, NATO's enlargement policy are the subjects of many analysis and studies, however proposed constellation of problems in this topic is not yet explored. As a result unchallenged is the need to deepen the knowledge and explain problems connected with the role of Poland in the enlargement of the Euro-Atlantic security system, determinants causing

Poland to take an active part in the process – both internal and external issues influenced by actors of the international arena – measures of compatibility of Poland's interest with interests of countries involved to this process like USA, Germany, Russia, countries pending membership in NATO with close attention to Ukraine.

Among the arguments persuading to study this topic is not only the need to systematize existing literature and to fill the gaps in the domain of proposed subject's formulation, but also the importance of contained issues and the closure of one of the phases in process of strengthening Poland's position and promoting NATO's "open door" policy.

Issues outlined in this subject can be summed up in the framework presented below. Thematic area of this topic ranges: Polish foreign and security policy, NATO's "open door" policy, Polish-American and Polish-German relations in the domain of Euro-Atlantic contacts, both Polish-Ukrainian and American-Ukrainian relations in the Euro-Atlantic context, contacts between Russia and Atlantic Alliance as well as between Russia and states aspiring to the membership in organization. Theoretical base to this research project is the study of intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization.

Above-named subject (intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization) is still yet an open issue. Due to wide range of the problem, its analysis should be undertaken in a separate article. In this text can be found the general description of theme and catalogue of problem fields needed to be explored. Despite this generalization, it is essential to adduce the definition "lobbying". Thought commonness of "lobbying" attribute defined as the influence on legislative process this term evolves. In the most general meaning it is prescribed as "to influence on the decision-making process in the institutions with decision power (supranational, state, local, corporate and others)".¹ Supranational dimension of this definition has a particular importance for presented subject of research project. Krzysztof Jasiocki motivates above-mentioned transformation of lobbying and spread of this process to the supranational level by progress of globalization, change and widening of decision-making bodies. He also indicates that pressure groups are attempting to influence both governmental and supranational authorities.² Equally, beyond any doubt is that lobbying

¹ K. Jasiocki, M. Mołęda-Zdziech, U. Kurczewska: *Lobbying – sztuka skutecznego wywierania wpływu* [Lobbying: The Art of Effective Influence], Kraków 2006, p. 14, 17.

² Ibid.

activities – instruments and methods – practiced by people or institutions working for interests advocacy on state, governmental ground are also used by the high-level authorities. However, actions applied by state representatives are carried out in the name of national interest. As a result mechanisms of their conduct can be characterized both in the frames of lobbying, as well as in the catalogue of instruments and methods used in diplomacy, especially corridor diplomacy. Henceforward explanation of the issue of intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization seems to be necessary.

Thesis contained in the subject of this article concerns the period of 1989–2010. Opening moment goes back to the date of proclamation of the first non-communist government in post-war Poland and also the beginning of creating and implementing independent Polish foreign policy. While the closing date is assigned by the insertion of the process of pragmatism of Polish attitude towards Ukraine, confirmed by changes, that took place in Ukrainian foreign and security policy. Even though both border moments and occurrences marked by them were not connected with relations on the Poland-NATO line directly, they provoke significant changes for the priorities of foreign policy and therein forming the state position.

Territorial framework of thesis in wide range includes NATO member countries and partners from the East, which is a background for studies about enlargement policy to the east. In narrow range it is focused on the Central-East Europe and to be more specific on the borders between the Atlantic Alliance and eastern partners with special attention to Poland.

Geographical aspect of research is worth close attention. Changes and processes, that are analyzed in thesis are determined mainly by specific attributes of the region. Central and Eastern Europe in the indicated period went through evolutionary processes. Whereas Poland – situated in its heart – was both a precursor of changes and a role-model in western way of development for other countries in the region, as well as an object of interest of the post-cold-war blocks. Before location between East and West opened possibilities for multilevel cooperation, first of all was only a risk because of position in the sphere of influence of stronger actors on the international arena interested in controlling the western corridor to heartland/central area (see the map below). When Poland accessed NATO turned from the state behind Alliance border into a member boundary country. Membership to NATO ensures not only security guaranties, but also to strengthened

the position of Poland by affiliating to NATO's decision-making group therefore empowered to realization of strategic interests by international structures.

Evolution of Poland and problems that East-European countries met in their efforts to rapprochement to the West proved rightness of Zbigniew Brzeziński's analysis in the domain of geopolitics at the closing period of cold war as well as after it ended. Because of that, adopting aforementioned assumptions seems to be reasonable. The first aspect is that Poland is a "pivotal country" which means a state, which is "important not only by itself, but also in some sense it is easy manageable to claw back".³ Its significance could both result from geopolitical and geostrategic determinants. That is to say, that on the value of "pivotal country" contain equally political, economic and military factors.⁴ The second aspect is that Ukraine is a "geopolitical pivot", whereas this term describes countries, "whose importance is derived not from their power and motivation but rather from their sensitive location and from the consequences of their potentially vulnerable condition for the behavior of geostrategic players".⁵ In contradistinction to "pivotal countries" "geopolitical pivots" do not have a political or economic meaning but they are valuable for great players at international arena because of the potential to open or obstruct access to important areas, and by reason of possibility to act as a defensive shield for one of significant state or even all region.⁶

From preceding issues appear main arguments of thesis:

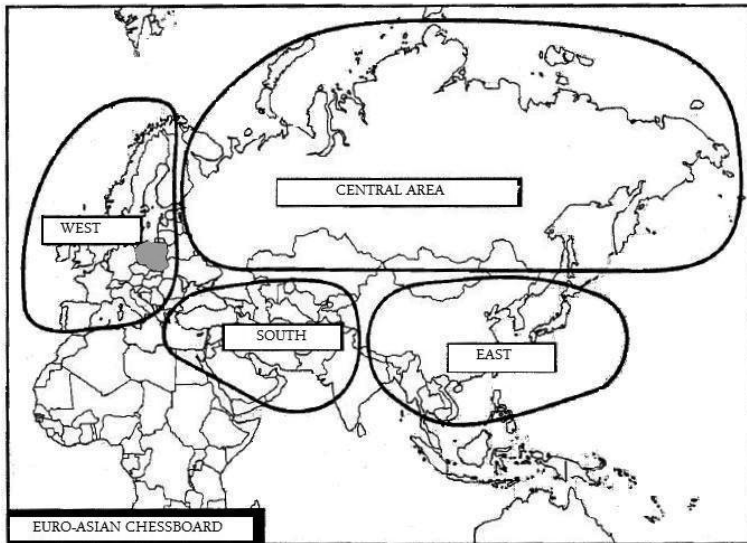
1. Support for NATO's "open door" policy was mainly caused by the will of reducing Russian influence and widening western security standards instead, as well as by the aim of minimizing (for border countries distancing) unstable sphere; thence the most important determinants demanding German advocacy of Poland's access to NATO were the will not to take the position of a front country anymore and to distance themselves from borders of the buffer sphere, left between blocks fighting not long ago without security guaranties, therefore serving as a potential danger; as well as Polish advocacy for Ukraine and NATO integration was caused by the same determinants.
2. "Open door" policy is disputable and controversial issue among NATO member countries; inside the Alliance there are significant differences between

³ Z. Brzeziński: *Plan gry. USA-ZSRR* [The Game Plan. USA vs. USSR], Warszawa 1990, p. 47.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Z. Brzeziński: *Wielka szachownica. Główne cele polityki amerykańskiej* [The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives], Warszawa 1998, p. 49.

⁶ Ibid.



Poland in the Euro-Asian chessboard

Source: Z. Brzeziński: *Wielka szachownica...*, p. 34.

member states connecting with the way of its realization, which is determined mostly by geographical and political factors.

- I. Alliance boundary countries make efforts to relocate the NATO's external border from their vicinity and to broaden stability sphere in their environment by widening area with Euro-Atlantic standards;
- II. During the cold war states belonging to the Eastern block supported policy of minimizing Russian influences in the region and also allowing the role of USA to intensify in Europe; in opposite to countries, that didn't belong to this same block in the period of cold war, which chose to tighten the bonds of cooperation with Russia and distance themselves to US domination in NATO; as a result inside the Alliance appeared a divide on "Old Europe" and "New Europe" with North America;
- III. Along with the end of 20th century began the process of changes in viewpoints of NATO members about "open door" policy caused by rapprochement with Russia; its beginning can be assigned to Vladimir Putin taking over presidency in Russia in 2000; differences were reaffirmed when the global war against terrorism in 2001 begun and finally confirmed in 2009 by the "reset" of American-Russian relations decisively; in consequence of

these modifications to the international arena NATO opening policy was uphold but mainly for integration with Balkan countries, distancing from aspirations of Eastern partners.

3. German lobbying for Poland's access to NATO had greater chances for success than Polish lobbying for integration of Ukraine and Atlantic Alliance; it is determined by differences in preparedness of each candidate to membership, relation between attitude of member countries toward supporting the enlargement and their support for rapprochement with Russia, position of promoter of NATO's "open door" policy and improving diplomatic relations with Russia influencing the affiliation process of Eastern partners with the Alliance.
4. Regarding Poland and Germany and their role of a promoter of Euro-Atlantic integration between NATO and eastern partners is connected with the aim in securing and stabilizing international environment, as well as it predestinate both advocates to playing the role of an expert in contacts with the East; in fact disparate interests of these two countries – Germany oriented on Russia, Poland on western former republics of Soviet Union – provokes a kind of conflict on interests in the domain of Alliance Eastern policy; dominance of Germany holds Poland's efforts in forming the "specialization", based on NATO's Eastern policy and slows the process of building the position down.
5. Intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization can be classified as one of instruments in the group of measures, modes used in realization of foreign policy (political measures → diplomacy → combination of official state authorities' activities and corridor diplomacy), what is a response to internationalization of state functioning, relocation of decision-making institutions on supranational ground and increased correlation among participants of international relations (for instance common policy can influence strengthening the role of a state, when it is provided under its auspices or to weaken the position of a country, when it enforces the policy corresponding with national directives to the line promoted by the most influential countries).

In research project there are scheduled five chapters in sequence amplifies issues about essence and functioning of intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization, meaning of the idea of Euro-Atlantic integration with close attention focused on the area of Central and Eastern Europe, Poland in the role of NATO's "open door" beneficiary, also Poland in the role of enlargement policy's promoter, reaching comparison to American and

German lobbying for getting Poland to NATO with advocacy of Poland and USA in further opening the Alliance to East, especially in Ukraine context.

Presented ranges in thesis indicate its interdisciplinary character. Each of analyzed research fields entails historical, political approach and often judicial, economic or psychological. The clearest proof for the subjected statement is a concept to analyze the problem of intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization.

Moreover, issues contained in described subject are the valuable basis for analysis of lobbying high-level representatives in international relations. It refers to the cases such as enlargement of NATO, security in the Central and East Europe, which was discussed and often even initiated in unofficial way, in out of public view. Furthermore, it was connected not only with official measures of realization of the foreign policy such as negotiations, mediation but first of all it was based on stimulating the broadening of NATO on East by common interest countries and convincing other decision-makers of their arguments by using miscellaneous methods.

Multiplicity of study issues can be arranged in the catalogue of research postulates. In the part related with interests' advocacy, which is also the theoretical introduction to the subject established following postulates:

- To define matter of intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization,
- To place this form of lobbying among measures using in realization of foreign policy,
- To evaluate effectiveness of this kind of lobbying based on actions for NATO's enlargement on East,
- To name and describe the subjects of lobbying, i. e. partakers,
- To name and describe the objects of lobbying, i. e. types of actions, methods using in interests' advocating.

Theoretical study about state lobbying activities in international relations will ordinate from existing literature about legislative, economic, political lobbying, as well as literature about theory of foreign policy, diplomacy, then international communication, negotiations or political marketing. For verifying the importance of this kind of lobbying among measures of state policy and for placing it in this catalogue, all traditional methods and instruments used in foreign policy will be reviewed. Therefore analysis of the role of this type interests advocacy realization in the international arena will be compared. Also needed is a sum-

mary of countries' possibilities in range of influencing on international relations and on decision-making process in an international organization. In connection with it, analysis upon foreign policy priorities of countries involved in the process of lobbying and corresponding analysis of the international organization strategic aims are valuable. Final phase of research in this range will be a typology of intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization.

Another part of research project focus on historical and political dimension of presented issues. Thesis in range of Euro-Atlantic integration and geopolitics determines establishing following research postulates:

- To picture and explain the meaning of Euro-Atlantic integration process, importance of common security system for NATO as an organization and separately for Alliance member countries, involved in the lobbying for widening the organization (USA, Germany /each republic from 1949/, Poland, Russia, candidate countries from Central and East Europe) over years,
- To find and interpret the significance of Central and East Europe area for NATO over the years,
- To study the attitude of NATO's front area and to the border between the Alliance and former Warsaw Pact zones,
- To define the term – NATO's "open door" policy,
- To analyze the attitude to NATO's "open door" policy of Alliance member countries, involved in the lobbying for widening the organization (USA, Germany /each republic from 1949/, Poland, Russia, candidate countries from Central and East Europe) over the years.

First phase of research in this range will be systematizing the knowledge and existing studies about geopolitics in Central and East Europe, then creating a summary of presented issues with close attention to meaning of NATO's eastern front and border. Subsequently, problems of Euro-Atlantic integration, "open door" policy, NATO's enlargement to the East, meaning of NATO's eastern border will be analyzed based on the strength of Alliance strategic concepts, official document and commentaries passed by its representatives. Adequate analysis – relating to Euro-Atlantic integration, "open door" policy, NATO's enlargement to East, meaning of NATO's eastern border – will be based on strategic documents of foreign and security policies of NATO members, with close attention to attitude of USA and Germany. A plot independent from NATO, but related to the Alliance functionality are relations with Russia. To deepen the essence of

geopolitics in the area of Central and East Europe a composite analysis of NATO-Russia relations in the context of Euro-Atlantic integration, “open door” policy and widening the organization to east is needed. For complete interpretation it is necessary to review Russian policy towards Atlantic Alliance as an organization, separate to its member countries and candidate states, as well as the study on attitude of the aforementioned actors on the international arena to Russia. As a base for researches in this range there will be brought up the strategic documents and official commentaries of state representatives.

Next wide range of the research project, being also a separate chapter, is the issue of the role of Poland as a beneficiary of NATO’s “open door” policy. Research postulates from this dimension can be specified in following compilation:

- To define the role of beneficiary of NATO’s “open door” policy (both – directly by access to the Alliance and indirectly by widening the security zone and stabilizing the international environment),
- To specify internal and external determinants causing Poland to be the beneficiary of NATO’s “open door” policy,
- To specify reasons, that determine USA and Germany efforts for promoting Poland’s access to Atlantic Alliance,
- To locate aims related to Poland among all priorities of American and German foreign and security policies and to interpret it,
- To specify efforts and actions made in the frames of grass roots lobbying (by national minority representatives) in the country with strong influence on decision-making process and to analyze it,
- To specify efforts and actions made in the frames of intergovernmental lobbying (by US and German authorities) for access of Poland to NATO and to analyze it,
- To verify effects of lobbying activities and evaluate its effectiveness – for Poland, USA, Germany, North Atlantic Treaty Organization and global security; special attention to Russia’s role in this process will be valuable,
- To review and study the attitude of Russia to NATO enlargement to East, with wide characteristic of Poland’s case,
- To analyze, evaluate the meaning of NATO-Russia relations on one hand and contacts between Russia and Atlantic Alliance member countries such as USA, Germany, as well as candidate states, with close attention put on case of Poland on the other.

Studies in this domain should begin with systematizing existing knowledge about foreign and security policy of Poland, USA, Germany and also Russia in context of Poland joining NATO. Further analysis will be possible after interpretation of the strategic documents, official commentaries of NATO, as well as those passed by USA and Germany representatives about Alliance “open door” policy. Summary of strategic documents, official commentaries of Poland, USA, Germany in the range of their foreign and security policies should be undertaken simultaneously. Juxtaposition of effects contained in these two rapports will allow for wide analysis of meaning of the enlargement issue among states’ priorities. Other equally important task is to delineate the potential, strength and position of Poland at the international arena. Analysis of the value of Poland – which appraised its access to NATO with – will be possible to evaluate. In effect, this will help with concluding findings connected to the Atlantic Alliance ability and will to open East. Questions posed about Russia have significant meaning. Documents and official commentaries sent between NATO and Russia, as well as these between Russia and member countries such as Germany and USA will answer them. Relations of the partakers of events presented in this chapter gained in heterogeneous forms – memories, interviews, biographies and also diaries passed by high-level authorities, relations of press correspondents, information contained in press articles – will have invaluable input to the research. The closest and most direct view of the subject will be reached upon publicity – Polish, American, German, Russian.

The next part of thesis, concerning the role of Poland as a promoter of NATO’s “open door” policy characterizes a similar structure and issues’ ranges compared to the previous one. Differences are related to weights put on participants of the process of NATO opening to East. The most significant transformation is aforementioned indication about evolution of Poland’s role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The rest of dissimilarities revealed with the relocation of NATO’s east border, change of promoters and candidates to membership in consequence and also reevaluation of aims posed upon foreign and security policies of hitherto beneficiaries and promoters of Euro-Atlantic integration. In this part of thesis established research postulates are comparable to those in the previous paragraph, but changed in the range of partakers and their aims:

- To define a term – promoter of NATO’s “open door” policy,
- To list internal and external determinants influencing playing the role of promoter of NATO’s “open door” policy by Poland,

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- To specify potential beneficiaries of “open door” policy, towards which Poland intent to play a role of the promoter in Euro-Atlantic integration context; and to list internal and external conditions influencing their role of beneficiaries of NATO’s “open door” policy,
 - To specify motives, that determine American and Polish efforts for promoting East-European countries in NATO, with sparing close attention to Ukraine,
 - To analyze the meaning of East-European region, as well as places of candidates to NATO in the directives of Polish and American foreign, security policies,
 - To list and interpret efforts and actions made in the frames of grass roots lobbying (by national minority representatives) in the country with strong influence on decision-making process,
 - To specify efforts and actions made in the frames of intergovernmental lobbying (by US and Polish authorities) for NATO widening to Eastern Europe countries, with close attention to case of Ukraine,
 - To verify effects of interests advocacy and evaluate effectiveness of lobbying activities – for Poland, USA, Atlantic Alliance, global security, countries aspiring to integration or membership to NATO with particularizing of Ukrainian case; special attention to Russia’s role in this process will be valuable,
 - To review and study the attitude of Russia to NATO enlargement to East and to Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Ukraine,
 - To study NATO-Russia relations and contacts between Russia on one hand and Atlantic Alliance member countries such as Poland, USA, Germany and candidate states, with close attention put on Ukraine-Russia contacts on the other.

Amplifying of this chapter will be based on similar conditions as was presented in the previous part. However, in this domain of subject changes of participants and NATO’s border relocation determine the need to add references about East-European countries aspiring to integrate with Alliance with close attention to Ukraine issues. It concerns: studies on foreign and security policies of involved states, perspectives of their integration with NATO, then strategic documents, official commentaries connected with NATO’s “open door” policy and states’ security priorities, sources that will allow to verify the potentials and position on international scene of the analyzed countries, documents and official communicates connected with security policy and organized security systems that were sent between those countries and Russia, relations of representatives, who participated in contacts with NATO relayed by memories and publicity.

In the last chapter of thesis there will be a comparison of the American and German lobbying for access of Poland to NATO with the American and Polish advocacy in the process of approaching East-European countries aspiring integration to the Alliance, accenting issue of Ukraine. For this part of research project poses following postulates:

- To specify and compare determinants (internal and external) influencing on playing the role of promoter of NATO's "open door" policy by Poland, Germany, also USA,
- To specify and compare determinants (internal and external) influencing on playing the role of beneficiary of NATO enlargement policy by Central European states (especially Poland) and East-European countries (especially Ukraine),
- To analyze and evaluate chances, effects and activities taken by Western countries such as Germany and United States for rapprochement between Poland and NATO prior to membership,
- To analyze and evaluate chances, effects and activities taken by Poland and USA while promoting Alliance "open door" policy to East,
- To compare circumstances and its consequences proceed from fulfilling the role of a beneficiary and a promoter of NATO opening by Poland; this analysis is needed also for further appraisals upon:
 - Evolution of the role and position of Poland in NATO, its reasons and results,
 - Chances of realization the American and German mission for Poland and Polish and American mission for Ukraine in Euro-Atlantic integration context,
- To answer the question about how the role of Poland in NATO – as a beneficiary and a promoter of Alliance enlargement idea – has influenced on Euro-Atlantic security system.

As a base for analysis in this domain of research will be used references listed to previous parts contained in thesis. Furthermore, similar comparison analysis of other research projects, that could be referred to presented thesis can be figured as an additional value.

Present article is an introduction to researches upon subject about evolution of the role of Poland in NATO in the context of beneficiating from "open door" policy, alike by the access to the organization, further promoting the idea of widening Euro-Atlantic zone in the international environment, especially close to Poland, as well as using this kind of state activities to form the position of the country on the international arena. It also delimits thematic, chronological and

territorial ranges, presents arguments posed upon research, as well as points on adopted assumptions. Simultaneously this article specifies established research postulates and in general outline measures and instruments designated to realizing the subject. This text focuses on attention to issues yet unexplored such as intergovernmental lobbying and lobbying between government and international organization, also fulfilling the role of beneficiary and promoter of NATO's "open door" policy by Poland. It acts as a base for main analysis embraced issues connected with the relevance of front area between Euro-Atlantic and Russian sphere of influence. Nonetheless, to other analyzed themes concerning attitude of USA, Germany, Russia to the idea of NATO enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe countries, specially in context of Poland and Ukraine. This selection of all the countries being members, or cooperating with NATO is motivated by the level of involvement of these states in opening Alliance to and for the East, as well as by geopolitical determinants causing this kind of interests and activities. It is necessary to underline that this article is a relation of research at an early phase, therefore in further studying described issues could be widen and deepen. It can concern for instance sources and methods used to its analysis. To sum up, main aim of this text is to indicate the need of undertaking in the particular query, systematizing existing knowledge and inquiring study upon presented subject.

**EWOLUCJA ROLI POLSKI
W EUROATLANTYCKIM SYSTEMIE BEZPIECZEŃSTWA
– BENEFICJENT I PROMOTOR POLITYKI „OTWARTYCH DRZWI” NATO
(wprowadzenie do tematu i postulaty badawcze)**

Streszczenie

Artykuł jest relacją z początkowych badań nad tematem ewolucji roli Polski w NATO w kontekście korzystania z polityki „otwartych drzwi” Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckiego zarówno w ramach akcesu do organizacji, promowania dalszego poszerzania strefy euroatlantyckiej w sąsiedztwie Polski, jak i opartej na takiej działalności próby budowania międzynarodowej pozycji kraju. Jednocześnie wskazuje na postawione postulaty badawcze oraz w sposób ogólny nakreśla źródła i metody służące ich realizacji. Artykuł ten nie rości sobie praw do wyczerpania badanego zagadnienia, ma on bowiem za zadanie wprowadzić do tematyki w sposób syntetyczny oraz wskazać na istotne, choć niezbadane dotąd pola problemowe.

W niniejszym tekście przedstawione zostały ramy projektu badawczego. Zawarte są tu przyjęte do tematu założenia, tezy postawione do weryfikacji, jak również główne zakresy problemowe. Temat pracy prezentowanej w artykule łączy zagadnienia geopolityki, bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego, dyplomacji oraz rzecznictwa interesów. Głównymi przedmiotami analizy są kwestie dotąd niezbadane, takie jak lobbing międzyrządowy oraz między rządem a organizacją międzynarodową, a także pełnienie przez Polskę funkcji beneficjenta i promotora polityki „otwartych drzwi” NATO. Do pozostałych należą: zbadanie znaczenia obszaru frontowego pomiędzy euroatlantyką a rosyjską strefą wpływów, rozwoju polityki „otwartych drzwi” Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckiego, stanowisk Stanów Zjednoczonych, Niemiec, Rosji wobec otwierania Sojuszu na Wschód, szczególnie w kontekście Polski i Ukrainy. Dokonany wybór państw uzasadniony jest stopniem ich zaangażowania oraz geopolitycznymi uwarunkowaniami aktywności w procesie rozszerzania NATO.