

Table of Contents

Introduction	7
Chapter 1. An analysis of Polish European policy in 2004-2014.	
A conceptual approach	11
Introduction. The origin of Polish European policy in the EU. What happened before 2004? An analysis of historical institutionalism	11
I. What is Polish European policy? A modernist and post-modernist approach.	12
1. The idiosyncrasy of Polish modernism the other way round	12
2. Polish European policy in 2004-2014 in a post-modernist approach. Spatial illustrations	14
II. Poland in the European Union. Between universalism and particularism	15
1. The universal nature of integration with the EU	15
2. The particularism of integration with the EU	16
3. Poland's European policy in 2004-2014. Between universalism and particularism	17
3.1. The new roles – new situations. Positioning Poland in the EU system	18
III. Polish European policy 2004-2014: idealistic and realistic	18
1. Poland and the search for a new integration order	18
2. Polish European policy in 2004-2014 and its state-centricity	20
3. The need for compromise between idealism and realism	21
IV. Programming Polish European policy. An attempt at employing the behavioural approach	21
1. Programming Polish European policy	21
2. Behaviourism and an analysis of Poland's European policy	22
Conclusion	23
Chapter 2. The goals of the Polish European policy in 2004-2014	27
Introduction and analytical framework	27
1. Purpose of analysis	27
2. The concept of Polish European policy and a classification of its goals	27
I. The goals of the Polish European policy in 2004-2014	28

1. To strengthen Poland's position in the European Union's political and decision-making system	28
2. European Union reforms in accordance with the Polish vision for the future of the European integration process	31
3. Shaping together the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU and directing it towards the pursuit of Polish national interests . .	33
4. Building the European future of Ukraine	35
5. Strengthening solidarity within the European Union	36
6. Strengthening the military potential of the European Union	37
7. Introduction of the Euro in Poland	37
8. Making Polish-German cooperation a strategic partnership as an instrument for pursuing Polish interests in the EU	38
9. Weakening the influence of the Russian Federation on decisions taken in the EU and in some member states	40
10. Maintaining/strengthening the support of Poles for the European integration process	41
11. Having as many Poles as possible in EU institutions	42
Conclusions	42
Chapter 3. Polish European policy 2004-2014. An <i>ex post</i> critical analysis	45
Introduction	45
I. Vision of European integration	46
II. Vision of Poland in the European Union	49
III. Vision of Polish coalition policy in the European Union	51
Conclusions	55
Chapter 4. Institutional dimension of the Polish European policy (2004-2014)	57
Introduction	57
I. External determinants of the position of Poland	57
II. Internal determinants of the position of Poland	61
Conclusions	67
Chapter 5. Successes and failures of Poland's European policy in the context of the EU crises	69
Introduction	69
I. Symptoms of the crisis and anti-crisis policies of individual countries and the EU – theoretical approach	70
II. What are the successes and failures of Poland's European policy? . . .	74
III. Poland's European policy vs. crises	75
Conclusion	82
Chapter 6. The Visegrad Group and the Polish European policy: perceptions of cooperation, competition and regional leadership at the EU level	84
Introduction	84

I. The Visegrad Group in the European Union	85
II. Perception of the Polish European policy 2004-2014 by the Visegrad Group countries – methodology overview	87
1. Perception of the Polish idea of integration processes	87
2. Poland as an increasingly important actor in European integration processes	89
3. Changing approach towards Poland	90
4. Polish membership as a challenge to the European Union	91
5. Polish officials within the European Union’s structures	91
6. Reactive vs. proactive European policy	92
7. Legacy of accession negotiations	93
8. Poland as a Central European leader in the European Union	94
Conclusions	95
Chapter 7. SWOT analysis of the efficiency of Poland’s European policy and its priorities – the Polish and British perspectives	97
Introduction	97
I. The concept of Polish European policy	99
II. Evaluation of Polish European policy along the activity – reactivity dimension	100
III. The efficiency of Polish European policy from the point of view of its vision of strategy, tactics, operationalization and implementation	101
IV. Importance of Poland and its European policy in the perspective of the potential for regional integration	104
V. The importance of the immigrant issue on the perception of Polish European policy by Britons	105
Conclusion	106
Chapter 8. The eastern dimension in the process of customising the European Union in Poland’s European policy of 2004-2014	116
Introduction	116
I. Customisation of the European Union in membership conditions – towards conceptualisation	117
II. Polish European policy objectives to shape the European Union’s eastern policy	118
1. Goal	119
2. Addressees	121
3. Partners and allies	122
4. The EU context	123
5. Relations with the other dimensions	123
6. Operationalisation	125
7. Poland in the EU policy-making towards the east	126
Conclusions: the eastern dimension and the Eastern Partnership as an indication of Poland customising the EU’s foreign policy	127

Chapter 9. Perception of the Polish European policy 2004-2014 by Germany, France, the UK and EU institutions	129
Introduction. Aim and scope	129
I. Attitudes of Germany, France, the UK and EU institutions to Polish membership in the EU	130
II. Perception of the Polish European policy 2004-2007	131
III. Perception of the Polish European policy from 2007 to 2014	133
IV. Poland as a CEE leader	135
Conclusions	137
Chapter 10. Polish European policy. Inspirations and research conclusions and scenarios for the future	140
Introduction. New methodological challenges and research effects in the project	140
1. Another reference to the applied research methods	140
2. Narrations and an evaluation of Polish European policy 2004-2014	140
I. New categories and research ideas	141
II. Research inspirations	142
1. Marek Cichocki's four strategies of Poland's existence in Europe (the European Union). Are they still effective?	142
2. Barbara Szelewa's conviction that united we fall, divided we stand. About the need to reinstate the antagonistic dimension to Poland's policy on the European Union	144
3. Poland's integration with the EU and the relation dissonances in Joanna Wiażewicz's concept	145
4. How to effectively influence the European Union? A concept authored by Nathaniel Copsey and Karolina Pomorska (Copsey, Pomorska, 2010, pp. 304-326)	146
5. The Polish European policy in search of a new role. Przemysław Grudziński's research opinions	147
6. Limiting Poland's ownership in the system and process of European integration. A concept of Artur Niedźwiecki	148
7. Krzysztof Szczerski's determinants of Poland's global and European ownership in the 21st century	149
8. Joanna Dyduch and her concept of Europeanisation of Polish foreign policy in the perspective of structural realism	150
III. The future of Polish European policy. Considerations following an analysis of Jadwiga Staniszkis' works	151
Ten final conclusions	153
Bibliography	157
About the authors	169