

Author: Marcin Frenkel

Supervisor: Professor Paulina Matera

Faculty of International and Political Studies

University of Lodz

The Parisian “Culture” concepts and the Polish eastern policy 1989-2014

SUMMARY

This dissertation attempts to analyze the influence of the Parisian “Culture” magazine’s (in Polish: *Kultura*) concepts on the Polish eastern policy in the years 1989-2014.

The magazine was established in 1946 in Rome and soon after moved to Maisons-Laffitte, a small town in the suburbs of Paris. “The Culture” became the most influential Polish independent “think-tank” during the cold war era. This small group of intellectuals on exile, lead by Jerzy Giedroyc, the editor-in-chief of the magazine, created a strategy - so called “The Giedroyc Doctrine” - that later became a road map for all the succeeding Polish governments after the fall of communism in 1989.

The main research goal of the dissertation is to determine the degree of consistency between the Polish eastern policy and the “Giedroyc Doctrine”. “The Culture’s” concepts can be summarized in four crucial points:

- 1) supporting the independence and democratisation of Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus (ULB) and preserving post war border lines in Europe
- 2) counteracting soviet/Russian imperialism, ceasing Polish-Russian rivalry for ULB territories and creating good relations with Russian liberal/democratic parties and civic movements
- 3) consolidating and rebuilding of good relations with Germany
- 4) integrating Poland with political, economic and military organizations of the Euro-Atlantic world

It should be underlined that Russia has been the central point of reference for the whole idea. Recognition of the above mentioned points should lead to neutralization of the threat from Russian imperialism and building solid foundation for the security of Poland in the future.

To find the answer to the main research goal, the author used four comprehensive basic research questions:

- 1) Did the succeeding Polish governments pursue the foreign policy according to “The Culture” concepts?
- 2) If there was compliance, was it complete or partial? Effective or verbal only?
- 3) What was the dynamic of the presumptive compliance through the examined years (1989-2014)?
- 4) What were the exterior conditions of the Polish eastern policy and its presumptive compliance with the “Giedroyc Doctrine”?

The main research hypothesis (which was later confirmed in the analysis) is that all Polish governments between 1989-2014 accepted the Parisian “Culture” concepts regarding eastern policy but they were not able to fully implement it because of interior and exterior conditions (these conditions were described in the section two and three as well as in the final conclusions section). In other words, “Giedroyc Doctrine” has been adopted at the general level but some failures in specific segments of bilateral relations were identified.

The basic scientific paradigm used in this dissertation is constructivism with elements of the liberal theory. The author applied the comparative method of the research (enhanced by elements of historical, general-logical, observational, decisive and quantitative methods) and the normative scientific approach.

The volume is divided into three main parts. The first section describes the general concept of the Polish foreign policy created by Jerzy Giedroyc and his contributors – first of all Juliusz Mieroszewski, “The Culture” major columnist. This part also sheds light on biographies of Giedroyc and Mieroszewski as well as on the intellectual strands which influenced this two thinkers. The second section is concentrated on the Polish eastern policy in the years 1989-2000. The time where “The Culture” was still published and Giedroyc was a vivid commentator of the contemporary politics. The third, final section is analyzing the Polish eastern policy in the period between Giedroyc’s death (September 2000) and the year 2014.

The research is concentrated mostly on political relations however economic, social and cultural relations between Poland and its eastern neighbours are mentioned as well.

main Text