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Abstract of the doctoral dissertation entitled:

"Polish-American relations 1989-2019 in Polish political and press discourse."

The topic of the following doctoral dissertation is 'Polish-American relations in 1989-2019 in Polish political and press discourse'. This topic was taken up for two main reasons: its importance and the research gap in this area. Polish-American relations are a key and even priority area of Poland's foreign policy cooperation. Although almost no one questions the importance of these relations (especially for Poland), the diagnosis of their status, evolution, and above all their nature (whether they are strategic, partnership, or clientelistic relations) remains a contentious issue, largely conditioned by ideological positions or political sympathies. The aim of this study is not to determine the objective state of these relations, but to identify the main positions of the political discourse, the dominant arguments and the evolution of the main themes around which the debate has been taking place throughout the analysed period. Therefore, a research and methodological perspective reflecting the diversity of positions on the issue has been adopted.

The timeframe set out in the dissertation is the 30-year period of Polish-American relations from 1989 and the political transition in Poland until 2019. Such a time span allows for a deeper analysis of relations, indicating continuity and change in relations depending on the political grouping that governs Poland and the United States. The first of the dates indicated does not require in-depth justification. The year 1989, together with the formation of the first non-communist government, conventionally mark the beginning of a new Poland - the Third Republic of Poland¹. The closing caesura is marked by the 2019 elections. - these are the last elections to be covered by the study. Although they do not in themselves constitute any specific date marking a qualitative change in Polish-American relations, it can be perversely stated that no previous elections - with the exception of 1989 - were of this nature either. - were not of this nature either. This is due to the essence of Polish-American relations, the strategic status of which has not been questioned by any of the ruling teams after 1989. Thus, 2019 is a natural date to close the cycle of parliamentary terms and, at the same time, the

¹ Notwithstanding the fact that the term only acquired formal legal status with the enactment of the 1997 Constitution.

right-wing governments that emerged at its beginning. The fact that the entire period under study closes with a round period of 30 years can only be treated in a symbolic dimension.

Foreign policy, especially in such key areas as security relations, which are undeniably one of the pillars of Poland's relations with the United States, has, despite the changes of government, largely remained the subject of consensus. This does not mean, however, that there is a full consensus on the measures, objectives, tactics and strategies that the various parties and governments in Poland considered as the basis for their actions.

The sources and studies used to explore the topic undertaken in the dissertation are largely legal acts, documents signed between the two countries, programmes of Polish political parties and exposés of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Poland from 1989 to 2019. Another source used in chapter five is the archives of newspaper articles published between 1989 and 2019 in the newspapers: "Gazeta Wyborcza", "Rzeczpospolita" and the weekly "Polityka", which dealt with Polish-American relations. In addition to the above-mentioned sources, an important part were items on the theory of international relations, state-to-state relations and all sources on Polish-American relations and Polish foreign policy in 1989-2019.

As I have already indicated, the aim of this analysis is not so much to examine Polish-American relations as to identify sides and diagnose the dominant positions represented in Polish political discourse after 1989 in relation to these relations. Although no dominant research orientation was consistently adopted at the basis of this study, it drew on the theoretical resources of two paradigms: *interpretivism (antipositivism)* and *constructivism*. According to interpretivism, in certain situations, the researcher's aim is not so much to seek to discover objective truth, but to reflect subjective accounts of that reality as represented, for example, by the parties to the discourse². Constructivism, on the other hand, emphasises those spheres of human activity which are non-material in nature and which are human in origin. Discourse, among others, is understood in this work in this sense. It is not framed as a simple communicative formula, but as a confrontation of complex constructs whose hermeticity/responsiveness to other constructs is conditioned, among other things, by the categorical nature of the positions proclaimed³.

² N. Stockman, *Antipositivist Theories of the Sciences: Critical Rationalism, Critical Theory and Scientific Realism*, Springer - Science+Business Media, B.V., Dordrecht 1983, p. 233.

³ P. Roberts, *Political Constructivism*, Routledge, London 2007, 91-95.

The analysis of the state of political discourse, which forms the basis of the thesis, has been conducted on the basis of the programmes of political parties, the pursuit of foreign policy, public debate and press discourse (on the basis of selected dailies and the weekly Polityka). Another element examined in the dissertation will be the programmes of political parties in relation to Polish-American relations and their subsequent relationship during their time in power. The data resource on which this dissertation is based consists of the so-called exposés of foreign ministers (most often under the name: Information of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the State of Foreign Policy) in the period from 1989 to 2019, the parliamentary debate taking place after the expos, and the programmes of Polish political parties in which content related to Poland's foreign policy towards the United States was present. In the final chapter on press discourse, the data resource is articles relating to Polish-American relations from the weekly Polityka newspaper Rzeczpospolita and Gazeta Wyborcza. The main method used in the dissertation is content analysis. It made it possible to structure and interpret the dominant themes of the political debate and press discourse relating to Polish-American relations.

The study is based on three main research methods: critical discourse analysis, framing analysis, content analysis.

The selection of the most frequently occurring terms concerning Polish-American relations is intended to show the approach of political parties, the opposition, ruling parties and the press to Polish-American relations, including continuity or change. The framing analysis allows for the derivation of conclusions that do not always follow directly from the message, especially those emanating from political debate or even political dispute. In a neutral manner, the focus was first to derive the dominant threads of the message contained in the official positions of the parties and the (formed/co-formed) governments. Subsequently, these threads were structured into a specific interpretative framework, which synthetically allows for a diagnosis of the dominant features of the perception and understanding of Polish-American relations. On the basis of this analysed material, it became possible to distinguish four main interpretative frameworks:

- United States as a guarantor of Poland's and Europe's security [FRAME 1],
- cooperation with the United States within the framework of the North Atlantic Alliance [FRAM 2],
- bilateral cooperation on economic, military and science and technology issues [FRAME 3],

- the issue of the visa waiver process for Poles travelling to the United States [FRAME 4].

The selection of the most frequent expressions of Polish-American relations is intended to show the constancy or change in the approach of political parties to Polish-American relations in their programmes, the creation of foreign policy and the remaining parliamentary opposition of political parties.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. Below, the author outlines the scope and content of each chapter:

The first chapter of the dissertation, entitled 'Bilateral and Multilateral Relations in Contemporary International Relations', is a theoretical chapter on the foreign policy of state-to-state relations. The chapter also describes the determinants of US and Polish foreign policy and explains the concept of political discourse.

The second chapter of this dissertation is devoted to the history of relations between Poland and the United States its title is: "The Evolution of Polish-American Relations from 1919-2019". This chapter describes the evolution of Polish-American relations from the establishment of relations between the countries in 1919 to 2019.

The third chapter under the title: "Polish-American relations in the agendas of right-wing parties after 1989" aims to present references to Polish-American relations in the programmes of Polish parties in the period from 1989 to 2019.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation, entitled "Polish-American relations in parliamentary debates on government agendas." analyses the exposés of Foreign Ministers from 1989 to 2019 in terms of statements concerning Polish-American relations.

The fifth chapter entitled: 'Polish-American relations in Polish press discourse on the basis of the newspapers Polityka, Rzeczpospolita and Gazeta Wyborcza in the years 1989 - 2019' analyses the press discourse in selected Polish newspapers in the period adopted in the dissertation in relation to articles on Polish-American relations.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the United States in 1919, they have been an important foreign policy direction for Poland. After a period of hibernation of these relations between 1945 and 1989, with the restoration of sovereignty, they entered the level of priority direction of Polish foreign policy after 1989. The United States, as a global hegemon and undisputed superpower, is a guarantor of security for Poland (a medium-

sized country on the European continent and an important country in Central and Eastern Europe - the eastern flank of the North Atlantic Alliance). Since the early 1990s, the United States has played a fundamental role in efforts to advance Polish national interests in the international arena. For Poland, this special nature of bilateral relations with the United States was determined by such issues as Poland's aspirations for integration into Western international structures (the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union) and Poland's desire to obtain support from the United States for internal democratic and market reforms. After 1989, Poland also feared a resurgence of German-Russian cooperation in Central Europe and attempts by the Russian Federation to rebuild its former spheres of influence. As a result of these factors, Poland after 1989 saw bilateral relations with the United States as an effective remedy for the above-mentioned problems in the post-Cold War international arena.

A new phase in Polish-American relations opened with the presidency of George W. Bush and the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001. Due to the initiation of the so-called 'war on terror' by the United States, mutual relations between Poland and the United States intensified to the greatest extent at the military level (which was reflected, among other things, in the dispatch of a GROM unit to Afghanistan). On the other hand, due to the uncritical attitude of the Polish political elite towards the activities of American neo-conservatives⁴, the first serious controversies began to appear in bilateral relations. These were primarily related to the broadly defined dimension of security, including such issues as the purchase of F-16 multi-role aircraft, the construction of elements of the US missile defence shield in Poland, participation in the intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan or the choice between Washington and European allies during the crisis in transatlantic relations. Particularly serious problems arose from the participation of Polish soldiers in the Iraqi Freedom operation. This resulted in the breakdown of relations with some Western European countries, such as France and Germany, which were key to Polish interests. All decisions taken after 2001 testified to Poland's unequivocally pro-American policy, which often produced results of dubious benefit⁵.

⁴ T. Paszewski, *Transatlantic relations from an American perspective*, 'International Affairs' 2004, no. 4, pp. 5-28.

⁵ Roman Kuźniar wrote in 2007 that policy towards the US had been replaced by an 'infantile pro-Americanism', which could boast of 'no achievements'. In his view, there was a deepening 'self-reliance in the security sphere on the United States', accompanied by placing more trust in US guarantees than in the North Atlantic Alliance. *Strategic Yearbook 2006/07*, ed. B. Balcerowicz, E. Halizak, R. Kuźniar, D. Popławski, H. Szlajfe, Warsaw 2007, p. 17.

Given the controversies that arose around Polish-American relations at the time, it is worth considering how Polish American policy evolved and what dilemmas Poland faced in the first and second decades of the 21st century.

The turn of the first and second decade of the 21st century in Poland's relations with the United States, the interest in the Central and Eastern European region in US policy has definitely declined and, consequently, also the interest of the United States in bilateral relations that Poland. Ben Rhodes, one of President Barack Obama's closest advisors and Deputy National Security Advisor to the President, when describing the state of Polish-American relations at the beginning of 2014, emphasised that Poland has been and continues to be a close partner of the US in the fight against terrorism, but that much has changed since the attacks of 11 September 2001⁶. Looking at Warsaw's perspective despite Poland's uncritical adherence to the US global foreign policy strategy of the United States, many thorny issues in mutual relations remained unresolved⁷.

Political relations between Warsaw and Washington began to gradually cool from mid-2009, when the new Obama administration disregarded the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War. The Polish side clearly signalled the importance of the ceremony from a political and symbolic point of view by inviting US President Barack Obama to the celebrations. The American side, on the other hand, seemed unaware of the importance of these events for Poland, which was ultimately reflected in the fact that only President Obama's National Security Advisor James Jones was sent to the ceremony. The situation that then arose was interpreted by experts in international relations as the beginning of a loss of sensitivity on the part of the United States to issues relevant to the countries of Central Europe. This proved to be a very accurate prediction for the entire period of Barack Obama's stay as President of the United States⁸.

⁶ R. Kuźniar, *Pozimnowojenne dwudziestolecie 1989-2010, International relations at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries*, Wydawnictwo Scholar, Warsaw 2011, pp. 418-422.

⁷ In this context, two groups of factors influencing the cooling of Polish-American relations at the political level at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century can be identified: the issue of visas for Poles and secret CIA prisons on Polish territory. The quality of Warsaw-Washington relations is therefore affected by, inter alia, the issue of the abolition of visas for Poles travelling to the USA for business, science and tourism. This problem seems to weigh heavily on mutual relations both at the level of policy-makers and the societies themselves. Talks concerning its solution have been held by the parties for several years, but have remained unsuccessful. According to the Polish side, the USA, as Poland's closest ally, should abolish visas and Poland should be included in the Visa Waiver Program (VWP).

⁸ B. Wiśniewski, *Polityka Polski wobec Stanów Zjednoczonych*. [in:] *Polish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2010*, PISM Publishing House, Warsaw, 2010, pp. 83-84.

Poland's bilateral relations with the United States are one of the priorities of Polish foreign and security policy. Since the beginning of the political transformation, Poland has seen Washington as its main ally on the road to democratisation, security guarantees and Poland's independence from Eastern influences. Throughout the 30 years of relations between Poland and the United States examined in the dissertation, none of the parties in power in Poland during this period questioned the legitimacy of rapprochement with the United States and the maintenance of close relations. There were even moments during the period studied when the United States was treated as a strategic ally.

Polish foreign policy, particularly relations with the United States, has for years been an important element of political debates and the programmes of political parties. An analysis of the parties' election programmes and activities since 1989 has made it possible to identify the main interpretative frameworks of these relations, which have evolved over the period studied.

The programmes of political parties since 1997 have allowed this dissertation to distinguish the main interpretative frameworks concerning Polish-American relations. There is a visible reactivity in defining the features of these relations, which is also evident through the prism of domestic politics. Political parties did not refer to Polish-American relations in their programmes very often, however, over the years foreign policy became such an important element of Polish politics that its inclusion in political programmes became necessary, and over the years this issue began to occupy an increasingly important place in the programmes of Polish political parties.

An analysis of the electoral programmes of Polish political parties situated on the ideological axis on the right and centre-right shows that Poland's largest right-wing party, the Law and Justice Party, refers to Polish-American relations most frequently and comprehensively. However, other smaller parties also refer in their programmes to relations with the world superpower, which the United States undoubtedly is. It should be noted, however, that the level of conceptualisation of programmes in terms of foreign policy and references to it varies. The programmes of the smaller and less prominent parties; League of Polish Families and Solidarity Electoral Action only addressed issues related to strengthening cooperation with the United States within the North Atlantic Alliance in their programmes.

The references of Polish centrist parties to Polish-American relations show a continuity in addressing foreign policy issues, including relations with the United States.

Ultimately, the Polish *raison d'état* is considered crucial in the programmes of these parties. Relations with the United States and other international partners should be built on the basis of consistent actions that will benefit the country's security. In the programmes of the centrist parties, the Polish *raison d'état* is considered crucial and relations with the United States and other international partners should be built on the basis of actions beneficial to the country's security.

Left-wing parties in Poland emphasise the importance of dialogue, international cooperation and resolving conflicts through diplomatic means in their programmes. They also have different perspectives towards the United States, with criticism of some aspects of its foreign policy, especially when it comes to militaristic interventionism and insufficient attention to human rights. However, it should be borne in mind that the specific position of left-wing parties in Poland towards the United States may vary depending on the party in question and the current political situation. As with any political party, their approach to foreign policy may change in response to international and domestic developments.

The parliamentary debate following the Foreign Minister's expose has evolved over the years. In the first years after the fall of communism in Poland, the debate was more substantive and focused on real foreign policy problems. During this period, the opposition parties focused on constructive criticism of the government's policies and proposing alternatives. However, in the following years, the debate became more political and focused on exchanging accusations between political parties. Opposition parties often focused on criticising government policies, while the ruling party defended its actions. As a result, the debate became less substantive and focused on political bickering between parties and less on real foreign policy issues.

An analysis of the press discourse on the basis of selected Polish periodicals reveals that Polish-American relations play an important role in both Polish foreign policy and international politics in general. These relations are comprehensive, covering both political and economic aspects, as well as military cooperation and security. In the context of foreign policy, Poland and the United States are allies within the North Atlantic Alliance, which makes decisions regarding the presence of US military forces on Polish territory crucial for defence cooperation between the two countries. Political issues such as diplomatic visits, international conferences and relations between the United States and the European Union are also frequently discussed and analysed in the context of the press.

The weekly Polityka published the largest number of articles relating to Polish-American relations, both in the context of politics and security as well as economy and science. In other newspapers, such as Gazeta Wyborcza and Rzeczpospolita, the number of articles on these relations was lower, especially on economic and science and technology issues. The articles covered a variety of topics, from diplomatic visits to trade negotiations and cooperation within the North Atlantic Alliance. A lot of attention was also paid to military cooperation and security, especially in the context of the placement of US forces on Polish soil and the construction of the missile defence shield.

Trade relations between Poland and the United States are an important element of economic cooperation, which is often reflected in the press. Trade negotiations, investment by American companies in Poland and agreements on economic and technological matters are topics that appear in press discourse. While economic and technological issues are important, political relations and security are often prioritised. The press focuses on topics such as the presence of US military forces in Poland, the construction of the missile defence shield, or cooperation within the North Atlantic Alliance. These issues are particularly important because of their impact on the country's security and the stability of the region.

The analysis of press texts indicates that Polish-American relations are the subject of constant interest and discussion in Polish society and that they are perceived as crucial to Poland's foreign policy and to stability and security in the Central and Eastern European region.