



Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych  
Center for International Relations

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# Activity of Center for International Relations 2005 Annual Report

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**CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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## **I. Introduction**

The Center for International Relations is an independent non-governmental organization focused on issues related to international affairs, in particular Polish foreign policy. The basic task of the Center is to analyze the current international situation, taking special account of Polish policies, monitoring the government's actions and providing political counseling.

To this end, we organize conferences and seminars, and publish analyses, articles and books written by our experts as well as external analysts. During the 10 years of its activity, the CIR has built an efficient forum for analysis and the exchange of ideas that has involved hundreds of leading politicians and experts. We have also become a permanent partner of reputable international expert centers in Europe and the USA.

Our goals are:

- to create a Polish "foreign policy community", an informal group of politicians, business people, media representatives, diplomats and scholars, who by force of arguments influence the thinking about foreign affairs in Poland and abroad.
- to deepen the common knowledge of international relations in Polish society,
- to influence the understanding of the goals of Polish foreign policy among the political and diplomatic elites in other countries.

Eminent personalities from Poland and other countries sit on the Program Board of the CIR. Eugeniusz Smolar has been the Center for International Relations' new President since 1 October 2005.

## **II. Activities of the CIR in 2005**

Activities of the CIR in 2005 concentrated on the most important issues of Polish foreign policy, which were analyzed through our permanent programs. These are:

- the European Program,
- the Transatlantic Program,
- the Migration and Internal Security Program,
- the Eastern Program,
- the Foreign Policy Club.

Our four main fields of activity last year included: EU and Member States' policy towards Belarus, Ukraine and Russia; issues related to the ratification process of the Constitutional Treaty, including problems concerning the changes in the Common Foreign and Security Policy; issues related to transnational migrations, their influence on the European labour market and internal security; and the impact of the US presidential elections and the parliamentary elections in Germany on transatlantic and European affairs.

Engagement of Poland during the „Orange Revolution” in the Ukraine made evident a need to develop new ways of supporting democratic changes in the East through common actions with our European and American partners. The Center monitored the developments in the East as they appeared and examined the problems of transatlantic and European affairs in the context of different political approaches by NATO and EU members towards Eastern Europe and Russia.

The actions of the Center were reflected in our conferences and seminars.

The first conference, “European Prospects of Ukraine – Visegrad Group and Baltic Countries Experience” took place in Kiev and was organized at the end of January in cooperation with the Ukrainian partners.

The second conference, “Polish-German strategic talks,” was co-organized by the Center in Berlin in February 2005. It first and foremost looked at the roles of Poland and Germany in the development of possible strategies of the EU towards the East, in particular towards Ukraine, Belarus and Russia.

In May 2005, two other conferences exploring those matters were organized in Warsaw:

- “The EU and South-East Europe. The EU Neighbourhood Policy towards the region of Southeast Europe and the expectations of Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus.”
- “Before the Storm? Political Perspective for Belarus in 2005/2006.”

Furthermore, examining the influence of transatlantic commonwealth on the events in the East, the CIR organized two seminars devoted to these problems. The first was devoted to the role and influence of Central and Eastern European countries in the integrated structures of NATO and the EU, while the second dealt with Russian policy towards the European Union (the CIR report having the same title, written by Marcin Kaczmarski, is available at [www.csm.org.pl](http://www.csm.org.pl)).

In November, the Center also participated in two seminars concerning the problems of the democratic process and of national security reforms of the post-soviet states. The first seminar was organized in Groningen by the Dutch Centre for European Security Studies and NATO; the second one took place in Kiev and was organized by the Ebert Foundation and the Office of National

## Security and Defence of Ukraine.

As concerns European integration, the year 2005 was the time of ratification of the Treaty establishing the Constitution for Europe which quite naturally involved much debate concerning the consequences of its provisions. Furthermore, it was a time for discussion regarding the financial perspectives of the Union in 2007-2013. The Center, actively joining these debates, organized three seminars in Warsaw:

- „Sticks, carrots and great expectations – human rights conditionality and Turkey's path towards membership of the European Union”,
- „EU foreign policy and the Constitution. The Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union in the light of the Constitutional Treaty”,
- „European Security Strategy and Poland”,

and two international conferences:

- „The future of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union”,
- „European Union 2006 – end or escalation of crisis?”

Furthermore, the Center actively joined the program of the **European Public Debate** bringing information about the European Union closer to the inhabitants of twelve Polish towns, which usually are outside the main public debate on Poland and its place in Europe. For the purpose of this project, Poland was divided into four regions. In each region consisting of three towns, six topics were touched upon (two topics in each town): EU Budget; Lisbon Strategy and the policy of EU Members States; The European Foreign and Security Policy; Do the Polish people want political integration within the EU? Reform of the EU; What EU do the Poles want? The goals of European integration; The boundaries of European integration. Turkey, the Ukraine and the enlargement of the EU; Definition of the European identity. A Pole – an EU citizen; The role of Poland in European integration. EU Eastern policy.

The representatives of the main Polish analytical centers participated in those seminars as panellists. The added value of this project was the possibility of creating a network and establishing contacts with persons living in these regions, who are interested in European issues.

In 2005, the Center concentrated on two aspects of migration problems: internal security and flow of the labour force in the context of EU enlargement. It organized two international conferences, two seminars, a briefing and an experts meeting.

Two first seminars in 2005, organized along with the Foundation ‘Civic Club’, were devoted to a discussion on immigrants coming to Poland and their position on the labour market: „Migration – a chance or a threat for the Polish labour market and the ageing society” and „Young immigrants in

Poland”, i.a. on the basis of a research „Work of foreigners in Poland in the opinion of employers” made by the CIR experts.

The CIR organized a briefing as the summary of the research project “The impact of the EU enlargement on the labour market and migration in Europe – a view one year later” carried out by the Center. It was made in connection with the presentation of the CD-ROM having the same title.

Two international conferences were devoted to the problems of the impact of migration on the internal security of states:

- „Security dilemmas and tasks for national migration policies”, organized in Warsaw;
- „Transnational migrants – a chance or a threat for the state?”, organized in Kiev.

The Warsaw and Kiev conferences were the first ones within the project “Warsaw-Kiev-Chisinau-Budapest-Brussels”, organized within the framework of the program „Transatlantic internal security agenda and dilemmas for the European migration policy”, realized in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the US. The first of the conferences was held also in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the Foundation ‘Civic Club’, the Collegium Civitas, the Embassy of Holland and the International Visegrad Fund. The second conference was organized in cooperation with the Center for Peace Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine.

Additionally the Center held an expert meeting entitled “Integration of minorities in Europe” in cooperation with the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Warsaw. The central figure of this meeting was Mr Cem Özdemir, Member of the European Parliament from Germany, member of the Greens/European Free Alliance, as well as member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and of the Committee of Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs.

In 2005, the Center also examined the impact of changes in foreign policy after the US Presidential elections and the parliamentary elections in Germany and in Poland. These issues were explored during two seminars:

- „German-Russian relations and their significance for Poland”,
- „Transatlantic Trends 2005”,
- „Poland and Germany after elections. New governments, old and new problems”.

These problems were also subject matter of the 7<sup>th</sup> Polish-German Meeting of Editors-in-Chief, which was held in Berlin this year.

Within the Foreign Policy Club, there were meetings held in English devoted to issues of Polish foreign policy and international affairs. The participants were members of the Club: young politicians, diplomats, civil servants, as well as business and media representatives. At the core of

each meeting was a speech by a politician or an expert from abroad, whose speech served as the basis of discussion. The following persons took such a leading role in the Club in 2005: Prof. Dominique Moïsi, Deputy Director of the IFRI in Paris, Prof. Stephen F. Szabo, Professor of Johns Hopkins University, Mr Duncan Allen, representative of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Mr Shashi Uban Tripathi, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of India, Mr Dermont Ahern, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ireland and Dr. Anne-Marie Le Gloanec, Director of the Centre of International Relations and Research in Paris.

For the Robert Bosch Foundation Scholarship Program for young managers of public administration from Central and Eastern Europe countries (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary), the CIR received 91 application from Poland and 63 from Hungary. These numbers confirm a great interest in this program on part of public administrators. The Polish-German recruitment committee invited seven persons from Poland and seven from Hungary to participate in the program in 2005. They will, during nine months of stay in Germany, gain practical knowledge of German and European administration, participating in work of public institutions and collaborating with other units of the public and private sector, as well as taking part in specialist training sessions.

Within the German Marshall Fund of the United States scholarship program "The American Marshall Memorial Fellowship," in 2005 the CIR organized:

- three 5-day stays of the American scholarship holders in Warsaw and Cracow, during which they participated in meetings with politicians, journalists and representatives of non-governmental organizations.
- the recruitment process among the Polish scholarship applicants, who will leave on a scholarship in 2006. During a stay of four weeks in the USA, the grant holders will learn the rules governing the American political, economic, social and cultural institutions.

The Scholarship program is created for young leaders in the spheres of politics, business, media and the non-governmental sector.

Within the framework of the program for young German scholars, carried out with support of the Robert Bosch Foundation, the CIR hosted a PhD candidate and grant holder from Germany, Christine Normann, who specializes in the field of the European Neighbourhood Policy of the EU, with a principal focus on the relations with the Eastern partners of the EU.

The CIR also offered unpaid internships for students from Polish and German universities. In 2005 we hosted over 20 interns.

Another important event organized by the CIR in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

was the 12th Polish-German Forum.

In 2005, the Center also organized two editions of the "Belarussian School of Journalism".

For four years, the Center has edited the series "Reports & Analyses" in which we publish studies about important events in international affairs as they occur. Editions are available at our website in Polish and English versions as well as through distribution by e-mail to over 400 persons and institutions in Poland and abroad.

The books edited by the CIR are published i.a. in Polish, English, German and recently also in Ukrainian.

The employees of the Center are visible in Polish and foreign media. Their articles, opinions and comments appear in i.a. "Rzeczpospolita," "Gazeta Wyborcza," "Tygodnik Powszechny," "Polska Zbrojna," "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung," and "Die Zeit." They are also quoted by press agencies and invited to various TV and radio programs as commentators on current affairs. The studies of the Center enjoy great interest of the lower and upper chambers of Parliament of the Republic of Poland (Sejm and Senat) and of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In its activities, the Center cooperated with many institutions, e.g. under the partnership agreement with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Poland, with research institutions, i.e. the Humboldt University in Berlin, the University of Vienna, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, the German Society of Foreign Policy, the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Center for Eastern Studies, the Migration Policy Group, the Institute of Public Affairs, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Poland, the Stefan Batory Foundation, the Institute of Sociology of Warsaw University, the Center of Migration Research of Warsaw University, the Studio of Mass Migration of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Many undertakings were organized in cooperation with the Polish ministries, the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, the Chancellery of the Prime Minister, embassies of various countries and the EU Delegation in Poland.

### **III. Programs**

The activity of the Center for International Relations is carried out within the framework of the seven permanent programs:

#### **1. European Program**

**Coordinators** – Piotr Zalewski (replaced by Michał Safianik), Tomasz Dąbrowski, Tomasz Paszewski (replaced by Balbina Gluza).

**Area of interest:**

The Constitutional Treaty and the ratification process in the member states

Political consequences of the EU enlargement

Future EU enlargement

The Polish position on the internal reform of the EU

The common foreign, security and defence policy (CFSP/ESDP)

## **2. Transatlantic Program**

**Coordinators:** dr Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Maria Wągrowka, dr Marcin Zaborowski, Jerzy Uklański

**Area of interest:**

Polish foreign policy and 'atlanticism'

German – American relations

The future of NATO

German and Polish policies towards Ukraine, Belarus and Russia

American foreign policy – the Central and East European perspectives

## **3. Migration and Homeland Security Program**

**Coordinators:** Prof. Krystyna Iglicka, Antoni Podolski, Katarzyna Gmaj

**Area of interest:**

The European area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ)

Migratory flows of labor and refugees alongside the European East-West axis

Poland as an immigration and transit country

UE and terrorism

The "brain drain" from the new EU member states – is it a real danger?

#### **4. Eastern Program**

**Coordinators:** Antoni Podolski, Wojciech Borodzicz-Smoliński

**Area of interest:**

Poland and Ukraine – the closing and the opening balance

Polish regional policy in Central and Eastern Europe

Poland's policy vis-à-vis its Eastern neighbors and EU enlargement

Polish-Russian relations

The anti-terrorist coalition and its impact on the formation of new relations between NATO, the EU and Russia

The new role of the Caucasus and Central Asia

#### **5. Foreign Policy Club**

**Coordinator:** Małgorzata Hacuś

Within the framework of the Club, monthly meetings take place devoted to discussion of Polish foreign policy and international affairs involving young politicians, diplomats, scholars, civil servants, business people, etc.

#### **6. The Fellowship program for young managers of public administration from Central and Eastern European countries**

**Coordinator:** Tomasz Dąbrowski

Program organized in cooperation with the Robert Bosch Foundation offers nine-month stay in Germany for young Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Slovakian public sector employees. It is designed to enable them to gain additional professional experience.

#### **7. The Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF)**

**Coordinator:** Małgorzata Hacuś

The scholarship program of the German Marshall Fund of the United States is created for young

leaders from the spheres of politics, business, media and the non-governmental sector. The purpose of the four weeks stay in the US is to learn about the political, social and cultural situation of the visited regions of America.

#### **IV. Calendar of events in 2005**

##### **January**

###### **20-21.01.2005**

The international conference „European Prospects of Ukraine – Visegrad Group and Baltic Countries Experience”, organized in Kiev by i.a. the CIR.

###### **18.01.2005**

Presentation of the report prepared by Piotr Zalewski, „Sticks, carrots and great expectations: Human rights conditionality and Turkey’s path towards membership of the European Union”. The discussion was devoted to the impact of Turkey’s accession to the EU and the Polish and EU “pros” and “cons”. The meeting was chaired by Prof. Zdzisław Najder, Krzysztof Bobiński, Janusz Reiter and Piotr Zalewski.

The event was held in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

###### **25.01.2005**

The meeting of the Foreign Policy Club was devoted to the following topic: „Results of the Presidential elections in the USA and its impact on transatlantic affairs”. The Club’s guests were prof. Dominique Moïsi, deputy director of the French Institute of International Relations in Paris, former lecturer at Ecole Nationale d’Administration and the Johns Hopkins University, commentator of the „Financial Times” and other journals.

The event was held in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

##### **February**

###### **17-18.02.2005**

The conference “Polish-German strategic talks” was a continuation of a series of meetings concerning the most important aspects of the Polish-German relations and was held in Berlin on

the premises of the German Foreign Policy Council (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik). Apart from the Robert Bosch Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the Polish-German magazine "Dialog" was another partner of that event.

During the meeting, the experts present had an opportunity to indicate potential problems in bilateral relations and to discuss possible solutions. The debate focused mainly on the role of Poland and Germany in the development of possible strategies of the EU towards the East, especially Ukraine, Belarus and Russia; challenges related to the EU energy policy; the future of the solidarity principle in the EU and the internal political situation in Poland and Germany, which in recent years has had an enormous impact on the foreign policy of both states.

### **23.02.2005**

A seminar „The EU's foreign policy and the constitution (Foreign and Security Policy of the EU according to the Constitutional Treaty)” was organized by the CIR in cooperation with the Institute of Public Affairs. Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs, Piotr Świtalski gave a presentation entitled „The Constitutional Treaty and a role of the EU in international affairs: challenges for Poland”. Deputy Head of the Polish Civil Service Jacek Czaputowicz raised the question “The Constitutional Treaty in the light of foreign policy. Do bigger ambitions mean wider decision making?” Commander Andrzej Falkowski, deputy head of the Strategic Planning Directorate of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, elaborated on “Defence Planning in the EU and possibilities of military cooperation between the NATO and the EU.” The seminar was chaired by Janusz Reiter, President of the CIR and Jacek Kucharczyk, Program Director of the Institute of Public Affairs.

The seminar was organized in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

### **24.02.2005**

Meeting of the Foreign Policy Club: “The future of the transatlantic relations – comments on president Bush's visit to Europe”. Guest to the meeting was Prof. Stephen F. Szabo, professor of Johns Hopkins University, the National War College, chairman of the Advisory Council of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins, former chairman of Western European Studies of the US Department of State, expert in the areas of European security, transatlantic relations and European politics.

The event was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

## March

### 16.03.2005

Experts discussion “Fated to conflict? – Polish-Russian relations after the Ukrainian orange revolution.” The problems raised concerned attempts of a more active Polish policy in the East and the creation of the so called ‘EU eastern policy’.

### 17.03.2005

Expert’s meeting “European security strategy and Poland”. During the meeting, the Program Director of the Center for International Relations, Antoni Podolski, presented the report “Polish National Security Strategy as a practical implementation of the European Security Strategy – between theory and practice.” The speakers were: General Stanisław Koziej, who postulated a need for modification of the Polish strategy, and Mr Paweł Soloch, who elaborated on the state’s role as an institution establishing the goals of national security and the means of their realisation. The meeting was conducted by Maria Wągrowka.

The seminar was organized within the project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

### 18.03.2005

Discussion “States of Eastern and Middle Europe – significance, role and influence on the integration structures of NATO and the EU.” The participants of the meeting were two experts of the Center for Strategic and International Studies from Washington: Jerzy Bugajski, head of the project “Eastern Europe” and Ilona Teleki, analyst involved in the “Eastern Europe” project.

The event was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

### 22.03.2005

Meeting of the Foreign Policy Club “The situation in Russia from the perspective of the EU Member States.” Mr Duncan Allen, analyst of the British Foreign Office dealing with Russian affairs, was a guest to the meeting. It was chaired by Eugeniusz Smolar.

The event was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

## April

### 14.04.2005

A public lecture by Mr Jan Rokita, President of the Parliamentary Club of the Civic Platform “Polish Foreign Policy – how much of continuation, how much of change.”

The event was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

#### **14.04.2005**

Meeting of the Foreign Policy Club: "India's foreign policy in the changing world." The Club's guest was Mr Shashi Uban Tripathi, India's deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, former Ambassador of India to Poland (1994-1997) and Canada (2002-2004).

The event was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

#### **28.04.2005**

Seminar "Migration – a chance or a threat for the Polish labour market and the ageing society," organized in cooperation with the Civic Club. Among the participants of the discussion conducted by Prof. Krystyna Iglicka were Prof. Elżbieta Kryńska from the University of Łódź; Jakub Bijak from the Central European Forum for Migration Research and Piotr Korczyński from the Ministry for Economic Affairs and Labour. During the meeting, Katarzyna Gmaj presented results of her research "Work of foreigners in Poland in the opinion of employers."

### **May**

#### **12.05.2005**

International conference "The EU and South-East Europe. The EU Neighbourhood Policy towards the region of Southeast Europe and the expectations of Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus." Among the participants of the conference were the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Dr. Adam Daniel Rotfeld, the Vice-President of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, Mr Iurie Rosca, former chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Belarus, Mr Stanisław Szuszkiewicz and the representative of Belarusan opposition, Dr. Vyachaslau Pazdynak, Ambassador of Ukraine to Poland, HE Igor Charczenko, Ms Judith Gebetsroithner from the European Commission and Mr Jakub Boratyński, Program Director of the Stefan Batory Foundation. The conference was chaired by the President of the CIR Mr Janusz Reiter and Program Director Mr Antoni Podolski.

The seminar was organized in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

#### **17.05.2005**

Meeting of the Foreign Policy Club: „Why does the UN need to be reformed and why is it going to be difficult?” The Club's guest was Mr Dermot Ahern, Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special

Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for UN Reform. The discussion was conducted by Eugeniusz Smolar.

The event was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

### **30.05.2005**

International conference “Before the storm? Political perspectives for Belarus in 2005/2006.” Among the participants of the conference were Belarussian, Russian and Ukrainian analysts, among them Aliaksandr Fieduta, Viachaslau Areszka, Borys Kuznetsov and Volodymyr Horbach. We were also hosting the Vice-President of the European Parliament and Board Member of the CIR at the same time, Dr. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, and also the former head of the OSCE mission in Minsk, Mr Hans-Georg Wieck. The conference was attended by about 70 participants – experts, representatives of embassies. Speeches were held by President Anatolij Liebiedźka and Vice-President of the United Civic Party, Aliaksandr Dabravolski, as well as one of the initiators of the rebirth of Radio for Belarus, Mr Dmitry Novikau.

The event was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

## **June**

### **23.06.2005**

Seminar “Young migrants in Poland”. The participants of the first session devoted to access of foreigners to education in Poland, conducted by prof. Krystyna Iglicka of CIR, were Ms. Hanna Reczulska, Dr. Dawid Kolbaia (lecturer in the Institute of Oriental Studies at Warsaw University). Among the participants of the second session, led by Ms. Julia Smirnowa were Karen Donaldson (Ireland), Ton Van Anh (Vietnam) oraz Mykola Perun (Ukraine). This session was titled “Young immigrants: labour market and higher education”

The seminar was organized by the CIR and the Foundation ‘Civic Club’ within the project „Immigration as a strategy of development of the New Europe: a presence of immigrants on the labour market in Poland after EU enlargement”.

### **17.06.2005**

International conference “The future of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU”. Among the participants of the first session, chaired by Janusz Reiter, President of the CIR, were Dr. Fraser Cameron, Director of Studies in the European Policy Center in Brussels, Prof. Dominique David, Research Fellow of the French Institute of International Relations in Paris and

Dr. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Vice-President of the European Parliament and Member of the Board of the CIR. Among speakers at the second session, chaired by Eugeniusz Smolar, were Elmar Brok, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, Dr. Beata Kolečka from the EU Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Mathias Jopp, Director of the Institute for European Policy in Berlin.

The conference was organized in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

## July

### **28.07.2005**

Briefing and presentation of the CD-ROM "The impact of EU enlargement on the labour market and migration in Europe – a view one year later." The meeting was conducted by Mr Marek Sarjusz-Wolski, President of the Club of the European Journalists SDP. Participants included HE Charles Crawford (Ambassador of Great Britain to Poland), Stephan Raabe (Director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Poland), Prof. Krystyna Iglicka (CIR), Mr. Danny Srisikandarajah (Institute for Public Policy Research from Great Britain), Mr. Jakub Wiśniewski (Office of the Committee for European Integration - UKIE) and Ms. Magdalena Sweeklej (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Labour).

## August

### **26.08.2005**

Panel discussion "German-Russian relations and their significance for Poland." Main speaker was Dr. Heinz Timermann, associate of the Science and Politics Foundation in Berlin. Participants in the discussion led by Eugeniusz Smolar (CIR) also included Dr. Marek Cichocki (European Center in Natolin) and Adam Eberhardt (PISM).

## September

### **5-9.09.2005 and 14-19.11.2005**

"Belarussian School of Journalism," 1st and 2nd edition. This program involved a one week "School of Journalism" conducted by Polish and Belarussian specialists. In addition, one-week internships in press and TV editors' offices were offered. Among editors committed to this program were those of the Polish Radio SA, and of the newspapers "Gazeta Wyborcza," "Rzeczpospolita,"

“Wprost,” “Newsweek,” TVN24, and “Ozon.”

#### **14.09.2005**

Meeting of the Foreign Policy Club. “The EU as a global actor. The Future of the Common Foreign and Security Policy in times of crisis.” The Club’s guest was Dr. Anne-Marie Le Gloanec (Director of the Centre of International Relations and Research in Paris, lecturer at Johns Hopkins University and commentator for “Le Figaro”). Discussion was chaired by Eugeniusz Smolar (CIR).

The conference was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

#### **29.09.2005**

International conference “Security dilemmas and tasks for national migration policies.” The Warsaw conference was the first one within the project “Warsaw-Kiev-Chisinau-Budapest-Brussels”, organized within the framework of the program “Transatlantic internal security agenda and dilemmas for the European migration policy.” The Conference was opened by Dr. Andrea Witt (German Marshall Fund of the United States), prof. Krystyna Iglicka (CIR), Mr Piotr H. Kowalski (the Foundation ‘Civic Club’) and prof. Dariusz Stola (the Collegium Civitas).

The purpose of this conference was to confront the representatives of states with long histories of migration with those states, whose experience in this respect is relatively fresh. Eminent American and European specialists participated in this conference.

During the first session, after an introduction by Ms Agnieszka Weiner (University of Warsaw), regarding the role of the state in migration theories, the floor was taken by Ms. Michele Wucker (New School University) from the US and Mr. Craig A. Goodes (Immigration Intelligence Enforcement Branch) from Canada.

Another session was attended by Prof. Friedrich Heckmann (European Forum for Migration Research) from Germany, Mr. Daniel Topinka (Intermundia) and Dr. Ivo Samson (Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association).

The conference concluded with a political panel on the situation in Poland. Among the participants were Mr Jakub Boratyński (the Stefan Batory Foundation), Gen. Brig. Marek Bieńkowski (Chief Commander of the Border Guard in 1997-2001), Jan Węgrzyn (the Office for Repatriation and Foreigners), Prof. Dariusz Sola (the Collegium Civitas), Chief Constable Eugeniusz Szczerbak (Chief Police Headquarters) and Mr Leszek Szerepka (the Center for Eastern Studies)

The conference was held in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the Foundation ‘Civic Club’, the Collegium Civitas, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Embassy of Holland and the International Visegrad Fund.

## October

### 3.10.2005

Presentation of the report “Russian policy towards the European Union” prepared by Marcin Kaczmarek, PhD candidate in the Institute of International Relations of Warsaw University. The discussion with participation of Jerzy Marek Nowakowski and Maria Wągrowka was conducted by Antoni Podolski.

### 6.10.2005

International conference “Transatlantic Trends 2005.” During this conference, the representatives of the German Marshall Fund of the United States presented the results of the most recent opinion poll carried out in selected European countries and in the US by the German Marshall Fund.

The participants in two sessions chaired by President of the CIR Eugeniusz Smolar were Dr. Ronald Asmus (Director of the Brussels office of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, former Assistant Secretary of State), Bronisław Komorowski (MP, the Civic Platform), Dr. hab. Klaus Bachmann (Head of Political Sciences Department in the Willy Brandt Center of German and European Studies, University of Wrocław), Dr. Jacek Kucharczyk (Program Director of the Institute of Public Affairs), Ambassador Christian Strohal (Director of Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, OSCE) and prof. Andrei Vardomatski (Director of the Sociological Laboratory, „NOVAK” in Belarus)

The conference was organized in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

## November

### 2-4.11.2005

Program Director of the CIR, Antoni Podolski, presented Polish experience in intelligence service reform in his presentation “The Ukrainian intelligence service reform in the age of combating terrorism.” The presentation was given during a conference organized in Kiev by the Ebert Foundation and the Council of National Defence and Security of Ukraine.

#### **4-5.11.2005**

Seminars “European Union – closer” in Słupsk, Koszalin and Bydgoszcz. Among the panellists participating were: Mr. Przemysław Jaroń (the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation), Mr Marcin Nowicki (the Institute for Market Economy Research), Mr Bartłomiej Nowak (European Parliament), Mr Piotr Maciej Kaczyński (the Institute of Public Affairs), Mr Marcin Kaczmarek (the Institute of International Affairs, University of Warsaw). The meetings were conducted by Mr Michał Safianik (CIR)

The seminars were part of the European Public Debate carried out by the Office of the Committee for European Integration. They were organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

#### **17-18.11.2005**

Seminars “European Union – closer” in Leszno, Legnica and Kalisz. Among panellists participating were: Mr Robert Grzeszczak (the Willy Brandt European Center), Mr Przemysław Jaroń (the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation), Mr Piotr Maciej Kaczyński (the Institute of Public Affairs), Mr Marcin Kaczmarek (the Institute of International Affairs, University of Warsaw). The meetings were conducted by Mr Michał Safianik (CIR).

The seminars were part of the European Public Debate carried out by the Office of the Committee for European Integration. They were organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

#### **23.11.2005**

Panel discussion “Poland and Germany after elections. New governments, old and new problems.” Prof. Arnulf Baring, historian and publicist and Dr. Volker Perthes, Director of the Science and Politics Foundation in Berlin participated in the discussion on the German side. On the Polish side were Mr Marek Cichocki, Program Director of the European Center in Natolin and Dr. Jan Szomburg, Director of the Institute for Market Economy Research. Debate first and foremost was related to the principal goals of the new governments in Germany and Poland after the parliamentary elections of 2005. The guests from Germany presented an opinion regarding the policy of the grand coalition with respect to the social and economic reforms and changes in the foreign policy. They also presented perspectives on further Polish-German cooperation in light of recent controversies.

#### **24-25.11.2006**

Seminars „European Union – closer” in Przemyśl, Tarnobrzeg and Zamość. Among panellists

participating were: Ms Maria Wagrowska (CIR), Mr Adam Balcer (the Center for Eastern Studies), Mr Piotr Maciej Kaczyński (the Institute of Public Affairs). The meetings were conducted by Mr. Michał Safianik (CIR).

The seminars were part of the European Public Debate carried out by the Office of the Committee for European Integration. They were organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

#### **26-28.11.2005**

Program Director of the CIR, Antoni Podolski, presented the problems of intelligence service and Ministry of Internal Affairs reform at a seminar that dealt with the democratic transformation of the force sectors in Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova and Armenia. The seminar was organized by the Centre for European Security Studies in Groningen (Holland).

#### **27-29.11.2005**

The 7<sup>th</sup> Polish-German Meeting of Editors-in-Chief in Berlin entitled “Elections in Poland and Germany – their impact on Polish-German relations.” This is a cooperative project of the CIR, the Robert Bosch Foundation and the *Chancellor Office of Brandenburg*. This project has the goal, apart from holding meetings and exchanging professional experience among Polish and German editors-in-chief, to organize talks with politicians and persons significant for Polish-German relations from both countries, in order to deepen the knowledge about the neighbour country, as well as about important social and political processes and bilateral relations. It is supposed to lead to mutual understanding, to help overcome prejudices and to intensify contacts between the media from both banks of the Oder and Nysa (Neisse). In 2005, the participants of the meeting, which was entitled “Elections in Poland and Germany – their impact on the Polish-German relations,” focused on transformations on the political scenes in Warsaw and Berlin. During the panel discussion, the editors debated on the significant role of the media in the last elections. Among the partners of the Polish and German editors’ discussions were also the Mayor of Berlin, Mr. Klaus Wowereit, Secretary of State in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Klaus Scharioth, Deputy Speaker of the Bundestag, Mr Wolfgang Thierse and a politician of the Civic Platform, Mr Bronisław Komorowski.

### **December**

#### **07.12.2005**

The 12<sup>th</sup> Polish-German Forum. It was held in Warsaw and attended by numerous outstanding personalities from both countries who discussed the principal bilateral problems. This year, the

Forum was entitled: "Poland and Germany after elections – the ways to efficient cooperation." Both sides were represented by personalities from the spheres of politics, business, science, culture and media. Proceedings were chaired by Prof. Gesine Schwan, co-president of the Forum on the German side and Prof. Irena Lipowicz, Ambassador-Representative of the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Polish-German cooperation. The leading topics of the 12<sup>th</sup> Forum were the EU Eastern policy, with special emphasis on the role of Poland and Germany, and issues related to the EU crisis, provoked by the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in the referenda in France and Holland. The first panel, which included the speeches of Mr Bronisław Komorowski and Dr. Friedbert Pflüger, was entitled "Outlines of the EU common Eastern policy." The second panel, which included the participants Dr Marek Cichocki and Dr. Matthias Jopp, was entitled "Poland and Germany: a way out of the EU crisis."

With a view to emphasizing the significance of the Forum, which coincided with the 35th anniversary of Chancellor's Willy Brandt gesture before the Monument of the Victims of the Warsaw Ghetto, an official opening was given by Prime Minister Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz, who stressed the special role of Polish-German relations and indicated the necessity of working out a proper mechanism of cooperation of both states, who would adequately address the challenges and conditions of the enlarged EU. Barbara Tuge-Erecińska, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also participated in the proceedings.

#### **8-9.12.2006**

Seminars "European Union – closer" in Siedlce, Łomża and Ostrołęka. Among panellists participating in the discussion were Mr. Piotr Kazmierkiewicz (the Institute of Public Affairs), Ms. Maria Wągrowaska (CIR), Mr. Przemysław Jaroń (the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation), Ms. Małgorzata Bonikowska (the Academy of Entrepreneurship), Mr Bartłomiej Nowak (European Parliament), Marcin Kaczmarski (the Institute of International Affairs, University of Warsaw). The meetings were conducted by Mr Michał Safianik (CIR).

The seminars were part of the European Public Debate carried out by the Office of the Committee for European Integration. They were organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

#### **9.12.2005**

Expert's meeting "Integration of minorities in Europe." The main guest was Mr Cem Özdemir, German Member of the European Parliament, member of the Greens/European Free Alliance, as well as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and of the Committee of Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs. The meeting was organized in cooperation with the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Warsaw.

### **10.12.2005**

Seminar “Transnational migrants – a chance or a threat for the state?” was organized in Kiev in cooperation with the Center for Peace Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine.

Transnational migrations escape the control of individual states. This is the reality of hundreds of thousands people, who by reason of dislocation lose identity and live in suspension.

The conference was attended by Ms. Margarit Fauser (Department of Sociology, Bielefeld University, Germany); Prof. Ludger Pries (Ruhr University, Bochum, Germany/University of Pennsylvania, USA), Ms. Ewa Palenga (Ruhr University, Germany), Dr. Olena Malinowska (expert from Ukraine), Prof. Krystyna Iglicka (CIR), Katarzyna Gmaj (CIR), Dr. Ruslan Antonevsky (University of Warsaw), Prof. Iryna Pribytkowa (Kyiv-Mohyla Academy), Dr. Andriy Starodub (Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine), Dr. Tanja Wunderlich (GMF).

It was the second conference of the series taking place within the framework of the program “Transatlantic internal security agenda and dilemmas for the European migration policy,” realized in cooperation with General Marshall Funds of the United States.

### **20.12.2005**

Conference “European Union 2006 – end or escalation of crisis?” It was attended by i.a. Mr. Jean Dominique Giuliani – President of the Schuman Foundation from Paris, Ms Ruth Hieronymi – Member of the European Parliament, Mr Denis MacShane – Member of the House of Commons, Ms Róża Thun – Head of the EU Delegation in Poland, Mr Stanisław Komorowski – Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Dr. Andrzej Olechowski – former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jarosław Pietras – Minister of European Affairs, Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld – former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Paweł Zalewski, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Lower Chamber of Parliament (Sejm).

The participants of the conference made an attempt to reflect on the passing year, which turned out to be exceptional for European integration. The second panel summed up the project “European Union – closer” – a series of seminars and conferences of the CIR in twelve various towns in Poland treating fundamental issues of European integration and addressing local societies. Those reflections, based on the local experiences, were ground for a discussion regarding the possibility of pushing forward a debate on the future of the European project.

The conference was part of the European Public Debate carried out by the Office of the Committee for European Integration. It was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

## V. Publications of the CIR in 2005

### „Reports & Analyses” (in Polish)

- Nr 10/05 Agnieszka Weinar, „Polityka migracyjna Polski w latach 1990-2003 – próba podsumowania (Polish migration policy in 1990 -2003 – an attempt of summary)”
- Nr 9/05 Bartłomiej Nowak, „W poszukiwaniu szans rozwojowych. Światowa Organizacja Handlu i Runda z Doha (Searching for the development opportunities. The World Trade Organization and the Doha Round)”
- Nr 8/05 Marcin Kaczmarek, „Polityka Rosji wobec Unii Europejskiej (The policy of Russia towards the European Union)”
- Nr 7/05 Krystyna Iglicka, Agnieszka Weinar, „Wpływ rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej na ruchy migracyjne na terenie Polski (The impact of the EU enlargement on migratory movements in Poland)”
- Nr 6/05 Bartłomiej Nowak, „Nowa perspektywa finansowa Unii Europejskiej 2007–2013 (New financial perspective for the European Union 2007–2013)”
- Nr 5/05 Tomasz Paszewski, „Ameryka i Europa – od zakończenia sporu do partnerstwa? (America and Europe – from end of dispute to partnership?)”
- Nr 4/05 Jacek Czaputowicz, „Polityka zagraniczna i dyplomacja Unii Europejskiej a Traktat Konstytucyjny (Foreign policy, diplomacy of the European Union and the Constitutional Treaty)”
- Nr 3/05 Katarzyna Gmaj, „Imigranci na polskim rynku pracy w świetle opinii pracodawców (Work of foreigners in Poland in the opinion of employers)”
- Nr 2/05 Klaus Bachmann, „Co zmienia Traktat Konstytucyjny UE? (What does the EU Constitutional Treaty change?)”
- Nr 1/05 Antoni Podolski, „Polska Strategia Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego jako praktyczna implementacja Europejskiej Strategii Bezpieczeństwa – między teorią a praktyką (The Polish national security strategy as a practical implementation of the European Security Strategy – between theory and practice)”

### „Reports & Analyses” (in English)

- 13/05 Marcin Kaczmarek, „The Policy of Russia towards the European Union”
- 12/05 Krystyna Iglicka, „The Impact of the EU Enlargement on Migratory Movements in Poland”

- 11/05 Krystyna Iglicka, „Migrations: the Politics Lined with Fear? – Transatlantic Security and Immigration project's publication”
- 10/05 Michele Wucker, „National Security and Non-citizens in the United States after 9/11 – Transatlantic Security and Immigration project's publication”
- 9/05 Daniel Topinka, „The Client's System in the Czech Labour Market: Brokers, Immigrants and Employers – Transatlantic Security and Immigration project's publication”
- 8/05 Ivo Samson, Alexander Duleba, „International Migration and Slovakia's Security – Transatlantic Security and Immigration project's publication”
- 7/05 Friedrich Heckmann, „The Social Organisation of Human Smuggling – Transatlantic Security and Immigration project's publication”
- 6/05 Craig Goodes, „Smart Borders and Security – Transatlantic Security and Immigration project's publication”
- 5/05 Andrea Witt, „Challenges in the Area of Immigration, Integration and Security – Transatlantic Security and Immigration project's publication”
- 4/05 Krystyna Iglicka, „Active Civic Participation of Third Country Immigrants – Poland”
- 3/05 Piotr Koryś, Agnieszka Weinar, „Immigration as labour market strategy”
- 2/05 Krystyna Iglicka, Piotr Kaźmierkiewicz, Agnieszka Weinar, „Current Immigration Debates in Europe: A Publication of the European Migration Dialogue”
- 1/05 Marcin Zaborowski, „The CIR Joins the Global Debate on the Use of Force. The report from the Seminar 'The Use of Force – European and American Perspectives'”

**Conference and seminar materials (in Polish)**

- Radosław Bergier, Antoni Podolski, Michał Safianik (ed.), “Przyszłość Wspólnej Polityki Zagranicznej i Bezpieczeństwa (Future of the Common Foreign and Security Policy)”
- Maria Wągrowaska (ed. ), “Unia Europejska i Europa Południowo-Wschodnia (European Union and the South-Eastern Europe)”
- Jan Rokita, “Polska polityka zagraniczna – ile kontynuacji, ile zmian? (Polish foreign policy – how much of continuation, how much of change?)”
- Piotr Chmielewski, Antoni Podolski (ed.), “Skazani na konflikt? – stosunki polsko-rosyjskie po ukraińskiej pomarańczowej rewolucji (Fated to conflict? – Polish-Russian relations after the Ukrainian orange revolution)”
- Maria Wągrowaska (ed.), “Unijna polityka zagraniczna i konstytucja (Polityka zagraniczna i

bezpieczeństwa UE w świetle Traktatu Konstytucyjnego) (EU foreign policy and the Constitution (Foreign and Security Policy of the EU in the light of the Constitutional Treaty))”

### **Conference and seminar materials (in English)**

Jerzy Uklański, „The European Union and South-Eastern Europe”

Jan Rokita: „Polish Foreign Policy – How Much of Continuation, How Much of Change?”

## **VI. Publications of the CIR experts and partners in 2005**

### **Books**

Iglicka K. (ed) (2005), “Consequences of the EU enlargement on selected EU labour markets - evaluation of the first year”, Warsaw (in English and Polish).

### **Chapters in books – collective work**

Iglicka, K., 2005 'Labour migration into Poland: the case of the Vietnamese community', in: Ernst Spaan, Felicitas Hillmann and Ton van Naerssen (eds) 'Asian migrants and European Labour markets', Routledge, London.

Iglicka, K., 2005 'National Paradigms of Migration Research in Poland', in: K. Slany (ed), International Migration. A Multidimensional Analysis, AGH, University of Science and Technology Press, Cracow (in English).

Iglicka, K., 2005, 'The Impact of the EU integration on the Polish labour market', in: Iglicka K., (ed) Consequences of the EU enlargement on selected EU labour markets - evaluation of the first year, Warsaw (in English and Polish).

Iglicka, K. (with P. Kaźmierkiewicz and A. Weinar), 2005, 'Poland', in: J. Niessen, Y. Schibel and C. Thompson (eds), Current Immigration Debates in Europe, Migration Policy Group, Brussels.

Iglicka, K., (with M. Okolski), 2005, 'A Central European Perspective', in: R. Süßmuth (ed) Managing Integration: The European Union's Responsibilities Towards Immigrants, Publisher Brookings Inst Pr.

## Articles

Antoni Podolski, „Obrażeni na własne życzenie”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 13.01.2005.

Dorota Hemi, Maria Wągrowa, Przemysław Żurawski vel Grajewski, „Ukraina Szafirowa”, *Rzeczpospolita*, 3.02.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Komu szkodzi mróz ze wschodu”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 4.02.2005.

Piotr Buras, „Drezno – dwie przeszłości”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 4.02.2005.

Olaf Osica, „Z Iraku do Palestyny”, *Rzeczpospolita*, 17.02.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Jechać do Moskwy”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28.02.2005.

Piotr Zalewski, „Za daleko na wschód od Edenu”, *Rzeczpospolita* 17.03.2005.

Maria Wągrowa, „Zakłęcia i realia”, *Rzeczpospolita* 29.03.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Bać się Rosji, współpracować z Niemcami”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 10.05.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Historyczne hity polityczne”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 18.05.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Kibicujemy Chirakowi”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 24.05.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Co odpowiemy Francuzom”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 31.05.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Tony Odnowiciel”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 23.06.2005.

Olaf Osica, „Geopolityka bez wakacji”, *Rzeczpospolita*, 8.07.2005.

Michał Safianik (współautor), „Polen: das erste Jahr in der EU – eine Bilanz”,  
[http://www.ealiz.at/texte/beilage\\_polen\\_02\\_05.pdf](http://www.ealiz.at/texte/beilage_polen_02_05.pdf), summer 2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Rosyjscy chuligani polityczni”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 11.08.05.

Antoni Podolski, „Mińskie manewry”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 1.08.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „ Co obiecuje Merkel” *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 19.08.2005.

Jerzy Uklański, „Analizy traktatu konstytucyjnego w Polsce”, *Nowa Europa*, 08.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Groźny gazpakt Rosji i Niemiec”, „*Gazeta Wyborcza*”, 9.09.2005.

Tomasz Paszewski, „Transatlantic Relations: The American perspective”, *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs*, vol. 13 no 4, Jesień 2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Bezpieczeństwo niewyborcze”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 22.09.2005

Antoni Podolski, „Warszawa-Berlin: Nowe koalicje, barwne ambicje”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 24.10.2005.

Michał Safianik, „Bruksela bliżej Wielkopolski”, [http://www.leszno.pl/leszno2/?redir=mod\\_arts](http://www.leszno.pl/leszno2/?redir=mod_arts), 11.2005

Antoni Podolski, „Europa: powrót egoizmów”, Gazeta Wyborcza, 2.11.2005.

Antoni Podolski, „Rosja: mięso i marchewka”, Gazeta Wyborcza, 22.11.2005.

Jerzy Uklański, „Manifest dla świata Zachodu”, Nowa Europa, Jesień 2005.

Maria Wągrowka, „Nie chować się za tarczą”, Rzeczpospolita, 28.12.2005

Antoni Podolski, „Negocjujemy po europejsku”, Gazeta Wyborcza, 29.12.2005.

## **VII. Program Board of the CIR**

Dr. Ronald D. Asmus, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Prof. Jan Barcz, former Ambassador of Poland to Austria, Warsaw School of Economics

Amb. J. D. Bindenagel, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

Dr. Henryka Bochniarz, Polska Konfederacja Pracodawców Prywatnych, Warszawa

Dr. Zbigniew Brzeziński, former National Security Advisor, CSIS, Washington

Dr. Erhard Busek, Special Co-Ordinator of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, Brussels

Prof. Jerzy Buzek, former Prime Minister of Poland, Member of the European Parliament

Prof. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, former President of the National Bank of Poland, Warsaw

Dr. Daniel Hamilton, Professor at the Johns Hopkins University, Washington

Prof. Ludger Kühnhardt, Center for European Integration Studies, Bonn

Prof. Zbigniew Lewicki, American Studies Center, the Warsaw University

Prof. Zdzisław Najder, writer, political scientist, Warsaw

Dr. Andrzej Olechowski, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Warsaw

Prof. Dariusz Rosati, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Member of the European Parliament

Prof. Wojciech Sadurski, European University Institute, Florence

Prof. Fritz Stern, the Columbia University, New York

Dr. Hanna Suchocka, former Prime Minister of Poland, Ambassador to the Holy See, Vatican City

Dr. Jan Szomburg, Director of the Institute for Market Economics, Gdańsk

Prof. Jan Zielonka, St Antony's College, Oxford

## VIII. Staff of the CIR

**Janusz REITER** – President of the CIR (from October 2005 Ambassador to the USA)

Diplomat and political commentator. In 1971-1976 student of German studies at Warsaw University. Since 1977, editor of the daily *Życie Warszawy*, dismissed during period of martial law. He was a participant and a board member of the Club of Political Thought „Dziekania”. From 1984-1989 he worked as a commentator of *Przegląd Katolicki*. In 1990-1995 he was appointed the Polish Ambassador to the German Federal Republic. From 1998, he was President of the Center for International Relations in Warsaw. He was a founding member of the Foreign Policy Council. He was also a Member of the National Council of European Integration and other Polish and international institutions. Published i.a. in Poland, Germany, UK and US. He was awarded the German Great Cross of Merit with the Star and Ribbon. Co-chairman of the Polish-German Forum. Columnist of *Rzeczpospolita*.

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**Eugeniusz SMOLAR** – President of the CIR (from October 2005)

Journalist, media manager, born in 1945. His studies of Political Economy at Warsaw University were interrupted by imprisonment in 1968 as a result of participation in students' protests in March and protests against the Warsaw Pact armies' invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Following his release from jail, he emigrated to Sweden in 1970 and completed his studies at the Sociology Faculty at Uppsala University. In 1975 he joined the BBC World Service as a journalist working in the Polish Section, became its deputy director in 1982, and later its director (1988-1997). He actively supported the Workers' Defence Committee (KOR) and other democratic opposition groups in Poland, later Solidarity Trade Union, as well as underground publications. He was co-founder of émigré political quarterly “Aneks” (1973-1990) and the Aneks Publishing House. Following his return to Poland in 1997 he became member of the Management Board of Polskie Radio S.A. (public radio) with responsibility for the program (1998-2002). Later he became its Program Director. He was co-organizer of the 25th anniversary celebrations of “Solidarity” Trade-Union (August 2005) and program director of the international conference “From Solidarność to Freedom”. Mr Smolar has been co-operating with the Center for International Relations. In October 2005 he became the President of the Center for International Relations.

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**Antoni PODOLSKI** – Policy Director

MA in history from Warsaw University. 1991-1996 – in the Office of State Protection. 1996-1999 Managing Editor in the External Services of Polish Radio. 1997-1999 – NATO Research Fellowship. 1999-2001 Deputy Minister of Interior and Administration. 2000-2001 Co-chairman of the Polish-Russian, Polish-Lithuanian, Polish-Belarusian and Polish-Ukrainian Commissions for Trans-border Cooperation. Has published numerous articles on national security, foreign policy, European integration, Russian issues and on intelligence services in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Życie, Rzeczpospolita*, *Gość Niedzielny* weekly and *Poland in Europe* quarterly.

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MA in German studies from Wrocław University. 1993-1995, employed at the Office for National Minorities, Ministry of Art and Culture. Completed postgraduate studies in human resources management and personnel consulting. Student of the Warsaw School of Social Psychology.

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PhD in mathematics. Honorary doctorate from the University of Leeds, UK. Since 1959, research worker (Institute of Mathematical Machines, Polish Academy of Sciences; Mathematics Department, Warsaw University). Active campaigner for freedom of speech and freedom of scholarship. Founding member of the Mazowsze Regional Chapter of the Solidarity trade union. Presidium member of, and spokesman for, Solidarity's Mazowsze Chapter. 1981-1989, member of Solidarity's National Executive Committee and spokesman for the Solidarity trade union. Imprisoned under martial law. Spokesman for the underground Solidarity Interim Coordinating Committee. 1989, participant of the Round Table negotiations. 1990-1992, Deputy Defense Minister. 1991-1993, head of the Polish parliamentary delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly. 1991-1994, member, Board of Directors, Institute for East-West Security Studies (New York). 1992, Secretary of State, Director of the Defense Ministry. 1992-1993, Defense Minister. 1989-2001, MP for the Przemyśl region. Deputy Chairman of the parliamentary Defense Committee,

member of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee. 1994-1997, Chairman, Euro-Atlantic Association. 1997-2000, Defense Minister. Deputy Chairman of the European Parliament

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### **Tomasz DĄBROWSKI**

MA in German studies and in Law, Gdańsk University. 1997-1998, Konrad Adenauer Foundation scholarship at Christian-Albrecht University in Kiel, Germany. 1999-2000, employed in the International and Interregional Cooperation Department of the Pomerania Regional Government. 2001-2002, trainee at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin within the framework of the Scholarship Program of the Robert Bosch Foundation for Young Civil Servants from Central and Eastern Europe.

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### **Balbina GLUZA**

Master of German Studies and Master of International Relations at the University of Wrocław. In 2002-2004 she was granted a scholarship within the Erasmus Program (University of Marburg) and Leonardo da Vinci Program. She has also cooperated with a number of German NGOs: Berlin – Brandenburgisches Institut fuer Deutsch- Franzoesische Zusammenarbeit in Genshagen and Polish-German Society in Berlin.

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### **Katarzyna GMAJ**

Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Sociology, Warsaw University (Social Anthropology), M.A. Sociology (Warsaw University, 2001), Culture Studies (Warsaw University, 1999). From 2001 she has been collaborating with various NGOs.

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### **Piotr ZALEWSKI**

Graduate of Columbia University (BA in History, 2000), Jagiellonian University (MA in Ethnology, 2002), the University of Exeter (MA in European Studies, 2003) and the College of Europe (MA in Advanced European Interdisciplinary Studies – Politics and Administration, 2004). European affairs specialist in the Bureau of the Legislative Council of Poland and advisor to the Polish government's deputy delegate to the European Convention (2003).

## **IX. Partners of the CIR**

### **Klaus BACHMANN**

Born 1963 in Bruchsal (Baden, Germany), studied history, history of Eastern Europe, political sciences and Slavic languages in Heidelberg, Vienna, Krakow and Warsaw. Since 1989, foreign correspondent in Warsaw (and from 1992 onwards, also in Kiev, Minsk and Vilnius) for several German, Swiss and Austrian dailies (*Stuttgarter Zeitung, Frankfurter Rundschau, Tagesspiegel*). Since 2001, Brussels correspondent for the same papers. Author of several books published in Poland, Austria and Germany on German-Polish and Polish-Ukrainian relations and the integration of Poland with the EU.

### **Jerzy KRANZ**

Dr hab., scholar and diplomat. Graduated from Law Department, Poznań University, 1966-1970. Research fellow at the Institute of Law Studies, the Polish Academy of Sciences, 1975-1990. Counselor, and subsequently Deputy Head of the Polish Embassy in Germany, 1991-1995. Deputy director of the Center for International Relations, 1995-1998. Director of the Department of Consular and Legal Affairs, and subsequently Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1998-2001. Polish Ambassador to Germany, 2001-2002. Scholarship from Alexander von Humboldt - Stiftung. Author of publications on international law and international relations.

### **Marcin ZABOROWSKI**

MA and PhD in political science at the University of Birmingham. 1995 - Assistant to the Undersecretary of State, the Ministry of Privatization. 2000-2001 – Lecturer at Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, 2001 – Research Fellow at the Institute for German Studies, University of Birmingham. 2002 – NATO Academic Fellow working on a project “The Transatlantic Link in Polish Foreign and Security Policy”. Since 2002 - Lecturer in European Politics at Aston University in Birmingham. Author of numerous publications dealing with two

broadly defined themes: foreign policies of Central and Eastern European states and the politics of transition in Central and Eastern Europe.

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