



Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych
Center for International Relations

Activities of the Center for International Relations – 2004 annual report

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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I. Introduction

The Center for International Relations (CIR) is an independent, non-governmental establishment dedicated to the study of international political issues and, in particular, Polish foreign policy. The Center's primary objective is to offer political counseling, to continuously monitor the government's foreign policy moves and to describe Poland's current international situation. In order to achieve these goals, the CIR holds conferences and seminars, publishes analyses, articles and books by its permanent and external experts. Over the last ten years, the CIR has become a public forum, attracting a number of leading politicians and experts. The Center's Program Board is comprised of eminent Polish and foreign personalities. The CIR has maintained a permanent partnership with other outstanding expert establishments in Europe and the US. Our ambition is to create a foreign policy community in Poland – an informal group of representatives of politics, business, science and media that would have a strong influence on the course of Polish foreign policy.

II. The Center for International Relations' activities in 2004

In 2004, the CIR's activities focused on the most important issues of Polish foreign policy, corresponding to the CIR's policy programs: the European Program, the Transatlantic Program, the Migration and Homeland Security Program, the Eastern Program and the Foreign Policy Club. The main area of study over the last year was Poland's membership in the EU. The CIR took part in explaining and assessing the accession negotiations and the provisions of both the Accession Treaty and the Constitutional Treaty. The Center's experts were speakers at a number of conferences and seminars all over Poland. In March 2004, the CIR organized an international conference "European Union and Enlargement – Challenges for the Future", where the issues of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as well as the future of the European Constitution were discussed.

In the course of 2004, the CIR made an effort to maintain a continuous debate over Poland's position in the EU. An important contribution to this cause was made by inviting leading EU politicians to Warsaw. Among those visiting Warsaw at CIR's invitation were: Commissioner for Enlargement, Günter Verheugen; German minister for foreign affairs, Joschka Fischer; former German presidents Richard von Weizsäcker and Roman Herzog; ministers for European affairs of Poland, Germany and France – respectively, Danuta Hübner, Hans Martin Bury and Noelle Lenoir.

Poland's entry into the EU caused the rising need to work out a new cooperation policy as regards other member states and the US. Last year, the CIR tried to analyze transatlantic relations – not only with reference to American and European ways of approaching the concept of international public law, but also by putting forward proposals suggesting new approaches, both for American and European politicians, concerning general security issues in the transatlantic region. The Transatlantic Program focused on the dynamics of American-European relations, especially in the context of developments in the area of NATO and the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. This program was dedicated to studying issues that arose in the transatlantic community as a result of the growth of unilateral tendencies in American security policy and controversies over the intervention in Iraq. Attention was paid to the possibility of easing tensions in transatlantic relations and their correspondences in Europe. Another important matter was the influence of these events and processes on Polish foreign policy. In order to facilitate the understanding of similarities and differences between Polish and French approaches to foreign policy, the CIR organized a Polish-French Roundtable on the future of CFSP/ESDP and transatlantic relations, as well as a seminar where experts compared the security policies of the US, the EU and selected European countries. The seminar on American security policy and the US approach towards Europe and other world regions presented a number of both American and European opinions on future scenarios in the wake of the re-election of President George W. Bush. The seminar devoted to the issue of the use of force in international relations and to different approaches of the EU and the US in the ensuing years, held in December in Brussels and organized in cooperation with the European Policy Center, gathered many well-known experts, representing NATO, the UN, the US Senate and the institutions of the European Union.

In 2004, the Migration and Homeland Security Program focused on two aspects of migration: internal security and movement of labor forces in connection with the EU enlargement. Two national seminars and two international conferences were organized. The first conference „Free Movement of Labor Forces after EU Enlargement – the case of Poland and Germany” was held in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation under the framework of the „European Migration Dialogue” program in Brussels. The second „Impact of the EU Enlargement on Selected EU Labor Markets” held in cooperation with the British Embassy, the Swedish Embassy together with the Swedish Institute and the Irish Embassy, was an attempt to sum up the consequences of opening the British, Irish and Swedish labor markets and not opening the German, Austrian and Greek labor markets. The foreign experts discussed, among other things: the reasons why a country decides to open or not to open its labor market; quantitative changes in workforce flow from the new Member States after

1 May 2004; the socio-economic changes in the face of (not) opening of a labor market; and the political consequences of (not) opening of a labor market. Polish experts also took part in the conference and presented their view on the political and socio-economic consequences of opening some European labor markets for Polish citizens. Within the Migration Program the “Monitoring of migration flows across the Polish border between 1 May through 31 December 2004” program was launched with a view to analyze migration flows in Poland after the EU enlargement. The project involves collecting statistics and other materials concerning quantitative and qualitative changes in migration in Poland and will be concluded by a report.

An important area of the CIR’s interest in 2004 was the political situation of Poland’s Eastern neighbors, including the direction of reforms and the foreign policy of Ukraine, as well as the position of Belarus in the region and its relationships with the EU and NATO. In December, in connection with the Ukrainian “orange revolution”, the CIR organized a conference, „After the Storm: the Future of the Ukraine in its Neighborhood and the World”, where international experts (including German, Slovakian, Russian, British, Ukrainian and Polish specialists) analyzed the Ukrainian political situation in the face of the elections and Viktor Yushchenko’s victory.

The Foreign Policy Club carried out a series of monthly meetings, held in English, with a view to discuss Polish foreign policy and international issues. The members of the Club are young politicians, civil servants, as well as business and media representatives. A foreign expert was invited to each meeting to present a thesis that would stimulate a discussion. In 2004, the Club’s guests included Jeremy Rosner, Armin Laschet, David A. Harris, Oliver Stirn, Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker, prof. Gerd Langguth and Borys Tarasyuk.

The CIR offers, in cooperation with the Robert Bosch Foundation, a Fellowship Program for Young Civil Servants from Eastern-Central Europe, designed for Polish, Czech, Slovakian and Hungarian public sector employees. The Center received almost 100 applications from Poland and 90 applications from Hungary, which proved the program was quite popular with the civil service. A Polish-German recruitment committee assessed almost 190 applications and appointed 9 Poles and 7 Hungarians for a 9-month stay in Germany. The trainees will acquire working knowledge of the German and European administration systems by participating in the works of public institutions, cooperating with other bodies of the public and private sector, as well as doing professional training.

The American Marshall Memorial Fellowship, funded by the German Marshall Fund of the US, is designed for young leaders in politics, business, media and NGOs. In 2004, the CIR organized three five-day visits of American scholars to Warsaw and Cracow, where they participated in meetings with Polish representatives of politics, media and NGOs. Furthermore, the Center carried out a recruitment process for Polish candidates willing to apply for the scholarship in 2005. During a four-week stay in the US, the scholars will learn about the way American political, economic, social and cultural institutions work.

Within the framework of the program for young German scientists, carried out with the support of the Robert Bosch Foundation, the Center for International Relations hosted two German PhD candidates: Cornelia Frank, focusing on European security policy, and Stefan Meister, involved in Eastern issues. The Center also offered unpaid traineeships for students of Polish and German universities. In 2004, more than 20 students were admitted to the CIR as trainees.

For four years, the CIR has been publishing a "Reports & Analyses" series, covering important issues of international politics. These studies are available on our website and e-mailed to more than 400 individuals and institutions in Poland and abroad. Our books are published in Polish, English, German and lately even in Ukrainian. The Center's experts are present in both the Polish and the foreign media. Their articles, opinions and comments are published in such papers as: *Rzeczpospolita*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, *Polska Zbrojna*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Die Zeit*. Our experts comment current events on TV and radio. The analyses issued by the CIR enjoy wide interest in the Sejm, the Senate and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

To reach its goals the CIR cooperated with a number of institutions, including: the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Poland (the CIR's partner), research establishments such as the Humboldt University in Berlin, the University of Vienna, the German Institute of International Affairs and Security, the German Foreign Policy Association, the Austrian Academy of Science 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 at Warsaw University, the Center for Migration Research at Warsaw University and the Center for Mass Migration Studies at the Polish Academy of Science. The CIR organized a number of ventures in cooperation with Polish Ministries, the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, The Chancellery of the Prime Minister, embassies and the Representation of the European Commission in Poland.

III. Programs

European Program

Coordinator: Piotr Zalewski, Tomasz Dąbrowski, Tomasz Paszewski

- The Constitutional Treaty and the ratification process in the member states
- Coalitions of states in the European Union
- Political consequences of the EU enlargement
- Polish-German relations
- The Polish position towards the internal reform of the EU
- The common foreign, security and defense policy (CFSP/ESDP)

Transatlantic/Security Program

Coordinator: Dr. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Maria Wągrowska, Dr. Marcin Zaborowski

- Polish foreign policy and “atlanticism”
- German-American relations
- The future of NATO
- German and Polish policy towards Ukraine, Belarus and Russia
- American foreign policy: the Central and East European perspective

Migration and Internal Security Program

Coordinator: Prof. Krystyna Iglicka, Antoni Podolski

- The European area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ)
- Poland as an immigration and transit country
- Migratory flows of labor and refugees alongside the European East-West axis
- The EU and terrorism
- The “brain drain” from the new EU member states – is it a real danger?

Eastern Program

Coordinator: Antoni Podolski, Wojciech Borodzicz-Smoliński

- 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

Foreign Policy Club

Coordinator: Małgorzata Hacuś

Monthly meetings involving young politicians, members of the state administration, business and media representatives, who discuss current international and foreign affairs issues.

The Fellowship program for young administration officials from Central and Eastern European Countries organized in co-operation with the Robert Bosch Foundation offers nine-month-fellowships in Germany for young Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Slovakian public sector employees – it is designed to allow them to improve their professional qualifications.

Coordinator: Tomasz Dąbrowski

The Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) is a scholarship program of the German Marshall Fund of the U.S. for young policy- and opinion-makers from 14 European countries and the United States. The program is aimed to give selected applicants an in-depth understanding of societies, institutions, and peoples across the Atlantic.

Coordinator: Małgorzata Hacuś

IV. 2004 Events

DECEMBER

21.12.2004

Meeting of **the Foreign Policy Club** with Robin Shepherd, CSIS expert, former Moscow Bureau chief of *The Times*, reporter for *The Washington Post*, *The Spectator*, *BBC World Service*, *Reuters* and *CNN*. The topic of the discussion was „**Spectators or Policy-Makers? The Role of the Media in the Latest Events in the Ukraine.**”

20.12.2004

International conference „**After the Storm: the Future of the Ukraine in its Neighborhood and the World**”. The speakers at the conference were: Boris Kuznetsov, Hans-Joachim Falenski, foreign policy advisor of the CDU/CSU fraction, Ottokar Hahn, former EU ambassador in Moscow and advisor in the cabinet of Commissioner Günter Verheugen, Robin Shepherd, CSIS Adjunct Fellow, Juraj Marusiak, Institute of Political Science in Slovakia, Jakub Boratyński from the Stefan Batory Foundation and Bogumiła Berdychowska, Polish-Ukrainian Forum.

The conference was organized in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Robert Bosch Foundation.

9-11.12.2004

VII Polish-German Meeting of Editors-in-Chief organized in collaboration with the Robert Bosch Foundation. The participants discussed the current domestic situation and reforms in both countries, the return to historical debates in Polish-German relations, as well as problems of populism as a political issue in today's democracies. The editors met with President Aleksander Kwaśniewski and other representatives of the Polish political scene, among others, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, Irena Lipowicz and Andrzej Celiński.

07.12.2004

International conference „**Impact of the EU Enlargement on Selected EU Labor Markets**”. The conference was organized in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the British Embassy in Warsaw. The first session of the conference was devoted to the political and socioeconomic consequences of the EU enlargement for those countries, which opened their labor markets. Among the participants of the discussion were Jane Rushton, Department for Work & Pensions, UK, Dr. Pauline Conroy from Ireland, Prof. Eskil Wadensjö, Swedish Institute for Social Research in Stockholm. The second part of the conference was devoted to the impact of the enlargement on those countries, which introduced transition periods in the area of free movement of labor. Dr. Uwe Hunger, University of Münster, Gerhard Eisl, I Secretary in the Embassy of Austria and Prof. Nicholas Glytsos, National Center for Economic Research, Athens. The last session was devoted to the impact of Enlargement on labor markets and migration in Poland. The speakers of the session were Prof. Krystyna Iglicka, Center for International Relations, Dr. Paweł Kaczmarczyk, Center of Migration Research, Warsaw University and Teodozjusz Faleńczyk, Deputy Director, Labor Market Department, Ministry of Economy and Labor.

03.12.2004

A seminar in Brussels devoted to the issue of the use of force in international relations „**The Use of Force – European and American Perspectives**” organized in cooperation with the European Policy Centre. Among those who spoke on the issue of EU and US approaches to the use of force were: Robert Cooper, Director General for External and Politico-Military Affairs, Council of the EU, Phil English, American senator, Jamie Shea, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO HQ, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, vice-President of the European Parliament and Board Member of the Center for International Relations and Kennedy Graham, The United Nations University. The discussion was chaired by Janusz Reiter, President of the Center for International Relations, Prof. Zdzisław Najder, Member of the Program Board of the CIR, as well as Fraser Cameron, Director of Studies, European Policy Center.

The seminar was organized within the framework of the „Europe as an International Actor: Convergence, Divergence and the Future of CFSP” program supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

NOVEMBER

19.11.2004

Seminar „**American Foreign and Security Policy – How Much Continuation, How Much Change?**”. Papers presented: „**Mandate for Bush – Challenge for the World**” by prof. Zbigniew Lewicki, Director of the Center for American Studies, Warsaw University and „**Europe’s Perspective**” by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, vice-President of the European Parliament, Expert of the CIR. The discussion was chaired by Antoni Podolski, Policy Director at the CIR.

The seminar was organized in the framework of the „Europe as an International Actor: Convergence, Divergence and the Future of CFSP” program supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

06.11.2004

International conference „**Eastern Policy Put to the Test: Elections in Belarus and the Ukraine**”. 17 panelists discussed strategies towards Ukraine and Belarus after the elections. The conference was organized under the media auspices of „Gazeta Wyborcza”.

The conference was organized in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

05.11.2004

Meeting of **the Foreign Policy Club** with Vincuk Viacorka, head of the Belarussian Popular Front. The topic of the discussion was „**Belarus. A challenge for the European Union**”.

OCTOBER

27.10.2004

Seminar „**Mediterranean Dimension of the EU: Israel. Defining the Polish Role**” The participants of the meeting were Mr Alon Snir, Deputy Head of the Mission of Israel to the EU and Israeli Ambassador to Poland, H. E. David Peleg. The Polish side was represented by Ms Beata Kolečka from the Department of Europe, Krzysztof Płomiński, head of the Department of Africa and the Middle East, Maciej Kozłowski, former Polish Ambassador to Israel, as well as Ireneusz Bil, an expert on the Middle East from the President’s Chancellery. The discussion was devoted to the issue of Poland’s contribution to EU-Israeli relations.

The conference was organized in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

22.10.2004

International conference organized in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung „**Free Movement of Labor Forces after EU Enlargement – the case of Poland and Germany**”. The discussion was devoted to the issue of Polish workers in the German labor market, foreigners in the Polish labor market, as well as to the political implications of the free movement of labor – based on the example of Poles working abroad and foreigners working in Poland. Among the conference participants were: Prof. Rainer Münz (Hamburg, Institute for Economics), Prof. Wojciech Łukowski (SWPS/UW), Dr. Maciej Duszczyk (UKIE) and Prof. Krystyna Iglicka (CIR).

The conference was organized with the financial support of the Migration Policy Group (MPG) in Brussels under the framework of the „European Migration Dialogue” program.

21.10.2004

Seminar „**Polish Participation in the Armed Intervention and Stabilization Mission in Iraq**”. During the seminar Ms Maria Wągrowaska presented her report under the same title. Ambassador Jarosław Bratkiewicz, head of the Iraq task force in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs elaborated on the future prospects of the political-economic situation in Iraq, Prof. Stanisław Koziej from the Academy of National Defense talked about the mission in Iraq, and Dr. Jacek Czaputowicz, Deputy Head of the Civil Service, spoke on the Polish engagement in Iraq and the Polish European policy.

The seminar was organized thanks to the financial support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

18.10.2004

Discussion „**Reform of the UN – European Dilemmas**” with the participation of ambassador Janusz Stańczyk, head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ Department of Global Problems and the United Nations System, as well as Dr. Piotr Świtalski, head of the Foreign Policy Strategy and Planning Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The event was held in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

01.10.2004

Panel discussion „**Chechen Refugees in Poland – A Stopover or a New Paradise Lost?**” with the participation of Prof. Irena Rzeplińska from the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights, Dr. Paweł Hut from the Council for Repatriation and Foreigners, Prof. Krystyna Iglicka (CIR) and Antoni Podolski, Program Director (CIR).

The event was held in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

SEPTEMBER

23.09.2004

Meeting of **the Foreign Policy Club** with Dr. Ronald Asmus, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs 1997-2000, engaged in the process of NATO enlargement in 1999. The topic of the discussion was „**Presidential Elections in the USA and their Influence on the Euro-Atlantic Relations**”.

23.09.2004

Conference organized in cooperation with the Institute of Public Affairs „**Transatlantic Trends 2004 – Public Opinion and Transatlantic Policy**”. The keynote speaker of the conference was Dr. Ronald Asmus. Other speakers at the conference were Dr. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, prof. Lena Kolarska-Bobińska, Dr. Marcin Zaborowski, Bronisław Wildstein, Olga Gyarfasova, Prof. Denis Lacorne, Jiri Pehe and Dr. Marek Stesny.

The Conference was organized within the framework of the CIR’s cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

20.09.2004

Lecture by Claudie Haigneré, French Minister for European Affairs „**French-Polish Relations and the Shaping of a Common Europe**”, organized with the daily *Rzeczpospolita*.

15.09.2004

Seminar „**Mediterranean Dimension of the EU: Turkey. Defining the Polish Role**” organized with the support of the Turkish Embassy in Warsaw. The guests of the conference were Turkish Ambassador to Poland Candan Azer, Dr. Piotr Nowina-Konopka, Ambassador Jerzy Chmielewski, Kaya Turkmen – Minister and Executive Secretary of the EU Contact Group, as well as Atilla Eralp – lecturer at the Middle East University in Ankara. The topic of the discussion was the Polish stance toward the future EU Enlargement.

The event was held in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

9-11.09.2004

The CIR organized the seminar „**Two-speed Europe – a Chance or a Threat?**” in the framework of the 14th Economic Forum in Krynica.

JUNE

29. 06.2004

Experts’ seminar „**Security Strategy of the European Union and the United States vs. security strategies of France, Germany and Poland – considerations on the future of ESDI and CFSP**”. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

Seminar within the framework of the program “Old Europe and the Transatlantic Security Agenda” supported by The German Marshall Fund of the United States.

24-26.06.2004

Seminar entitled “**Polish-German strategic talks. Common and Contradictory Interests**” was held in Falenty near Warsaw. The meeting gave a possibility for an open debate about the future of the Polish-German relations in the enlarged EU and about the place of both countries in the new international order. The main issues of the meeting were external and internal security, relations with the Eastern neighbors and the future of the Constitutional Treaty of the EU.

The meeting was held in cooperation with the Robert Bosch Foundation, DGAP German Foreign Policy Society, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and editorial office of Polish-German “Dialog” magazine.

16.06.2004

Meeting of the Foreign Policy Club, entitled “Ukraine between the East and the West”. The guest of the meeting was Borys Tarasyuk, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

15.06.2004

Meeting entitled "EU Security Dimension from the Perspective of Terrorist and Migration Threats". Piotr Stachańczyk, chairman of the Office for Repatriation and Foreigners, Józef Semik, Secretary of the Interministerial Center on Fighting Organized Crime and International Terrorism, Prof. Krystyna Iglicka and Antoni Podolski took part in the discussion.

It was held in cooperation with Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

12.06.2004

Conference "**Belarus before the Parliamentary Elections. Will it bring the change?**" was planned as an evaluation effort of the political, international and social situation before the parliamentary elections in Belarus. Senior representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took part in the discussion. Workers of the Belarusian Academy of Science, members of parties creating "Popular Coalition 5+", representatives of independent media from the Belarusian Journalists Association and Chartia'97 were among the speakers. Representatives of NGOs from Poland and Belarus were also present at the conference.

The conference was held within the cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the program of the Center for International Relations "New neighbors of the European Union and the NATO" supported by the Robert Bosch Foundation.

08.06.2004

Discussion with the Director of the EU Department in the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dan Aszbel, on "**enlarged European Union and the relations with Israel**". The discussion was chaired by Ambassador Maciej Kozłowski.

07.06.2004

Meeting of the Foreign Policy Club on "**Terrorism in the times of globalization**". The guest of the meeting was Prof. Dr. Gerd Langguth, former German Secretary of State and Member of the Parliament (CDU), currently professor of political science at the University of Bonn.

MAY

25.05.2004

Lecture of Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker entitled "**Changes and Challenges of Integrated Europe**". The meeting was organized in cooperation with the *Rzeczpospolita* daily.

APRIL

24.04.2004

A Polish-French Roundtable on the future of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the European Security and Defense Policy, as well as transatlantic relations. Several experts and diplomats from Poland and France, among others, Thierry de Montbrial, director of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), Patric Gautrat, ambassador of France to Poland, Prof. Adam D. Rotfeld, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Poland and Dr. Andrzej Olechowski, former Polish minister of foreign affairs took part in the meeting.

The seminar was organised within the framework of the Transatlantic Program „Old Europe – New Europe and the Transatlantic Security Agenda” supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

22.04.2004

Promotion of the book by Klaus Bachmann entitled **„EU Convention on the Future of Europe. Deliberative Democracy as a Method of Power Legitimization in a Multilevel Political System”**.

14-16.04.2004

A Polish-American Round Table on the transition and coalition operations of the armed forces organized in cooperation with the Potomac Foundation and the Institute for Defense Analyses. More than thirty military and civilian experts from Poland and the United States took part in the event. The head of the American delegation was the former chief of staff of the American Air Forces, General Larry D. Welch. The Polish side was represented by, among others, representatives of the Ministry of Defense, The General Staff, Military University of Technology and the armaments industry. The discussions focused on the American idea of network centric warfare, experiences of the war in Iraq and the role that the armaments industry plays in the creation of modern armed forces.

The meeting was organized within the framework of the program entitled ”Old Europe – New Europe and the Transatlantic Security Agenda” supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

MARCH

30.03.2004

International conference **”European Union and Enlargement. Challenges for the Future”**. During the conference the problems of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the enlarged EU and the future of the European Constitution were discussed. Among the guests were Simon Duke, representative of the European Institute of Public Administration from Maastricht, John Palmer representing the European Policy Center from Brussels, Thomas Klau from the *Financial Times* in Germany, Judy Batt, Institute for Security Studies in Paris,

Jan Truszczyński, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, College of Europe in Natolin, Jan Szomburg, the Gdańsk Institute for Market Economics and Henning Tewes, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

18.03.2004

The fourth meeting of the Foreign Policy Club „**The Future of Polish-French Relations in the Enlarged European Union**”. The guest of honour was Olivier Charles Stirn, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and the French Ambassador to the Council of Europe, a member of the Union for Popular Movement, sitting in its Committee for Foreign Affairs.

FEBRUARY

25.02.04

A lecture by Prof. Ludger Kühnhardt, director of Center for European Integration Studies in Bonn „**Failure in Brussels. What future for the EU?**”. Moderated by Janusz Reiter.

In collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

24.02.04

A debate „**Iraq: the Beginning of a New Era in Polish Foreign Policy?**” involving gen. Stanisław Koziej, Prof. Zdzisław Najder, Krystian Piątkowski, Jarosław Bratkiewicz, Janusz Reiter and Olaf Osica. The debate took place in the Center for International Relations.

The meeting was held as part of the program „Poland, Germany and the Transatlantic Security Agenda Programme”, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

04.02.2004

The third meeting of the Foreign Policy Club: „**Poland – Israel – the USA – the EU. New Hopes, New Challenges**”. The guest of honour was David A. Harris, the Executive Director of the American Jewish Committee.

JANUARY

20.01.2004

A seminar „**Belorussian Democratic Movement Before Parliamentary Elections**” with members of People’s Coalition 5+, involving Wincuk Wieczorka, Stanisław Szuszkiewicz, Siarhiej Kalakin, Anatol Lebedźka, Aleksander Buchwostau. Poland was represented by Eugeniusz Czykwini MP, Dr. Mariusz Maszkiewicz and Bogdan Klich MP. The meeting was organised in cooperation with the East European Democratic Center. The main aim of this short conference was to present the program of People’s Coalition 5+ and to establish cooperations with Polish political parties.

14.01.2004

A lecture by Prof. Frank Baasner, the Executive Director of the German-French Institute in Ludwigsburg „**German-French Relations in EU After the Enlargement**”. Moderated by Janusz Reiter.

In collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

V. Articles by the CIR's staff and partners

„Reports and Analyses”

- Nr 16/04, Piotr Zalewski, *Sticks, carrots and great expectations: Human rights conditionality and Turkey's path towards membership of the European Union*
- Nr 15/04, Jörg Monar, *Towards a New Framework of Co-operation in EU Justice and Home Affairs? The Results of the European Convention*
- Nr 14/04 Antoni Podolski, *The Hague programme (Internal Security and Justice in the period 2005-2009): the Polish perspective*
- Nr 13/04 Klaus Bachmann, *Unia Europejska dwóch prędkości jest niemożliwa*
- Nr 12/04 Maria Wągrowaska, *Polish Participation in the Armed Intervention and Stabilization Mission in Iraq*
- Nr 11/04 Jerzy Kranz, Klaus Bachmann, *Die Nulloption scheint ein Faktum zu sein: Bemerkungen zum deutsch-polnischen Reparationsstreit*
- Nr 10/04, Antoni Podolski, *European Intelligence Co-operation - Failing Part of the CFSP and ESDP*
- Nr 9/04, Tomasz Paszewski, *Polityka zagraniczna Stanów Zjednoczonych po wyborach prezydenckich*
- Nr 8/04, Bartłomiej Nowak, Rafał Rowiński, *Unia Europejska po rozszerzeniu. Na pierwszym zakręcie*
- Nr 7/04, Krystyna Iglicka, *EU Internal Security from the Perspective of International Migrations and Multiculturalism Dilemmas*
- Nr 6/04, Antoni Podolski, *European Security after Terrorist Attacks in Madrid - Polish Perspective*
- Nr 5/04, Simon Duke, *The Enlarged EU and the CFSP*

- Nr 4/04, Olaf Osica, *Irak – początek nowej epoki w polityce zagranicznej III RP?*
- Nr 3/04, Karol Reczkin, *Finlandia – granica zewnętrzna Unii Europejskiej z Rosją. Wnioski dla Polski*
- Nr 2/04, Jerzy Kranz, *Between Nice and Brussels or Life after Death*
- Nr 1/04, Bartłomiej Nowak, *Unia Europejska po szczycie w Brukseli (grudzień 2003)*

Conference and Seminar Materials

Prof. Krystyna Iglicka, Antoni Podolski, Jerzy Ukłański, *Chechen Refugees in Poland. A Stopover or the Paradise Lost?*

Tomasz Paszewski (red.), *Przyszłość CFSP/ESDP a stosunki transatlantyckie. Punkt widzenia Polski i Francji*

Wojciech Borodzicz-Smoliński, *Raport z konferencji VII Forum Mińskie*

Monika Mazur-Rafał, *Plenty of News in the East. Poland and the Union's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice*

Monika Mazur-Rafał, *Challenges for the National Migration Policy in the Context of the EU. The Experience of Poland and Germany*

Books

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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. Published numerous articles on national security, foreign policy, European integration, Russian issues and on intelligence services in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Życie*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Gość Niedzielny* and *Poland in Europe* quarterly.

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MA and PhD in political science at the University of Birmingham. 1995 – Assistant to the under-secretary of State, 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

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