



CENTRUM STOSUNKÓW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

activity report
2007



Eugeniusz Smolar
President

2007 saw the negotiations and signing of the Reform Treaty of the European Union, thousands of Polish soldiers sent on missions to Iraq, Afghanistan and Congo, Poland's accession to the Schengen zone, the advancement of Missile Defense negotiations and hundreds of thousands of Poles migrating abroad in search of work and a better life, thousands returning. We observed and analysed, debated and commented on these momentous occurrences.

In our diverse activities we concentrated on Transatlantic relations, the future of NATO, European integration, EU Common Foreign and Security Policy and European Security and Defense Policy, the Eastern Dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy, Poland's relations with the USA (migrations, visas, Missile Defense), Germany, Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Georgia and many more. The Migration and Homeland Security Program went from strength to strength under Professor Krystyna Iglicka.

The Polish elections of 2007 saw the end of a tumultuous two years of controversial rule of the radical coalition headed by the Law and Justice (PiS) party and lead by the charismatic yet disturbingly uncompromising Jarosław Kaczyński.

Poland's foreign policy quickly acquired the characteristics of the Prime Minister and was thus marked by blunt rhetoric, obsessive discontinuity and perpetual strife. The relationship became particularly tense with Russia on the

one hand and with Germany on the other. European allies saw in time the merits in some aspects of the Polish position (energy security, Russia's new assertiveness and 'divide and rule' tactics) but rejected the antagonistic ways Polish politicians and diplomats communicated it or tried to force them upon EU members.

During the first six months of 2007 the Center for International Relations focused on – on the one hand – trying to explain Polish foreign policy and its rationale to partners, allies, neighbors, experts, media and society at large. In an atmosphere of distrust caused by a need to discredit and deny any achievements of previous governments, CIR tried to build on a message of continuity and common sense. On the other hand, we decided to try and focus on constructive criticism and managed to build workable relations with the temporarily unfriendly leadership of institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Prime Minister's and the President's Chancelleries and a number of other governmental agendas. Upon invitation from the Polish MOD we contributed to the formulation of Poland's Strategy of National Defense and were asked to review pertinent legislation. We managed to stay clear of the all-enveloping hysteria and successfully tried to go about business as usual, analyzing, informing, coaching and advising.

The second part of 2007 was marked by a hostile electoral campaign in which we focused our efforts on providing a space for foreign policy debate and on trying to organize and explain the discussed issues, toiling to strip them of electoral demagoguery and populist rhetoric. It should be considered a major success that Minister Anna Fotyga, attacked by the great majority of the Polish Foreign Relations community, agreed to take part in the pre-election

conference on Polish foreign policy with the participation of experts and politicians from all major political parties (organized together with the Institute of Public Affairs).

Finally, after the elections - once Donald Tusk started forming a government - Maria Wągrowaska and Antoni Podolski took up the posts of Undersecretary of State in the Ministries of - respectively - Defense and the Interior. Alas hopefully these losses will – at least partly – be mitigated by Ambassador Jerzy M. Nowak's - until recently Polish Ambassador to NATO – acquisition. Ambassador Nowak will now head our International Security Program.

Our activities

2007 saw the strengthening and evolution of our four traditional programs: The Transatlantic and International Security Program, The Migration and Homeland Security Program, The European Program and The Eastern Program. We also continued work on our three Fellowship Programs: The Marshall Memorial Fellowship, The Carl Friedrich Goerdelar College Program and TAPIR - the Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security. Within the scope of these programs and the projects encompassed therein we focused on issues of import such as Polish-German relations, NATO's future, energy security (with a special focus on the Nordstream Gas Pipeline), Georgia's and Ukraine's transatlantic and European aspirations; Belarus, its relations with neighbors, sources of stability/instability and the state - or rather lack of - democracy there, the European Neighborhood Policy, the Fundamental Rights Agency, regional cooperation (Visegrad 4) and the European Common Foreign and Security Policy.

In 2007 we broadened research work on issues and regions which we hadn't covered before. Most importantly, we started the Wider Black Sea Network project (GMF funding) as the way of bringing the most important issues of that strategic region to Poland and Central Europe, and also initiated work on development aid and issues pertaining to climate change.

We also launched a new website, revamped much of our visual communication tools and doubled office space. We saw over 30 interns work and learn at the Center in 2007. We organized over 30 events for an estimated audience of some 3000 listeners, gave hundreds of interviews to printed and electronic press, traveled to conferences and seminars at home and abroad.

Our partners and sponsors

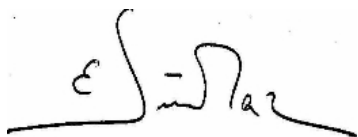
In 2007 CIR cooperated with the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Economy, Office of National Security of the President as well as with Committees of Foreign Affairs in the Sejm and Senat of the Parliament of the Republic of Poland.

Our research projects and conferences were financed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office of the Committee for European Integration, Ministry of Defense, European Commission as well as European Commission, UNDP and international foundations: German Marshall Fund of the US, Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Robert Bosch Foundation, the Foundation of German-Polish Cooperation, The Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe and many others.

We also worked closely with the Institute of Sociology and the Center of Migration Research of the Warsaw University, Migration Policy Group, the Studio of Mass Migration of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Center for Eastern Studies, the Institute of Public Affairs, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, the German Society of Foreign Policy, the Europeischen Akademie and the Humboldt University in Berlin, the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

All in all, 2007 proved to be equally busy and exciting. Amidst various difficulties and troubles we managed to broaden our areas of interest, deepen traditional areas of expertise all the while widening and diversifying audiences.

However the biggest challenge lays ahead, making 2008 live up to 2007.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'E. Smolar', with a long horizontal line extending to the left.

Eugeniusz Smolar
President of CIR

In its twelfth year, the Center for International Relations (CIR) is an independent, non-governmental think-tank. The Center's primary objective is to monitor the current international situation, giving special attention to Poland's foreign policy and to countries of strategic importance to its execution. CIR is especially focused on issues dealing with European integration, transatlantic relations and relations with our neighbors notably Germany, Visegrad 4, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia and other eastern countries. To this end, we organize conferences and seminars, publish analyses, articles and books. CIR has built an efficient forum of exchange for leading think-thanks, focused on international relations, in EU Member States, the USA, Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, even Japan, China and others.

The Center is managed by Eugeniusz Smolar who heads the Management Board which is composed of dr. Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Professor Jerzy Kranz. Ambassador Janusz Reiter who is now the Chairman of the Supervisory Board founded the Center in 1995.

JANUARY 2007

January 26: Seminar with Norman Podhoretz 'How to Win the World War IV'.

FEBRUARY 2007

February 12: Conference 'The Problem of Guarantees for Fundamental Rights Protection in Europe'

February 16: Seminar 'Germany's Presidency in European Union Council'

February 28: Seminar 'Possibility of the dislocation of US Missile Defense System Components in Poland'

MARCH 2007

March 1: Conference 'Missile Defence in Poland: Security Enhanced or Diminished'

March 8: Conference 'NATO and Article V'

APRIL 2007

April 18: Conference 'The U.S. View on Missile Defence' with Eric S. Edelman and General Henry A. Obering

April 27: Seminar with the Coordinator of the U.S. Government for Cuba, Caleb McCarry.

MAY 2007

May 7: Conference 'NATO and European Union in Defense Policies of Central European countries'

May 22: Seminar 'Missile Defense in Europe: Polish, Czech and German Perspectives'

May 29: Seminar 'Can We Live With a Nuclear Iran' with Patrick Clawson

JULY 2007

July 11: Seminar 'Treaty Reforming the European Union. Mandate to the Intergovernmental Conference'

July 19: Seminar 'Poland-USA: Cooperation for Security' with Władysław Stasiak and Witold Waszczykowski.

AUGUST 2007

August 6: Seminar 'The Political Situation in Palestine and the Middle-Eastern Conflict'

JUNE 2007

June 13: Seminar 'The Future of the American Era' with Robert J. Lieber

June 14: Discussion 'Populism and German Political Parties. A Crisis of Democracy?' with Prof. Frank Decker

DECEMBER 2007

December 7-8: Workshop 'Different roots, common goals?'

December 14: Conference 'Towards A Common European Energy Policy – Polish and German Perspectives'

SEPTEMBER 2007

September 24-25: Conference 'EU's Eastern Policy – Challenges and Opportunities'

September 26: Transatlantic Trends presentation with Ronald D. Asmus, GMF

NOVEMBER 2007

November 15: Conference 'USA and Europe—Common Security, Different Solutions?'

November 23: 'The Politics of Climate Change and Energy: National interests and the Perspectives for Polish-German Cooperation' with Prof. Lutz Mez

November 23: 'Environment and Ecological Modernization – Goals and Perspectives'

OCTOBER 2007

October 9: Conference 'Polish Foreign Policy at Crossroads'

October 17: Conference 'Poland in the Face of Global Challenges'

October 29: 'Changing NATO and the Central European Agenda'



Transatlantic Trends Presentation
Ronald Asmus (GMF), Eugeniusz Smolar (CSM)



Towards the European Union's Energy Security Policy – Polish and German Perspectives
Albrecht Lempp, Michael H. Gerdts, Antoni Podolski, Waldemar Pawlak, Zenon Kuchciak, Stephan Raabe



Conference 'Polish Foreign Policy At Crossroads'
Eugeniusz Smolar, Anna Fotyga, Lena Kolarska-Bobińska



Seminar 'Can We Live With a Nuclear Iran?'
Patrick Clawson, Eugeniusz Smolar



Conference 'Polish Foreign Policy at Crossroads'
Paweł Zalewski, Radek Sikorski



Conference 'Poland In the Face of Global Challenges'
Adam Leszczyński (Gazeta Wyborcza), Marcin Świąćicki (Left and Democrats), Ryszard Czarnecki (MEP)

THE EUROPEAN PROGRAM

Experts: Waldemar Czachur, Antoni Podolski, Andrzej Celiński, Mikołaj Banaszkiewicz (earlier: Balbina Gluza, Przemysław Jaroń)

The Program's activities focus on the most important aspects of the European integration process, in particular on such issues as the institutional shape of the European Union, the question of competences of EU institutions, consequences of EU eastward enlargement and the role of Poland in the European Union.

Key projects include:

- The EU Treaty reforms
- Coalitions of states within the EU
- Political consequences of the EU enlargement
- Future EU enlargements
- Polish-German relations
- The Polish position towards EU reform
- The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)

Europe Is Heading East

Europe's enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe and recent Romanian and Bulgarian accessions have shifted the economic and geopolitical interest of the EU to the east and the south-east. Countries such as France, Spain, Portugal and Italy are - for obvious reasons - mostly interested in the situation in the Mediterranean region. The interests of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and the Baltic States are closely linked to the development, well-being and security of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus or Moldova. Another country that plays an active and important role in this part of Europe is Germany, realizing new possibilities of economic development and influence.

During four conferences and in publications we answer the following questions: (1) How important to the EU, Poland and Germany are the relations with EU's eastern neighbors? (2) What is the hierarchy of the relations' significance in given areas? (3) Are there any significant - and objective - differences in the interests of countries of different economic and political potential or are there only subjective differences in perceiving them? (4) What is the role of the European Union in the



Conference 'EU's Eastern Policy – Challenges and Opportunities'
Hannes Adomeit, Eckart D. Stratenschulte, Wojciech Zajączkowski

mentioned relations? (5) If Eastern Policy could become a common project for Poland and Germany, would that enable rapprochement of the two partners or on the contrary - would it deepen the differences between Poland and Germany?

The aim of this project was for Poland and Germany to come closer and to recommend possible directions of collaboration in the shaping of the Eastern Dimension of the EU policy.

Partners: College of Europe Natolin - Warsaw, The Centre for Eastern Studies, Warsaw; The German Institute for International and Security Affairs – SWP, Berlin; Europäische Akademie Berlin; Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Osteuropakunde e.V., Berlin and the recently established European Council on Foreign Relations.

Strengthening Central European Contribution to the Eastern Dimension of EU's CFSP

The Center for International Relations is the Polish partner in the international project 'Strengthening Central European Contribution to the Eastern Dimension of EU's CFSP'. Four NGO's from Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia are partners in this program. The aim of the 3-year (2006-08) project – drafted by the Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI) together with think-tanks from Hungary, Poland and Slovakia (see below) – is to bring new impulses to public and expert debates in Visegrad countries (V4) concerning the Eastern dimension of EU policy and to increase and sustain a role of V4 in shaping the political agenda of the European Commission, European Parliament and member states in the area of CFSP and the European Neighborhood Policy. The Czech Presidency in the EU in 2009 and the Polish Presidency in 2011 will provide an opportunity to continue this project beyond 2008. The basic framework of the project consists of series of annual high level policy conferences (held in Bratislava – 2006, Warsaw – 2007, Budapest – 2008) and bi-annual seminars that communicate recommendations to EU institutions, including dissemination of policy papers. It provides a platform for think-thanks, NGOs and policymakers to work out common pragmatic positions, to communicate policy recommendations for both EU and national decision making institutions and to increase awareness among European decision-makers on the following issues: European Neighborhood Policy, EU Common Energy Policy, EU – Russia relations, future integration of the Balkans and the European future of our neighbors in the East.

Partners: Prague Security Studies Institute (Czech Republic), Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association (Slovakia), Center for EU Enlargement Studies, Central European University (Hungary).

Sponsors: International Visegrad Fund, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

Energy Security: Poland and Germany in the European Union

Countries that should be particularly interested in developing a common European energy policy are Poland and Germany, as they do not possess their own significant oil and gas resources hence being fully dependent on external - not always predictable - suppliers and transit countries. Meanwhile, it is between Poland and Germany that most tensions occur. The German contract with Russia on the Nordstream – Northern Gas Pipeline is widely seen in Poland as a threat to Polish energy security. A logical solution that would serve the energy security of Poland, Germany and the EU would be cooperation between the two countries. The Polish - German cooperation within energy policies could begin a real and not only declarative European energy security policy for which a pan-European gas pipeline network is crucial. The aim of the conference was to analyze the situation, identify the differences and to indicate possible directions of cooperation in the formation of a common European energy policy.

Partners: Polskie Górnictwo Naftowe i Gazownictwo (The Polish Oil and Gas Company - PGNiG), Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Polish and German Ministries of Economy

Sponsors: Robert Bosch Stiftung, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Polish-German Cooperation Foundation

Network Building: Transatlantic Alliance and the Wider Black Sea Region

The project is inspired by the EU Black Sea Synergy program and aims to confront prospective beneficiaries with envisaged strategies. The project aims at activating deeper integration of a network of think-tanks, NGOs and experts from the so-called Wider Black Sea Region and a number of EU member states. The Network's purpose is to deepen the knowledge about the developments in the region, identify convergent challenges, threats and methods of dealing therewith, which ought to contribute to a revitalization of a sense of strategic, political and intellectual community in Wider Europe and on both sides of the Atlantic. CIR's project aims to forge and maintain a long-term working relationship between expert circles from EU member states and those from the Wider Black Sea Region, whose countries are progressing towards democracy and market economy. An important objective of the Black Sea Network Project is to bring the most important issues of that strategic region to Poland and Central Europe. The proposed network building project will realize its objectives by: three international expert Round Tables; establishing an effective Internet platform for further exchange of views, discussions and dissemination of knowledge and experience.

Sponsors: German Marshall Fund of the United States

THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PROGRAM

Experts: amb. Jerzy M. Nowak, Maria Wągrowka and Bartosz Wiśniewski

The Program's activities focus on NATO, European Security and Defense Policy, transatlantic relations and selected security aspects of Polish foreign policy.

The Program encompasses, among others, the following projects/areas of particular interest:

- Polish foreign policy and 'Atlanticism'
- Missile Defense
- The future of NATO – Polish and regional perspectives
- American foreign policy – Central and East European perspectives
- German – American security relations
- EU AND NATO policies towards Ukraine, Belarus and Russia – security and defense aspects

Changing NATO and the Central and East European Agenda

The 'Changing NATO and the Central and East European Agenda' Project, implemented with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States was intended to be a follow-up activity of previous projects, as well as a creative extension and deepening of their findings.

The transatlantic link and NATO are topics of paramount importance to Poland. Participants in the project stressed that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have in general a different perspective as regards the threat perception than the Western Europe. NATO remains the most credible politico-military alliance, but the main question is if it will be able to provide Europe/Central Europe with the political will and abilities to react to new types of threats. It is also to be seen how new types of out-of-area activities would affect the internal cohesion of the Alliance. This applies to the defence of the member states territories and influencing the stability in the regions beyond the Treaty area.

Within the scope of this project CIR organized two high-profile expert conferences in Warsaw: 'NATO and Article V' and 'NATO and European Union in Defense Policies of Central European countries' and a conference "Georgia in Transatlantic Security", in Tbilisi with the participation of ranking Georgian officials. The project was summed up at the presentation of its results at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington, DC on the 29th October, 2007.

Partner and sponsor: German Marshall of the United States

The Image of the Democratic Soldier: Tensions Between the Organization of Armed Forces and the Principles of Democracy in European Comparison

The research project examined a question which to date has been overlooked in the work on Democratic Peace: the relationship of democratic societies with the institution, which plays an important role in keeping peace and waging war, i.e. the military. Maintaining an army creates a problem for all democracies, since the concepts of power and order of the military go against democratic principles: the internal military structure is characterized by relationships of superiority and inferiority, of command and obedience, which contradict the democratic postulate of equality and freedom. Democracies approach this area of tension in very different ways. These aspects were elaborated in detail in this project. The main goal of the study was to find an answer to the question of whether and how the different democracies succeed in closing the civil-military gap. These questions were pursued by way of a comparative research design. Qualitative case studies were elaborated of altogether 14 countries across Europe. Given the importance of civilian control over military means for a functioning of democracy, the majority of studied countries formerly belonged to the socialist hemisphere in eastern, central and south-eastern Europe.

Partners: The Project is being coordinated by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung) from Germany in cooperation with: Czech Republic - Masaryk University Brno; Estonia - Euro-University Tallinn; Hungary - Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, Budapest; Lithuania - Military Academy Vilnius; Poland – Center for International Relations, Warsaw; Romania - Bukarest University; Serbia - Center for Civil Military Relations, Belgrade; Slovenia - University of Ljubljana; Spain - Universidad Complutense de Madrid; Ukraine - Strategic and Security Studies Group Kiev.

THE MIGRATION AND HOMELAND SECURITY PROGRAM

Experts: Prof. Krystyna Iglicka, Katarzyna Gmaj, dr. Agnieszka Weiner

The Program's activities revolve around the issues that concern the development of the European area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ) and Poland's role within it as an EU border state. Research areas include: migratory flows of workers and refugees along the European East-West axis, problems related to Poland's transition from an emigration country into an immigration and transit one, as well as links between the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the European Security Defense Policy (ESDP) and internal security issues.

The Program encompasses, among others, the following projects:

- Poland as an EU border country
- The division of competences and the shape of European institutions and integration mechanisms in the security area
- European security and terrorism – the Polish perspective
- One pillar or two – the rationale of the traditional division of external and internal security in the era of globalization and terrorism
- Priorities and national separatisms and the AFSJ project
- New information technologies – “Big Brother” or the inevitable price of living in an area of freedom and security
- European security in light of the problems of integration of immigrants in the new member states and the dilemma of multiculturalism.
- Polish migration policy and migration management systems
- The ‘brain drain’ from the new EU member states – is it a real danger?

Transatlantic dimension of internal security and dilemmas for the European migration policy – 2005-2007

Within this project, Migration Program at CIR organized several international conferences on various aspects of immigration and integration in both Poland and abroad: in Kiev, Chisinau, Brussels, Budapest and in Washington DC. Results of this project are available at the CIR website www.csm.org.pl and in the printed series “The Transatlantic Security Challenges and Dilemmas for the European Migration Policy Project”. Five volumes were published: *The Transatlantic Security Challenges and Dilemmas for the European Migration Policy Project, vol. 5, Integration Policies in the EU and the US* in 2007.

Sponsor: The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Costs and Benefits of Temporary Labor Migration. Policy Solutions for New Migration Patterns – 2007-2008

The project focused on several aspects of costs and benefits of labor migration in the CEE region from the four perspectives: that of the new EU member states (Poland), that of the EU neighbors (Ukraine), that of the EU immigration policy and, that of the global debate on labor migration. There is a huge discrepancy between the area of permanent migration and the lack of systematic and institutionalized knowledge and activities on the subject of circular migration in Europe. This project is based on the assumption that more could and should be done on the European agenda on labor migration on the basis of the present experience and global solutions for temporary labor migrants. In the project we intend to examine following three topics: (1) circular migration from Eastern Europe, (2) brain drain, (3) remittances. Undertaken activities: desk studies on transatlantic solutions/instruments stimulating labor/circular migration, research surveys preparatory work (construction of questionnaires, pilot studies), two research surveys conducted on target samples of Polish labor workers migrating to the USA (564 respondents interviewed in Warsaw during Fall 2007) and to the UK (636 respondents interviewed in London during Fall 2007), building a data set/base, preliminary analysis of data, writing reports and translation, research conference in Warsaw. During the course of the half-year of the project three research reports have been published (in both Polish and English). They are available on CIR web-site. As a consequence of the research activities undertaken a conference in Warsaw took place on 17th January. Conference was attended by more than 100 participants: politicians, journalists, NGOs representatives and, researchers.

Partners: Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association (Slovakia), Intermundia (Czech Republic) and Hungarian Academy of Science.

Sponsors: German Marshall Fund of the United States

CLANDESTINO - Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends Across Europe

CLANDESTINO responds to the need for more reliable and systematic data on undocumented migration in Europe. Well-founded research is essential in order to ensure that migration policy initiatives do not have unintended, or even counter-productive effects on current or future undocumented migration flows. In this respect, the CLANDESTINO project provides an inventory and a critical appraisal of existing data/estimates on undocumented migration stocks and flows in selected member states, where undocumented migration is an important phenomenon. Towards investigating further the flows of undocumented migration, the project selects three EU neighboring countries that act as important "stepping stones" on the road of undocumented migrants to the EU (Turkey, Morocco, Ukraine).

CLANDESTINO will compare and analyze critically existing methods of data collection and calculation of estimates on the phenomenon. In parallel, it shall discuss the ethical implication of collecting and using data on undocumented migrants as well as the methodological problems inherent to the study of such a phenomenon, by definition elusive and not-registered. The concrete products of the project shall be a renewable database on undocumented migration that proposes a new method for evaluating and classifying undocumented migration data/estimates. We shall also draft guidelines for an ethical policy for mapping undocumented migration in Europe.

Partners: Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (Greece), Hamburg Institute for International Economic (Germany), Centre for the Study of Migration Policy and Society (UK), International Centre for Migration Policy Development (Austria), Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (Belgium).

Sponsors: Project funded by the European Commission Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme, Priority 8 Integrating & Strengthening the European Research Area.

European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship: Legal, Political and Educational Challenges (EMILIE)

EMILIE is an interdisciplinary project that aims to respond to the current 'crisis of multiculturalism' and the lack of a common EU intellectual framework to discuss the relevant challenges. The consortium partners are from nine EU countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Poland, Spain, UK) that represent different experiences of migration and integration, including those still in transition with regard to migration.

Partners: Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (Greece), Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship, University of Bristol (UK), National Institute of Demographic Studies, European University Viadrina (Germany), Centre for Ethnic and Migration Studies, University of Liege (Belgium), Department of Political and Social Sciences, University Pompeu Fabra (Spain), Latvian Centre for Human Rights (Latvia), Centre for University Studies in Journalism, University of Aarhus (Denmark).

Sponsors: Project funded by the European Commission Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme, Priority 8 Integrating & Strengthening the European Research Area.

Project "Migration Bulletin"

Migration and Homeland Security Program along with the Center for Migration Research of the Warsaw University runs a project devoted to current monitoring and commenting migration trends in Poland, the EU and Central/Eastern Europe. On-line: www.biuletynmigracyjny.uw.edu.pl

Partners: Centre of Migration Research - Warsaw University, Ministry of Interior and Administration (Department of Migration Policy), Ministry of Labor and Social Policy (Department of Labor Market, Department of Social Assistance and Integration, Department of Migration), Ministry of National Education, Office of the Committee for European Integration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Council on Refugees, National Headquarters of the State Fire Service, Polish Information and Foreign Investment Agency, Office of the Commissioner for Civil Rights Protection, Central Statistical Office, Institute of Public Affairs, Central European Forum for Migration, Center for Eastern Studies, International Organization for Migration, UNHCR, Caritas Polska, Polish Humanitarian Organization, La Strada Foundation, Stefan Batory Foundation, Proxenia, A-VENIR, Polish Red Cross.

Sponsor: Polish Ministry for Interior Affairs and Administration

EASTERN PROGRAM

Experts: Antoni Podolski, Wojciech Borodzicz-Smoliński, Łukasz Stawikowski

The Eastern Program deals with Poland's relations with Russia, the Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia and other states of the former Soviet Union, with EU and NATO policies towards this region, and with Polish regional policy.

CIR's experts concentrate on the following problems, analyzing the developments in various countries and areas of interest, participating in conferences and seminars, writing analytical articles for the press, granting interviews to the electronic media, etc... on the following topics:

- Situation in Russia, Ukraine and other eastern countries
- Poland's relations and policies vis-à-vis its eastern neighbors and future EU enlargements
- The anti-terrorist coalition and its impact on the formation of new relations between NATO, the EU and Russia
- Changes in NATO-Russia and EU-Russia Relations and their impact on Poland and Ukraine
- The new role of the Caucasus region and Central Asia

Belarusian School of Journalism

Belarusian School of Journalism was organized by the Center for International Relations in cooperation with European Radio for Belarus. It was a continuation of the project from 2006. The goal of this year's event was to prepare mostly young and inexperienced Belarusian journalists to work in a professional radio station and to make them able to run a radio broadcast in the future. The main task of BSJ was to improve journalistic skills of the journalists working for the ERB. BSJ in 2007 provided two professional training courses. The first one was focused on preparing and producing of radio programs (presenters and producers). The second part dealt with the issues of how to search for information and to prepare news services. It was mainly devoted to broadcasters-reporters.

Sponsor: National Endowment for Democracy.

Belarus Live

'Belarus Live' aims at supplementing the existing coverage of current events in Belarus. There are many websites in both the Belarussian and Russian language reporting on Belarus from that country but because of the language barrier they are little known in Western Europe, particularly among those who shape the policies vis a vis Belarus.

Our aim is to give an objective, unbiased picture of Belarus. Our coverage includes both official events and those sourced from the opposition and – broadly speaking – independent circles, which stand no chance of being publicized in the country's officially sanctioned and censored media.

<http://belarus-live.eu/> was published in 2007 in 4 languages: Belarussian, Russian, English and Polish.

Information is gathered, edited and translated by a 20 strong Belarus Live team working in Warsaw and Belarus. For security reasons some of the projecty participants are anonymous and are to be contacted only via e-mail. Apart from editing the web portal the information is also sent out to over 2000 readers via dedicated e-mail newsletter.

Sponsor: Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.



Belarus Live website

Local Young Leaders

The Project was devoted to the training young activists who seek to change their surrounding (residential area and building, or the occupants). The Project was implemented thanks to CIR's Belarussian partner. In the trainings we transferred knowledge about project building, budget planning, project management, etc.

Sponsor: National Endowment for Democracy.

PROJECTS

Monitoring of the Polish Foreign Policy

Conferences:

Polish Foreign Policy at the Crossroads – November 9, 2007

Publications:

- Krystyna Iglicka, Wizy do USA: Mity, Fakty, Rekomendacje
- Antoni Podolski, Between Samara and Brussels. Poland's European and Eastern Policy in the First Half of 2007
- Antoni Podolski, Gaz Narodowy czy europejski? Polityczne i historyczne uwarunkowania percepcji wybranych wyzwań dla bezpieczeństwa energetycznego RP
- Krystyna Iglicka, Strategies of Development of Polish Migration Policy Concerning Legal Labour Migration for 2007-2012
- Maria Wągrowka, Poland Behind an American Shield? Possible Deployment of the MD System and National Interest

Sponsor: Trust for Civil Society in Central & Eastern Europe.

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS

The Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF)

Coordinators: Andrzej Bobiński, Kasia Szajewska

The Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) is a fellowship 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. During the 3-4 week traveling program, Fellows from both sides of the Atlantic develop a broad knowledge of political, economic, cultural, and social issues in their host countries. Polish Fellows travel in multinational groups of 18-21 European Fellows to Washington, DC and are then divided into smaller groups, which continue their travel to four geographically and demographically different cities and towns across the U.S., completing their Fellowship in New York. Marshall Memorial Fellows are selected annually through a competitive national process in fourteen European countries, also in Poland. Candidates must be nominated for the program by a recognized leader in their community.

The Carl Friedrich Goerdeler College

Coordinator: dr Waldemar Czachur

The Carl Friedrich Goerdeler College is an international training program for executive public sector employees (civil service, public enterprises, non-profits etc) from, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania. The Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary.

Sponsor: The Robert Bosch Stiftung

The Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security (TAPIR)

The Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security (TAPIR) is open to candidates who have recently received their doctorate in social and political sciences or economics and whose research focuses on topics of international relations and security. Fellowships are granted for a duration of 24 months to prepare Fellows for a career in policy-oriented and international research at renowned think tanks and political consulting research institutes. Fellows spend three eight-month stays at research institutions or think tanks participating in the program - at least one on the Eastern, and one on the Western side of the Atlantic. Fellows spend three eight-month stays at research institutions or think tanks participating in the program - at least one on the Eastern, and one on the Western side of the Atlantic.

Participating institutes include:

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI), European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), RAND Corporation, Chatham House, SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations, the Institute for Strategic and International Studies (IEEI), the Center for International Relations (CIR), the Center for Security Studies (CSS) and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs/ Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)

EVENTS**January 26, 2007**

Seminar with Norman Podhoretz “How to Win the World War IV”. A roundtable discussion with the leading neo-conservative intellectual.

February 12, 2007

Conference: “The problem of guarantees for fundamental rights protection in Europe”. The conference was made up of two panel discussions. The first was devoted to the Agency for Fundamental Rights and fundamental rights protection in the EU and its neighboring states. The topics of the second panel were threats to fundamental rights resulting from the actions of state or private structures. Amongst others Bogdan Borusewicz – Speaker of the Senate; Zbigniew Romaszewski – President of the Commission for Human Rights and Rule of Law of the Polish Senate, Francisco Fonseca Morillo – director of JLS, European Commission; Wiesław Tarka – Deputy Minister of the Interior and Administration; Janusz Kochanowski – Poland’s Human Rights Ombudsman; Manuel Lezertua – representative of the Commissar for Human Rights of the European Council; Christian Strohal - director of OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and Beate Winkler – director of the EU Agency for Human Rights contributed to the conference. The project was carried out thanks to the cooperation with the European Commission and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Poland.

February 16, 2007

Meeting: “Germany’s Presidency in European Union Council”.

With participation of the Speaker of the Polish Sejm Marek Jurek and Bundestag Speaker, Dr Norbert Lammert. The debate was dedicated to the discussion on the topic of Germany’s Presidency in the Council of Europe and Polish expectations regarding the constitutional treaty of the European Union and the Eastern Dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy. The meeting was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the University of Warsaw.

February 28, 2007

Expert seminar on the “Possibility of the dislocation of US Missile Defense System Components in Poland”.

The Center for International Relations organized an expert debate intended to present crucial points of the debate on the participation of Poland in the MD system. The heated discussion on one of the crucial problems of contemporary Polish security gathered around 40 leading experts from governmental and non-governmental institutions and organizations.

March 1, 2007

Conference “Missile Defense in Poland: security enhanced or diminished?”
A debate on the evaluation of risks and opportunities associated with Poland’s participation in the MD system. The debate featured Bronisław Komorowski, vice-speaker of the lower house of the Polish Parliament, currently speaker of the Polish Sejm, Janusz Zemke, former Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of National Defense of Poland and head of the Committee of Special Services of the Polish Parliament, prof. Stanisław Koziej, former Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of National Defense of Poland, prof.

Roman Kuźniar, former Director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs.

March 8, 2007

Conference “NATO and Article V” with the participation of Mr. Bogusław Winid, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of National Defense of Poland, current Ambassador of Poland to NATO and WEU.

The event was organized within the framework of the “Changing NATO and the Central and East European Agenda” project.

April 18, 2007

Conference “The U.S. View on Missile Defence” with Eric S. Edelman, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy and General Henry A. Obering, Director of the Missile Defense Agency.

The conference was organized in partnership with the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.

April 27, 2007

Meeting with the Coordinator of the US Government for Cuba Caleb McCarry.

A seminar organized in cooperation with the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.

A discussion on American and Polish activities for democracy and human rights protection and support on Cuba. McCarry highlighted amongst others that it is the Cubans who determine their future, and that it is important that Castro’s regime take up the dialogue with the nation. “The United States seek to support the Cuban nation through humanitarian aid, food aid and the support of democracy” – McCarry asserted. He added that despite the different standpoints of the United States and Europe on Cuba, they have the

emphasis on the democratic future of the country in common.

May 7, 2007

“Labor Migration Management in the United States and Europe: Addressing challenges and opportunities” meeting in Washington.

A presentation organized in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States summing up the common project for 2007.

May 17, 2007

Seminar „NATO and European Union in Defense Policies of Central European countries” with the participation of Mr. Władysław Stasiak, Head of the National Security Bureau.

The event was organized within the framework of the “Changing NATO and the Central and East European Agenda” project.

Conference NATO and the European Union in Central European States’ Security Policies, carried out in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States. The seminar was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Poland. The seminar, was headed by Eugeniusz Smolar and Constanze Stelzenmüller, Director of the GMF office in Berlin. Amongst others, Władysław STASIAK, Head of the Office for National Security at the Chancellery of the President; Bogusław Winid, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of National Defense; Olaf Osica from the European Center in Natolin; prof. Stanisław Koziej from the Academy of National Defense; Andrzej Karkoszka from the Academy of National Defense; ambassador Istvan Gyarmati (International Centre for Democratic Transition, Hungary), dr Ivo Samson (Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Slovakia), dr Jiri

Schneider (Prague Security Studies Institute, Czech Republic) as well as prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Poland's former Minister of Foreign Affairs and former long term director of the Stockholm Institute of Peace Studies (SIPRI) participated In the conference. The conclusion of the second part of the discussion of the conference was carried out by: Ivan Krastev (Centre for Liberal Strategies, Bulgaria) and dr C. Stelzenmüller.

May 22, 2007

Seminar "Missile Defense in Europe: Polish, Czech and German Perspectives", featuring Mr. Alexander Vondra, Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Mr. Jiri Sedivy, former Chief of General Staff of the Czech Republic, Mr. Eugeniusz Smolar, President of the CIR.

A trilateral debate on the issue of installing elements of the US Missile Defense system in Poland and the Czech Republic.



May 29, 2007

Seminar „Can We Live With a Nuclear Iran?” with Patrick Clawson, Deputy Director for Research, Washington Institute for Near East Policy and Senator Radosław Sikorski, current Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland. A seminar organized in cooperation with the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.

June 13, 2007

Seminar "The Future of the American Era" with Robert J. Lieber, Professor of

Government and International Affairs Georgetown University.

A seminar organized in cooperation with the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.

The Seminar The Future of the American Era with an introduction by Robert J. Lieber, from the Department of Political Science and Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Washington, where he held the position of the Dean of the Department of Political Science's, and is currently in charge of the Faculty of Psychology.

June 14, 2007

Discussion "Populism and German Political Parties. A Crisis of Democracy?", lecturer - Prof. Frank Decker, University Bonn.

Expert meeting with prof. Frank Decker, a political scientist from the University of Bonn, about German political parties in the face of a crisis of democracy and the rise of populism. The lecture was commented on by Prof. Jerzy Kranz. The meeting's aim was the discussion of current tendencies in the development of the German political scene in the context of the rise of populism as well as the reflection of the debate about changes in the political parties' programs going on in Germany. The consequences of these tendencies, potential threats as well as their influence on Germany's party system were discussed. The meeting was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

July 11, 2007

Expert seminar "Treaty reforming European Union. Mandate of the Intergovernmental Conference"

„The EU Reforming Treaty". A meeting of experts organized by the

independent Institute for International and European Law, the Centre for European Strategy demosEuropa, the Center for International Relations, the Department of European Law of Warsaw School of Economics and the Department for International and EU Law of the Leon Kozminski Academy of Entrepreneurship and Management in Warsaw.

July 19, 2007

Discussion “Poland – US: cooperation for security”.

The meeting took place immediately after President’s Lech Kaczynski’s visit to the United States of America on July 16th and 17th 2007 and covered Polish-American relations and the role of USA in Central & Eastern Europe. Representatives of institutions and government agencies as well as experts in Polish-American relations and security policy attended.

August 6, 2007

Expert seminar “Political Situation in Palestine and the Middle-East conflict” Ambassador Maciej Kozlowski of the Department for Africa and the Middle East at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Magdalena Mughrabi of Patel Group and “Polityka” weekly and Marek Kubicki of the Arabia.pl Association discussed the topic. The meeting was lead by Maria Wągrowka. The aim of the meeting was to provide insight into the political and social situation in Palestine and in a broader perspective to the conflict between Israel and Palestine, as well as the situation in the Middle East. The topics discussed included: the Israeli and Palestinian political scene, its influence on the conflict, the base of the conflict, strategies to solve the problem, threats connected to that, the role of occidental countries, Russia, China and Arabic

countries in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, possible scenarios of the development of the situation.

September 24-25, 2007

EU’s Eastern Policy – Challenges and Opportunities

The conference was organized by the Center for International Relations in Warsaw with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Poland, The Polish - German Cooperation Foundation, The International Visegrad Fund and the The European Council on Foreign Relations, also with help of The College of Europe in Natolin, Center for Eastern Studies - Warsaw, Europäische Akademie Berlin and Deutsche Gesellschaft Fur Osteuropakunde e.V., Berlin.

September 26, 2007

Transatlantic Trends presentation with Ronald D. Asmus, German Marshall Fund of the United States.

The report was presented by Ronald D. Asmus, former Undersecretary of State in the Department of State of USA, director of the Transatlantic

Center GMF US in Brussels. After the presentation a debate on Polish-American relations was held. It included interventions by: Witold Waszczykowski, Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Pawel Zalewski, Chair of the Foreign Affairs



Commission of the Polish Parliament, Radosław Sikorski, a Senator of the Republic of Poland and Ronald Asmus. The discussion was led by Eugeniusz Smolar.

September 26, 2007

Transatlantic Trends presentation with Ronald D. Asmus, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Participants: Dr Ronald D. Asmus, Executive Director of the German Marshall Fund of the United States; Eugeniusz Smolar, President of the Center for International Relations; Dr Andrzej Olechowski, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs. In cooperation with American Chamber of Commerce.

October 4, 2007

Conference: "Georgia in Transatlantic Security"

With the participation of Mr. Batu Kutelia, Deputy Minister of Defense of Georgia, Mr. Nikoloz Vashakidze, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, and Ms. Helen Khoshtaria, Deputy State Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Tbilisi.

The conference, which was opened by Ambassador Alexander Rondeli, chair of the GFSIS and Eugeniusz Smolar, was inaugurated by a presentation by Mr. Batu Kutelii, Georgia's Deputy Defence Minister. The conference was organized in the framework of the project Changing NATO and the Central and East European Agenda.

October 9, 2007

Conference: Polish Foreign Policy at Crossroads

The conference was opened by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ms. Anna Fotyga. An expert discussion at the end of the two years of a PiS headed government ensued which featured top analytics and was chaired by Eugeniusz Smolar. The second part of the conference featured four politicians standing for re-election who presented their view of Polish foreign policy – in an electoral context. Amongst those featured were current Deputy Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and current Minister of Foreign Affairs Radosław Sikorski.

October 17, 2007

Conference: "Poland in the Face of Global Challenges"

Participants: Anna Darska, UNDP; Jerzy Pomianowski, director of the Development Cooperation Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Marcin Wojtalik, Grupa Zagranica; Adam Leszczyński, Gazeta Wyborcza; Ryszard Czarnecki (independent, MEP), Joanna Fabisiak (PO), Łukasz Foltyn (PSL), Nelli Rokita (PiS), Marcin Świącicki (LiD).

The conference was organized in cooperation with the European Commission and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

October 29, 2007

"Changing NATO and the Central and East European Agenda" - presentation of the results of "Changing NATO and the Central and Eastern European Agenda" at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington, DC.

The results of "Changing NATO and the Central and Eastern European Agenda" were revealed at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in

Washington, DC. The presentation was conducted by Eugeniusz Smolar. Stephen Larrabe, a RAND Corporation expert, commented. The project was realized within the International Security project at the Center for International Relations between October 1, 2006 and November 1, 2007.

November 15, 2007

Conference on transatlantic security policy, entitled “USA and Europe – Common Security, Different Solutions?”

The conference provided a forum for transatlantic debate on security issues. This forum comprised of leading politicians, diplomats, civil servants, local government officials, academics, students, journalists and representatives of other NGOs. The event created an opportunity for the Polish foreign and security policy community to get acquainted with the main tenets of the transatlantic security debate as presented by leading US and European analysts and experts. Participants: Dr. Max Boot Senior Fellow, Council for Foreign Relations, National Security Studies, NY; Peter Flory Assistant Secretary General for Defense Investment at NATO, responsible for the technical aspects of US missile defense program, Brussels; Kenneth Hillas Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy in Warsaw; Robert Kupiecki Director, Security Policy Department, MFA of Poland; Dr. Olaf Osica Research Fellow, Natolin European Centre, Warsaw; Benjamin Schreer Research Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin; Dr. Tim Williams Policy Advisor at SBAC on Aerospace Defense and Homeland Security, Royal United Services Institute for Defense and Security Studies, London.

The conference organized in partnership with the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, supported by the British Embassy, the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Poland

and Daimler

November 23, 2007

Expert meeting with Prof. Lutz Mez on Climate Politics – Energy **Politics:** National Interests and Perspectives of Polish-German Cooperation. The aim of the meeting was to discuss the direction of Germany’s climate politics’ and environmental protection’s development as well as pinpointing these issues as elements of national and economic interests in foreign policy.

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

November 23, 2007

Prof. Lutz Mez on Environment Protection and Ecologic Modernization –Goals and Perspectives of German Climate Politics lecture. The meeting was devoted to the presentation of German climate change policies, their genesis as well as their development in a political and economic context. The meeting was organized in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the national School of Public Administration.

December 7-8, 2007

Transatlantic Alliance and the Wider Black Sea Region Workshop - **Different roots, common goals? – the creation of the network.** During the first session the WIDER BLACK SEA REGION - Regional, European and Global Dimension we discussed NATO and EU Strategies and Policies towards the Black Sea Region - Regional Perceptions; Ethnic Conflicts, Territorial Disputes and Issues of Territorial Integrity, Sovereignty and Autonomy. During

the second session – THE WIDER BLACK SEA REGION – An Area of Competition or Cooperation between the Transatlantic Community and Russia? we discussed the following issues: Russia's policy towards Black Sea Region and its Regional Perceptions, problems of Energy Security and Routes of Pipelines in the Region; Ethnic Conflicts, Territorial Disputes and Issues of Territorial Integrity and Sovereignty.

December 14, 2007

Conference Towards Common Energetic Security Politics of the European

Union – Germany's and Poland's perspectives. The conferences' mission was to appraise the state and trends of Poland's and Germany's current energy security policies, also in the bilateral and – broader – European context, as well as these towards present and future supplying and/or transit countries. Amongst the speakers were: Waldemar Pawlak – Deputy Prime Minister as well as Elmar Brok – Member of the European Parliament. The project was carried out thanks to the cooperation with the Foundation of Polish-German Cooperation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Poland, as well as the Polish Oil and Gas Company.

PUBLICATIONS

Books (in English)

- Katarzyna Gmaj, Krystyna Iglicka (eds.), *The Transatlantic Security Challenges and Dilemmas for the European Migration Policy Project, vol. 5, Integration Policies in the EU and the US*
- Antoni Podolski, Andrzej Celiński (eds.), *The problem of guarantees for fundamental rights protection in Europe*

Reports and analyses (in Polish and English)

Available on-line:

http://www.csm.org.pl/index_new.php?s=page&id=35&mid=11&sid=33

- Krystyna Iglicka, Agata Młodowska, *Transatlantycki wymiar migracji sezonowych - programy zatrudniania i wizy jako instrument stymulowania migracji cyrkulacyjnych w Europie i USA*
- Tomasz Otłowski, *Iran - nowe mocarstwo na Bliskim Wschodzie?*
- Krystyna Iglicka, *Kierunki Rozwoju Polskiej Polityki Migracyjnej w Ramach Obszaru Legalnej Migracji Pracowniczej na Lata 2007-2012*
- Krystyna Iglicka, Agata Młodawska, *Transatlantic Dimension of Seasonal Migrations-Employment Programs and Visas as instruments for stimulating circular migrations in Europe and in the USA*
- Agnieszka Weinar, *Multiculturalism debates in Poland*
- Krystyna Iglicka, *Strategies of Development of Polish Migration Policy Concerning Legal Labour Migration for 2007-2012*
- Katarzyna Gmaj, *"Do it yourself" Immigrants' Integration to Polish Society*

- Maria Wągrowka, Bartosz Wiśniewski (eds.), *„Article V and NATO: the Core Clause”*

Monitoring of Foreign Polish Policy (In Polish and English)

Available on-line:

http://www.csm.org.pl/index_new.php?s=page&id=34&mid=11&sid=11

- Antoni Podolski, *Między Samarą a Brukselą. Polska polityka europejska i wschodnia w 2007 roku*
- Antoni Podolski, *Between Samara and Brussels. Poland's European and Eastern Policy in the First Half of 2007*
- Antoni Podolski, *Gaz Narodowy czy europejski? Polityczne i historyczne uwarunkowania percepcji wybranych wyzwań dla bezpieczeństwa energetycznego RP*
- Krystyna Iglicka, *Kierunki Rozwoju Polskiej Polityki Migracyjnej w Ramach Obszaru Legalnej Migracji Pracowniczej na Lata 2007-2012*
- Maria Wągrowka, *Polska za amerykańską tarczą? Ewentualność dyslokacji systemu MD a interes narodowy*

Conference proceedings (In Polish)

Available on-line:

http://www.csm.org.pl/index_new.php?s=page&id=36&mid=11&sid=33

- Marta Peter, Aleksander Łoboda (eds.), *Współczesny obraz konfliktu izraelsko-palestyńskiego*
- Jan Barcz (eds.), *Traktat reformujący Unię Europejską - Mandat Konferencji Międzyrządowej – analiza prawno-polityczna - Wnioski dla Polski*
- Maria Wągrowska, Bartosz Wiśniewski (eds.), *Nuklearny Iran - zagrożenie także dla Polski?*
- Maria Wągrowska, Bartosz Wiśniewski (eds.), *NATO i Unia Europejska w politykach bezpieczeństwa państw Europy Środkowej*
- Maria Wągrowska (eds.), *Amerykańskie stanowisko dotyczące obrony rakietowej – MD*
- Maria Wągrowska, Bartosz Wiśniewski, *NATO i Artykuł V*

Migration Bulletin (in Polish)

Available on-line:

http://www.csm.org.pl/index_new.php?s=page&id=38&mid=11&sid=33

- Biuletyn Migracyjny 14, October 2007
- Biuletyn Migracyjny 13, July 2007
- Biuletyn Migracyjny 12, April 2007
- Biuletyn Migracyjny 11, February 2007

Others

- “*Millennium Development Goals. The World as you’ve Never Seen it Before*” – brochure
- “*Milenijne Cele Rozwoju. Świat jakim nigdy go nie widziałeś*” - brochure

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CIR STAFF**Eugeniusz SMOLAR, President**

Journalist, media manager, born 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. 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, then in 1982 became its deputy director, and later on its director (1988-1997). He was active in helping 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 program (1998-2002), and later its Program Director. Mr Smolar has been co-operating with the Center for International Relations. In October 2005 he became its President.

Andrzej BOBIŃSKI – Program Coordinator

Graduated from the Institute of Applied Linguistics at Warsaw University. Created the Media Office of the „From Solidarność to Freedom” conference. He has also cooperated with a number of Polish NGOs and think-tanks namely The Institute of Public Affairs, OFOP The Polish Federation of NGOs and The School for Leaders Association. He collaborated with Time Magazine and worked for The Guardian and The Observer. Currently he is one of the co-founders of Article 61, the first vote-smart initiative in Poland.

Ambassador Jerzy M. NOWAK, PhD, Senior Fellow

As of December 2007 ambassador Jerzy M. Nowak – Senior Research Fellow at the Center for International Relations in Warsaw – will lead the International Security Program. Professional diplomat (retired in 2007). Since 1960 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Posted in Dar-es-Salaam, Buenos Aires and New York (Mission to the UN). Permanent Representative of Poland to the OSCE and IAEA and to the UN Office in Vienna in the rank of Ambassador (1990-1997). Director of the Department of the Security Policy (1997-2000) in the MFA. Negotiated Polish accession to NATO and the revised CFE Treaty. Ambassador of Poland to Spain and the Principality of Andorra (2000-2002). Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Poland to NATO and WEU (2002-2007) in Brussels. Specialist in the field of multilateral diplomacy and European security and arms control. Representative of Poland to numerous international conferences within UN, CSCE/OSCE, NATO systems. Author of numerous publications on international politics. Has been awarded the title of Ambassador ad personam and high Polish, Spanish, Lithuanian

and Ukrainian distinctions. Born 1937. Graduated in the Main College for Foreign Service in Warsaw. Ph.D in the Copernicus University in Toruń in 1967 on constitutional law. He speaks English, Spanish, Russian and basic French.

Antoni PODOLSKI, Senior Fellow

MA in history from Warsaw University. 1991-1996 - in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. 1996-1999 Managing Editor in the External Services of Polish Radio. 1997-1999 - NATO Research Fellowship. 1999-2001 Deputy Minister of Interior and Administration, responsible for civil protection, crisis management, border protection, migration and transborder cooperation. Published numerous articles on national security, foreign policy, European integration and Polish Eastern Policy in Gazeta Wyborcza and other newspapers.

Joanna SIELSKA, Deputy Director for Administrative Affairs

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. Graduate of the Warsaw School of Social Psychology.

Mikołaj BANASZKIEWICZ

Graduate of the Institute of Russian and Eastern European Studies at Jagiellonian University. Currently doctoral student at Faculty of International and Political Studies.

Wojciech BORODZICZ-SMOLIŃSKI

Graduate of the European Centre, Warsaw University.

Andrzej CELIŃSKI

Graduate student at the Institute of International Relations, Warsaw University. In 2006-2007 student at the Department of Political Science at University of Copenhagen (Socrates/Erasmus Program). In 2001-2003 participant of the Academic Year in America (AYA) program.

Małgorzata CHUDZYŃSKA, Secretariat

MA in Russian studies from Warsaw University.

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.

Katarzyna GMAJ

Ph.D. student 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.

Professor Krystyna IGLICKA

Economist and a social demographer. Professor at the Lazarski School of Commerce and Law. Polish government expert on migration policy. Krystyna Iglicka has got her M.Sc (in Economics) in 1988 (University of Warsaw), Ph.D (in Economics) in 1993 (Warsaw School of Economics) and Habilitated Doctor degree in Economics (University of Warsaw) in 2003. In the same year she has obtained a Professor position at the L.K. Academy of Management. Her research area include changes in fertility patterns during the demographic transition, strategies and mechanisms of emigration in the CEE region, labour mobility, East-West European migration, immigration and integration models, EU immigration policy, patterns of return migration, brain-drain and mobility of highly skilled labour. She was a Fulbright Fellow at the Department of Sociology (University of Pennsylvania) in 1999-2000 and a Polish Science Foundation, British Academy and Foreign and Commonwealth Office Fellow at the University of London, 1996-1999. She was also a Dekaban Foundation Fellow at the University of Glasgow in 1996. In the period 2002-2003 she was a Deputy Director of the Institute for Social Studies at the University of Warsaw. Since 2001 she has been an International Associate Editor of an academic journal *Europe-Asia Studies*. Since 2004 she has been a member of a Program Board of the Institute for Social Studies at Warsaw University. She teaches Business Statistics and Quantitative Methods in Management. She serves also as a lecturer at the Academy of Diplomacy, Polish Institute of International Relations. Professor Iglicka taught at various Polish universities and also at University College London (UK), University of Glasgow (UK) and University of Birmingham (UK). She gave occasional lectures at i.e. London School of Economics (LSE), University Louven la Neuve, University of Sussex, Universida Autonomia da Barcelona, University of Pennsylvania, University of Michigan, Kent State University, University of Minnesota, University of Mannheim. She has served as consultant or expert to various international organisations e.g. European Commission, International Organisation for Migration, OECD, and Poland's government various departments e.g. Ministry of Interior and Administration, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since 2002

Professor Iglicka combines her academic work with the work at various Polish think-tanks as e.g. the Institute of Public Affairs (where she was a Director of Migration and Eastern Policy Programme in 2000-2003) and the Centre for International Relations – since 2004 she has been a coordinator of a Migration and Homeland Security Programme. Her most recent academic projects scheduled for 2005-2008 include POLITIS, MIGSYS, CLANDESTINO and EMILIE projects that are conducted within the European Commission sixth and seventh frameworks priorities: Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society. Professor Iglicka has presented papers to more than 80 international academic seminars and conferences. Works published by Krystyna Iglicka include 10 academic books, nearly 40 research papers/articles in academic journals published mainly in the USA, UK and Poland and numerous policy oriented reports and analysis.

Przemysław JARÓN

A Master of Arts in European Studies at the Pultusk School of Humanities. At present postgraduate studies „Project Management” at the Warsaw School of Economics. 2003–2006, co-worker and employed in The Polish Robert Schuman Foundation. June–July 2005, trainee in the European Parliament, office of the Vice President, Mr Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

Katarzyna SZAJEWSKA

Studied International Relations at Collegium Civitas in Warsaw. Prior to taking her current job at the Center for International Relations, she set up – and presides over – Wybieram.pl, a youth voter turnout movement – the Polish Rock the Vote. She has also worked on various projects ranging from market research to tv production.

Maria WĄGROWSKA

Vice-President of the Euro-Atlantic Association, Poland; former Editor-in-chief of Polska Zbrojna and Vice-Director of the Publishing House „Bellona”; author of a number of publications on NATO, the armed forces, security, foreign politics and European integration in Rzeczpospolita and Życie; graduate of Warsaw University.

SPONSORS

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- Robert Bosch Foundation
- Fundacja Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej (Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation)
- International Visegrad Fund
- European Commission
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland
- National Endowment for Democracy
- VolkswagenStiftung
- The Polish Oil and Gas Company
- The United Nations Development Programme