

Introduction

Thus far, no in-depth analyses have been presented in the Polish and international research literature, which would comprehensively address the research problem concerning Polish European policy 2004-2014. Therefore, the existing gap is not only an analytical field, but also an element offering considerable potential for scientific exploration and explanation, both now and in the future, particularly because the Polish European policy underwent a thorough review after 2015.

The presented book does not intend to be a factographic description of the events that took place in the first 10 years of Poland's membership in the European Union, broken down by individual sectoral policies, political relations or Europeanization processes. The most important here is the analysis of the European policy understood as the entirety of activities initiated within the Polish political system and undertaken by the Polish authorities in EU institutions and in contacts with the other member states, in the context of EU functioning. While characterizing the research objectives of this investigation, one should also stress the importance of analyzing the full scope of Poland's integration activities considered as a set of common elements visible in the activities undertaken by many different state institutions. It can also be added that national European policy is not understood here as a policy "addressing the whole of Europe", but rather as a policy „addressing the EU and its structure (system).“

The research team preparing this publication established a research plan encompassing the following objectives: First, definition of the conceptual, institutional and political framework in which the Polish European policy was created and coordinated from 2004 to 2014; Second, systematic overview of forms and manners of expressing (presenting) the Polish European policy in the analyzed period; Third, determination of the external perception and efficiency of the Polish European policy.

The research work carried out was aimed at verifying the following research hypotheses:

1. Polish European policy in the years 2004-2014 was not based on a predefined strategy of the state's presence in the European Union; as such, it was reactive rather than active. The policy was not based on any particular model or strategic paradigm;
2. the reactive nature of the Polish European policy reduced the efficiency of actions taken by the Polish authorities at the European Union level;
3. the Polish European policy, which before 2004 was determined by a consensus of the main political forces, became an important aspect of the domestic disputes, di-

- viding the two largest political parties: the Civic Platform (PO) and the Law and Justice (PiS);
4. despite the absence of strategic guidelines (Polish integration doctrine) concerning the Polish European policy, the policy itself was perceived by external recipients as relatively predictable, especially in relation to specific actions taken by the Polish government in the EU arena.

The research was based on neo-institutional theories (approaches) considered to be the best suited to the nature of the analyzed subject matter. The following institutional theories, well established in EU studies (in research on the European integration), were applied: rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, historical institutionalism. These theories served primarily the purpose of explaining the exogenous changes taking place in the Polish European policy and the relations between domestic institutions responsible for definition and implementation. Endogenous changes were studied and explained through intergovernmental liberalism.

The research process was based on an analysis of many different sources. The first collection of such sources consists of governmental and parliamentary documents concerning the Polish European policy. The second one is the content of talks, debates, meetings and conferences held in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, related to the investigated issues. The third collection consists of available scientific and think-tank studies. The fourth one, of the content of semi-structured interviews with representatives of the Polish government administration involved in the Polish European policy, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Regional Development, and additionally the Permanent Representation of the Republic of Poland to the European Union. The fifth set is the content of semi-structured interviews with representatives or experts from: the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, France, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary involved in the European policies of their respective states. The sixth one includes the content of semi-structured interviews with representatives or experts from the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council of the European Union, the Committee of the Regions and the Economic and Social Committee. The seventh collection contains the result of an analysis of Polish and global media coverage dedicated to the issue in question. Last but not least, the eighth collection is the result of the authors' participant observation in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland – on the part of the Permanent Adviser to the Commission for European Union Affairs, a position held by the scientific director of the project.

The authors would also like to inform the readers that the chapters published here are part of a more comprehensive volume, published in Polish as *Polska polityka europejska 2004-2014. Idee, cele, aktorzy, rezultaty*. Both publications will serve the purpose of disseminating the results of our research activities in this project, both in Poland and abroad.

Finally, it is necessary to stress that the presented book is the outcome of the research project entitled "Analysis of the Polish European Policy 2004-2014 – Assump-

tions, Actors, Challenges and Evaluations” (project No. 2014/13/B/HS5/01942). The project was Financed by the Polish National Science Centre and carried out by the Department of European Integration Research of the Faculty of Political Sciences and Journalism at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland under the direction of prof. zw. dr hab. Zbigniew Czachór. We are also very pleased that the project was attended not only by researchers from the WNPID UAM, and with participation of researchers from the University of Warsaw and the Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin.

The Authors

Chapter 1. An analysis of Polish European policy in 2004-2014. A conceptual approach

Introduction. The origin of Polish European policy in the EU. What happened before 2004? An analysis of historical institutionalism

The subsequent governments in the Third Polish Republic, especially in the negotiation period between 1998 and 2002, had to calculate the certain and uncertain profits and losses related to the future accession to the EU. Member negotiations and their effects clearly proved that:

- the universal rules of European integration should also be referred to the country's activity as it provides an angle for explaining Poland's future activity in the integration system;
- in contentious issues, the EU institutions (including the European Commission which is not the only power centre in the EU) are not the only decision-makers; decisions are also made by large member states which had to be won over to one's cause;
- as a member of the EU, Poland hoped to become an important ally and player in the international arena as a country very useful in the process of securing many UE interests. Poland practically saw itself as a bridge between the East and the West (of Europe);
- the essence of European integration lies in striving for a balance between national and European protection;
- integration with the EU is conducive to the country's prestige and enhancement or reinforcement of its position and image in the world;
- Poland's preparation for being a part of the mainstream of the EU policy is a strategic necessity rather than only an expression of political ambitions;
- The EU is important but in extreme situations, one should only count on oneself (*permanent self-help*) and ones' skills and assets (Czachór, 2014, pp. 15-21).

The above presented ascertainment confirms that the thinking of integration and the European Union on a large scale, from idealism and utopia to hyperrealism and Euroscepticism, originated at that time.

Bearing it in mind, the confrontation of idealism and realism and therefore the interests of the member states and the countries accessing the EU was best exemplified by the pre-accession dispute which was metaphorically brought down to the question: "Nice or Death?" For this reason, for the first time in its short time of integration activity (before the formal accession to the EU on 1 May 2004),

Poland made an attempt at demonstrating to the other EU countries and institutions that:

- it wants to be an independent entity in the intra-EU game of interests;
- Poland's interests are not always in line with the interests of the remaining actors of integration;
- the country opposes the postulate of a more rapid development of the "hard core" EU countries;
- reaching a compromise with the new member countries may be very difficult;
- Poles (Polish authorities) can defend their interests.

On the other hand, we need to realise that this issue was largely commented; it was suggested that Poland was turning into:

- a country discouraging integration of the remaining states (Poland was completely alone with its postulates among all the new EU member states);
- a symbol of conservatism and particularities by presenting Poland's interest as opposite to the interest of common Europe and many members states;
- a source of antagonisms and successive internal contradictions and marginalization which are anything but rare in the EU.

The pre-accession demonstration of power in the autumn of 2003 when the future of the EU was discussed in the Polish Sejm in the "Nice or Death" spirit (words uttered by Member of Parliament, J.M. Rokita) in the context of the draft of the Treaty drawing up the Constitution for Europe negatively affected Polish European policy in 2004-2014. It contributed to an emergence of two contradictory trends which intertwined when L. Miller, M. Belka, K. Marcinkiewicz, J. Kaczyński, D. Tusk and E. Kopacz were the successive Prime Ministers. The first trend was based on (oftentimes indiscriminate and thoughtless) joining the mainstream of the EU; the other one was critical, Eurosceptical (Euro-realistic), excluding itself from the mainstream, placing Poland next to the European Union. Neither of the trends was optimal to Polish European policy.

I. What is Polish European policy?

A modernist and post-modernist approach

1. The idiosyncrasy of Polish modernism the other way round

Poland's integration policy as part of the European Union in a modernist approach has been defined as:

- a part of the country's general policy formulated in the external system and the EU system and implemented within an internal system and in the system of the European Union;
- any past and future European (EU) activity of the Polish state geographically located, exceeding the country's borders and aimed at protecting the national interests, ensuring safety, promoting the country's achievements and