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## POLISH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDIES AND POST-HISTORIOGRAPHY, DISCIPLINARY DEVELOPMENT AFTER THE COLD WAR

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### Abstract:

The purpose of this article is to present the methodological and institutional development of international studies in Poland, which were formed under the influence of the unique historical experience resulting from Poland's geographical location between Germany and Russia. This unfavourable geopolitical location was overcome after the Cold War, when Poland joined Western institutions: NATO and the European Union. The integration with the West provided a qualitatively new impetus for the development of international studies and especially the issues of security and European integration; moreover, entirely new possibilities of academic cooperation opened up in the field of international relations studies. The article focuses on the following issues: first, the historical tradition of international relations studies in Poland until the end of the Cold War; and second, the process of autonomisation of international studies in Poland as a discipline of social sciences after the fall of communism.

**Keywords:** Poland, international studies, transformation of international studies, Polish authors.

### Resumen:

*El artículo presenta el desarrollo metodológico e institucional de los estudios internacionales en Polonia, que se desarrollaron en función de la influencia de su situación geográfica entre Alemania y Rusia y una experiencia histórica única. Esta situación se superó con el final de la guerra fría, cuando Polonia se integró en la OTAN y en la Unión Europea. La integración en Occidente produjo un impacto cualitativo en el desarrollo de los estudios internacionales en particular en asuntos como la integración y la seguridad europea, a lo que se añadieron importantes posibilidades de cooperación académica en el campo de las relaciones internacionales. El artículo se entra en los siguientes puntos: la tradición histórica de los estudios internacionales en Polonia hasta el final de la guerra fría; y el proceso de creciente autonomía de estos estudios tras el fin de la guerra fría.*

**Palabras clave:** Polonia, estudios internacionales, la transformación de los estudios internacionales, autores polacos.

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## 1. History of International Studies in Poland

According to the American scholar Brian C. Schmidt, the history and historiography of a given discipline, in this case international studies, are indispensable in understanding the specificity of its development, identity and research scope.<sup>2</sup> In Western international studies it is assumed that the tradition of this discipline goes back to Ancient Greek thought (Thucydides) and the achievements of such scholars as: Machiavelli, Hobbes, Clausewitz, Kant, and Morgenthau, to name some of the most important ones. The problem is, however, that they represent the Western tradition, which aspires to the status of universal thought. Researchers of international relations from cultures other than the Western one contest the model of international studies based only on the historical experience and tradition of the West, and some scholars in the West understand and support this.<sup>3</sup> In his statements and publications, Amitav Acharya, former president of the International Studies Association, puts forward the proposal that local tradition be taken into account when devising research principles, based on the idea of pluralist universalism that relates to everyone and everything but also recognises diversity among researchers.<sup>4</sup>

Bearing the above in mind and considering the requirements of historical contextualisation, we believe that the thought and studies of international relations in Poland were shaped by the traditions of the following disciplines: the political thought related to reflection on the nature and essence of peace, the law of nations, political geography, and political science.

The tradition of Polish political thought on international relations, in particular on war and peace, goes back to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when two professors of canon law at the newly established Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Paweł Włodkowic, published their works on this subject. These two were pioneers in promoting the concept of peaceful coexistence of Christian and pagan nations, arguing at the same time that it is possible to conduct a just war. Stanisław of Skarbimierz argued that Christian countries had a duty to fight for peace while retaining the right to self-defence. Given the times he lived in, his proposals of the right to independence and sovereignty of non-Christian nations were extremely bold, and he believed that the Pope and Christians in general were not allowed to conquer non-Christian lands and overthrow their rulers.<sup>5</sup> Paweł Włodkowic promoted similar views, with the exception, however, that he did so in the international arena: at the Council of Constance in 1415 and during lectures at Italian universities. Quoting the principles of the law of nations of that time, he claimed that Christian and pagan countries had the very same rights.<sup>6</sup>

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski became well-known all over Europe as he wrote in his work *De Republica Emendanda Libri Quinque* published in Latin in 1551 that war was a crime, a notion that was officially recognised in international law only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Stanisław Leszczyński, former king of Poland and a relative (by

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<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, Brian C. (2010): "On the History and Historiography of International Relations", in W Carlsnaes, W. T. Risse T Simmons I B. (eds) (2010): *Handbook of International Relations*, Sage, London, p.3-23.

<sup>3</sup> Tickner, Ann., Weaver, Ole, (eds) (2012): *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, London, Routledge.

<sup>4</sup> Acharya, Amitav (2014): "Global International Relations (IR) and Regional Worlds", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 58, p. 647-659.

<sup>5</sup> Ehrlich, Ludwik (1955): *Polski wykład prawa wojny XV wieku* (A Polish lecture on the law of war in the 15<sup>th</sup> c.), Warszawa.

<sup>6</sup> See Winiavdii, Bolesław (1935): "Victoria at Włodkowic", *Bulletin de l'Academie Polonaise des Sciences at des lettres*, Kraków; Belch, Stanislas (1965): *Paulus Vladimiri and his Doctrine Concerning International Law and Politics*, The Hague.



marriage) of King Louis XVI of France, became famous in Europe for his ideas of ensuring peace across the continent through an eternal alliance of such countries as England, Genoa, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, Sweden, Venice, France. This alliance was to be based on such principles as collective self-defence, settling conflicts by peaceful means, France abandoning territorial expansion.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1970s, the rich Polish tradition of peace studies was discussed by Joachim Kondziela, member of the International Peace Research Association and professor at the Catholic University of Lublin. At that time, this university was the only catholic one in the Communist bloc, and its staff enjoyed a relative freedom to conduct research in social sciences. In 1974, Professor Kondziela published a paper titled “Badania nad pokojem. Teoria i jej zastosowanie” (Peace studies. Theory and application), summing up the results of studies conducted at German, Austrian and American universities (Yale University). Taking into account the political context, the paper stood out thanks to its intellectual honesty and a scientific approach – instead of an ideological one – to studying peace. What is even more important, however, is that it placed peace studies within the framework of international studies. He observed that it was insufficient to simply show peace as the only reasonable and truly beneficial goal for mankind. It was much more important, according to him, to study the means leading to this goal and if the existing means are found insufficient – to plan and develop them. Such a diagnosis, he wrote further, required taking interest in international politics.<sup>8</sup>

This monograph, published more than four decades ago, contains highly interesting reflection on the perception of peace, and they remain current even now. Kondziela asked how to overcome the definition dilemma with regard to the goal of peace studies. In answer to this question he claimed that it was necessary to focus on the analysis of those processes and states in international relations that were a manifestation of the lack of peace. This is why he believed that peace studies should be understood as a theologically oriented discipline of knowledge dealing with the study of means of avoiding negative goals rather than a discipline aimed at achieving positive goals.<sup>9</sup>

The second important source of inspiration for international relations studies in Poland was the study and teaching of the law of nations. Towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a private school for tradesmen called the Athenaeum was established in Danzig (Gdańsk), a member of the Hanseatic League, and it taught students the law of the sea.<sup>10</sup> The law of nations, in turn, was first taught as an academic subject at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, in 1748.<sup>11</sup> In 1780, the first paper on the law of nations in Polish was published at the University of Lviv and that year is perceived as the beginning of the academic discipline of the law of nations (international law) in Poland.<sup>12</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, studies of international relations were developing quickly, and for a brief period the University of Warsaw was the most important centre of this discipline thanks to the efforts of Professor Antoni Białecki, who published a paper titled *Prawidłowość*

<sup>7</sup> Ehrlich, Ludwik (1958): *Prawo międzynarodowe* (International law), Warszawa, PWN, p. 60-61.

<sup>8</sup> Kondziela, Joachim (1974): *Badania nad pokojem. Teoria i jej zastosowanie*, Warszawa, ODiSS, p. 13-14.

<sup>9</sup> *Idem*, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup> Kocot, Kazimierz (1965): *Nauka prawa narodów w Ateneum Gdańskim (1580-1793)* (Teaching the law of nations in the Gdansk Athenaeum), Wrocław.

<sup>11</sup> Lachs, Manfred (1987): *The Teacher in International Law. Teachings and Teaching*, Dordrecht, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

<sup>12</sup> Kolasa, J.(1951): *Pierwsze systemy prawa narodów w języku polskim z 1780 r.* (First systems of the law of nations in Polish). Presented at the meeting of the faculty of social sciences on 3 February 1949, published in Wrocław by Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe.



*stosunków międzynarodowych* in 1874. It was the first work in Polish academic literature that contained the term 'international relations' (*stosunki międzynarodowe*) already in the title. It contains interesting observations on the origins of international relations, which the author sees in the necessity of states and people to meet their needs. According to Białecki, people's activity contributed to the development of international relations because their life and needs are not limited to the state; regardless of the state, people develop material and spiritual needs that bound them together.<sup>13</sup>

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and right up until World War II, the most important centre of the development of international law and international studies in Poland was Lviv (presently in Ukraine). The importance of that research centre was truly great as it is there that the first international law textbooks in Polish were written. One of the particularly eminent scholars connected with this academic centre was Ludwig Ehrlich (1889–1968), a graduate of the universities in Berlin and Oxford. He was a world-class international lawyer, specialising in treaty law and publishing papers in the United Kingdom and in the United States.<sup>14</sup>

Professor Ludwig Ehrlich created the Polish school of international law because his students developed the discipline further after World War II and up until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was a great achievement when in 1930 the Diplomatic School was established at the Faculty of Law of University of Lviv, as it should be perceived as the first university programme of education in international relations.<sup>15</sup>

It should also be noted that two especially eminent figures were among the graduates of the faculty of Law in Lviv: Raphael Lemkin, the father of the concept of genocide in international law,<sup>16</sup> and the eminent international lawyer H. Lauterpacht.<sup>17</sup>

Geography is the scientific discipline that had a unique impact on the way of thinking and approach to the study of international relations in Poland and especially its foreign policy. The key role in this regard was played by the views of two great Polish geographers of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries: Wacław Nałkowski and Eugeniusz Romer. Before World War I, Nałkowski formulated an original geopolitical conception, according to which the main aspect of Poland's geographical location in Europe was transitionality, meaning its location on the East–West axis, which in effect makes Poland a country:

- 1) constituting an open door from Western Europe to Eastern Europe;
- 2) where culture and its features gradually transition from Western European to Eastern European.<sup>18</sup>

He argued that this transitional nature of Poland's geographical location entailed a constant threat to the existence of the state and nation.<sup>19</sup> It was this manifestation of geopolitical

<sup>13</sup> Białecki, Antoni (1874): *Prawidłowość stosunków międzynarodowych* (The Rules of International Relations), Warszawa.

<sup>14</sup> Ehrlich, Ludwik (1914): *Poland, Prussia and Culture, Oxford Pamphlets*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; *Idem* (1918): "The War and Political Theory", *California Law Review*, Vol. 6, no 6, pp. 418-442; *Idem*, *The War and Political Theory, California Law Review*, 1918, vol. 7, No. 1, p. 33-57.

<sup>15</sup> Redzik, Adam (2006): "Lwowska szkoła dyplomatyczna. Zarys historii Studium Dyplomatycznego przy Wydziale Prawa Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1930-1939" (The Lviv school of diplomacy. An outline of the history of the Diplomatic School at the Faculty of Law, Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv), *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny*, No. 5, p. 127-149.

<sup>16</sup> Bieńczyk-Missala, Agnieszka, Dębski, Sławomir, Lemkin, Rafał (2010): *A Hero of Humankind*, Warsaw, the Polish Institute of International Affairs.

<sup>17</sup> Lauterpacht Elihu (2010): *The life of Sir Hersch Lauterpacht*, New York, Cambridge University Press.

<sup>18</sup> Jędrzejczyk, Dobiesław (1999): *Mysł geograficzna Wacława Nałkowskiego*, Warszawa, Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies, UW.



fatalism that shaped fears of German and Russian domination, the two countries constantly posing a threat to Polish security.

One of Nałkowski's more prominent antagonists was Eugeniusz Romer (1871–1954), who believed that the North–South axis, that is the narrower part of the European continent between the Baltic and the Black Sea, was much more significant for Poland's situation in Europe. Due to favourable geographic conditions in this area, communication and international cooperation are easy there. This geographical view also justified Poland's active role in the region of Central Europe.<sup>20</sup>

These two concepts: the first referred to as the transition concept and the other one as the bridge concept, dominated the discussion about Poland's place in Europe up until the present times. It needs to be stressed, however, that it is the first concept that has remained the pivot of discussions on Polish foreign policy. The problem of arranging the relations with Poland's two powerful neighbours, Russia and Germany, remains the most important political challenge and gives rise to intense research disputes, where some opt for developing the relations with Germany (the Western option) and some – albeit a minority – believe that the relations with Russia are the priority. It is an important element of the scientific discourse within the framework of international studies in Poland, and because of this element the discourse is dominated by political realism based on the assumption that Poland should maintain a balance between Germany and Russia due to its geographical location.<sup>21</sup>

The discipline that contributed the most to the development of international studies in Poland is political science. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Polish universities started establishing institutes and faculties of political science. For example, in 1911, the School of Political Science was established at the Jagiellonian University, and the Faculty of Law and Political Science was set up at the University of Warsaw. Another important event in this context was the establishment of the Warsaw Academy of Political Science in 1938.

The rising importance of political science in the study of international relations was linked to the establishment of the International Studies Conference (French: *La Conférence des Heures Etudes Internationales*) under the auspices of the League of Nations. The task of the Conference was to support interdisciplinary research of international relations and develop education programmes in this discipline. To achieve that, international conferences were held in a 1–2 years cycle.<sup>22</sup>

Scholars from Poland actively participated in the workings of this forum, especially international lawyers, who saw this as an opportunity to study the achievements of political science in the West and its role in international studies. The most prominent ones among them were the aforementioned eminent international lawyer Ludwik Ehrlich, as well as others such as Bogdan Winiarski, Waław Komarnicki and Antoni Deryng.<sup>23</sup> As far as the last one is

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<sup>19</sup> Solarz, Marcin Wojciech (2014): "The Rise, Fall and Rebirth of Polish Political Geography", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 19, p. 719-739.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>21</sup> See Krasinski, Valerian (1855): *Is the Power of Russia to be Reduced Or Increased by the Present War? The Polish Question and Panslavism*, London, Chapman and Hall; Kukiel, M., Czartoryski, A. (1955): *Poland and the European Unity*, Princeton, Princeton University Press; Bromke, A. (1967): *Poland's Politics: Idealism vs. Realism*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press; Bocheński, Adolf (2009): *Między Niemcami, a Rosją* (Between Germany and Russia), Krakow, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej.

<sup>22</sup> See (1937): *The International Studies Conference. Origins. Functions, Organization*, Paris; Fox, W. (1949): "Interwar International Relations Research: The American Experience", *World Politics*, No. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Komarnicki, Waław (1939): *The Study and Teaching of International Relations*; Deryng, Antoni (1939): *Methods of Scientific Research and Methods of University Teaching Used for the Subject of International Relations*; Winiarski, Bohdan (1939): *International Politics as a Science of Inter Relations*, in Zimmern, Sir

concerned, in his research he addressed the problem of multidisciplinary of international studies. His definition of international relations (included in an article published in French in 1936) is cited by Hans Morgenthau: 'The Science of International Relations has primarily a descriptive character. It is somewhat in the order of the contemporary history of nations, covering all fields: economics, trade, exchange, movement of production, of goods, of currency, as well as politics and culture (...) The factor uniting the problems which form the science of international relations is their international character, that is to say, the tie which is created among all domains of social life when that life transgresses the limits of one single nation and influences the relations among nations'.<sup>24</sup>

When World War II ended and Poland's borders were changed, the Lviv School ceased to exist because the professors moved to other universities throughout Poland. Ludwik Ehrlich, for example, moved to the School of Political Science at the Jagiellonian University, where in 1947 he published the fundamental and pioneering paper titled: 'Wstęp do nauki o stosunkach międzynarodowych' (Introduction to the science of international relations), which can be considered a breakthrough in Polish international studies because it was the first work to attempt to define the scope and methods of research of this academic discipline. Its structure was as follows:

Chapter I – on the science of international relations

Chapter II – on the development of the science of international relations

Chapter III – on the branches of the science of international relations

Chapter IV – on the method and synthesis

Furthermore, according to the definition of the discipline proposed by L. Ehrlich, the science of international relations addressed the broadest aspect of people's coexistence, that is to say, the coexistence of nations.<sup>25</sup>

Ehrlich's work was not continued because the Soviet Union imposed the communist regime on Poland. In social sciences and the humanities, this entailed far-reaching ideologisation and departure from scientific methods of studying international relations. While no academic discipline of communism was actually introduced in Poland, political sciences (teaching and research alike) were still subject to strong ideological influence. The articles and monographs published in that period do not provide any new insight and instead constitute material proof of the methods used to study international relations in that period.<sup>26</sup> One praiseworthy example of this was the monograph by Remigiusz Bierzanek, a professor at the University of Warsaw, published in 1972 and titled 'Współczesne Stosunki Międzynarodowe' (Contemporary International Relations). Bierzanek was an eminent international lawyer; he translated the famous work by Hugo Grotius *De jure belli ac pacis*

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Alfred (ed.), *University Teaching of International Relations, A Record of the Eleventh Session of the International Studies Conference*, Paris, International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation.

<sup>24</sup> Morgenthau, Hans (1952): "Area Studies and the study of international relations", *International Social Science Bulletin*, No. 4, pp. 648.

<sup>25</sup> Ehrlich, Ludwig (1947): *Wstęp do nauki o stosunkach międzynarodowych* (Introduction to the science of international relations), Kraków, p.1.

<sup>26</sup> Kukułka, Józef. (1978): *Wstęp do teorii stosunków międzynarodowych* (Introduction to the theory of international relations), Warszawa, PWN.

(On the Law of War and Peace) from Latin into Polish.<sup>27</sup> In his work of 1972, he wrote that the discipline of international studies had not emerged from the division of an already existing discipline but synthetically. He believed that many disciplines contributed to the development of research and didactics of international studies, such as international law, political history (especially diplomatic history), the study of international organisations, the science of the state, military doctrine, and political economics (especially foreign trade economics).<sup>28</sup>

Generally speaking, until 1989 international studies in Poland were limited to the ideological and political concept of scientific communism (although formally no such scientific discipline was created), which was based on the assumption that the process of social development was linear and that its ultimate goal was a communist system. Thus, social sciences played the role of social engineering serving this purpose, which led to extreme politicisation of social sciences, including political science. The research programme of that time named 'Marksistowska nauka o stosunkach międzynarodowych' (Marxist science of international relations) is a good example of that approach. The programme essentially criticised Western theoretical concepts for non-compliance with the dogmas of the official ideology and emphasised the achievements of Soviet science in building a new type of international relations in the form of a system of socialist countries led by the Soviet Union.<sup>29</sup>

## 2. International Studies in the Period of Transformation after 1989

After the fall of communism in Poland, a symbol of which were the democratic elections of 4 June 1989, Poland entered a period of systemic transformation, which also affected the sphere of social sciences and humanities. In contrast to the Czech Republic and East Germany, in Poland there was no decommunisation in this sphere, which meant that many professors at universities and research centres who had been active in the area of politics and ideology in the communist times kept conducting research and teaching. This fact had the greatest impact on the character of international studies in Poland and in the entire Central Europe, as pointed out by Western researchers such as Knud E. Jorgensen<sup>30</sup> and Thomas Volgy<sup>31</sup> as well as Peter Drulak from the Czech Republic.<sup>32</sup> Among Polish scholars in turn, a comprehensive evaluation of the state of international studies in Poland after the fall of communism was performed by Jacek Czaputowicz and Anna Wojciuk.<sup>33</sup> In 2015, the same pair of authors published a monograph titled 'Nauka o stosunkach międzynarodowych i studia europejskie Polsce' (The science of international relations and the European studies in Poland),<sup>34</sup> where they analysed the state of international studies and European studies on the basis of TRIP

<sup>27</sup> Bierzanek, Remigiusz (1957): *O prawie wojny i pokoju. Trzy księgi, w których znajdują wyjaśnienie prawo natury i prawo narodów, a także główne zasady prawa publicznego* (On the law of war and peace. Three volumes explaining the law of nature and the law of nations, as well as the main rules of public law), Warszawa, PWN.

<sup>28</sup> Bierzanek, Remigiusz (1972): *Współczesne stosunki międzynarodowe*, Warszawa, UW.

<sup>29</sup> Symonides, Janusz, Pałyga, Edward (1979): *Marksistowska nauka stosunków międzynarodowych*, Warszawa.

<sup>30</sup> Jorgensen, Knud (2004): "Toward a six Continents Social Science: International Relations", *Journal of International Relations and Development*, No.4. pp. 300-343; (2013): "Choosing Directions at Central and Eastern European Crossroads", *Przegląd Europejski*, No. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Volgy, Thomas (2013): "A Couple of Quick Reflections on Changes in the CEE Academic IR Community over the Last Decade", *Przegląd Europejski*, No. 1, pp. 27-28.

<sup>32</sup> Drulak, Peter, Konigova, Lucie, Karlas, Jan (2009): "Continuity and Change in the Discipline of IR in Central and Eastern Europe Forum", *Journal of International Relations and Development*, No. 2, pp. 168-173.

<sup>33</sup> Czaputowicz, Jacek, Wojciuk, Anna (2014): "IR Scholarship in Poland: the state of the discipline 25 years after the transition to democracy", *Journal of International Relations and Development*, advanced online publication, 28 November 2014, doi, 10.1057/jird.2014.21.

<sup>34</sup> Czaputowicz, Jacek, Ławniczak, Kamil (2015): *Nauka o stosunkach międzynarodowych i studia europejskie w Polsce* (The IR Scholarship and the European Studies in Poland), Warszawa, Scholar.





methodology (Teaching Research and International Policy). It is a very interesting study, but it uses quantitative and statistical methods, therefore the historical context of the changes and evolution of institutions are not sufficiently addressed in it; furthermore, a number of important facts and events were omitted as they had not been included in surveys. As a witness to the events and evolution of international studies in 1989, the author of the present article presents his own view, based on his own experience.

The inspiration for international studies in Poland after 1989 were the fundamental changes in the international environment and, even more importantly, the fundamental and historic turn in Polish foreign policy effected by the new governing political elites tracing their roots to the Solidarity. The new policy was referred to as 'all roads lead West' and was the manifestation of the desire to join Western institutions as quickly as possible in order to prevent the country from being drawn back into the post-Soviet or Russian sphere of influence. All this naturally created high demand for knowledge about Western institutions, security issues and European integration. As a result, new didactic and research programmes were launched, thus leading to the development of strong institutional thinking about foreign policy and perceiving the Polish *raison d'état* and the relations with the external world in these terms.

At the very beginning of the transformation process, in 1990, the Institute of International Relations at the University of Warsaw launched a programme of master's studies in international relations, and other Polish universities followed this example. It was a qualitative change because the new programme was meant to educate professionals in broadly understood international cooperation and differed considerably from the traditionally narrow and highly specialised didactic programmes for diplomats. Another important aspect of the programme was that teaching international relations in the form of five-year studies emerged from the apparatus of political sciences, which were pervaded with the tradition of ideological influence and dependence on political decision-makers. In accordance with UNESCO standards, in the communist period international relations were considered a constituent of political science (as its sub-discipline). Departure from the standard of political science in educating international relations experts was reflected in the multidisciplinary teaching programme, which, constantly improved since then, has become the most popular and recognisable study major at Polish universities.

In 1993, the Institute of International Relations and other similar academic centres in Central Europe received assistance from the American Professional School of International Affairs (APSIA). The assistance consisted of the transfer of knowledge related to creating syllabuses and programmes of international relations that were used at American universities. For this purpose, between 1992 and 1997, workshops and seminars were organised alternately in the United States and in various Central European countries with the aim to improve the professional teaching skills in international relations. Furthermore, numerous young academics from Central Europe had the opportunity to participate in traineeship programmes at leading American universities and discover the organisation of didactics and research themselves. The Institute of International Relations at the University of Warsaw was very actively engaged in the cooperation with APSIA, which also included the execution of joint research programmes that resulted in the joint publication (the first one of its kind in Poland) titled *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe i międzynarodowe u schyłku XX wieku* (National and international security towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>35</sup> The individual chapters were

<sup>35</sup> Bobrow, Davis, Halizak, Edward, Zięba, Ryszard (eds) (1997): *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe i międzynarodowe u schyłku XX wieku*, Warszawa, Scholar.



authored by researchers from Poland and the United States, including Davis Bobrow, Henry Nau, Bruce Russett, Richard Ullman, Charles Kupchan.

One of important results of the cooperation with APSIA was the establishment of the Central and East European International Studies Association (CEEISA) in 1998. This international society publishes the “Journal of International Relations and Development”. The CEEISA’s significance for internationalisation of international studies in Poland has been immense, mainly thanks to workshops and seminars organised with the participation of researchers from Western Europe and the United States. The most important role, however, has been played by the annual CEEISA Conferences, organised by the countries of the region; Poland hosted them on three occasions (Warsaw – 2000, Wrocław – 2007, Cracow – 2012).

In 2013, a new scientific society was established in Europe under the name European International Studies Association (EISA), and several dozen Polish scholars became its members. In September 2013, the Institute of International Relations of the University of Warsaw organised the first EISA international conference: ‘One International Relations or Many? Multiple Worlds, Multiple Crises’.

The most important event, however, one that should be perceived as key for the development of international studies in Poland, was Poland’s accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004. This opened up the unique opportunity of becoming engaged in various forms of scientific cooperation within the EU and of accessing an important source of research funding. One of the examples of adaptation to education standards is the Bologna Process. Poland replaced the system of five-year master’s studies with the 3+2+3 system: bachelor’s studies, master’s studies and doctoral studies.

Yet another important impetus for the development of international studies in Poland was provided by the establishment of the Polish Association for International Studies in 2008, which should be perceived as an important sign that international studies were becoming a more autonomous research discipline and a sign of the emergence of an epistemic community of researchers sharing the common beliefs and assumptions on the subject of international studies. Starting with 2011, the Association held five national conventions focusing on the following issues:

2011 – The problem of multidisciplinary nature of international relations

2012 – The levels of analysis in international relations

2013 – The theory of realism in international studies. Principles and research applications

2014 – Norms, values and institutions in contemporary international relations

2015 – Liberalism and neo-liberalism in international studies

2016 – Analysis of state foreign policy

2017 – Area and Global Studies.

Since 2013, the Polish Association for International Studies has been a member of the World International Studies Committee (WISC). Its most important statutory goal is to work towards achieving the official status of scientific discipline for international studies. Under Polish law, once a field of knowledge is recognised as a scientific discipline, doctoral-level education can be conducted and doctoral titles can be granted in this field, which means Ph.D. in International Studies instead of Ph.D. in Political Science, as it is today.

There is a consensus among researchers of international relations in Poland as regards the perception of the discipline's research scope and its division into the following sub-disciplines:

- 1) Foreign policy analysis.
- 2) Security studies.
- 3) International law and institutions.
- 4) International political economy.
- 5) Area and global studies.
- 6) History of international relations.

The emancipation efforts of the Polish researchers of international relations is determined by the following circumstances.

First, according to UNESCO standards, international studies are placed within the framework of political science. In the Polish reality, this circumstance hinders the functioning of international studies because of the autarchic development of political science in isolation from global standards. It is also under considerable influence of researchers who had been shaped, in terms of ideology and methodology, by real socialism and who do not recognise the global achievements in this field.

Second, since 1990 Poland has experienced a dynamic increase in the number of students of international relations. According to J. Czaputowicz and A. Wojciuk, almost 28,000 people were studying this major in 2012 on the bachelor, master and doctoral levels at public and private universities.<sup>36</sup> This is much more than the number of students of political science. At the University of Warsaw, the number is three times higher.

Third, an important source of emancipation of international studies in Poland is the fact that the tradition of research in this discipline goes back to the times before World War II, when a significant group of Polish scholars participated in the work of the International Studies Conference. The researchers of international relations in Poland draw on this idea, following the example of their Western counterparts, who consider International Studies a discipline of science.<sup>37</sup>

In Poland, international relations studies are conducted by universities and the following research centres (think-tanks):

- Center for Social and Economic Research (<http://www.case-research.eu/pl/index>)
- Centre for International Relations (<http://csm.org.pl/>)
- Centre for Poland-Asia Studies (<http://www.polska-azja.pl>)
- Lech Wałęsa Institute Foundation (<http://www.ilw.org.pl>)
- demosEuropa Foundation (<http://www.demoseuropa.eu>)
- Czesław Mojsiewicz Foundation (<http://www.fundacjamojsiewicza.org.pl/>)

<sup>36</sup> Czaputowicz, Jacek, Wojciuk, Anna, *op.cit.*, p. 53-54.

<sup>37</sup> See Smith, Brian (1998): "Lessons from the Past: Reassessing the Interwar Disciplinary History of International Relations", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 42, p. 433-459; Long, David (2006): "Who Killed the International Studies Conference", *Review of International Studies*, No. 4, p. 603-622.



- Caismir Pulaski Foundation (<http://www.pulaski.pl/>)
- Stefan Batory Foundation (<http://www.batory.org.pl>)
- Institute of Public Affairs (<http://isp.org.pl>)
- Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Poland Office (<http://www.kas.de/polen/pl/>)
- Foundation of International Studies (<http://www.fundacjasm.edu.pl/index.php>)
- Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation (<http://fwpn.org.pl/>)
- Institute of Geopolitics (<http://geopolityka.net/instytut-geopolityki/>)
- Kościuszko Institute (<http://ik.org.pl/>)
- Institute for Strategic Studies (<http://www.iss.krakow.pl>)
- Eastern Initiative Institute (<http://iwi.org.pl>)
- Institute for Western Affairs (<http://www.iz.poznan.pl>)
- Krakow Foundation for Eastern Studies (<http://kfbw.pl>)
- Centre for Dialogue and Analysis THINKTANK (<http://mttp.pl>)
- Center for Political Thought (<http://www.omp.org.pl>)
- Centre for Eastern Studies (<http://www.osw.waw.pl>)
- Polish Institute of International Affairs ([www.pism.pl](http://www.pism.pl))
- Polish Centre for African Studies (<http://www.pcsa.org.pl>)
- Polish Geopolitical Society (<http://geopolityka.net>)
- Polish Society of International Studies (<http://www.ptsm.edu.pl>)
- Baltic Business Forum Association (<http://www.balticbusinessforum.eu/index.php>)
- CTA – Closer To Asia Association (<http://closertoasia.pl>)
- The Analysis Board of the Amicus Europae Foundation (<http://fae.pl/>)

As has been mentioned in the first part of this chapter, universities in Poland have a rich tradition of international relations studies. After 1989, they started creating departments, sections, chairs, institutes and faculties responsible for education in international relations. Presently, there are Faculties of Political Science and International Relations at the universities in Warsaw (since 1 September 2016), in Cracow (the Jagiellonian University), Łódź and Toruń; furthermore, at the University of Warsaw and the University of Wrocław there are Institutes of International Relations.

The Institute of International Relations at the University of Warsaw is the oldest academic institution of this kind in Poland; it was founded in 1976. At the onset of Poland's systemic transformation, in 1990, it had 14 staff members; now it is more than 60. It presently has approximately 1400 students, including 250 from abroad. The Institute's research profile is shaped by its sections: Strategic Studies, IR Political Economy, Law and International Relations, European integration, Non-European Area Studies, Contemporary India Research and Studies. Since 1980, the Institute of International Relations has been publishing the

journal *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations*, since 2015 issued as a quarterly. Detailed information on the Institute can be found at: [www.ism.uw.edu.pl](http://www.ism.uw.edu.pl).

The development and state of international studies in Poland is evidenced by the fact that more than a dozen academic journals are published by various research centres and universities. The most prominent among them are:

1. *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations*
2. *Sprawy Międzynarodowe*
3. *Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego*
4. *Rocznik Strategiczny*
5. *Przegląd Europejski*.

Academic textbooks in the field of international relations also played an important role in the development of research and didactics in this field. Poland's situation in this respect was rather special because, in contrast to many countries, academics relied on their own skills, experience and knowledge instead of having American and British textbooks translated into Polish. Some examples of Polish publications used as textbooks include: Edward Haliżak and Roman Kuźniar, *Stosunki międzynarodowe. Geneza. Struktura. Dynamika* (International relations. Genesis. Structure. Dynamics);<sup>38</sup> Erhard Cziomer and Lubomir Zyblikiewicz, *Zarys współczesnych stosunków międzynarodowych* (An outline of contemporary international relations);<sup>39</sup> Marek Pietraś (ed.), *Międzynarodowe stosunki polityczne* (International political relations).<sup>40</sup> The significance of these books for education in international relations was immense because of the modern content layout, with multidisciplinary approach to international issues.

Another important element that needs to be taken into account in the analysis of the state of international studies in Poland are the directions and areas of study. Due to the limited framework of this article, it is not possible to characterise all of them here in detail – hence some generalisations.

The theory and methodological status of 'international studies' is a research area in which Polish researchers of international relations became interested already in the 1970s. It was a period of learning (albeit to a limited extent) about the achievements of the Western science of international relations. This was also when the first publications were written, taking the form of descriptive articles on international relations theories. These were followed by the particularly important first doctoral theses analysing the individual theories and their authors. In the last decade, there was a qualitative turn in this direction of research – a shift from describing and classifying theories towards creating original and individual conceptualisations of theoretical and methodological knowledge, as exemplified by papers by Jacek Czaputowicz, *Teorie stosunków międzynarodowych. Krytyka i systematyzacja* (Theories of international relations. Critical analysis and systematisation)<sup>41</sup> and Andrzej Gałanek,

<sup>38</sup> Haliżak, Edward, Kuźniar, Roman (eds)(2005): *Stosunki międzynarodowe. Geneza. Struktura. Dynamika*, Warszawa, UW.

<sup>39</sup> Cziomer, Erhard, Zyblikiewicz, Lubomir (2007): *Zarys współczesnych stosunków międzynarodowych*, Warszawa, PWN.

<sup>40</sup> Pietraś, Marek (ed.)(2006): *Międzynarodowe stosunki polityczne*, Lublin, UMCS.

<sup>41</sup> Czaputowicz, Jacek (2007): *Teoria stosunków międzynarodowych. Krytyka i systematyzacja*, Warszawa, PWN.





*Historia stosunków międzynarodowych w dwóch tomach* (History of international relations in two volumes)<sup>42</sup>.

The next two areas of international studies in Poland were related to the exceptional need for knowledge and competences resulting from Poland's aspirations to obtain membership in the two leading Western institutions: the European Union and NATO.

After 1989, when the new, democratically elected authorities declared the desire for the country to join the European Union, at the same time they created legal and organisational conditions for the development of European studies, understood as area studies, studies of the European Union and of regional integration. Almost all Polish universities opened institutes (departments) of European studies, which launched bachelor's and master's studies. The dynamic development of education in European studies was supported by research of issues related to the EU. The achievements in this area are truly impressive; they represent a multitude of approaches and multidisciplinary. Among the many publications on this subject, the most influential ones were the monograph by Zbigniew Doliwa-Klepacki<sup>43</sup> and the academic textbook edited by Wojciech Jakubowski and Konstanty Adam Wojtaszczyk.<sup>44</sup>

Security issues are yet another priority area of research in Poland due to the logic of Poland's geopolitical location and membership in NATO, within which Poland tries to play an active role by cooperating with the United States.<sup>45</sup> The importance of these issues increased even more after Russia's conflicts with Georgia and Ukraine. The works that especially stand out in this area are those by Roman Kuźniar<sup>46</sup> and Katarzyna Żukrowska,<sup>47</sup> considered the most representative publications on security studies in Poland.

After 1989, Polish foreign policy issues became the subject of broad research characterised by a historical and descriptive approach as well as focusing on bilateral relations, for example: the relations between the United States and Poland, Poland and Germany, Poland and Russia. Research and theoretical analyses of the nature of contemporary foreign policy is relatively little developed, although works by Ryszard Stemplowski<sup>48</sup> and Adriana Dudek<sup>49</sup> are a praiseworthy exception to this rule.

Area studies are an important and characteristic area of international studies in Poland. They focus on non-European regions and take the point of view of international relations, but there is also a large group of researchers who approach them from the perspective of cultural studies. The most well-developed among area studies in terms of the number of publications

<sup>42</sup> Gałganek, Andrzej (2013): *Historia stosunków międzynarodowych. Nierówny i połączony rozwój. Tom 1 Idee; Tom 2 Rzeczy i praktyki* (History of international relations. Uneven and combined development. Volume 1: Ideas, Volume 2: Things and practice), Elipsa.

<sup>43</sup> Doliwa-Klepacki, Zbigniew (1999): *Integracja europejska* (European integration), Białystok, Temida 2.

<sup>44</sup> Wojtaszczyk, Konstanty Adam, Jakubowski, Wojciech (eds)(2012), *Europeistyka. Podręcznik akademicki* (European Studies. An academic textbook). Vol. 1-2, Warszawa, PWN.

<sup>45</sup> Madej, Marek (2013): "Security Studies in the Context of International Relations. Child. Cousin or Just Close Neighbour", *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations*, No. 2, pp. 223-241.

<sup>46</sup> Kuźniar, Roman (2006): *Polityka i siła. Studia strategiczne – zarys problematyki* (Politics and power. Strategic studies – an outline), Warszawa, Scholar.

<sup>47</sup> Żukrowska, Katarzyna (2011): *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe. Przegląd stanu* (International security. A review of the situation), Warszawa, SGH.

<sup>48</sup> Stemplowski, Ryszard (2006): *Wprowadzenie do analizy polityki zagranicznej RP* (Introduction to the analysis of Poland's Foreign Policy), Warszawa, Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych.

<sup>49</sup> Dudek, Adriana (2012): *System decyzyjny w polityce zagranicznej Polski okresu tranżycji (1989-1992). Mechanizmy, procedury i instytucje, praktyka* (The decision-making system in Poland's foreign policy in the period of transition 1989-1992. Mechanisms, procedures and institutions, practice), Wrocław, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.



and organisation in research centres and university departments are Latin American studies,<sup>50</sup> African studies<sup>51</sup> and Asia studies<sup>52</sup>.

### **3. Conclusion and Summary**

International studies in Poland have a rich tradition in the history of political and legal thought. The fatalism of Poland's geopolitical location gave special importance to issues such as security, independence and sovereignty in the discussion on the country's relations with the external world and on the optimal model of foreign policy towards Poland's neighbours and other European countries. As regards the experience of the last century, it is undeniable that the tradition of participating in the International Studies Conference of the inter-war period played an important and positive role as the Conference was an important source of inspiration for the conceptualisation of the research scope of international studies. The period of real socialism in Poland, until 1989, significantly slowed down the process of studying international relations because of their considerable ideological aspect. But starting with the 1970s, in the period of détente in the relations between the East and the West and the relative increase in international contacts, there appeared first publications and doctoral theses concerning the idea of international studies as it is now understood.

The last 25 years, that is the period since the beginning of the transformation in 1989, were a time of a quantitative and qualitative leap in the development of international studies in Poland. The period can be divided into two phases.

The first phase, between 1989 and 2004, was characterised by the creation of institutional foundations for research and education: faculties, institutes, departments, sections and chairs at universities, the establishment of new and reorganisation of existing research centres, opening up to cooperation with the West, and examining the achievements and state of research, launching education in this field.

The second phase, starting in 2004, when Poland joined the EU, and is still not over, has been characterised by qualitative changes as a result of increased funding owing to the availability of funds from the European Union. Journals published in accordance with Western standards started appearing, containing articles with theoretical ambitions. There has been a considerable increase in internationalisation of the international studies researchers' community. What is the most important, however, is that the recent years have seen the rise of a community of researchers sharing similar beliefs regarding the research scope of international studies and the development of pluralism in the area of epistemology, where realism is clearly dominating (a consequence of Poland's historical experience) over liberalism and neo-liberal institutionalism – which, in turn, stems from the tradition of international law and the explicitly positive assessment of Poland's membership in NATO and the European Union.

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<sup>50</sup> Gawrycki, Marcin F. (2015): *Latynoamerykańskie koncepcje stosunków międzynarodowych* (Latin American concepts of international relations), Vol. I-VI, Warszawa, Museum of the Polish Peasant Movement.

<sup>51</sup> Lizak, Wiesław (2012): *Afrykańskie instytucje bezpieczeństwa* (African security institutions), Warszawa, Scholar.

<sup>52</sup> Halizak, Edward (1999): *Stosunki międzynarodowe w regionie Azji i Pacyfiku* (International relations in the region of Asia and the Pacific), Warszawa, Scholar; Zajączkowski, Jakub, Schottli, Jivanta, Thapa, Manish (2014): *India in the Contemporary World: Polity, Economy and International Relations*, London, Routledge.