

100 LAT 100 YEARS

THE GREAT POWER AND POLAND 1919–2019

100th Anniversary of Polish-American Relations



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Editor

Agnieszka Bieńczyk-Missala

Warsaw 2019

The book is a collection of original articles and speeches of participants of the Polish-American conference “The Great Power and Poland 1919–2019. The 100th Anniversary of Polish-American Relations,” organized on 4 October 2019 at the University of Warsaw by the Jan Karski Educational Foundation and the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies of the University of Warsaw.

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Ministry
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Agnieszka Bieńczyk-Missala

Introduction

In 2018, Poland celebrated the centenary of regaining independence. Over 100 years ago, thanks to the restoration of statehood of the Republic of Poland after it was missing from the map for 123 years, a new era of its participation in international relations began. One of the first countries that recognized Poland's independence – on January 29, 1919 – was the United States. President Woodrow Wilson included the need for an independent Polish state as the famous thirteenth point in his peace program (Fourteen Points).

The realities of the interwar period, World War II, and finally the Cold War prevented the full development of Polish-American relations. It was not until the spring of 1989, with the breakthrough elections in Poland on June 4 and the changes that followed after more than 40 years of communism, that a reorientation of foreign policy from East to West took place, and the United States could once again establish proper relations with the democratizing Poland and Central Europe. Poland's joining the transatlantic community and the European Union brought an

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advancement in terms of democratic values and respect for human rights. Membership in the NATO fostered a sense of security and a tangible way towards strengthening it further. This period was characterized by consistency of values and interests. The space of freedom and solidarity grew, and so did the fundamental interests of security and economic development.

Freedom, peace, and prosperity require sustained effort. Meanwhile, the liberal international order that the United States, Western Europe, and the North Atlantic Alliance formed after World War II was hit by a crisis. The experience of terrorism and the war on terror, abuse of force, violations of international law, economic competition, populism, and the erosion of liberal democracy have led to a crisis of trust. The transatlantic community is currently facing serious internal and external challenges.

The international conference “The Great Power and Poland 1919–2019. The 100th Anniversary of Polish-American Relations.” organized on October 4, 2019, at the initiative of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation, in cooperation with the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies of the University of Warsaw, was a unique opportunity to discuss these fundamental topics. Among the outstanding representatives of the world of science, diplomacy, politics, and non-governmental institutions from Poland and the United States, the condition of the transatlantic community, the importance of Polish-American relations, and the place of values and interests in the politics of states were discussed. This publication contains articles and transcripts of statements by excellent speakers, experts on transatlantic issues, and active participants of the last 30 years of Polish-American relations.

The proceedings were held in the memory of Jan Karski: a hero, a freedom fighter, a Holocaust witness, an emissary of the Polish Underground State, a man who – in the name of proclaiming the truth, taking responsibility for the weak and determinedly

opposing evil – stood tall in the face of enormous dangers. His deeply Christian attitude was manifest in his readiness to fight for the moral cause, even when doomed to fail. He had to face the fact that his mission of convincing the world's top decision-makers to stop the suffering of Jews during World War II ultimately proved unsuccessful.

The conference was an opportunity to present the *Spirit of Jan Karski Award*, given by the Polish Jan Karski Educational Foundation and the American Jan Karski Educational Foundation for the defense of human dignity and human rights, civil courage, and undertaking actions in the spirit of universal values by which Jan Karski was guided. This year's award went to Professor Peter F. Krogh, long-time Dean of the School of Foreign Service in Georgetown, whose work was invaluable for education and diplomacy, and who was also a friend of Jan Karski.

I hope this publication will encourage readers to reflect on the condition of Polish-American relations and the transatlantic community, while also providing an opportunity to reflect on the importance of the individual persons: every politician, diplomat, scientist, and every participant of public life for the implementation of universal values adopted by the international community after World War II.

CONFERENCE
INAUGURATION

Ewa Junczyk-Ziomecka

Excellencies, Honorable Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Two anniversaries are celebrated this year—the 100th anniversary of Polish-American diplomatic relations and the 100th anniversary of Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, where for 40 years Professor Jan Karski was a teacher. Today, these two events bring together outstanding Polish and American diplomats, scientists, and international policy experts in this auditorium of the University of Warsaw. Among them are Karski’s former students—Michał Mrożek and Ambassador Stephen Mull; Professor Peter Krogh (Karski’s friend) and his successors from the School of Foreign Service—Professor and Ambassador Barbara Bodine and Director James Seevers; and David Harris, the Executive Director of the American Jewish Committee, who annually gives the Jan Karski Award to a deserving politician.

The organizer of today’s event is the Jan Karski Educational Foundation together with the University of Warsaw’s Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies. The Foundation, like our patron, who was Polish and American, also has two citizenships. The Jan Karski Educational Foundation was first established in the United States and soon the Jan Karski Educational Foundation’s sister organization began operating in Poland. From the beginning, we have set a goal not only to preserve the Karski legacy but also to educate, since education was the area to which Karski devoted most of his life, primarily at the School of Foreign Service to which we send

Ewa Junczyk-Ziomecka – President of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation in Warsaw, Poland. Former Secretary of State at the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and former Consul General of Poland in New York.

two deserving young men and women every year. These young civil servants, NGO staff members and academics take part in the Georgetown Leadership Seminar. All our GLS alumni are here today.

It seems that in accordance with the topic of our conference, young Poles today are looking for answers to the basic question: Do we, Poles, or do we not have influence on the fate of our country? And the young are torn between two extreme views. From dreams of Poland as a great international power to a bleak prospect of Poland without any significance in the family of nations. Nothing in between.

There is a lack of careful and wise reflection on Poland's place in the world and its involvement in the policy of the great powers. What is missing is a cool, analytical perspective, so characteristic for Karski in his magnum opus *The Great Powers and Poland 1919-1945: From Versailles to Yalta*. This book (the jubilee edition has its premiere today) is a must-read for anyone who claims to be an intellectual.

The book was important when it was published in 2014 by the Poznan Publishing House (Pol. *Wydawnictwo Poznańskie*) in partnership with the Jan Karski Educational Foundation and the Polish History Museum. And today it is even more important. Andrzej Pomian, an emigre historian and journalist of Radio Free Europe wrote in the review for the first edition that "the book written by Professor Karski is a powerful boost of sobriety, an essential vademecum for Polish politicians." He added that "if it were up to me, I would make reading it a must for them [Polish politicians]."

We are convinced that this conference's panelists, practitioners and academics, by sharing their experience, knowledge and their opinions will bring us closer to a fuller understanding, which will help Poland's young people (primarily) in coming up with their own mature reflection about the true nature of relations between the Great Power and Poland, the history of diplomacy between our two countries, and the importance of those past 100 years for today's uncertain times.

Krzysztof Szczerski

The substantive question pertaining to Polish-American relations is perfectly reflected in the title of the conference: “The Great Power and Poland”. It refers, of course, to Jan Karski’s key work *The Great Powers and Poland 1919–1945: From Versailles to Yalta*, but at the same time it draws our attention to the basic starting point of Polish-American relations, which is the disproportion of potentials. Indeed, we are dealing with relations between the Great Power and Poland, which, in fact, is not a great power, although it is not a small state. Its importance in international relations is functional, not potential-based, which means that it is to a much greater extent the function of the policy pursued by Poland, whereas our status and our position in these relations are subject to significant and continuous changes, from the state of necessity (an indispensable participant in politics) to the periods marked by complete lack of political subjectivity. Such a state is alien to great powers, which even in times of political collapse are never confronted with the problem of total exclusion or undermining of their existence.

Therefore, the disproportion of potentials, which constitutes the fundamental context of Polish-American relations, has to be addressed by politics, practical conclusions should be drawn from it, one should also try to respond to the disproportion of potentials in different ways.

Professor Krzysztof Szczerski – Secretary of State in the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Chief of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Poland.

In my view, a two-pronged approach can be applied.

Firstly, the disproportion of potentials can be reduced by means of idealistic politics, i.e. by acting according to common values. Idealism and values are not quantified, therefore, if it is values and not interests that unite states, then the difference in potential does not prevent joint undertakings. The community of values makes countries with vastly different resources and international positions partners in action. This applies also to Polish-American relations. For it is worth stressing that, regardless of specific actions resulting from the common interests as described below, Poland and the United States have always been linked by bilateral relations based on a common catalogue of values, among which freedom as a human right and the right of nations to pursue their own path towards happiness occupy the central place. Both our countries would get involved in various international undertakings (including as difficult ones as military interventions in the territory of third countries – Afghanistan, Iraq) precisely in the belief that they are justified, because their aim is to restore security and freedom. Above all, however, it is precisely due to our shared commitment to the common basic political convictions that Poland and the United States co-create the most important security alliance of countries founded on democracy and freedom in the world, that is NATO. Hence, we should never underestimate the importance of the community of values, because these translate directly into political decisions.

Still, what kind of conclusions could be drawn from the difference of potentials and a vastly different international position of countries if we abandoned idealism and entered the realistic school of thought?

On the one hand, it can be assumed that a Polish-American policy based on partnership is not feasible, since it is impossible to create a common field of interests between countries with so

hugely differing international positions. It is only possible to have an American policy vis-à-vis Poland or a Polish one vis-à-vis the USA, not a common policy, though. If we adopted yet another perspective, the one regarded as realistic, one could say that Poland's policy would always be subordinated to American policy. In recent years, this thesis has repeatedly echoed in the Polish public debate. It means that the difference in potentials is hierarchical in its nature and results in subordination of a smaller country to a superpower. In consequence it would be marked by such features as unilateralism of commitments and guarantees, one-vector character of favourable activities (with a smaller state doing favours to a superpower), or symbolic disregard (not taking into account the prestige needs of a smaller state). Personally, I do not subscribe to any of these two theses. I do not believe that a Polish-American policy is impossible, nor that it must be burdened with the defect of subordination. What is more, I do not wish to delve into the question of sources underpinning such concepts.

For in my opinion, there is a third possibility to provide a realistic response in the situation of a difference of potentials. This answer is the need to find a political lever for Polish-American relations. In the mechanism of the lever, even an ant can outweigh an elephant if an appropriate support is provided for the lever. If we build a lever arm in the right way, then the difference of potentials can be offset by the appropriately applied political power of a given country, even of a much smaller one than a great power.

And this is precisely how we have been trying to create policy recently, having in mind a realistic assessment of relations between Poland and the United States. Thanks to this, I believe, we can talk about an effective and real policy of partnership between our countries.

We are using several types of political leverage in these relations.

The first one consists in the intensity of bilateral contacts. One can say that at various levels, including the highest political one, our countries maintain a constant and ongoing contact. The credit for that goes both: to the previous ambassadors of both countries, who have laid the foundations and, with varying degrees of intensity, paved the road for cooperation, but above all also to the current US Ambassador to Warsaw and the Polish Ambassador to Washington as well as the cooperation between the White House and the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. The statistics on bilateral contacts in recent years are impressive. Suffice it to say that the Presidents of Poland and of the United States have met nine times in the last three years. Over the course of one year, the President of Poland paid two official visits to Washington and one working visit to New York. A number of documents have been officially signed by the Presidents themselves, which are important for Poland's security in particular, and which set the framework for cooperation between our countries in the coming years. The defined areas include: military and energy cooperation as well as investments in the sector of new technologies. The intensity of contacts has also translated into very good personal contacts, a matter of importance in today's difficult times. The intensity of contacts has evolved from appropriate, as defined by the diplomatic rhythm, to above-standard.

The second lever concerns the implementation of very specific joint action programmes. We ourselves are creating instruments for the implementation of the Polish-American partnership. We are active and effective. This is related to concrete expectations formulated by both Presidents vis-à-vis their staffs – the state apparatus, in the three above-mentioned areas of Polish-American relations. The Presidents require tangible results and have them delivered. First of all, security. The presence of American troops in Poland, enhanced both qualitatively and quantitatively, is com-

pletely reshaping the realm of Polish-American relations. The American troops in Poland are the first foreign troops in the last 300 years invited by us. The cooperation in this area will continue to develop. Secondly, we are building a Polish-American partnership in the field of energy and energy security. Investment opportunities have opened up, while the LNG terminal and the possibility of having an open gas market in Poland are conducive to the partnership. Strategically important economic interests connect the United States with the Polish market and through Poland with the Central European market. The latest declaration on energy cooperation between Poland, Ukraine and the United States presents Poland with an opportunity to re-export American gas to one of the countries in our region. The energy sector combines strategic and economic interests as well as those related to energy security. The third lever is new investments, technologies and business activities that are conducive to the American economic and investment engagement in Poland. The Three Seas Initiative, in which the United States has been present from the very beginning, with President Donald Trump personally attending the Three Seas Summit in Warsaw in 2017, makes Poland increasingly attractive. New investment ideas, uniting the countries along the north-south axis, from the Baltic States to the Adriatic and the Black Sea, open up opportunities for linking American economic interests with the region and with Poland.

The fourth lever in our relations is the ability to overcome the impossible. The best example of this is Poland's inclusion in the Visa Waiver Programme. This issue, though it has featured on the agenda of bilateral talks for the last 30 years, was stuck in the meanders of an administrative impossibility and lack of political decision-making. Now it has proved to be implementable.

It is worth noting that Poland has been able to find its place under new conditions proposed in the doctrine of the incumbent

President of the United States, Donald Trump. Given the fact that the American doctrine says *America first* and the Polish one should say *Poland first*, we are looking for places where these two approaches intersect. Let us not explain that the American policy should be different. Let us find ourselves a place in this reality, in the doctrine of *America first*, to ensure that Poland as well as Polish-American relations can profit from it.

Having said that, I believe that today we are trying to provide a positive solution to the basic issue connected with Polish-American relations, as expressed in the title of the conference, namely the disproportion of potentials. By identifying the levers and the possible common projects that are beneficial to both countries, we are able today to constructively develop our bilateral relations and ensure that they bring good results and are in line with the common interests.

This is, of course, possible thanks to the continuation of the American policy towards Poland and the efforts of the ambassadors, as well as the appropriate choice of instruments. They should be adapted to modern realities, while building on the experience, work and achievements of the predecessors. This seems possible to me today.

Georgette Mosbacher

Rector Pałys, Minister Szczerski, Ambassadors Fried and Mull, Ambassador Kupiecki, President Junczyk-Ziomecka, Dean Krogh, good morning. Good morning to all!

It is also fitting that we mention Jan Karski, the namesake of the foundation, which has co-organized today's event. Jan was the embodiment of bravery and compassion—a true freedom fighter and Polish-American hero, whose actions affected not just Poland and the United States, but humankind more broadly.

In addition to the heroes that give us common ground and bind our nations, I want to stress the shared democratic principles and broad values, which define our partnership. One value in particular, deeply held by both Americans and Poles, is our common belief in entrepreneurship and economic freedom. The values of free enterprise serve as both a unifying element and a driving force, shaping and guiding our destiny.

As President Ronald Reagan aptly stated: “Only when the human spirit is allowed to invent and create, only when individuals are given a personal stake in deciding economic policies and benefiting from their success—only then can societies remain economically alive, dynamic, prosperous, progressive and free.”

Poles and Americans believe in this freedom. We believe in economic freedom and private initiative. This shared value is integral to our relationship and should be central in our relationship for the next century and beyond.

Foreign direct investment is a key manifestation of economic freedom and a primary feature of the U.S.-Polish business relationship. Since 1990, American companies have invested over \$43 billion in Poland. IBM, Motorola, International Paper, 3M, Guardian Glass, Avon, Citibank, Cargill, Google, Microsoft, Discovery are just a few of the industry-leading American companies that have invested and continue to invest in Poland.

Foreign direct investment creates jobs, good jobs, and over 230,000 people work for American firms in Poland. Direct foreign investment also ties countries together in a way that gives life to the words of treaties and declarations. American investments in Poland fortify our already robust partnership, which encompasses everything from security cooperation to cultural connections to trade. There is a simple equation here. The more American companies invest in Poland, the more intertwined our futures become.

This is not a one-way street. The United States is also reaping the benefits of foreign direct investment, as Polish investments in the U.S. continue to grow. Americans also find jobs thanks to Polish investment and its free flow into our country. We both win.

Looking forward, Poland's reputation as a business friendly country will continue to attract investors who sagely place their bets on this country. Investors go (and stay) where they are wanted.

An American business leader, at a company with investments of over \$200 billion worldwide, recently shared with me the most important factors for his company when considering future investment destinations. Those are: rule of law and ease of investment.

Rule of law is about certainty, recourse to fair courts, and the ability to enforce a contract. Ease of investment is about efficiency, clear and fair rules and regulations, and lack of unnecessary bureaucratic red tape.

Poland does well on both accounts and needs to keep doing so. Poorly thought-out taxes and rules created without input from business and industry can have a negative impact. An independent judiciary helps business grow and is critical to the development of its market economy. Poland is sure to continue its path to the “Silicon Valley” of the EU, with the forward thinking, investor-friendly policies that have supported the economy’s uninterrupted growth thus far.

Energy is another critical and growing part of the economic elements of Polish-American relations. Together we are making great strides here. In the past year, Poland has signed three long-term LNG contracts with American firms worth tens of billions of dollars. This supply of LNG makes Poland an energy security leader in Europe. This will both help free Poland from dependence on Russian natural gas and empower Poland to be a natural gas hub for the region. Poland’s role as an energy security leader will facilitate the completion of gas interconnectors and can energize the Three Seas Initiative, which has energy infrastructure as an area of focus. Here we both agree: energy security is national security.

Our common devotion to economic freedom will continue to pave the way for even greater cooperation and mutual economic benefit.

Business ties are but one pillar of our relationship. Those trade deals and contracts pay dividends, both literally and figuratively, permeating many other aspects of the U.S.-Polish alliance and strengthening the partnership in tangible ways. When we speak about U.S. investments in Poland, we speak not of profits and assets alone, but of a commitment to our mutual prosperity.

Andrzej Rojek

Good morning,

I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to the team responsible for organizing this wonderful conference. I would like to start by saying that when I called Georgetown University to speak to Barbara Bodine and James Seevers and to invite them to our meeting in Warsaw, they accepted immediately. And maybe this is the best summary of what Madam Ambassador was talking about a moment ago. Our American friends are keen on coming to Poland, and interested in doing so. They are interested in the changes in our country, in its history, its current state and future prospects.

“Timing is everything” is a good English saying that emphasizes the right moment to hold our conference. Minister Szczerski has just returned from another visit to Washington. Madam Ambassador travels almost every month between our two capitals. The media in the US frequently writes about Poland and the media in Poland is very interested in the United States. Understanding and cooperation between our countries is expanding and deepening at an amazing pace. The abolition of visas between Poland and the United States is only a matter of time. So the moment is right. When we held our previous conference, “Memory and Responsibility”, five years ago at the University of Warsaw, we talked about values, Polish-Jewish issues, moral problems and patterns

of behavior that Jan Karski praised and supported. Today, we are talking about the historical perspective of Polish-American relations in order to better understand how these relations can develop further. We are very happy that we have managed to gather such a distinguished group of conference participants, Ambassadors, Madam Ambassador, and the Minister.

However, let us not forget about yet another anniversary. This year, Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service is celebrating its centennial. On November 15, one thousand guests will gather at the official anniversary ceremony. The wait list today exceeds five hundred names. President Clinton and President Kwasniewski announced their presence at the ceremony. This illustrates the importance of this institution in which Jan Karski spent over forty years of his life. This is undoubtedly one of the best schools in America and maybe in the world, dedicated to the study of diplomacy and international relations. Its graduates work not only in the State Department, but also in the private sector and charitable institutions around the world. What is particularly important to us is the fact that thanks to the initiative of Dean Peter Krogh in the last five years, twelve scholarship holders of our Foundation have also become Georgetown graduates through the participation in the Georgetown Leadership Seminar (GLS) program.

So, leaving this room today, let us think about the state of Polish-American relations and the great role that Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service plays in the education of diplomats of the world, who was also taught by our patron, Professor Jan Karski.

Stanisław Sulowski

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As the Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies, I welcome all the wonderful and honorable participants of this conference today. We are starting the second academic year in this magnificent edifice and probably the *genius loci*, this protective spirit of this place, is American in character, because the first international conference organized in this building included the participation of American guests and was dedicated to Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski. In June of this year another very important event took place—the unveiling of a memorial plaque dedicated to professor Brzezinski, a prominent political scholar, whom we hold dear. I warmly welcome Mr. Ian Brzezinski, the son of the Professor who is present today.

Ladies and gentlemen, Polish-American relations are the subject of this conference, but I am particularly glad that today's event has become an opportunity to honor a distinguished man, Dean of Georgetown University, Peter Krogh. Sir, we thank you very much, and we thank the School of Foreign Service for creating conditions where this extraordinary Pole, Jan Karski, a man of honor and intellect—who did so much for his homeland and for the United States—could work. It is a long and well-known tradition that the United States has provided protection and support to prominent Polish exiles who then contributed to

Professor Stanisław Sulowski – Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies of the University of Warsaw.

Polish-American cooperation and friendship. Suffice it to mention Ignacy Paderewski, Zbigniew Brzeziński, Jan Karski, among many other outstanding figures.

Referring to the topic of the conference, it is worth noting that the balance of Polish-American relations over the last hundred years is very positive. In spite of adversity, and this is very important, because a friend in need is a friend indeed, Poland has always received support from the United States. We prove wrong Seneca the Roman's remark that it is rare for people to retain gratitude for the benefits received. Poles do remember the contribution of American diplomacy to the cause of Poland's independence, we remember the aid programs after World War I and World War II, and above all, we are grateful to the United States for its support of the political transformation of Poland after 1989, which led us to freedom and sovereignty.

At the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies, we study international relations, including those between Poland and the United States. I think I have to say this: we need to keep reminding our American friends that the stronger Poland's role in Europe, the greater the importance of Poland for the United States. And I am pretty sure that our American friends understand. Thank you very much.

SPIRIT OF JAN KARSKI AWARD
CEREMONY

Michał Mrożek

Tradition of the *Spirit of Jan Karski Award*

One of the people who have been guiding us (from the after-world since the year 2000) is the patron of our Foundation, Professor Jan Karski. “The Karski karma,” a term often used by one of the directors of the Foundation in the United States, encourages action. I am convinced that Professor Karski is with us today, the day on which the Foundation that bears his name will bestow the Spirit of Jan Karski Award for the fifth time.

I was a second-year student at Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service when I met Professor Karski. He taught political systems in Eastern Europe. His lectures on the history of communism, full of theatrical flair, are now well established in the history of our school. Karski, impeccably dressed, with a strong European accent from beyond the Elbe and a talent to mimic the great individuals of World War II—Roosevelt, Churchill, Eden and Stalin—is etched in the memories of former students. We also remember the Professor’s upright, almost military posture both in class, when he lectured, gesticulating animatedly, and while he was striding through the campus. According to many students, the only person who matched his style and elegance at the university

was the Dean of the School of Foreign Service, Professor Peter F. Krogh, who is with us here today.

But being taught by Professor Karski not means more than having a memory of a wonderful, somewhat eccentric speaker who personally experienced so much and met so many “lords of the world.” More importantly, it was also a time for his students to verify their beliefs and knowledge of history; of social and political doctrines. This was especially important for those of us from Eastern Europe who, as we thought, already knew the whole truth about the tragic events of the war and the totalitarian system. Equally engaged in the discussion were students who had never been to Eastern Europe and for whom it was the first encounter with the complexities of the difficult history of 20th century Europe.

Karski listened to our opinions, intently staring at his debaters, and then proceeded to the often-critical response. Our idealism collided with his pragmatism and his realistic approach to both history and current events. It was painful for young idealists. Discussion with this man who had experienced so much, though often difficult, forced us to confront our perceptions of historical truth, our convictions about what is right and what is needed. It inspired us to rethink our plans for the future.

At the end of my studies, I received a gift from Professor Karski. It was his book, published for the first time and entitled *The Great Powers and Poland 1919-1945: From Versailles to Yalta*. In his dedication contained therein, Karski referred to the three values that he passed on to us again and again during his classes and impromptu meetings on a bench near the Jesuit cemetery where he spent his cigarette breaks on occasions: “In your work, always be fully committed, brave and noble.”

As noted by one of his students, recalling years later: for Professor Karski, the world was saturated with fundamental values, values which are undisputable. In today’s increasingly relativistic

world, in which the definitions of good and evil, the notions of what is right, are subject to frequent verification, the lessons of Professor Karski are badly needed.

Like the fireworks light up the sky, his lectures instilled in generations of students from around the world faith in the fundamental values of humanity. These values are put to the test again in today's world where leaders often define the truth in subjective shades of gray. In all his pursuits, whether an emissary of the Polish Underground State during the tragic years of war and witness of the Holocaust or during his years as a professor at Georgetown University, Professor Karski taught us by example to be guided by unambiguous definitions of good and evil, based on the universal values underlying what we call Karski's mission today: responsibility and self sacrifice, courageous action on behalf of those whose dignity, rights and often life are being threatened, as well as seeking excellence and value in one's work.

For five years now the Jan Karski Educational Foundation has been sending Polish participants to the Georgetown Leadership Seminar. The participants of the program are young diplomats, journalists, military personnel, public administration servants and activists of non-governmental organizations. They are the leaders who will carry on Jan Karski's mission into our complex world.

Back in 2012, in the spirit of promoting fundamental values in today's unstable environment, the Foundation made a decision to honor our patron with the *Spirit of Jan Karski Award*. It is an honorary award granted to politicians, diplomats, journalists, civil servants and other individuals who act in the spirit of the values that Jan Karski embodied. This year's laureate of the *Spirit of Jan Karski Award* is the long-term Dean of the School of Foreign Service, Professor Peter Krogh. The laudation in his honor will be delivered by Mr. Stephen Mull, former US Ambassador to Poland and student of Professor Karski.

Stephen D. Mull

Laudation

It is an extraordinary honor today to pay tribute, in the name of our beloved patron and hero Dr. Jan Karski, to one of America's leading educators in the field of foreign policy and international relations, Dr. Peter F. Krogh, the Dean of my alma mater, Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, from 1970–1995, and currently Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the School. On a personal level, today's event offers me a rare chance of redemption. I certainly was not one of Dean Krogh's best students during my time at Georgetown in the 1970's. I hope that during our meetings today, I can convince him that maybe, after all, it was not a serious mistake to grant me a diploma all those years ago!

Today we are all honored guests of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation. How appropriate that "education" is a central word in the name of the Foundation, for Professor Karski's enduring legacy is that of an educator, in every sense of the word. As a young man, Jan Karski strove to educate the world on the evils of fascism, with his eyewitness accounts to Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and other Allied leaders of the horrors of the Holocaust and the other terrors of Nazi German occupation of Poland. And he did so at great personal risk and sacrifice, enduring

Stephen D. Mull – former US Ambassador to Poland.

brutal torture and imprisonment that drove him, fortunately unsuccessfully, to suicide, in his quest to enlighten the world about the rising tide of evil engulfing Europe.

After the war, Professor Karski continued his work as an educator in the more civilized environment of academia, receiving his PhD from Georgetown University in 1952, going on to teach Georgetown's lucky students, including me, for more than 40 years. Being Professor Karski's student was a privilege unlike any other during my education. I wrote about the experience of being in Professor Karski's classroom in the foreword of the new edition to his principal work, *The Great Powers and Poland 1919–1945: From Versailles to Yalta*:

On a hot summer evening in July 1979, the impeccably attired Jan Karski strode briskly into a small Georgetown University classroom, trailing a thick afterburn of cigarette smoke. "I am Karski!" he declared with dramatic flair in his thickly-accented English. "This summer, you will learn theory of communism!" The other students and I, who had been lazily trying to keep cool in our shabby shorts and t-shirts, sat up at attention. Who was this guy? A secret agent? A communist? A movie star? For the next three weeks, he held us in thrall as he eagerly paced the classroom, wildly gesticulating, lecturing on the labor theory of value, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the darker secrets of democratic centralism. His passion was so strong, his zeal so overpowering, that many of us thought perhaps he was a communist sent to convert us. To our eternal shame, none of us knew who he really was; how he had earned those terrible scars on his face; what unspeakable horrors those clear blue eyes had seen; and what coldly realistic insights into the nature of power and its uses that he had gained risking his life for a free Poland during the Second World War.

If anything, the importance of education in confronting the world's problems as we all become more inter-related and inter-

dependent has only grown more urgent as we all confront the deadly costs of willful ignorance, destructive nationalism and fear of the “other”, disinformation, and fake news. For that reason, it is more than fitting that today’s honoree in Karski’s name is none other than his principal partner in his later years at Georgetown, Dr. Peter F. Krogh, who in his own way has contributed so much to the education of the world on the issues and challenges of international affairs. At the tender age of 32, Dr. Krogh became the new Dean of Georgetown University’s Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. Although founded as America’s first school devoted exclusively to foreign service 100 years ago in 1919, after America’s decisive entry onto the world stage as a major power at the end of World War I, the School of Foreign Service had been in significant decline. Dean Krogh’s energetic, visionary leadership rescued the School from what seemed to be inevitable collapse, and laid a foundation on which one of America’s leading institutions devoted to the study of international relations continues to thrive and grow today.

In retrospect, it seems impossible that someone so young facing so many challenges could accomplish so much in building what has become one of the most prestigious institutions in American higher education today. The elements of Dean Krogh’s success are almost too numerous to mention. He:

- Revolutionized the curriculum by introducing a requirement of core courses that grounded its students in the principles of international relations, world history, economics, and foreign languages; and later expanded its scope to focus on previously ignored dimensions of international relations such as science diplomacy, international trade and commerce, international law, and the role of women’s issues in national security;
- Pioneered an interdisciplinary approach to the study of international affairs, underscoring the interconnectedness of all as-

pects of the human experience in understanding the dynamics of relations between nations and cultures, and giving his students a fundamental grasp of the transnational issues that have come to dominate foreign policy since the end of the Cold War;

- Greatly enriched education at Georgetown by regularly attracting world famous practitioners such as Bill and Hillary Clinton, Henry Kissinger, Madeleine Albright, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Michael Armacost, Chester Crocker, David Abshire, Paul Nitze, Leslie Gelb, and Donald McHenry, among many others;
- Further integrated the School into the top echelons of the American foreign policy community by creating an Advisory Board of Visitors to help guide the School's development, including such figures as: Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Future Senator and Secretary of State John Kerry, Paul Warnke, Ellsworth Bunker, Joseph Nye;
- Substantially expanded the School of Foreign Service's academic prestige by overseeing the creation of a multitude of Centers, Institutes, and Programs that expanded the world's understanding of key issues in the conduct of international affairs, including:
 - The Center for German and European Studies
 - The Center for Contemporary Arab Studies
 - The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy (in which I was proud to serve as a Resident Senior Fellow last year)
 - The Landegger Program in International Business Diplomacy
 - The McGhee Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies
 - The Georgetown Leadership Seminar
 - The African Studies Program
 - The Turkish Studies Program
 - The Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding

The extraordinary impact of Dean Krogh's historic leadership of the School of Foreign Service is indisputable. The School has become Washington's premier venue for the independent study and discussion of the world's most pressing foreign policy issues. More than 75 current and former U.S., and hundreds of other diplomats and policy leaders, are alumni of the School of Foreign Service.

As one of those Ambassadors, I can personally attest that were it not for Dean Krogh's leadership of the School of Foreign Service, I certainly would not be standing before you today. When I enrolled at Georgetown as an international politics major in 1976, I was the first person in the history of my family to attend University. I had never been outside the United States, and did not even possess a passport. The fundamentals of foreign policy-making, the major themes in international relations through the centuries, and the principles of international trade and economics were all unknown to me. Dean Krogh's success in creating an extraordinarily rich learning environment, unprecedented opportunities to engage with so many leading practitioners of diplomacy, and his high standards of excellence transformed me and my life, and gave me the tools to serve and succeed in America's Foreign Service for 36 years.

Dean Krogh's success as an educator did not stop at the gates of Georgetown. Over the course of his decades at Georgetown, he also became one of America's leading foreign policy journalists on public television, hosting three separate series devoted to international affairs: "American Interests", "World Beat", and "Great Decisions"—together producing between 1981 and 2005 over 200 episodes and a series of documentaries on such diverse topics as the Palestinian uprising, nuclear proliferation, and the end of apartheid in South Africa, the demise of the Soviet Union, and challenges in U.S.-Cuban relations, reaching hundreds of thousands of viewers over the years.

Dean Krogh's TV career did not get off to an auspicious start. He recounted in his memoirs that when he taped the pilot show of "American Interests" with the Egyptian Ambassador to Washington, he was puzzled by an unusual sound he heard during the taping—it turned out to be the snoring of the camera man who had fallen asleep during the interview! America's foreign policy community is grateful to you Dean Krogh for persisting in your TV career despite this early experience!

When Dean Krogh retired in 1995, he received a hand-written letter from Professor Karski congratulating him on his historic leadership of the School of Foreign Service. He wrote: "You made the School what it is—the best of them all. You are its founder. You made it out of confusion, chaos, and incompetence. Nobody will be able to match your energy, self-sacrifice, and talents. Nobody will command such devotion, loyalty and trust. You gave it your all."

Dean Krogh, you can be proud of a legacy of serving your nation, the world, and the higher cause of peace and mutual understanding in our common quest for the truth; a legacy we recognize today by presenting you with the *Spirit of Jan Karski Award*. Somewhere, I am certain as we gather here today that Professor Karski is smiling down on us as we pay tribute to this remarkable educator whose work in educating thousands of world citizens has contributed immeasurably to making the world a better place. I can imagine Professor Karski opening his grade book looking for your name and exclaiming, "Aha, Peter! I give you an A!"

Thank you to all of you for joining us today in this tribute.

Peter F. Krogh

The Spirit of Jan Karski

As I look back, I discover that I have had the great good fortune of traveling through much of my life with the spirit of Jan Karski close at hand. It has been a physical presence at my side. Let me explain.

I am the son of Thorvald Krogh, a crusader of Viking lineage. He was a man of high principle and moral courage. He devoted much of his life to fearlessly championing the underdog, the disadvantaged and those discriminated against. His was a spirit that celebrated, that demanded the dignity and sanctity of life itself for all humankind.

I was exposed to this spirit from a very early age. In 1942 when President Franklin Roosevelt had the Japanese Americans in California rounded up and placed in internment camps, my father, who at the time was principal of the high school in Monterey, California, went ballistic. He literally led a crusade against the policy, calling it out for what it was; namely, a denial of a fundamental American right to equality and liberty. He wrote letters to the editors of the local public prints, he gave speeches in public forums, and he organized a committee in opposition to the

Dr. Peter F. Krogh – Dean emeritus of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University in Washington, and distinguished Professor of International Affairs.

internment policy that included some famous people, including the author John Steinbeck. Had Jan Karski been at hand at the time, he would have joined Thor—should-to-shoulder—on that committee!

My father then moved on to take up the cause of civil rights writ large for people of color, for gays, for any marginalized group. In doing so, he often clashed with established interests and just as often lost his jobs as sometimes principal and sometimes superintendent in various public school districts. He didn't care. He just stuck to his credo.

And now I wish to read to you his credo that I believe captures the spirit of Jan Karski: *Justice. It flows in our very veins. We crave justice the same as we do food. Justice includes life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, not only in the courts, but in every undertaking in life. Justice is the simplest and most fundamental quality needed in the moral relations of men.*

When I no longer had my father at my side, Jan Karski moved in to take his place. This was in 1970 when I arrived at Georgetown to take hold of the reins of its School of Foreign Service. Once again, let me explain.

In the run up to this occasion, I read Halik Kochanski's classic book *The Eagle Unbowed: Poland and the Poles in WWII*. It recounts Poland's heroic contributions to victory in WWII at a horrendous cost of Polish lives. Jan Karski is cited frequently in that book and as I read it I felt that Jan was perched on my shoulder. Along the way, it occurred to me that Jan is the very personification of the eagle unbowed. Jan stood by my side in that capacity, encouraging and sheltering me as I set to work to resurrect what was essentially a run-down school.

I have written a memoir of this experience and Jan features prominently in it. He does so because I relied so heavily on his wisdom, his dignity, his gravitas in working my way through

many challenges. He stood steadfastly by my side as an inspiration, as an unbowed eagle, as a kind of guardian angel. It was as if I were his adopted son and he wanted to be sure that I succeeded in mounting the resurgence of the school he loved so much.

When I had finished the job and laid down the mantle of my quarter century deanship, Jan wrote to me in January of 1995 as follows:

Dear Peter:

I just read that you decided to retire from the School of Foreign Service.

I realize that you have some important reasons for your decision. But I am also convinced that without you the School will not be the same.

You made the School what it is—the best of them all. You are its founder. You made it out of confusion, chaos, incompetence.

Dear Peter, forgive my intrusion—but I am sure that you leave the School too early. Nobody will be able to match your energy, self-sacrifice and talents. Nobody will be able to command such devotion, loyalty and trust—you did.

I knew better than most of the others what this school became after Father Walsh's exit. I knew what it was twenty-five years ago. And all know what it is under your leadership.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you happiness and much in your new life. But at least, watch over your School, don't spare your advice and help, you gave it your all.

Most Respectfully and Gratefully, Jan Karski

I treasure this letter. It appears in my memoir right alongside a photograph of Jan. It is preserved as an expression of the spirit of Jan Karski.

KEYNOTE LECTURE

Piotr M.A. Cywiński

A Few Words About Maturity

The 20th century was an age of divisions and wars. The 20th century is now over, and bipolarization—I get this feeling—has increased, spread, has penetrated the borders of our countries, societies, and neighborhoods. Binary perception of the world is not a sign of maturity. Meanwhile, we are divided like never before.

Nothing is as it was before. Technologies, interpersonal communication, public dialogue, spirituality, culture, individual attitude towards community, intergenerational bonds, environmental sustainability... One could probably list many other basic anthropological factors that have undergone or are undergoing unimaginable changes.

These are not only cultural changes, they are civilizational ones. The face of this world is changing and no one knows how and what will happen—say in 10 years.

When I was little, four decades ago, drawing ideas for the year 2000 at school, I did not know then that faxes or pagers would soon be created ... And yet they came, but are now already gone. In those years when I was growing up, weekend newspaper supplements offered extensive articles, analyzes, predictions, and

projections. I loved reading them. They opened my mind. They created imagination. Today, reflective weekend supplements have almost disappeared from the newspapers. No one can predict the next decade.

Does anyone know what smartphones will look like in 10 years?

And this increasingly permanent state of ambiguity—inevitably, consciously or subconsciously—gives rise to stress, anxiety, and distrust. There are noticeable sings everywhere today. Let us not be surprised that populism has returned with such force and in so many countries.

Demagogy, plain language, easy promises, and dehumanizing the created enemy soothe this stress. They give some direction, it is not important whether this direction is relevant, real or wise, it is important that there is a direction.

So here I would like to propose some comments on responsibility and maturity at the start of this conference. The 100th anniversary is a good excuse for this discussion.

In fact, these two concepts are very similar, at least from the perspective of past years, before the great acceleration began in which we get so lost today.

The language of war, formerly reserved for war times, has penetrated our peaceful times. We destroy, smash, crush. Only a person who survived several months of the attack of lies and hate is able to fully imagine what I am talking about.

I said lies. I don't know if this concept is also a concept from the old days. The truth is still trying to defend itself, yet the lie seems to have disappeared. Only: mistakes, over-interpretations, misunderstandings, imprecise quotes... I don't remember, honestly I don't remember, anyone publicly apologizing because he lied. Yet it would be a responsible and mature thing to do.

Truth and lies belong to completely basic norms. If they fall, it is not surprising that only the "darkness" is left.

The speed, fragmentation, and trivialization of the message led to the weakening of the experience of responsibility, because responsibility absolutely requires a transfer. There can be a mature culture in which dialogue is only about the growing chaos of monologues, as is the case in social networks. Chaos, on the other hand, encourages one to separate oneself from the rest.

We all separate ourselves and that is what characterizes us today.

The United States is still associated with the New World, with a dream come true, with emigration, which can be treated as immigration soon after arriving. Yet today a wall is being built there. A visa does not constitute an entry right, but only the right to apply for entry.

I do not believe in a power that would lose its inclusiveness and would remain a power.

Poland was associated with solidarity for so long. In the 1980s, a time that I spent in Switzerland and France, the concepts of Poland and “Solidarity” were inseparable. Yet now Poland, despite its aging population, refused to accept any contingent of escaping Syrians. The same Poles that fled through Austria to so many countries during the Solidarity era, and at other times had to escape often as well. This time in Poland the public dialogue was not about how or who to receive, but instead was purely dualistic: yes or no. It was difficult to find maturity here.

My father, for whom the period of “Solidarity” was probably the most important time, one of the co-creators of what happened then in Gdańsk, and then throughout Poland, really wonders today. He says: Does it mean that we have changed so much since Solidarity? Or does it mean that even then it was only a catchy slogan that did not actually speak the truth of our hearts and minds? This meditation alone is really painful for the eighty-year-old from those years.

In today's easing of responsibility, the concept of service is inevitably lost. The taste of power differs from the duty of service. It also plays on other emotions and suggests other rates. Participation in profits from power has become normal, and it is probably not even surprising. Every minority knows and feels it well. Identity minorities feel this with every fibre of their being. And we all know how disgusting a majority can be when they want to feel the majority.

Generally, we know a lot. On the one hand, this creates a fatal feeling of the inevitable, and on the other hand, we don't particularly like to bother with it. Then, God forbid, thoughts of our responsibility would come back.

A simple example from my everyday life in Auschwitz. Please see what the two issues are most often raised by journalists, educators, politicians... The first is: What will happen when the last prisoners of Auschwitz are gone? The second is: How to make young people go to Auschwitz?

Both of these questions are an escape from our adult responsibility. In the light of these questions, the responsibility for our world lies either with the contemporaries, witnesses of those events, direct narrators of memory – or with the young people who will soon begin to build their future world. But not us: tight here, right now. Never again? Yes, but in the future! Both questions betray a helpless disarming immaturity. And these are the most common questions.

So perhaps it is not surprising that the Rohingya genocide two years ago did not interest anyone completely, just as today people are not interested in huge refugee camps established in Bangladesh, living and dying conditions, or the trafficking flourishing there. We worry today that young people are making selfies on the ramp in Birkenau and this worry is enough for us.

I omit the fact that every visit of an official politician is also a visit of one or several of his photographers. It's also a form of

selfie. And between selfie and selfish, the rhetorical question remains as to what is the effect and what is the cause.

The scale of our immaturity is very clear in the reaction of the United Nations General Assembly to this recent genocide in Burma. Resolution—ladies and gentlemen, adopted! Its strongest opinion is that the General Assembly [is] “Expressing grave concern at continuing reports of serious human rights violations and abuses in Myanmar...” At the same time, 50,000 people were dead and more than half a million fled to Bangladesh.

I doubt that an anthology of articles on this Burmese topic from the most important press titles would amount to 150 pages of text. When the genocide in Rwanda continued, at least there were voices of indignation that nobody was doing anything. This time, even those voices were missing.

Man is changing, and the world is changing. Unfortunately, these changes are not correlated. Today, our world experience, our unlimited access to knowledge, to communication, this whole technological marathon has endlessly put us in a situation of immaturity. We can do so much more than ever before. But we do not know how to comprehend it, orient it, and manage it. We also do not know where to set boundaries, if they still make sense. So stress, fragmentation, chaos are increasing. And that does not bode well.

The possibilities have begun to really surpass the capabilities. It was already felt in the 20th century, but today it can be seen at all levels of our individual and social life.

Unless I accept the reassuring thesis that I am very wrong and somehow the world will cope with this overwhelming possibility over the ability, above all, collective reflection. The thesis that, before we kill each other again, we will become mature and definitely responsible. Never has so much depended on memory and education. And it would probably be the most serious evidence for everything transcendent, otherwise it would be impossible to explain it.

TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS:
COMMON VALUES
AND INTERESTS

Agnieszka Bieńczyk-Missala

The Crisis of Values in the Transatlantic Community

Values have played a major role in the transatlantic community since World War II, fostered first by the memory of the war and its significance for the establishment of the community, then by Cold War rivalry, and finally by the turn towards human rights and democratic standards that came with the democratic changes in Europe after 1989.

The Importance of World War II

World War II had a formative impact on the establishment of the transatlantic community and its institutionalization. The dramatic consequences of European totalitarianisms—Nazism and Stalinism—in the form of unprecedented destabilization and mass atrocities have led states to include values among the principles of cooperation between the anti-Hitler coalition and then within the post-war world order. The famous concept of the four freedoms of President Franklin D. Roosevelt was an inspiration:

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from fear and misery to freedom of speech and religion. The fight for the world of values was announced by the Atlantic Charter of 1941 and the United Nations Declaration of 1942. In the United Nations Charter, adopted on June 26, 1945, a commitment was made to cooperate for peace and security, resolve humanitarian problems, and promote human rights for all, regardless of race, sex, language or religion. It justified taking up these issues in international politics.

After the war, it was the United States and Western European countries that showed the greatest commitment to promoting respect for human rights and freedoms, and democratic values in both domestic and foreign policy. The United Nations and regional organizations were expected to assist in this mission. In Europe, this task was given to the Council of Europe by the London Statute of May 5, 1949, and membership in the Council of Europe for decades testified to the democracy of the state and a serious approach to individual rights. It was also an unwritten condition of participation in European integration. Parties to the Washington Treaty establishing the NATO in 1949 also pointed to these values. In addition to the desire to live in peace and security, to strengthen stability and prosperity, they expressed their readiness to protect freedom, shared heritage and civilization of their peoples, based on the principles of democracy, individual freedom, and the rule of law.

Cold War Rivalry

The Cold War division also concerned the sphere of values. The clash was evident in the vote on the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948, in which the Soviet Union, as well as the Belarusian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Ukrainian SSR abstained. Differences in the perceived scope of individual rights and the clashing political system hindered the formation of an international human rights

protection system and limited the effectiveness of the organization. Furthermore, competition for influence was not conducive to universal implementation of values. The Soviet Union forced its subordinate states to operate one-party power systems. The United States tolerated violations of human rights in countries where government policy was consistent with the doctrine of suppressing communist ideology.

The United States accused the Soviet Union and other states of the Eastern Bloc of violating political and civil rights and fundamental principles of democracy. In turn, the USSR pointed to racial discrimination and violations of economic and social rights, arguing that high unemployment rates existed in Western countries. In the 1970s, human rights became part of official foreign policy programs. In 1973, the United States Congress recommended the transfer of foreign aid to countries that respect international standards in this field. Two years later, this linkage became mandatory. Human rights in the foreign policy program were first included by the administration of President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981), using them as an instrument in the struggle against the Eastern Bloc. Initially, it met with a great distance from Western European countries. With time, however, the idea was adopted and human rights became a permanent element of the foreign policy programs of the Western states of the old continent. For this, among others the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, where the CSCE Final Act was adopted on August 1, 1975, was of historical importance, obliging states to respect human rights and the right of nations to self-determination. It contributed to the dissemination of the idea of freedom in Central Europe and gave the societies of the region the motivation to fight for solidarity and libertarian ideas, and above all it helped in gaining independence from the Soviet Union. The level of prosperity, which proved the superiority of the Western model, was not without significance.

Democratic Change

The collapse of the Eastern Bloc meant strengthening and expanding the Atlantic community, boosting European integration and expanding the zone of freedom. The United States was interested in Poland's democratic transformation and its impact on the entire region. It supported the vision of a free Europe, as evidenced by involvement of the American delegation in adopting the Charter of Paris for a New Europe in 1990—it was a new, fully free, and democratic Europe.

The accession of Poland and other Central European countries to the transatlantic community and the European Union after 1989 gave them a huge advancement in the field of democratic values and respect for human rights. It was a civilizational leap. Membership in the North Atlantic Alliance fostered a sense of security and offered a tangible way towards strengthening it further.

The democratization wave strengthened the belief in the attractiveness of democracy and human rights, and the transatlantic community members supported one another in various initiatives to promote them. In the UN Human Rights Commission, like-minded countries jointly addressed the problems of human rights violations in China, although the realities of international policy limited their effectiveness. The countries coordinated policy on crimes in the Balkans, and in 1999 they all supported the military intervention of the North Atlantic Alliance in Kosovo, recognizing that it could stop further mass atrocities in the region.

Foreign policy of the transatlantic community towards human rights and democracy in the 1990s was rooted in social attitudes. Societies expressed relatively high sensitivity to axiological issues, which was manifested, *inter alia*, in demonstrations organized during the visits of the highest Chinese politicians to Europe and the United States. This particularly concerned the period of

discussions on granting China the most-favored-nation status in trade.

Of course, the Atlantic community has a lot to answer for when it comes to values: a lack of coherence and consistency, typical of countries that are guided by their interests. An example is Turkey with a different attitude towards human rights, or the profound differences between Europe and the United States regarding the death penalty, social rights, or the relationship with international law and control institutions. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, initiatives that served to foster values on the international forum fared much better. There were important acts of international law such as the Ottawa Treaty, the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention of 1997 or the famous Statute of the International Criminal Court of 1998, but also the usual diplomatic courage in raising difficult human rights issue, even if it came at the risk of deteriorating relations with the countries that faced criticism.¹

Since the end of the 1990s, there has been a systematic erosion of thinking about values and a deficit in treating them as a sign or a political goal. First, the belief that trade relations should not be made dependent on human rights issues now prevails among Western elites, at least when large countries are at stake. Economic contacts have become a priority. European countries and the United States have therefore stopped raising the issue of human rights in China in the UN Commission of Human Rights after 2001, given the negative reactions of the Chinese authorities to such initiatives and the high trade deficit with the Middle Kingdom. The European Union has recognized the so-called human rights dialogue, separating values from economic issues. This approach has significantly reduced the possibility of raising hu-

¹ A. Bieńczyk-Missala, *Prawa człowieka w polskiej polityce zagranicznej po 1989 roku*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 2004.

man rights problems with China and other countries that seriously violate human rights standards. Meanwhile, China was named by Human Rights Watch in the 2018 report as the state most contributing to the weakening of the international human rights protection system (albeit discreetly). China remains unresponsive to Western governments. For Europe, Russia remains an uncomfortable problem, with increasingly few sanctioned after the annexation of Crimea. The Council of Europe restored to the Russian delegation the rights of members of the Parliamentary Assembly, despite the absence of any concessions on the part of Russia, without looking at its already severely tarnished authority.

Secondly, the extent of human rights restrictions in the fight against terrorism has proved to be a disappointment. It is not only about tougher, discriminatory provisions against migrants, but above all about the return of discussions on basic topics such as the admissibility of torture and inhuman treatment or punishment, the scope of the right to freedom and arbitrary detention or the right to privacy. The scope of abuses was revealed by incidents in Guantánamo, Abu Graib, and the CIA secret prison system in which suspected prisoners were held. This has had an impact on the image of the United States and participating countries, as well as the level of mutual trust.

Thirdly, excessive interventionism has emerged, and the use of armed force has often been justified by the protection of human rights and the promotion of democracy, exposing them to compromise in the light of humanitarian problems caused by Western forces. NATO was already accused of being unhumanitarian in military operations in Kosovo. During the interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, it was not even possible to reliably count the civilian casualties. The best NATO intervention in Libya in 2011 from the point of view of international humanitarian law has worsened the security of individuals in the long run. The lack

of a greater response to the crimes in Syria – including crimes as grave as the use of chemical weapons – was shocking.

Fourthly, when referring to transatlantic values and the community, it is not enough to discuss foreign policy; domestic policy must be discussed too. We are observing an increase in populism and the popularity of xenophobic parties and movements, as well as violations of constitutional standards, the rule of law, and democracy. Central European countries have sowed a seed of doubt as to whether the democratic models they adopted are of lasting nature. For the first time after 2004, questions arose in Europe whether the enlargement of the European Union was a mistake. The lack of understanding and solidarity of the Visegrad Group countries regarding the problem of refugees and migrants after 2015 turned out to be glaring.

How do the values in Polish-American relations appear in this context? Poland and the United States have repeatedly inspired each other. In the United States, Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Kazimierz Pulaski are remembered as contributors to the fight for independence. In Poland, President Woodrow Wilson with his support for the independence of Central European countries is not forgotten. The United States was interested in Solidarity, for whom Martin Luther King and the idea of non-violence provided a role model. After 1989, Poland, supported by Western countries and institutions, grew into a successful state, setting an example for the region and beyond. It was about economic success but also an important axiological message that the enlargement of the European Union and NATO to the east was also an extension of the zone of stability, democracy, and respect for human rights.

Both countries, with the support of other members of the transatlantic community, have also been able to cooperate with each other, launching joint initiatives to promote the values enshrined in the treaties. They have not always been fully successful, but

efforts have been made to discuss human rights issues in selected undemocratic countries, and they have cooperated to establish a Community of Democracies. The so-called Polish-American Strategic Dialogue for Democracy flourished in the period 2011-2015. Since then, value issues have lost their significance in mutual relations in favor of directly declared economic, financial, and military interests.

States do not become safer without requiring themselves and others to comply with international law standards. The promotion of democratic values, human rights, and the rule of law is in the interest of the transatlantic community, which should return to it, first and foremost by setting an example.

The growing differences between European countries and the United States on issues both “classic” (e.g. attitude towards Russia, defense spending) and new (e.g. climate change, relations with China) impede value-driven policy. They result in a general failure to develop a common vision of the future shape of the European Union and the scope of cooperation between Europe and the United States. This translates into a lack of trust, uncertainty, and unpredictability, and puts the transatlantic community in a weaker position relative to powers driven by the certainty of their own vision of international relations.

Daniel Fried

Interests or Values? That's the Question!

The history of Polish – American relations over the last hundred years is sometimes called a test of whether America would follow its (broader) values or its (narrow) interests. But I would put it another way: one hundred and one years ago, when Woodrow Wilson declared his support for Polish independence in Point Thirteen of his Fourteen Points speech to Congress, he was not doing so out of sentiment, or because Paderewski had lobbied him and Colonel House. Wilson supported Polish independence, because doing so was part of the new American, grand strategy that Wilson was announcing. He believed that Polish independence reflected American values which, he argued, was in America's interests.

Wilson had designed this Grand Strategy in opposition to two others: to the European great power system of imperial rivalry and the Bolshevik strategy of world revolution. Wilson's vision was a crude, primitive, first draft of American Grand Strategy in what became known as the American century. It was a strategy to achieve an open world, a rules-based world that values freedom guaranteed by American power.

Daniel Fried – former US Ambassador to Poland.

This vision was breathtaking in its ambition. Americans were still considered, including by ourselves, to be cultural primitives, and had no business challenging the British and the French. But challenge them we did, because we understood that our values and our interests were linked; that they would advance together or not at all. This was a brand new way of looking at the world. Our interests and our values were the same, or to put it another way, America thought that it could make the world a better place, and in doing so, we would get really rich. This combination of American self-interest and idealism has become familiar to many. But the genius of this new American system, was that we Americans, could not get rich unless others were prospering as well. Robert Kupiecki just pointed out, and he was more polite than I will be, the inconsistencies, hypocrisies and downright blunders of this American Grand Strategy. But nevertheless, compare it to the competition, Clemenceau or Lenin. An American Grand Strategy which links values and interests has nothing to say about the proper application of policy in the real world, but it nevertheless a guide to action in the face of uncertain reality.

There is of course another American tradition. It is called isolationism, but what it really is a unilateral pursuit of narrow national interests. What it meant in practice was that the Americans gave up on Wilson's vision and became indifferent to European politics, which meant indifferent to the rise of Hitler and Stalin. And the result was a disaster for the United States, for Europe and worse – for Poland.

After Yalta, the United States recovered the principle of Wilson's Grand Strategy. It was too late to help Poland, but not too late to save Western Europe. Later, Ronald Reagan, inspired by Solidarity movement, recalled Wilson's vision, and we Americans were given a second chance after 1989 to apply to all of Europe the original principles of the Fourteen Points and the At-

lantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill. That was the real issue behind the debate about NATO enlargement.

What is patriotism? It is in my opinion, the amalgamation of the national values on the one hand, with the universal ones on the other. It's about universal values linked to the particular aspects of the nation. Universal values without the nation risk becoming the abstraction, but the nation without universal values, risks descending into tribalism. Through a thousand years of Western tradition, what we call the Judeo-Christian tradition and used to be called Christendom, we learn that sovereignty is not absolute. The king, the Prince, and today the President is answerable to higher values. It is not merely the Enlightenment alone that teaches this, it is the Enlightenment building on a foundation of medieval political thought, in which sovereignty, the nation, is not the final word. Patriotism, best understood, unites interests and values, because it helps nations see their values and their interests as indivisible.

That is certainly American tradition at its best and it is the foundation of Wilson's vision. But it is also the foundation, it seems to me as an outsider, for Poland's political tradition. Consider the great Polish slogan, "*Za Waszą i naszą wolność.*" Is that not an expression of the Polish conviction that the national cause of Poland is linked to higher values of freedom? Anyone's patriotism is at its most compelling when linked to universal values.

There is one piece of today's conference with which I disagree: the title suggests that Poland is merely the object of great power rivalry. For that assertion there is of course ample, historical justification. But Poles themselves were the authors of their own success. Poles overthrow communism and then invested the political capital of liberation into the economy. And that capital grew. It was a good investment. Then the Polish government in the early and mid-nineties took that massive amount of political

capital and re-invested it into security in the form of NATO enlargement. Poles made NATO enlargement happen.

I know this from personal experience: in the beginning of 1990s, few in Washington believed in Poland. But the middle of the nineties everybody wanted to be Poland's best friend because Poles, authors of their own history, and were amassing massive capital through successful democratic and free-market reforms.

Values and interests: Poland advanced its national interests through successful pursuit of its values. And in doing so, Poland more than any other single country ended the Yalta era in Europe and made possible the realization of the visions of an undivided, democratic Europe advanced by George H.W. Bush, Ronald Reagan and Woodrow Wilson. If we want to give credit where credit is due, this vision owes much to Emmanuel Kant's theory of perpetual peace between republics, which is based on the same notions that values and interests ultimately are indivisible.

This brings me to the Trump administration, because as an American I can't avoid that. Polish-American relations in the era of Trump have advanced and President Trump's foreign policy has been nowhere more constructive than with respect to Poland. I'm glad and I support it. It is more difficult to do the same with respect to President Trump's world view. I fear he does believe that sovereignty is absolute. I am not sure that he understands the linkage in American Grand Strategy between values and interests. If he is pursuing a wise policy of supporting Poland, then I will support it.

Still, it is important now and in the future, for Poland to play the role it has played for three generations, which is the conscience of the West. Jan Nowak Jeziorański symbolized that role. He represented free Poland but spoke also in the name of common values. Interests and values. Patriotism, as Jan Nowak Jeziorański expressed it, was linked to values.

Now is not a great time in the West. We have forgotten lessons which brought us victories in the Cold War. But we will, I trust, as the preamble to the Third of May Constitution of 1791 says, recover ourselves. We will remember who we truly are, what we have achieved, and, in the name of common values, pursue our higher interests. When we do, we will again advance freedom for ourselves and for others. *Za Waszą i naszą wolność.*

David Harris

Defense of Values as an Interest of the Transatlantic Alliance

One year ago, the American Jewish Committee published a pledge of unity and resolve in *The New York Times* under the heading, “Reaffirming the Transatlantic Partnership.” Initially signed by 31 prominent American and European political leaders, it has subsequently been endorsed by well over a thousand other leaders from across the political spectrum on both sides of the ocean. That statement expresses what we fundamentally believe.

For me—a practitioner of international diplomacy but also an unwanted child of Europe, a Jew, and an American—the overarching priority should be the protection of common values.

My mother, born in Moscow, was, like the rest of her family, denied any rights as a human being under Stalinist communism, despite the great idealism generated by Marxist-Leninist ideology. Both my father and mother were subsequently denied any human rights as Jews living in France, once the Nazis arrived and joined forces with the Vichy collaborators. My father, in fact, a refugee from Austria, had been forced to shine the shoes of Nazi officers after the Anschluss, and was expelled from the University

of Vienna at the age of eighteen simply for being a Jew. It would take more than 40 years for this wrong to be acknowledged. On the wall of my office at the American Jewish Committee hangs a diploma given to my father, in 1975, from the University of Vienna, Institute of Chemistry, granting him an honorary Ph.D. for work he did from 1936 to 1938 on the synthesis of the heavy hydrogen atom.

And that's not all. My wife was born into a Jewish family in an Arab country that denied Jews all rights, including citizenship. And after sixteen-and-a-half years, surrounded by a mob eager to burn my wife's family's house down, they were hidden for three weeks and then given safe passage out of Libya—never to return.

That is why, whatever the imperfections of democracy, Churchill's eloquent dictum rings true for me: there is no better system for the protection of our common values. And the highest ideals of democracy are embodied today in the transatlantic community.

At the end of the day—and yes, at the beginning of the day as well—the United States was founded on the principle of safeguarding life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The European Union, similarly, was founded for the protection of human dignity. And even NATO, a collective security and defense pact, speaks, in the preamble to its fourteen articles, of a common commitment to individual liberty, freedom, the rule of law, and protection of human rights.

Of course, we may not in practice always attain our highest goals and aspirations. But having experienced in our lifetimes, and in the lifetimes of our parents and grandparents, the denial of those rights, and today witnessing other spheres of influence, other ideologies, other civilizations that repress human rights—or would if they could—we stand in full defense of the transatlantic

relationship. We do so not in pursuit of hegemony or Pax Americana, but to defend the most basic, the most noble, principles that ought to motivate human relations.

This is our best chance, I would argue—perhaps our only chance—to avoid descending back into horrors reminiscent of the last century, or worse. Looking at the world today, I don't see many other institutions that are committed to the fundamental defense of our common values. I wish I could say that the United Nations Human Rights Council is one such pillar of defense, but it has been politicized and weaponized to the point where, in tragic irony, the worst transgressors of human rights are often protected by the Council's numerical majority. And so, we must rely on the transatlantic alliance. Yet I would argue that it is the beginning, not the end, of our common endeavor. The community of democracies, housed here in Warsaw, is another such attempt to define this space, not geographically, but conceptually and philosophically, and link together those nations sharing such a worldview in common purpose.

Liberal democracy is today in crisis, plagued by a lack of visionary leadership. It is being challenged even within the democratic states themselves by people who've lost hope, lost confidence or lost memory. Who are our leaders today? Who will bring us out of this period of stagnation, this crisis of confidence? Where are the successors to Harry Truman, George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and the others who created the liberal, rules-based international order that has served us so well? Where are the contemporary counterparts of Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet, who, determined to prevent future war between France and Germany, brilliantly conceived what ultimately became the coal and steel community of six nations and is today the European Union?

And while there may be many challenges facing the European Union today, no resident of the twenty-eight member states goes

to sleep at night fearful of an attack or invasion by a neighboring state the next morning. Similarly, whatever difficulties we may face in the United States, whether one likes or dislikes a particular administration or congressional majority, the fundamental pillars of American democracy—checks and balances and the rule of law—are strong and resilient. Nevertheless, it seems to me that we need leaders of the likes of Truman and Marshall, Acheson and Schumann, who can guide us through the next phase in the defense and expansion of liberal democracy, with the transatlantic alliance as an essential pillar of that strategy.

We practitioners in the field of diplomacy confront almost daily the exquisitely difficult tensions between what are narrowly defined as interests, on the one hand, and values, on the other. I don't believe that even the finest schools of international relations in the United States and abroad teach a simple formula, applicable in each and every situation, for balancing the two. And to be frank, the United States has not always risen to the occasion of putting values ahead of narrowly defined interests.

I offer you two examples of moments when it has. The United States was the only nation on earth that not only criticized the threats against Soviet dissidents and Soviet refuseniks, but also, in an historic piece of legislation known as the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, formally linked U.S. trade policy and most-favored-nation trade status with Soviet policy on emigration for Jews and others. No other Western country—whatever its rhetorical statements may have been about dissidents and refuseniks—was prepared to put its economic interests on the line in order to defend that set of values.

My second example, which those from the U.S. government here know more about than I, was the Clinton administration's decision to bomb Serbia. This action was not necessarily in the immediate national interest of the United States. Rather, it expressed

the priority our country grants to the protection of human dignity, and it showed leadership at a moment when Europe would not rise to the occasion to defend the rights of Muslims targeted by Slobodan Milošević's repugnant regime.

On the other hand, one recent example of American failure to stand up for our values occurred during the Obama administration. Mr. Obama, running for office in 2008, told the American people—I'm paraphrasing: Unlike previous American presidents I will forthrightly recognize the Armenian genocide as a genocide. I'm not going to play verbal gymnastics by calling it a tragedy or a sorry moment, but a genocide. He made this pledge in great sincerity, I believe, and the g-word, genocide, was a litmus test from the perspective of the Armenian community worldwide. But as president, Mr. Obama and his administration backed down from this position for what they considered the national interest. Turkey, which a century earlier perpetrated the Armenian genocide, was now the linchpin of American policy in many respects, constituting the southeastern flank of NATO; bordering Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Russia; and with a presence on the Black Sea.

Therefore, we blinked. Samantha Power, then the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, had written a Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *A Problem from Hell*, whose initial chapters dealt with the Armenian genocide—not *tragedy*, but *genocide*. Ironically, she was the United States ambassador on the centennial of the genocide in April 2015. I can only imagine the difficulty she must have had representing our nation while remaining silent on the fundamental question of the Ottoman Turkish policy of genocide against the Armenian people.

In reviewing the history of the transatlantic community as well, one can find examples on both sides; values have sometimes triumphed over interests, but, more often, it was the reverse. Nevertheless, I would argue against the simple dichotomy between

values and interests. In fact, defense of values is a fundamental realpolitik interest both for the United States and the Transatlantic partnership.

Why? First and foremost, because it is precisely those values that define and distinguish us. When they are denied elsewhere, we, too, are in a sense diminished. And second, history suggests that those who deny human dignity to others may seek to export that denial beyond their borders, threatening our national interests.

A prime example is American involvement in World War II. It can be argued that the United States might have stayed out of the war had the Japanese not attacked Pearl Harbor, and at least out of the European theater had Hitler not made the mistake of declaring war on the United States after December 7th. Hypothetically, absent a German declaration of war, how many Americans would have spoken out in favor of aiding Europe against the Nazi onslaught? Surely, the predominant view would have been that this was just another European war, theirs and not ours.

But in a deeper sense, we did not go to war simply because Hitler blundered. Even before Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt declared the United States the “arsenal of democracy,” provided war supplies to Britain under the Lend Lease Act, and, together with Churchill, pledged in the Atlantic Charter to work towards a world of “freedom from fear and want” once Hitler was defeated.

Ultimately, we went to war because Hitler was not satisfied with repressing human dignity and human rights within his own boundaries. His goal was to export the assault on our values abroad. That fundamentally threatened not only those values, but also our core national interest.

Perhaps, then, the binary view of interests vs. values should be reexamined. These are not two separate, disconnected places on the geo-political map. They are interwoven and interlocked, and that’s the way we must examine them.

Peter F. Krogh

The “Great Power” in 1919 and 2019: A Comparison

The overarching title for this conference is: “The Great Power and Poland 1919–2019”. It marks the centennial of Polish American diplomatic relations and of the establishment of the Walsh School of Foreign Service. It embraces a century and offers an opportunity for historical reflections. So I have decided to take as my theme a comparison of the so-called great power, namely, the United States, as it was in 1919 and as it is today. I think that comparison yields a historical perspective on where we stand at present and where we may be headed. So let us proceed to take a look at “The Great Power” in 1919 and again in 2019.

This one hundred year period is bookended, or framed, by two American presidents—Thomas Woodrow Wilson and Donald John Trump. At first blush it may seem that the two presidents are very different—one an austere academic, the other a flamboyant reality TV star. One a towering intellectual commanding the largest vocabulary of any American president. The other less intellectually gifted (though claiming to be a “stable genius”) and com-

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manding a vocabulary that never strays far from the word “great.” But on close inspection you will find that the two are very much alike. Let me have some fun by pointing out the similarities.

First, both men arrived in the Oval Office as outsiders, elected by a minority of the popular vote and with no prior political experience in the nation’s capital. Wilson’s most searing prior political experience was as president of Princeton where, in the end, he was essentially fired. (Here, it is worth taking note of Henry Kissinger’s observation that academic politics are so intense because the stakes are so low! Perhaps the denizens University of Warsaw have had some experience with this.)

Second, the two presidents share some troubling personal characteristics.

- Woodrow Wilson has been described by various biographers as: vainglorious, egocentric and (by his predecessor as president, William Howard Taft) as “mulish.” Now who does that sound like?
- Wilson has also been described as thin-skinned. He considered disagreement with him as a sign of personal hostility and was quick to impugn the motives of his critics. This too sounds familiar.
- Wilson was also characterized as being quick tempered, impulsive and “a good hater.” These labels may be applied equally to the current incumbent.
- Like Trump, Wilson was most comfortable when surrounded in the White House by members of his own family. When news of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in July of 1914 reached Wilson, he was having lunch in the White House with his daughter and son-in-law. Today that would be Jared Kushner and Ivanka Trump.

Third, the two presidents share similar operational styles. Trump seems to fly by the seat of his pants, making foreign policy pretty

much by himself and announcing it in tweets. He relies very little on his Department of State and its Secretary. He has said, and I quote, "I'm the only one that matters, because when it comes to it, that's what the policy is going to be." Wilson proceeded in much the same way. He made up his own foreign policy, typed it up on his portable typewriter (no Twitter account available at the time!) and largely ignored the Department of State and its Secretary.

Fourth, for both presidents, Poland holds a place of honor. Wilson put Poland back on the map in the thirteenth point of his fourteen-point address in January of 1918, announcing that: "an independent Polish state should be erected." Trump, for his part, favors Poland's vigorous stand on security and would be very happy to have a military base here named after him.

I think it useful to point out these presidential similarities because the current president's personality, style and modus operandi have caused some alarm. Perhaps that alarm can be cushioned if we recall that we have been there before with Woodrow Wilson who is now widely regarded, historically, as a leading American statesman. Indeed it was his vision of the role for America in the world that carried the day in the second half of the 20th century.

We have also been there before in another important respect. The situations in the United States in 1919 and in 2019 are practically mirror images of each other. The French would say, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. In the immediate aftermath of WWI the United States was a country in turmoil featuring: Russiaphobia, racial unrest, a rise in nativism and anti-immigration sentiment, sharp political divisions and war and world-weariness. Overall, 1919 was an ugly year in America, relieved only by the invention of the dial telephone and the establishment of Georgetown's School of Foreign Service. 2019 is shaping up along the very same lines.

In the run-up to 1919, Woodrow Wilson believed that the path to making America greater was to send it on an interna-

tionalist crusade to make the world safe for democracy and to institutionalize a liberal international order that would put paid to power politics. This crusade was stopped in its tracks as the American people, in 1920, dismissed the Democrats from office and elected a Republican president who ran on a platform of lowering taxes, limiting immigration and a “return to normalcy” that was an euphemism for a return to nationalism and a retreat from the world.

In the run-up to 2019, Trump ran on a similar platform; to wit: lowering taxes, limiting immigration, ending foreign wars and putting America first. If I had to guess, I would bet that that century old platform will carry the day again in 2020.

This is because American global leadership of what is called in the conference program “a liberal international order” is not really normal. It emerged after World War II, crafted largely by Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who is properly considered the architect of an American led world. It has lasted for 70 years, but there are another roughly 170 years of American history in which American leadership was not featured and frankly not wanted by its people or by its founding fathers, for that matter.

American leadership of a liberal international order featuring collective security emerged from the crucible and the exigencies of the Cold War. The collective security piece – NATO – was put in place to—as was said at the time—“keep the Germans down, the Soviets out and the Americans in.” NATO helped to win the Cold War. But the Cold War is now over, the Soviet Union no longer exists and the Germans no longer pose a security threat. NATO itself is now spread very thin, it has engaged in questionable and damaging out-of-area wars, most of its members are derelict in their dues and the NATO country with the second largest army, namely, Turkey, has strayed off the reservation by concluding a big arms deal with Russia.

Meanwhile, America has bankrupted itself in wasteful, unsuccessful hot wars. The current eighteen-year war on terror has cost America \$6 trillion and is currently running at \$250 million a day. That is dragging the country down. So too the hundreds of military bases it has deployed around the world that drain our treasury while placing the country in the cross hairs of all kinds of possible of conflicts.

And here we get to the crux of a big difference between 1919 and 2019. In 1919 America was flush. The Great War bankrupted the existing great powers in Europe and converted America from an international debtor to a major international creditor. Our recent wars have reversed the fortunes of America—the only remaining “great power”—and have not only failed to produce their intended results but have left the country with a diminished capability to lead a liberal international order even if the country wished to do so. Meanwhile, European countries have grown rich. And other centers of power in the east are rising in a movement toward a multipolar world that must be attended to.

So I think that, perforce, a new international security order, featuring a diminished role for America, is in order. That order would involve the assumption of greater security responsibilities by new regional organizations. In Europe that could take the form of a European Defense Organization (EDO)—as a successor to NATO—that would proceed to work out its own relations with Russia and the world. Poland, with America at its side, and perhaps in tandem with its Visegrad partners, could play a leading role in orchestrating the transition from NATO to EDO or ETO. As this is done, the “Great Power” can lay down the mantle of crusader state and of being Mr. Big in the world and come home to rebuild the promised land. This is what Trump initially promised to do and that’s what helped put him in the White House.

Robert Kupiecki

Transatlantic Relations: Significance and Interpretations

The question about the nature and significance of transatlantic relations arises from the first moment when within one (Western) civilization, two entities faced each other on opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean—the United States of America on the one hand, and a group of European countries on the other. The collective subjectivity of Europe as part of transatlantic relations was determined by its attitude towards the USA and the deepening community of interests pursued through cooperation therewith. Transatlantic relations were founded on a basically similar set of historical experiences (law, consequences of wars, politics, and socio-economic development) and a close set of values built in relation to freedom and its legal and institutional guarantees. However, these experiences were interpreted differently on both sides of the Atlantic, which translated into the organization of the state, the role of the individual, legal culture, and lifestyle. This, in turn, entailed the separate identity of the two political communities, which became stronger over time and drew strategic conclusions from this fact. These conclusions were to concern both mutual

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relations and ways of organizing international conditions for their actions.

The beginning of transatlantic relations can be determined differently in time, taking as a reference, for example, the creation of two separate political centers, or their mature decision on lasting strategic cooperation. Adopting one of these perspectives (and other consequences of certain facts and blurring the precise chronology indications are possible) will of course determine the associated interpretation. Opting for this later time turning point will additionally introduce the need to name and classify phenomena that previously existed within transatlantic relations. Various possible interpretations, if one remove the rigor of the chronological framework, harmonize well with each other, properly distributing the stages of these relations measured in terms of significance.

Therefore, another moment that could be regarded as the beginning of transatlantic relations is the American Declaration of Independence (1776) understood as the act of America's disobedience to Europe (the British monarchy) expressing the separation of interests and attitude to the relationship of rights and obligations, as well as the beginning of an unprecedented civilization project that was to be released from misfortunes of the old world and to base the new order on the belief "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed [...]"¹.

Different interpretations of the dynamics of competition and transatlantic cooperation, treated on their own, do not, however, give a satisfactory diagnosis and knowledge about its balance

¹ Preamble of the Declaration of Independence.

of profits and unused opportunities. Yet each of them contains something valuable in a strategic or psychological sense, which as a source of pressure on governments can foster a good and responsible policy of the Western community. Each of them must also be considered with the awareness of the passage of time, the changing external context, and the convergence of needs of all participants in transatlantic cooperation.

Without claiming “near-surgical precision” reflecting the political literature of the last 250 years, four permanent interpretations of transatlantic relations can be identified:

1. Interpretation (contemporary) SENTIMENTAL, articulated in the claim that things used to be better once, combined with the notion of returning to the sources (but which ones?). It contains so many threads that its operationalization is impossible, the usefulness of politics is questionable, and it has no strategic utility due to the accumulation of emotional load and the free use of historical material and the conclusions constructed on its basis. It is therefore a thoroughly journalistic interpretation. Granted, it has a certain educational value and a clearly formulated thesis positively evaluating transatlantic relations.

2. REVISIONISTIC (idealistic) interpretation treats transatlantic relations as a synonym and foundation of a liberal international order that has never fully fulfilled its promises of lasting universal peace, development, prosperity, and equal opportunities (in Europe and globally).

3. HEGEMONISTIC (realistic) interpretation treats transatlantic relations, in the past and today, as nothing other than an instrument for implementing the US power plan and strengthening its global hegemony. In this order, shared values, shared institutions, and narrative of the transatlantic community constitute—irrespective of the benefits to all its participants—a mask of hegemonic US policy. The US models the world and its organization “after

itself”, in the belief that what has worked in the US cannot be bad for others, and the similarity (axiological and normative) of organizing of international relations to its own standards will ensure better conditions for promoting American interests than open competition (regulated only ad hoc). In this interpretation, however, there is a constant risk of the US withdrawing from Europe when the cost of engagement is too high and the yield measured by the support of European allies is too low. Balancing the interests of both parties and credibility of mutual support in broadly understood crisis situations is therefore a constant challenge.

4. Finally, a NATURALIST interpretation, respecting time and the context under consideration, treating transatlantic relations as a game of changing needs and ways of satisfying them within the relations of countries defined by geography, the needs of security, trade, and technological development as well as the need to shape the international order, which is increasingly widely recognized, optimally securing common interests. Time plays a major role in this interpretation of transatlantic relations. After all, they are not the same when judged in 1776 (US Declaration of Independence), 1914 (outbreak of World War I), 1949 (NATO establishment), 2008 (war in Georgia and the beginning of the global economic crisis) or today. The particularity of these relations is due to the fact that they concern countries located on both sides of the Atlantic, which have determined the dynamics of the development of international relations and the principles of global order over the past 200 years.

The dynamics of changes in transatlantic relations were determined by:

- initially the effective untouchability of the American continent, which strengthened security and made it easier for Americans to act in the spirit of the Monroe doctrine. The doctrine could be called one of the greatest political bluffs in the history of in-

ternational relations, when the favorable, but very weak young state effectively imposes the principles of cooperation on the powers (generally respected by both parties),

- US development needs (internal expansion, economic development and maritime expansion),
- events in Europe—breakthroughs occur during World War I and World War II. America then pursued a vision (embedded in the Wilson project of the world order) of the organization of transatlantic relations that is a vision of its values and lifestyle—in accordance with the assumption that what has worked systematically in the USA cannot be bad for Europe (and will further strengthen America).

However, internal affairs in America after World War I delayed the implementation of these ideas. Along came a conscious US decision to break the legacy of George Washington's Testament (considered to be the source of isolationism) and to make a lasting commitment to Europe. After World War II, transatlantic relations, already mature in the sense of the implemented values, organizing principles and rebuilding the institutions, and defended by political, economic, and military achievements guaranteeing a 70-year "vacation" from turbulent history, never freed themselves from European fears of their addiction and US domination. These anxieties were insufficient to provide strong emancipation stimuli, or spread them asymmetrically between various sources of power (paradoxically, with the weakest impact on defense issues). On the American side, it was accompanied by constant expressions of dissatisfaction because of the insufficient (in its own perception) involvement of European allies on the side of the global US agenda.

In essence, therefore, transatlantic relations (though not free from idealistic influences balancing political realism, visible even in decisions regarding the Marshall Plan) in a strategic sense were

not an altruistic project. However, they were primarily the implementation of Pax Americana in the Western world. It differed from other known hegemonic projects of the former powers because, apart from elements of control and persuasion / coercion, there were strong and value-based elements of real partnership, sovereignty of decision-making processes, and relative gentleness in managing the asymmetry of transatlantic relations (mild hegemonism).

It should be remembered, especially in Poland, that transatlantic relations, inclusive in the axiological and institutional sense, in the (geo)strategic sense were exclusive for many decades and in fact eliminated the eastern part of the continent controlled by the Soviet Union (challenging the existential challenge of Western democracies). The sense of permanence of this situation and the quite common (with few exceptions in the West) belief in the inability to make a real change narrowed the notion of transatlantic relations to Western democracies on both sides of the Atlantic.

A fundamental, though rapid, correction in this respect came after 1989 along with the vision (underrated in the world historiography) of US President George H.W. Bush of Europe whole and free. In axiological terms it was rooted in the best American political traditions, and in political terms it was a decision to expand the interpretation of the concept of the West and transatlantic relations (including new democratic states in East Europe). In this sense, it was a significant reference to Woodrow Wilson's project of 1918 and a significant addition to it. For this reason, in one publication I termed it the Bush Corollary.² Another US president, Bill Clinton, took the "Europe whole and free" vision to the level

² See: R. Kupiecki, *Europe Whole and Free. Mission Accomplished or an Unfulfilled Promise?*, in: S. Dębski, D. Hamilton (Eds.), "Europe Whole and Free. Vision and Reality," Brookings Institution Press, Warsaw and Washington 2019, pp. 91-101.

of the operational concept of US foreign policy. It was not free of transatlantic disputes and intra-American discussion about the need and cost of involvement in Europe and possible alternatives. However, it gave a sense of durability of American involvement, principles, institutions, and directions of development of states on both sides of the Atlantic. It is also hard not to notice that Bush's vision (and its extension during Clinton's administration) turned out to be perhaps the only coherent US strategy after the Cold War in relation to Europe.

Former US First Lady, then US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton rightly noted in her 2014 book *Hard Choices* that "a vision of a united, free, and peaceful Europe has been the goal of every US administration since the end of the Cold War. At the center of this vision was the belief that nations and countries could go beyond old conflicts to outline a peaceful and prosperous future for themselves". So behind this concept was a vision of an international order based on cooperation, US involvement in its implementation, and clear guidelines for foreign policy. The optimism and freshness of this concept stood in clear opposition to the competitive Soviet concept of maintaining bipolarity, formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev ("Common European Home"). Bush's subsequent successor, Bill Clinton, gradually defined America's role in the world, along with its major foreign policy instruments, such as supporting democratic change in post-communist countries, NATO's open door policy, special relations with Russia, and a broad spectrum of partnerships outside the Alliance. Bush's great vision as well as Clinton's later European policy also included support for the European Union in its integration project.

In this way, the American initiative taken after the fall of communism accelerated the expansion of the transatlantic project to the east, contributing to democratization, the introduction of the rule of law and the rapid development of a market economy in

the countries of the region. Progress in these areas was a prerequisite for their accession to NATO and the EU. These democratic transformations proved beneficial for Western European countries, expanding their influence and improving their access to new markets. The United States also became a beneficiary, which consolidated its regional leadership and the status of the only superpower. After the first post-Cold War NATO enlargement in 1999 (according to President Clinton, it was the pinnacle of American power and prosperity), Washington changed its hierarchy of goals and began to use the results achieved in a more instrumental way, expecting its new allies to support its own political projects.³

The 1990s were undoubtedly the peak moment in transatlantic relations. At that time, Europe could think that it had overcome the historical trauma of both world wars forever, securing peace with cooperation with the US, the integration of the continent and the European Union project. Similarly, America may have had the sense of having permanently overcome the isolationist tendencies and stabilized its involvement in the world. This sometimes meant that in Europe it was forgotten that for a global superpower, transatlantic relations were a regional component of its global policy (Europe has no monopoly on America's attention). For Western Europe, they were the most important political, economic and military relationship, but did not translate into automatism in supporting the global US agenda.

The question currently most interesting for this naturalistic interpretation is as follows: Is the policy of the current US president a deliberate exit? America's Wilson-Bush-Clinton tradition? Already in the election campaign, the political myth emerged of America as a victim of its allies and partners using it, parasitiz-

³ Case Study—Poland: R. Kupiecki, *The Poland-United States Security Relations in the Light of Asymmetry Theory*, „Przegląd Strategiczny” 2016, no. 9, pp. 238–240 (DOI 10.14746/PS.2016.1.3).

ing on the American budget and on the standard of living of the American lower class. After the elections, there was a tough policy that exposed the “America first” concept—selectively using the argument of democracy to justify politics (Iran, Venezuela), but in essence critical of decades of the US involvement in the world and the costs, principles, and mechanisms that guide them. In this order, what endured was criticism of the liberal principles of global organizations and multilateral institutions, as well as the American preference for bilateralization of international relations (giving the US an advantage, but depriving it of the power of a common standard).⁴ Importantly, however, this criticism was articulated within the framework of a democratic state, i.e. with Congressional control, within the system of the law, and with open social debate.

What is also important, America is now strongly distancing itself from its established image as shining city upon a hill—the patron of democracy, the rule of law, human rights, civil society, and individual freedom. This policy is not pretty in words and gestures, and it works to the disadvantage of the international community, but it has so far not generated any irreversible strategic repercussions in transatlantic relations. In Europe, the sense of the need for cooperation still dominates, and on the US side, there is satisfaction with certain successes in the sphere of European military expenditure or trade relations. The alliance system has not been dismantled, and the US military presence on NATO’s eastern flank has been strengthened.

President Donald Trump, acting under the pressure of US internal problems that elevated him to power, and perceiving his

⁴ It even caused Congress to react, in which there were initiatives limiting the president’s freedom in the event of leaving NATO, see.: *Trump Discussed Pulling US from NATO, Aides Say Amid New Concerns Over Russia*, „The New York Times”, January 14, 2019.

country's foreign priorities in Asia, has raised the bar of requirements high (but realistically high) for Europe when it comes to, for example, balancing allied benefits for collective defense of NATO (or commercial issues). This includes not only a challenge, but also a great opportunity to strengthen Europe's own defense identity, better embedded in capabilities, institutional mechanisms, procedures, and burden sharing. The need for close cooperation between the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union appears to be the most desirable solution here. On the European side, however, there is no common vision of policy towards the USA. There is a balancing-pragmatic majority of countries, rhetorically radical France, cautious Germany, and youthful and enthusiastic Poland.

All four interpretations of transatlantic relations mentioned above contain elements that sharpen the parameters of the desired and imaginable state of transatlantic relations. They would encourage the development of a fifth (pragmatic) interpretation based on a diagnosis of the status quo, and unsentimental answer to the question of how to improve it. One thing in this interpretation seems certain: despite all their benefits, there is a huge self-destructive potential in contemporary European and American politics. However, the cost of implementing the darkest scenarios for the distribution of rules, institutions and good practices in the Western world would many times exceed the price that would have to be incurred for the necessary support for transatlantic cooperation.

* * *

The measure of real achievements in transatlantic cooperation is the paradox that, actually, since the end of World War II, pessimism has dominated science and politics as to the future of US-European relations and their joint institutions. This was associated with the scandalous announcements of their fall and the

victory of particularisms. A funny symbol of such moods from today's perspective were the events that took place at the diplomatic party on April 4, 1949, in Washington, DC, right after the North Atlantic Treaty came to be. The moment of one of the greatest successes in transatlantic relations was accompanied by the performance of the American Marine Corps band. The band performed two pieces from the classic American opera "Porgy and Bess," under the significant (read as a commentary to the credibility of the treaties) titles: "I've Got Plenty of Nothing" and "It Ain't Necessarily So."

In the opinion of pessimists, the transatlantic project was geared to fail due to:

- American unilateralism, hegemonic tendencies, and the operationalization of values as a mask for such intentions, and
- European weakness (and the baggage of superpower history) as a source of resistance to American leadership and ultimately to US-limited relations.⁵

Several times indeed, even under the threat of nuclear war extermination, transatlantic relations hung in the balance (divergence of interests):

- in 1956 (Suez),
- in the 1960s (dispute over nuclear strategy and the position of Europe),
- after 1989 (scope of international responsibility, military interventionism, borders of the North Atlantic area).

In addition, there were a number of smaller disputes in which several decades ago there were many similarities in the cases divergently seen on both sides of the Atlantic today. These included, among others:

⁵ I would add to this the incompleteness of this project in the 1940s, because in Central Europe we remember that their initial definition excluded our region for over 40 years from the benefits of transatlantic West cooperation.

- relations with Russia (questions about the balance of deterrence and attraction / cooperation),
- trade matters (access to the European market and American protectionism),
- nuclear policy (the credibility of US guarantees and the participation of Europeans in decision-making processes and the cost of maintaining the credibility of nuclear deterrence),
- military expenditure and the distribution of common operating costs,
- Europe's support for the American global agenda.

With a touch of humor, three conventional conclusions can be drawn from such statements:

1. Transatlantic disease is genetic and is incurable. And while it does not have to be fatal, its symptoms should not be underestimated.
2. A solution is possible and stabilization of relations is possible too.
3. The essence of the matter is proper diagnosis of the problem (what is a structural problem of competing and arguing democracies, and what is a threat to their mutual relations?) and action based on such a diagnosis.

However, it seems that after 70 years of global commitment, America has decided to limit it clearly, while doing so with the awareness of powerful internal challenges and serious commitments to partners and allies. Nothing is a foregone conclusion (except that they will be rather persistent trends and not limited to the term of office of the current US administration), but undoubtedly America must answer two questions about transatlantic relations:

- does it want to maintain them, and if so, in what institutional and legal form and to what extent in the joint international agenda?
- whether to allow slow (or accelerated) decay, and if so, time, style, and anticipated effects are extremely important here.

Nothing is beyond the scope of possibility in this respect, but for now Donald Trump's assertive presidency has been causing some positive feedback from Europe. In this sense, it is a process that shifts black scenarios. Both sides, Europe and the US have an interest in maintaining a stable international order (which emerged several decades ago), or delaying its decay. None of them, however, wants to bear the increasing costs of maintaining this order and the principles on which it is based—at least in proportions, from previous decades.

The US is absorbed in rivalry with China and Russia and places its strategic priorities and expectations of support from allies in this sphere. The priorities are enforced as brutally as with mixed effects (such as in the case of the 5G internet). In the new structure of the rivalry of the powers there are significant sources, as much as unpredictability in transatlantic relations as well as global politics. Hence (on the basis of historical analogies) there are quite pessimistic forecasts of the evolution of American politics towards some form of neo / semi-isolationism (although persistent use of concepts from another era to describe contemporary politics may be a reliable cognitive tool) and from this position of using its political, economic, and military power to secure the new order in such a way that it would optimally respect American interests in the new conditions.

In this perspective, Russia's consistent resistance to modernization and change is expected to continue, which could put it on the verge of collapse again, as well as drive its dependence on China. Hence the fear of the effects of Beijing's policy within the current international system of transformations that maximally protects its political system and guarantee its stable development, regional hegemony, and global deterrence.

In such a situation, Europe (and especially the European Union), which has been freed from its own great power politics for decades, must choose between:

- continuation of transatlantic cooperation based on renewed principles,
- finding its own model of cooperation with great powers,
- thoughtful fulfillment of the postulate of strategic autonomy. What this would mean in practice, we do not know (and we are far from the outline of the European consensus on this matter), but from France, for example, opinions are coming about the need for a new European empire that will confirm its international strength and safeguard economic interests (but rather as part of a project consolidation, without starting the accession process of new members). For the time being, however, the European Union is doing a lot to avoid a decision-making situation and to actively shape the course of events, managing rather the particularisms of Member States' policies and not formulating a vision of a coherent foreign and security policy.

If they stay on this path, both the US and the EU will have many unilateral temptations, or the use of their comparative advantages. This will be done under the pressure of various offers formulated towards Europe by external powers competing with America; of moral, political, and economic corruption, pressure and necessary adaptive reflexes, mutual competition and various ideas of partial (minilateral) regional alternatives. That is why the importance of renewing the rules organizing international cooperation and transatlantic relations and good practices in this respect is growing. They include, among others:

- support for the rule of law and international law,
- a return to multilateralism (effective—who else remembers the postulate of effective multilateralism from 20 years ago?), supporting development projects and stabilization of the international order,
- cooperation in the field of security and defense,

- return to the discussion on transatlantic trade and investment cooperation,
- maintaining ethical and rational regulation of the development of new technologies (especially artificial intelligence as a source of civilization opportunities and threats),
- other standards balancing the rules of the economic game and sustainable development.

We do not know whether the network of interconnections and the multilateral cooperation mechanics offered by NATO, NATO-EU cooperation, and other mechanisms of transatlantic relations will be able to permanently absorb turbulence and be a source of stabilizing solutions. Given the density of networks of transatlantic economic, political, social, and military links, one can afford moderate optimism that the US and Europe will learn from this, seeing the potential for mutual support in the era of new power rivalry. Together, they form a power that external forces can block and limit, but which, assuming close cooperation, cannot be effectively challenged on existential grounds.

Roman Kuźniar

Divisions Worse Than Threats

Formed at the end of the 1940s, the American-European alliance has worked well for several dozen years because of the unique combination of interests and values that has united both sides. The alliance between the US and Western Europe in the form of NATO, the Treaty and its Organization, was based on three pillars (arguments).

First, “annul” Lenin. This wording conveys the intention of ending intra-Western conflicts, which not only were devastating internally, but also, for the first time after World War II, exposed the West to a deadly external threat. Of course, it was a threat from the Soviet Union and all international communism. So why “annul” Lenin? Because the leader of the October Revolution and the creator of the Soviet Union in his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917) formulated the statement that the war between capitalist powers is an inherent feature of imperialism. An example of this statement was World War I. Since then, the leaders of the Soviet Union have been waiting for another intra-imperialist war to take advantage of the weakening of the opponent in the final phase and expand their sphere of influence

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– ideologically as international communism and geopolitically as a communist power. World War II seemed to confirm Lenin’s statement. In his mind, it was an internal (inter-imperialist) war, and indeed the second point of this statement was significantly accomplished. The Atlantic Alliance has fulfilled an internal function from the beginning, that is, stabilizing and making peaceful relations between Western democracies. The integration of their armed potentials virtually excluded their use in relations between them.

Second, stop Stalin. In this case, it was about strengthening the defense potential of Western Europe against the Soviet Union. Economically exhausted and socially unstable, and therefore fragile as democracies, Western European countries could immediately after World War II fall prey to the Soviet Union; its armies reached all the way to the Elbe. Putting Moscow under Central Europe and the GDR (first as an occupation zone) deprived Western Europe of its strategic depth and tempted Moscow to go further. Immediately after the war, Moscow returned to its statement about “the inevitability of a war against imperialism.” This put Western Europe in danger. Therefore, its countries asked the US to provide long-term assistance in the form of allied commitments and the constant presence of US troops on their territory. Only this guaranteed that Stalin would refrain from attacking Western Europe. Americans, also aware of this threat, have responded positively to the request of Western Europeans.

Third, strengthen “Uncle Sam” globally. During World War II, under the influence of its course and results, in the United States there was an accelerated transformation of thinking about its post-war role. There was an accelerated parting with earlier isolationism. Political and intellectual elites of the powers were ripe for American leadership, not only in the Western Hemisphere (where the hegemony of the US was already well established),

not only in the Western world, but also on a global scale. The “Ideology Americana” comes to the fore, which even imposes on this country the “burden” of global leadership, in line with the idea that lay at its beginning, that is, “city upon the hill,” which was to show and light the way to the rest of the world. Of course, economic and strategic considerations stood out strongly in these new conditions. The Americans perfectly understood that their global leadership would be possible and easier to implement if they had a broader foundation in the form of a united West and instruments that could be created within it. It was there that the idea of the Atlantic community was born before the Soviet threat to the West was revealed.

All three of these assumptions were achieved, among others, due to the quite natural combination of values (cultural and political convergence) and interests, even if sometimes there were rivals in some matters, or differences and tensions against the background of other problems. In this way, the Atlantic community and its core in the form of the Alliance have proved themselves well in the face of the first global challenge, which was the existential threat from the Soviet Union.

Nothing lasts forever, one can think of seeing current plight or rather something more than just plights in these relationships. Developments are worrying. There are several issues. In light of the positive experience with the Alliance during the Cold War and its difficult but successful adaptation to the new strategic situation in the post-Cold War period (though not all of its operations were needed or successful) the attitude of the current US president towards NATO surprised everyone, not only in Europe. Discontinuity has become a visible feature of his administration’s foreign policy. In various directions, President Trump decided to break with the policy of his predecessor, which was, after all, a policy (the policy of Barack Obama) well in line with the American lib-

eral tradition, but also many of its elements were also part of the republican tradition (including attitude to the Alliance and Western Europe) from commercial agreements to human rights to arms control agreements. There were a few surprises in relation to the Atlantic community and the West, but here I will limit myself to two.

First, a business-transactional approach by Donald Trump for security matters in the Alliance and beyond is a surprise. Earlier, in the election campaign, he spoke badly about NATO (“Cold War anachronism”). The first meetings with Donald Trump in this group were not very nice. However, the real shock for observers, experts, and a large part of public opinion was the information disclosed by the media in the summer of 2018 that the US President was considering with his advisors the issue of the US withdrawing from the Alliance (because staying in it was “unprofitable” in his opinion). Impression after this information was weakened by his extravagance in other matters and the knowledge that the President himself is not able to decide about it. However, both houses of the American Congress recognized that the case was serious since they quickly decided to adopt a resolution calling on him to abandon this attitude. Of course, one can assume that the president does not represent the entire United States, that there are other entities in his government and the main institutions of this power that one can count on in NATO matters. At the same time, the question is inevitable whether at the time of the trial the Alliance and its member states can fully count on the United States if their president has such an attitude towards the Alliance. After all, in the face of external threat or attack, hours or even minutes will count... A blow to the credibility of the Atlantic Alliance came from the least expected side. A commercial approach to the Alliance (“we will defend you if you pay us”) means giving up values as an important element of its foundation.

Secondly, the openly unfriendly attitude of Donald Trump towards the European Union, i.e. a united Europe, remains a big surprise. In previous decades, united Europe (the European Community) was considered in Washington as the foundation of peace and security on the other side of the Atlantic. The sustainability of European integration was considered in the US as something in its interest, although there was no lack of contentious issues, from trade to sometimes different attitudes to security (the war in Iraq, the emergence of ESDP, etc.). With Donald Trump, it is the opposite. From the beginning, he supported those in the United Kingdom who were seeking to leave the EU, he inquired in public about who was next, he saw the Union only in terms of a competitor (in commercial matters). In his approach to the EU, there is no trace of axiological thinking, a common past or a joint response to the challenges of the future.

Faced with this anti-European US president complex, the EU remained quite helpless and divided.

The threat to the Atlantic Community is not only temporary but serious internal problems, especially the approach of the current US administration. These are also global challenges, and there are many of them. **Their basic background, however, is the weakness of the West.** I am referring to the serious signals of the crisis of civilization and the lack of conviction of Western countries that the identity and cohesion of the West are values that are worth striving for survival. This applies primarily to the cultural and demographic layer. Perhaps we are dealing here with secular tendencies that are unstoppable and that will lead to the blurring of Western civilization on the civilization map of the world, but this would be at a loss for Western societies and the rest of the world. Politically, a divided Europe is not able to maintain the unity of the West, and the United States, and here is the continuation of the earlier “surprise,” is completely uninterested.

The policy of the USA (Donald Trump) towards Europe clearly shows the lack of a cultural-axiological, ideological factor that throughout the period after World War II legitimized America's leadership within the "free world" and played a major role in binding two continents. Donald Trump has ceased to play a leadership role within the West. In the contacts of the current President with European leaders, there is a perceptible cultural foreignness, the lack of "chemistry" originating from common roots, even if differences of interests and opinions in these relations were revealed. The US president feels much better in dealing with outside leaders Europe, such as President of Russia, ruler of Saudi Arabia or President of North Korea, also because he considers them "hard guys." Of course, this is about the authoritarian systems and styles of government that they represent, and which has long ceased to be part of European political culture. Perhaps for the same reason, Donald Trump distinguishes Poland as an EU country that likes to be open.

In this context, the situation of the West and Europe is even more difficult because it objectively harmonizes, and this is another threat to the Atlantic community, with the Russian offensive directed against Europe and its unity. Since the Russian aggression against Ukraine, and not the EU's overly assertive reaction to this aggression (sanctions), Moscow has been seeking revenge by increased activity focused on breaking the unity of the Union and a diversion against the values on which it was politically built. This finds expression in the search for privileged contacts with the governments of EU countries showing populist-nationalist or even authoritarian tendencies. This is particularly evident in the example of Russian-Hungarian relations and Putin-Orban contacts. In addition, Russia supports nationalist parties showing hostility to the European Community, announcing (after a possible rise to power) to reduce the role of the EU or even bring its

countries out of it. Russian financial support for groups that were active in the United Kingdom for Brexit in the pre-referendum is known. Russia is particularly active in the face of the weaker, smaller and known from low standards democratic rule of law of the countries of Central and Southern Europe.

While Russia is trying to divide, China wants to “buy” Europe. China’s spectacular economic development has already given this country the power to influence Europe. Currently, Beijing is trying to take advantage of its economic strengths, which is a spectacular manifestation of the “One Belt, One Road” project, already in implementation. China is already investing gigantic money in Europe, and intends to invest even more. The Chinese offensive, in addition to trade, which is unprofitable for most European countries, also means opportunities for economic growth, including job creation. Particularly interesting, although potentially not very secure, is entering the market and into infrastructure (especially critical) with high technology, an example of which is the 5G network. Controversies are known that relate to this. In this context, it is worth paying attention to China’s activity in the 16+1 formula. EU countries are divided against the Chinese economic offensive (mainly commercial and financial), although they are slowly beginning to be aware of the political implications of China’s presence in Europe. The issue of the EU’s attitude towards the emerging new bipolarism on a global scale, i.e. the China-US confrontation, is also slowly emerging. China would like to neutralize Europe in this context, while the United States, a traditional ally, is offending Europe during the current presidency. Europe would probably prefer not to take sides, but in the future it will likely prove inevitable.

The biggest problem for the EU within the Atlantic community is the Union itself. Its protracted internal crisis not only badly serves its international position, but also its role within the At-

lantic community. With a weak Europe, the latter is also weak. America is losing faith in its usefulness. Europe has also ceased to be an independent and important global actor. It remains a strong player in commercial and economic terms, but this is no longer the case in political terms. It did not manage to become strategic, although it had once declared such ambitions. Today, even the declarations have been abandoned. Europe (EU), despite the Lisbon Strategy and its subsequent versions, has also ceased to count in the world of high technologies, which was dominated by the US and China. Europe's political marginalization on the global stage has its internal, cultural, political, demographic, and economic sources. It is no wonder that Putin, Erdogan or Trump demonstrate on various occasions their disregard for Europe (for the EU). A bad role is played by those EU member states that "play" against its unity, against its political role. Without internal vitality and coherence, the EU will cease to be—using the metaphor introduced by realism in international relations—a respected "pool ball" among other big "pool balls" of the global "pool table." It will crumble into a disorderly collection of smaller "pool balls" that will only become the object of the game by external forces. The Atlantic community will be able to preserve its value, also as a shield against global threats, only if its European member contributes to its significance and cohesion.

James P. Seevers

Transatlantic Relationship – Common Ideas of the Enlightenment

It is such a great pleasure to be in Warsaw for this important conference, and it is wonderful to visit Poland for the first time on the 100th anniversary of US-Polish diplomatic relations and on the centennial of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service. I want to express my sincere thanks to the Jan Karski Educational Foundation and the University of Warsaw for making it possible. I am also so pleased to be here to witness Georgetown School of Foreign Service Dean Emeritus Peter Krogh receive the *Spirit of Jan Karski Award*. It is a well-deserved honor for Dean Krogh, and a very exciting occasion for all of us at Georgetown and around the world who have to privilege to be associated with him.

I am a former US diplomat who focused on America's relations with Europe during President George W. Bush's first administration. In particular, I worked with many European partners as we supported the UN's ultimately unsuccessful efforts to reunify Cyprus before it entered the European Union. Now, as a university educator, I engage with European students studying at George-

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town as well as American students with a deep interest in Europe. I have thus had some opportunities to think about the fundamental questions that we will consider today on this panel about *Common Values and Common Interests in the Transatlantic Relationship*.

Definition of Transatlantic Relationship
– Common Ideas of the Enlightenment

In answer to our moderator's opening, fundamental question—how to define transatlantic relations today?—I believe it is much more than a geographic description. The transatlantic relationship is a substantive expression that reflects and carries forward the fundamental ideas that crystalized during the enlightenment about human relations and governance. These ideas have played such a large role in our histories on both sides of the Atlantic and are so important to all of us today.

The Georgetown School of Foreign Service offered a good example of the thinking that the transatlantic relationship seeks to advance. Our mission statement characterizes the founding of the school in 1919 as: “the establishment of a program at Georgetown dedicated to educating students on global issues and preparing them for lives of service in the international arena reflected both the University's Jesuit heritage, with its emphasis on cultural understanding, and its origins as an institution of the American Enlightenment, dedicated to the rights of man and the education of citizens.”

The Harvard historian, Jill Lepore, writes in her recent book, *These Truths: A History of the United States*, that during the enlightenment a “new era in the history of knowledge” began. It “required a new doctrine of evidence and new method of inquiry that eventually led to the idea that an observed or witnessed act or thing—the substance, the matter of fact—is the basis of truth.”

She reminds us about the significant influence that the European enlightenment thinkers had on the US Declaration of Independence and US Constitution.

The ideas that American leaders articulated at the nation's founding—focused on political equality, natural rights, and the sovereignty of the people—related closely to the work of thinkers on the other side of the Atlantic. It seems to me that an essence of the transatlantic relationship is the aspiration of all of us to live up to a core set of ideas and values that emphasizes honest inquiry, democratic governance and the promotion of human dignity.

Definition of Transatlantic Relationship – Web of Actors with Common Ideas

One way to understand better the quest to realize this aspiration is to look at the wide range of actors involved on both sides of the Atlantic. It is a web of connections among people across the educational, public, private and non-profit sectors and goes well beyond relations between governments.

At the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, for example, our students pursue degrees that integrate philosophy, religion, history, political science, economics, science and languages. Students also have the opportunity to focus on specific regions of the world. As one example, our undergraduate students can study for a semester or year abroad at over 70 programs in Europe.

Our graduate students can earn masters degrees at the BMW Center for German and European Studies or the Center for Eurasian, Russian or European Studies. They can take classes such as “Crisis and Opportunity in Transatlantic Relationship” or “Collective Identity and 20th Century European History.”

Georgetown University plays a big role in educating students about all of these important ideas and issues. But we also engage deeply with people from all over the world who are making a difference in their organizations and countries. For example, in 1982, Dean Krogh co-founded the Georgetown Leadership Seminar “to respond to the need to identify and educate the successor generation of leaders.” The original objectives of the Seminar were “to promote an exchange of views among emerging public and private sector leaders on key global issues of the future, to improve understanding by foreign leaders of the perspectives and foreign policy making process in the United States..., and to establish the personal contacts and sense of camaraderie essential to effective international cooperation.”

I have had the opportunity to direct the Georgetown Leadership Seminar over the last 9 years, and we are very proud that it continues to flourish and we are still carrying out that mission. We have more than 1000 alumni from over 100 countries, including NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg from Norway and former EU Commission President José Manuel Barroso from Portugal. In terms of the transatlantic relationship, members of this year’s class will include representatives from the public, private and non-profit sectors from 25 countries, including Poland, Germany, France, Finland, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Ukraine.

This year’s topics will include sessions on “The Transatlantic Relationship 30 Years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall”, “Artificial Intelligence and National Security”, and “The Global Refugees and Migration Crisis”. Georgetown professor and former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright will meet with the group on the opening day as she has done so many times over the year.

And we could not be more pleased with the two Polish participants in the Seminar each year who are nominated by and received scholarship from the Jan Karski Educational Foundation.

To be competitive for this highly selective scholarship, they must have an exceptional record of professional accomplishment, clear indications of potential for future success, and a strong sense of how Jan Karski's legacy and values continue to have an impact on the world. The nine GLS participants who have received the Jan Karski Educational Foundation scholarships since 2014 include diplomats, humanitarian activists, government officials, and academics. The Georgetown–Foundation collaboration is a wonderful example of the different ways that the transatlantic relationship works in practice.

One of our most popular Georgetown professors, a scholar of international law Dr. Tony Arend, has closed the Seminar in recent years with a talk on values, human rights and the future of the international system. He asks the question—what is human dignity? Turning to the original ideas upon which the great universities in Europe, the United States and around the world were founded, he answers: “Human dignity is the fundamental agency of human beings to apply their gifts to thrive. As such, it requires social recognition of each person's inherent value and claim to equal access to opportunity. To be meaningful, human dignity must be institutionalized in practice and governance.” It is those ideas that give such meaning and substance to the words “transatlantic relationship.”

Eugeniusz Smolar

America and Europe's *Dance Macabre*
Transatlantic Community
in a World of *Power Politics*

A light unto the nations
Thomas Jefferson

A shining city on the hill
Ronald Reagan (January 1989)

The indispensable nation
Madeleine Albright (1998)

America is different
Senator Marco Rubio (2019)

When debating power politics in Poland, Russia is always in the spotlight as a source of potential threat. Recently, China has joined the international society with its geopolitical and geo-economic ambitions in Asia and the world, including through the “One Belt, One Road” project and trying to achieve technological dominance by all and any means.

Power policy, even if not based on real power, is carried out by numerous countries, such as nuclear (or potentially nuclear) North Korea, India or Pakistan, Iran or Saudi Arabia. From Polish and often European perspective, one could repeat after Neville Chamberlain about Czechoslovakia from 1938: “How terrible,

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fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas-masks here because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing.” The actions of these countries, however, have an impact on European countries due to the expectations of the White House that they will also take action against them in the name of shared interests.

The withdrawal from the Paris Agreement and from the nuclear agreement with Iran, and finally the customs war with Beijing initiated by Donald Trump (not to mention the President’s deep dislike of multilateralism, not just in the form of the European Union but also of NATO) made us brutally aware of our dependence on the effects of Washington’s unilateral decisions. All the more so because the blissful dream of Europeans had already been interrupted by Trump’s statements and actions that affect the sense of security and European interests, our understanding of shared goals and interests. We have discovered, reading the 2017 National Security Strategy¹, that President Trump has entered the US on the list of countries that are conducting an open power policy, towards us this time. Earlier, it rarely bothered us that the United States pursued such a policy towards others, all the more so because we recognized those others, such as the USSR, as a threat.

Europeans were not naive and were aware that the dense network of interconnections and joint institutions created after World War II (from the Atlantic Charter and NATO to the IMF), compounded by proclaimed common values of the West,² strength-

¹ “This strategy is guided by principled realism. It is realist because it acknowledges the central role of power in international politics, affirms that sovereign states are the best hope for a peaceful world.” National Security Strategy of the United States of America, December 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>

² The Future Tasks of the Alliance (Harmel Report), in: NATO Handbook: Documentation, NATO Office of Information and Press, 1999. See. The Harmel Report: Full Reports by the Rapporteurs on the Future Tasks of the Alliance, www.nato.int.

ened our security against Soviet aggression and served well the goal of economic development and the possibility of creating international order in accordance with our common interests and values. The United States appeared to Europe as a benign hegemon, and differences were mitigated by viewing them in a strategic perspective as necessary to strengthen that community.

FACT: America's commitment and the nuclear shield have given Europe over seventy years of peace and incomparable prosperity.

FACT: The military and economic power of the US exploded as a result of World War I and World War II, and also thanks to loans and investments in Europe—both economic and political ones.

FACT: U.S. pressure has not only supported decolonization, but has also taken over the influence of European colonial powers, mainly in Africa (without the occupation of territories).

Pax Americana was created with the support of American military and economic power, a network of multilateral institutions and favorable trade. Dollar became king.

Robert Kagan's observation seems apt: "The remarkable thing that the United States did after World War II, which no country in history had ever done before, was in a way to define our national interest so broadly that they became international responsibilities... Normal nations don't have international responsibilities. They look out for their own."³

Meanwhile, the West—as Zbigniew Brzezinski noted—after centuries of destructive wars for supremacy finally, ended the "civil war" in 1989, and the continent was united on the rubble of the USSR.⁴ A by-product of historical experience, especially

³ R. Kagan, GMFUS Brussels Forum, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqz5XmryeEo&feature=youtu.be>

⁴ Z. Brzezinski, *An Agenda for NATO. Towards a Global Security Web*, Foreign Affairs, September/October 2009, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2009-09-01/agenda-nato>

of Germany, was that Europe—with the exception of the UK and France—often refused to play the role of an empire ready to use military means.

Authentic deep ties between the US and Europe—economic, political, military, social, and cultural ones—do not remove, as is the case between European Union members, economic competition and political differences. Europeans were often shocked when the United States benefited from multilateral institutions and support from its allies only when doing so suited it, and then took unilateral actions without looking at the allies' opinions or interests.

The readiness of Americans to appeal to military power without exhausting diplomatic and economic means has often aroused the opposition in many European countries. An example is the military intervention in Iraq in 2003, with dramatic consequences with which the US too, but Europe in particular, is struggling to this day.

On the other hand, Americans note that the leaders of France (Nicholas Sarkozy) and Great Britain (David Cameron) forced Barack Obama to engage the US and NATO in Libya. They were successful in the removal of Muammar Gaddafi, but by deciding not to put troops in place and to abstain from taking control on the ground, they contributed to the unleashing of a civil war and, consequently, to the capture of part of the territory by Islamic extremists, who caused chaos in the region, and also carried out terrorist attacks in Europe, e.g. in Paris in November 2015.

Currently, in contrast to all presidents and administrations after 1945, President Trump openly proclaimed that he does not care about NATO and the allies. He mentioned the possibility of the United States withdrawing from the Alliance. He suggested that the US's partners should not only increase defense spending, but even pay for American security guarantees...

Over the past decades, Americans' attitudes towards the EEC/EU have varied, shifting from ambivalence, due to Europe's growing economic and political power, to the support of presidents George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama. President Trump put himself now against a truly historic achievement of European integration, which triggers a risk of relapse, exacerbates ominous tensions between member states, and brings back the question of Germany's position and role in Europe again.

One cannot fail to see President Trump's inclination to show public affection and establish close ties with the autocrats in Russia, Saudi Arabia or Brazil at the expense of democratic allies. The allies, including Poland, are concerned by numerous statements by President Trump, e.g. in an interview with Fox News, when he suggested that America is no different or better than Vladimir Putin's Russia.⁵ In the face of an open conflict with China, one cannot ignore Trump's desire to reach an agreement with Putin and not ask the question, what will the price be and who will pay for it? Ukraine may be the first, but not necessarily the last.

There is also clear evidence of unscrupulousness in the sudden abandonment of Kurdish allies, who for years with the support of the United States fought in Syria against the 'Islamic state', heroically and effectively. Giving Turkey a *carte blanche* in northern Syria not only leads to a regional catastrophe, but also presents a threat of release of thousands of imprisoned radical Islamist fighters, which could have dangerous consequences for Europe. An interesting comment is the announcement of the withdrawal of US troops, except for those that will protect oil installations in northern Syria. The White House's decision was condemned by leading Democrats and Republicans in Congress. Donald Trump's

⁵ *Trump defends Putin: 'You think our country's so innocent?'*, CNN, February 6, 2017, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/02/04/politics/donald-trump-vladimir-putin/index.html>

move, strengthening the autocrats—Erdoğan, Putin, al-Assad, Iran, and ISIS—may also encourage the Taliban to continue fighting in Afghanistan in the hope of withdrawal of the American troops as well as Putin to try NATO's unity and determination by threatening one of the Baltic states.⁶

Optimists emphasize the importance and interdependence of economic relations on which millions of jobs depend on both sides of the Atlantic:

Optimists also point out that in response to President Trump's claims about the possibility of leaving the Alliance, the House of Representatives in January 2019 expressed support for NATO by a large majority (357 to 22). There is widespread support for NATO: according to a survey, 73% of ordinary Americans consider NATO necessary for US security (86% Democrats, 68% Independents and 62% Republicans). 78% of respondents believe that the United States should maintain or increase its involvement in NATO.⁷

Pessimists in the EU emphasize that the US treats Europe primarily as an economic competitor, disregarding all other achievements of the transatlantic alliance, among Americans—not only in the current administration—there is skepticism towards Europe as a reliable ally—regarding China, Iran, the level of arms, etc.

Pessimists also draw attention to the unilateralism of US policy, its clearly demonstrated reluctance towards the NATO and the EU, the threat of trade war, and the importance of the American economy to unilaterally impose sanctions without agreeing with allies, using their hitherto well-established advantages in the

⁶ A.-M. Slaughter, *Trump, Turkey and the Autocrats*, Project Syndicate, Say More, November 5, 2019, <https://us10.campaign-archive.com/?u=9116789a51839e0f88fa29b83&id=e119d1a706&e=0188e2d5cb>

⁷ *The Chicago Council on Global Affairs*, June 2019, <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/rejecting-retreat>

global economy and finances, including the role of the dollar.⁸ In the long run, the continued unilateral application of sanctions may discourage European (and not only European) allies from cooperating, and in consequence weaken America's structural advantages in the international system. A possible US trade war will inevitably lead to the increase of European customs tariffs, which will further deepen the crisis of confidence.

Indignation in Europe is caused by the fact that President Trump and his proponents are involved in activities aimed at destroying the EU; they publicly urge United Kingdom and other countries to leave the Union; they praise and encourage the action of right-wing radicals, such as the American ambassador in Germany towards AfD or Donald Trump towards Salvini.

The instrumentalization (weaponization) of resentments, thanks to which Donald Trump won the presidency—as is the case of Erdoğan, Orbán, Salvini or Kaczyński—was transferred to the international arena by promoting selfish nationalisms dividing societies and nations.

In reaction, Europe is now flooded with uncertainty related to the growing lack of confidence in the US. These reactions are diplomatically downplayed by elites, but more pronounced in societies. According to a survey from August 2019, ordinary Germans found their country's partners trustworthy to the following degree: France 89%, Great Britain 37%, Russia 28%, and the US... 19%.⁹

A similar trend has also been noted outside continental Europe—in 2018, only 32% of Australians, 28% of the British or 25% of Canadians expressed confidence in President Trump. It

⁸ *Sanctions and US foreign policy in the Trump era: A perfect storm*, FIIA Briefing Paper 269, Helsinki, September 19, 2019, <https://www.fiia.fi/en/publication/sanctions-and-us-foreign-policy-in-the-trump-era>

⁹ *ARD-DeutschlandTREND*, August 2019, <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/deutschlandtrend-1763.html>

is significant that at the same time 63% of respondents in the 25 leading countries of the world are at the same time in favor of US leadership (in Russia 13%).¹⁰

Pessimists emphasize that Donald Trump's 'America First' concept makes alliances, including NATO, dependent on American interests. And because these interests are not necessarily always defined or are defined only in a tactical perspective, there is confusion about which interests are strategic, which are tactical, and which result from the current president's personality, unpredictability, and eccentricity? In addition, they are usually openly linked to direct commercial interests. As a consequence, good relations would depend on... obedience – as revealed, for instance, by President Trump's conversation with the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenski.

- In such circumstances, individual European countries may be inclined to:
- Redefine US interests and our own and the role of transatlantic relations in their implementation.
- Adapt to the political and financial expectations of the US... or not—with serious consequences for the cohesion of the Transatlantic Alliance, which may be manifested in the stated ambitions to achieve Europe's 'strategic autonomy' (easier to proclaim than to implement in the current state of the EU¹¹).
- Seek a compromise with Russia, just as many smaller Asian countries seek to reach an agreement with China.

¹⁰ *Trump's International Ratings Remain Low, Especially Among Key Allies*, Pew Research Center, Global Attitudes & Trends, October 1, 2018, https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2018/10/01/trumps-international-ratings-remain-low-especially-among-key-allies/?wpisrc=nl_todayworld&wpmm=1

¹¹ J. Techau, *Why the EU can't do security and defence*, EUobserver, October 23, 2019, <https://euobserver.com/opinion/146369>

The resulting situation requires the addressing of basic questions:

- What is the current relationship between US interests and its leadership's responsibility for international order, taking into account post-1945 achievements?
- What will be the degree of US involvement in existing alliances, including NATO, since the world without the Transatlantic Alliance will become more dangerous, not only because of Moscow's ambitions?
- What is the phenomenon of President Donald Trump's policies and new elements in his foreign and security policy?
- To what extent will the American establishment be able to mitigate the effects of President Trump's unpredictable policies?
- Is it possible to predict a return to the development policy and alliance with Europe, carried out by all presidents and all American administrations after 1945, preceding President Trump?

Apart from the at least partially reversible effects of some of Trump's decisions, the structural sources of US tensions with Europe will not disappear. Despite support for NATO, American public opinion is tired of US involvement in the world and endless wars that are causing a huge drain on financial resources (not to mention human losses) that could be directed towards economic development mainly away from large cities—development centers, and modernization of crumbling infrastructure—roads, bridges, transport, and schools. Americans are often irritated by the lack of understanding of Europeans when they come home and compare European and their own airports or the state of public services.

The Europeans cannot ignore these moods, as well as the structural changes in international relations in the world—the rise of China's significance and unrecognized strategic objectives, the

role of other current and growing powers, including government and non-governmental actors, equipped with cybernetic ability to strike at a distance hiding the source of their origin thanks to artificial intelligence.

We are facing the necessity of surviving the current state of affairs and dealing with a ruthless US power policy, hoping for the return of allied cooperation, which is taking place selectively and with varying successes, regardless of the blood-pressure-raising occasional pronouncements or decisions of President Trump. There is also the need to prevent the intensification of competition between the EU members in the aftermath of the US political withdrawal from Europe and the White House policy aimed at de facto deepening differences.

We have only 10-15 years ahead of us during which joint actions can ensure that the United States and Europe will be able to jointly strengthen multilateral institutions and international order that have served the whole world so well for seventy years.

Pro domo sua: The efforts of successive Polish governments for years to strengthen the American military presence as a deterrent to Russia, especially after the annexation of Crimea and the war in eastern Ukraine, should be positively assessed. Nevertheless, Poland does not maintain allied ties with current or any other president, with Republicans or Democrats, but with the United States of America. This banal statement requires far-reaching political and diplomatic conclusions, and the current Polish government would be well-advised to heed it.

Threats to the West have never been greater than in 1989. In mutual relations, the basic problem is the lack of trust. Not only the trust related to the question: will the US ensure Europe's security, as it did after 1945? But also in strengthening the collective will, so much weakened in recent years, to deal with global and regional threats, such as economic development, climate change,

arms control, epidemics and pandemics, weaponization of the Internet, and finally a consistent foreign and security policy in the context of China's developing global significance, superpower ambitions of Russia, Iran, North Korea, wars in the Middle East, etc.

Trust has now become a particularly scarce commodity. Therefore, the story about President John Kennedy, who during the Cuban crisis in 1962 sent a special envoy, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, sounds almost lyrical. Like in the case of other leaders, he wanted to show President de Gaulle photos of Soviet missiles in Cuba as evidence of Moscow's actions. The President of France, despite the tense relations with the US at the time, pushed them aside saying: "I do not have to look at these photos, the words of the President of the United States will be enough for me [...]."

It is hard to imagine a similar situation now in Paris, Berlin, and even in London, after the Iraq war under false pretext, and after the actions of President Trump.

Rapid changes increase uncertainty, but also lend new dynamics to debates, policies, and adjustment processes. While difficult, the partnership with a truly different (Rubio), but indispensable (Albright) America, remains irreplaceable for Europe. Similarly, we are convinced that Europe, with all its internal tensions and differences in relations with Washington, will remain an irreplaceable ally of the United States.

Maciej Wierzyński

Jan Karski: In the Service of a Lost Cause

I am not a political scientist or historian. I am a journalist and I feel entitled to speak at this conference, because for several years, I had been meeting regularly with Jan Karski, starting in the mid-1990s until his death; and we had long conversations about history and politics. These interviews with Karski were broadcast by the Voice of America radio service and years later published by PWN in Poland in the form of a book *The Emissary in His Own Words*.

I first met Jan Karski in Chicago in the mid-1980s. At that time, as a new exile, “fresh off the boat,” I had been greedily absorbing historical knowledge unavailable in the Polish People’s Republic. Ten years later in 1994 I was in charge of the Polish Service of the VOA in Washington and I was looking for an interesting interlocutor for a special broadcast on the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising and I suddenly remembered Karski - the contrarian. I expected him to criticize the decision of the Home Army High Command about the start of the Uprising, but that is not what he said. The Uprising, he told me, tragic in conse-

Maciej Wierzyński – journalist, publicist, editor of the *Horyzont* magazine on TVN24 television.

quences, deprived of chances for military and political success, would have broken out anyhow. If the Home Army had not called for the Uprising, it would have been provoked by the communist underground obedient to the Russians. In this war, for the Poles it was one more tragic dilemma without a way out.

After the recording, which took place in Karski's apartment, we went to dinner near the Friendship Heights metro station. Karski was a charming man and great company. He not only talked intensely, but he also asked and he listened. It was obvious that he longed for company and conversation, because he lived somewhat on the margins of the Polish community in Washington and did not have a group of followers.

Poles in general, and Poles in exile in particular, tend to exaggerate in their descriptions of their historical role, merits, and significance. They have trouble reconciling with the modest place that history has given them to play. But that was not Karski. In his excellent, unfortunately too little-known book, *The Great Powers and Poland 1919-1945: From Versailles to Yalta*, Karski wrote: "From the resurrection of Poland at the end of World War I to its demise in the aftermath of World War II, it was only once given to Poles to decide for themselves. It was during the Polish-Bolshevik war of 1919-1920 (...) In all other events Poland was unable to play an independent and effective role on the international arena, regardless of the successes and mistakes of its policy."¹

It is easy to understand why he was not popular in „Polish” Washington. Karski did not brag about his feats of war; he did not overestimate the importance of his meetings with the most powerful politicians in the world. Rather the opposite was true. He was inclined to diminish his role. He would recall with delight how

¹ J. Karski, *Wielkie mocarstwa wobec Polski 1919-1945. Od Wersalu do Jalty* [*The Great Powers and Poland 1919-1945: From Versailles to Yalta*], Poznań 2019, pp. 27-28.

very intimidated he felt in the presence of Eden or Roosevelt, and tell colorful anecdotes about his own blunders. His modesty was endearing. He never bragged. He emphasized the significance of growing up in the family of an impoverished craftsman, a small leather goods manufacturer from Lodz, as well as the significance of attending a public school where he met his Jewish friends. He emphasized the impact on his life of a deeply religious mother and a much older brother, a Piłsudski loyalist.

After several meetings with this fascinating man, I felt I needed to record his memories. I was convinced that Karski is known, rather unjustly, primarily for his courage, and not recognized for his original and penetrating political sense, a trait which is—unfortunately—not common in our nation.

Bearing in mind the experience of these conversations, I have been thinking about what Karski would have to say today about “the community of values and the community of interests.” What would he say, having witnessed the leaders of the great powers at the time when they were weighing what was more important: the lives of their own soldiers or the fate of a defenseless but foreign nation? What would tip the scales today: the need to defend those who are being persecuted or perhaps the achievement of far-reaching political goals?

What does this mean for today’s topic? The conclusion, a rather sad one us: when there is a choice between values and interests, values lose. Speaking of values, there was no discrepancy between Poland and the United States during World War II. When it came to interests, those diverged, especially in the final stages of the war. Interests had been diverging from values starting in 1943, the Tehran conference. Initially, Poles did not accept the political consequences of this conference. But after Yalta, this discrepancy became too obvious to ignore. Karski saw this clearly. In the transcript of our conversations, there is the following fragment: “Since

spring 1943, as a result of the report I brought from the country, articles about what was happening to the Jews were published in the United States and England (...) but, as we know, it did not matter. Why? Simply: helping the Jews during the war—this is how I see it today and how I saw it then—was not part of the general Allied strategy. (...) The main point of this strategy was to destroy the war potential of Germany. Unconditional surrender, end of the war as soon as possible. As few losses as possible. And, at all costs, the maintenance of the Anglo-American-Soviet alliance. No side issues could complicate this strategy. (...) As I look at it now, fifty years later, I see that the Jews had no chance of surviving World War II. There are such tragic situations. Similarly, the East Europeans did not stand a chance of gaining independence.”²

Someone had said that Karski was “a romantic realist.” On the one hand, like many Polish romantic heroes, he was ready for the greatest sacrifices, but on the other hand he understood the power play perfectly. His analysis of Poland’s situation in 1944 was brilliant and farsighted. Another prominent Pole, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, recalled Karski’s way of thinking in those times as “cold, almost cynical.” I have met many prominent, distinguished people, but I have no doubt that Karski was the most extraordinary person of them all. He thought like a chess player, but also demonstrated boundless courage and devotion. He served what he knew was a lost cause, and he did it until the end of his life.

And here I come back to the topic of our panel, to the “community of values and interests.” I am certain that Karski was aware that in order to be able to defend values, one must have resources. One has to have strength and power. Furthermore, over and over interests collide with values, which is noticeable in Europe in the

² J. Karski, M. Wierzyński, *Emisariusz własnymi słowami* [*The Emissary in His Own Words*], Warszawa 2013, p. 155.

recent years e.g. in the attitude towards immigrants. Finally, powerful countries have greater opportunities to defend values, while small countries should be particularly concerned about practicing what they preach. Great and powerful states can afford to disregard values with impunity, but the weak cannot afford it.

Karski sometimes talked about himself—"I am an American," he would say with emphasis. This irritated patriotic Poles as an act of apostasy. I wondered why he was saying that. I think that after this terrible disaster which the WWII was for the Poles, Karski relished being a citizen of a country that was so powerful that it could not only defend its own interests, but had the possibilities and the resources to do more, to do good, to defend those who needed help.

I suppose that is how Karski wanted to see and how he saw the United States. He wanted to put America's power to an even better use. Since the course of world affairs is determined by the great and powerful, whereas the smaller nations can only issue declarations, we have to push the great ones to do more.

In fact, this is exactly what Karski had done during the war, when he reported on the desperate situation of the Jews. He was well prepared and he did it with great conviction. True, he was invited to deliver his reports. He was politely listened to. No one said that he was wrong. No one questioned his courage. But he was only an envoy then. An envoy of a supplicant nation.

DISCUSSION

Daniel Fried

Americans have been complaining about Europeans for two generations, because we think they are doing too little, but it is no big deal. In fact, the United States plus Europe plus other great areas of democracy can handle not history, but we can deal well with opponents.

The most constructive foreign policy document the Trump administration has produced is its national security strategy document which states that we have reentered a period of great power competition. Ok, those great power rivals include Russia, China, and Iran. The conclusion I draw if this is correct, and I think it is, is that we need to be working with our friends, the great democracies of the world, the better to deal with our real and potential adversaries. The Trump administration occasionally does this, but occasionally the president seems to have sympathy for authoritarians. About the European Union's great strength—it doesn't matter that they don't have military strength—well, it does, I wish they had more—but, between Europe's economic strength and Europe's ability, if we are working together, to set global norms for business for example, we can much more easily deal with Chinese predatory economic behavior.

Being the head of the department for sanctions policy in the State Department was one of my work stages in the government, in the American administration. And it was not so difficult to cooperate with Europeans; and Madam Ambassador, thank you for your help. I remember how much Poland

contributed to the collective policy regarding Russia after the invasion of Ukraine.

The European Union can be a headache, but that's what you pay diplomats to solve. This is not a tragedy, this is everyday work. I know I sound like an idiot optimist, but the problems are always serious. And for the Poles—to confirm everybody in my idiot optimism—in 1988, one year before a strategic breakthrough that gave us all victories in the Cold War, the book to read in Washington was a book that argued that America was overextended in the world and we had to retreat. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers* by Paul Kennedy, we all read it, and it's a wonderful book, brilliantly written, thoughtful, and utterly wrong. Just completely missed it. And that was the book that everyone had read as Poland began the roundtable talks. So, of course nobody in Washington, or very few people, realized that we were on the verge of a historic breakthrough. My point of mentioning a book of a generation ago, is that what we think we're going through sometimes turns out to be an illusion. Sometimes what we think we're going through is not at all what's happening.

Ambassador Mosbacher said Poland was a rising power. Not everyone took this seriously, but I agree with Madam Ambassador. Poland is growing and has been growing for a generation with sometimes Chinese rates of economic growth. Poland is not going to be a superpower, it's not going to be a great power in historical sense, but it's going to have power and strength and therefore responsibilities commenced with that strength. And let's use them so that we are not discussing the weakness of Europe but discussing instead what are going to do. Let's not just worry about what Putin's going to do to us, let's start thinking about what we ourselves are going to do.

If you filter out Trump's unusual personality and also filter out the fact that he is exporting, as the Ukrainians have discovered, his

own political agenda, Trump actually represents a continuation of this American debate, which we have had for a hundred years, of whether we want to lead a world in which our interests and values advance together. Trump's basic argument is "I will take a narrow definition of American interests and I will separate that from any values whatsoever." But he has not implemented this in practice, so you have an odd amalgam of American policy, in part a continuation of the older American tradition of values and interests moving together and Trump's personal style, all within a backdrop of American social debate which flares up periodically, of whether we want to invest the resources necessary into maintaining our role.

To say something pessimistic, this American debate can be costly. A lot of damage can be done while we're figuring ourselves out, and I get that. The last time we had a debate like this was in the 1970's after the Vietnam war, and it ended only when Ronald Reagan came in and restated a case for American leadership, speaking from the right rather than on the center-left. Public opinion polls show that American opinion is schizophrenic. There is a large, large parts, even the majority of American population supports American leadership in the world, but they also are resentful about it at the same time. A pessimist would say, we're doomed, but since Steve Mull and I used to be paid to figure out solutions, I prefer to think of latent support as an opportunity for an American politicians or political leaders to do what Reagan did and reframe the case for American leadership.

And what I said earlier, I will say again, Poland's role, which it played successfully, is to act as the conscience of the West. And I will keep arguing that we must not forget our values. Now of course, I see a lot of students of the younger generation here, and I don't know whether Poles who have grown up in a more or less normal country will share that view of Poland's role. But the consequences of passivity are great and the costs high.

Paweł Kowal

A New Perspective in US Policy

The support of the United States was always part of the history of European integration at every stage, especially at its turning points when the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community, and the European Union were formed. During the negotiations of the Maastricht Treaty, the involvement of the American administration was linked to the fact that, among other issues, the Americans wanted their plan for Germany to be part of the integration structure. Zbigniew Brzezinski pointed out in his early texts that some of Poland's and Eastern Europe's problems were closely linked to the resolution of the German problem.

This strengthened a certain perception of the role of the United States, which remained behind the scenes and was not to be showcased. This was in both American and European interest. We are currently observing the demise of this system, which has serious political effects that are manifest, *inter alia*, in the evolution of the US approach to Poland.

This seems to be evidenced by Vice President Mike Pence's recent statement of affirmation regarding the situation of courts in Poland. Was it a joke, a kind of political trolling, lack of in-

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formation or did the United States actually change its mind? We are at a moment when the holistic, globally unique transformation pressure on Poland has ended. It was a situation in which the United States requested compliance in three areas: first—military integration with the West while neutralizing Russia’s opposition; second—guarantees for free market economy in line with liberal rules and protection from oligarchization; third—emphasis on internal policy, including the imposition of the rule of law. The democratic legal model was treated as an element of compatibility with the West that was important in particular for future investments. This approach corresponded to the interests of the United States that, when deciding to invest in Poland, had to be certain that the legal system and Polish courts would operate in a transparent manner, ensuring the security of foreign investment. Poland was to become the “showcase” of American policy supporting the transformation processes towards a democratic model. It was to be an example for Central Europe, Ukraine, Tunisia, and other countries around the world.

We are currently observing *désintéressment* in this broad transformation model. The American presence has not ended, but its character begins to resemble the policy of the United States in South America in the 1980s. The military presence is becoming crucial, in line with the old strategic Anglo-Saxon tradition, according to which the United States works to prevent close cooperation between Germany and Russia in Central Europe.

Other areas of American policy interest in the situation in Poland are also observable and can be identified on the basis of the US Embassy’s responses. These include: LGBT community’s problems, selected issues regarding investments and the judiciary, and some aspects of historical loyalty. This is especially relevant in case of President Lech Wałęsa. The US Embassy is consistently committed to ensuring that this living monument of Polish trans-

formation and, at the same time, great American success story is not destroyed. The above elements make up the current shape of American involvement in Poland, which is not about to change soon. Should Donald Trump be re-elected as the President of the United States, this model will be solidified, in contrast to the habits of the State Department, the congressmen, and senators, due to the fact that the president's position would have been strengthened.

Stephen D. Mull

What have American goals been since World War II in Europe? Namely first defending our democratic friends and our values of freedom in Western Europe, and using those friends as the basis of an alliance to promote those values and interests more broadly. With the end of the Cold War in 1989, not triumphantly but very systematically, American policy through successive administration, sought to broaden the sphere—in Europe—of freedom, democracy, free markets and cooperation in our common security. Even before the decision to enlarge NATO by the Clinton administration, there was the beginning to build the ties and the partnership for peace and other mechanisms and to lay the foundation for the common defense of our security and of our values.

As that policy matured, the Clinton administration promoted the enlargement of NATO, helped to find a new strategic mission for NATO in defending human rights, as the Balkan wars began to unfold later in the 90's, and as 2000's turned to 2001 and events of 9/11, to in fact work with our expanded circle of allies, to take on even broader trans-national challenges around the world, fighting against terrorism, cooperating in supporting other new democracies, emerging around the world, and to become a very strong voice for the transatlantic values that we have been working toward since the very beginning.

Regardless of who is governing America, Americans for most of the past one hundred years, have aspired to live in the world that is familiar to them, that follows the rules that are used to fol-

lowing, that promotes freedom, promotes transparency, promotes a rules-based order. And I believe that among thought leaders in the United States, it's still very much the case. Less on one side than the other, but I still think that in the mainstream of both sides, there is a preference for having that rules-based order. Where that has gotten into trouble, and you said to talk about this without talking about Trump—I don't see how that's possible to do that—but the phenomenon of Donald Trump and American politics resulted in part from a growing lack of trust among broad sections of American society that American and international institutions were able to deliver benefits to American people, working through that international system, and growing doubts that the international system functions appropriately.

Regardless of who was the president in the U.S., for many years there has been a growing conviction across the political spectrum that Europe needed to do more to shoulder the burden of its security in Europe. It's for one of those reasons, since the 1990's, that Poland generally has had such an excellent reputation among American political figures of every party, because Poland consistently, despite having many changes in governments since 1989, in fact has been willing to pay the price for shouldering its defense and contributing to the defense of others as well. I remember as ambassador here, from 2012 to 2015, regularly conspiring with minister Robert Kupiecki and others about how we can get the rest of NATO to follow Poland's example, to follow American's example and we failed. And that produced that lack of trust, that in the end resulted in the phenomenon of Donald Trump, who makes very clear that we're reaching the end of American willingness to bear that unbalanced burden. The Trump presidency very much represent the crossroads for all of us, liberal democrats around the world, that somehow, we need to work together to restore that sense of trust. Not only among Americans, but through a broader

transatlantic community that these institutions that we worked so hard to build and defend over seventy years, are in fact valuable and will do the job that we expected them to do.

Katarzyna Pełczyńska-Nałęcz

The Russian Federation never came to believe in the honesty of the values promoted by the West. It considered them to be camouflage, an excuse allowing the West to pursue its interests that were at odds with the interests of the Soviet Union first and Russia later. US activity was seen as an effort to build an empire in Europe and other parts of the world. The collapse of the Soviet Union fully revealed this basic difference in understanding. In Poland, and perhaps the entire West, it was recognized that the great project of democratic freedom and prosperity had prevailed and the confrontation was over. Meanwhile, from a Russian perspective, the conflict continued into the post-Cold War period. Humiliated and pushed to the margins of European and global decision-making processes, Russia decided to wait, defending its spheres of influence and then expanding them gradually.

Only recently has Russia come to the conclusion that it cannot build its position in the world primarily through relations with the United States. The bipolar perception of the world is no longer accurate due to the rise of China first of all, but also because of the processes that took place in the West. Lack of confidence in relations between Europe and the United States has emerged both at the level of political elites and societies. It is not without a reason, after all, that Europe has been making efforts towards strategic sovereignty. Although a European army has not been

Katarzyna Pełczyńska-Nałęcz, PhD – Director of the Open Europe Programme and the ideaForum, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, former Ambassador of Poland to the Russian Federation.

created and military cooperation between member states is limited, investment in military technology is being given serious consideration. Above all, a political process is underway, and France and Germany are both most interested in it. This move towards independence is due to the fact that the United States has started to oppose multilateral institutions, such as the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance, which signals a general change in approach towards multilateral relations. There are many areas where the American and European points of view differ. One of them is the climate crisis.

Currently, the distance between the United States and Europe is increasing. This new phenomenon is largely the work of President Donald Trump, but also of his European partners. Europe increasingly perceives itself not as part of the Western Bloc, but as an actor in a world of rivalry between the United States and China. It tries to identify fields of cooperation with both countries. This is a new quality in political and economic relations. Russia has taken note of this change on the global arena and is attempting to identify spheres of cooperation with China and other players, including Europe, depending on its own interests. From Russia's perspective, Europe is becoming an autonomous player which can take a different position relative to the US-Chinese rivalry.

Therefore, Poland faces a big challenge. It is becoming increasingly difficult to strive for an American security umbrella at a bilateral level, while being a loyal member of the European community. There is a large difference in member states' approaches to security issues within Europe. For some member states, these issues are not a priority. Therefore, Poland faces the dilemma of choosing between the United States and Europe, between a bilateral and a multilateral strategy.

Authors

(in alphabetical order)

Agnieszka Bieńczyk-Missala, Assistant Professor—a political scientist at the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies of the University of Warsaw, and a habilitated doctor of social sciences. Former Deputy Director of the Institute of International Relations at the University of Warsaw (2008–2012) where she dealt with matters related to scientific research and cooperation with foreign countries; and an analyst at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (2006–2008). She is recipient of the Jan Kariski Educational Foundation scholarship to the Georgetown Leadership Seminar in 2016. Her research focuses on humanitarian issues, human rights, democracy, mass crimes, and international humanitarian law.

Piotr M.A. Cywiński, PhD—a historian, medievalist, and an author of numerous articles and texts concerning the Middle Ages, as well as issues related to the Holocaust and sites of memory. Director of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in Oświęcim since 2006. From 2009, co-founder and president of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation. Member of the International Auschwitz Council and a chairman of the Program Council of the Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute. Member of the Council of Museums at the Ministry of Culture (2009–2018) and of the Council for the Protection of Memory of Combat and Martyrdom (2010–2016). In 1996–2010, vice president and president of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia in Warsaw.

Daniel Fried—an American politician and diplomat, the US Ambassador to Poland from 1997 to 2000. He joined the US Department of State in 1977, and played a key role in shaping and implementing American policy in Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union. He was a special representative and director of the National Security Council in the administration of Presidents Clinton and Bush. He was the Secretary of State for Europe from 2005 to 2009. He was awarded by the President of the Republic of Poland Aleksander Kwaśniewski with the Commander's Cross with the Star of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland on April 26, 2000, for outstanding service in developing Polish–American cooperation. Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski awarded him the *Bene Merito* Honorary Medal on November 13, 2009, in recognition of friendship and kindness towards Poland, especially on its way to NATO membership and in the first years of membership.

David Harris—Executive Director of the American Jews Committee (AJC), which he has been managing since 1990. Named by Israeli President Shimon Peres as “the Foreign Minister of the Jewish people.” Harris participated in conferences and meetings at the most prestigious institutions in the world. Governments of countries such as Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Spain, Japan, Latvia, Moldova, Germany, Poland, Ukraine, and Italy have honored him seventeen times in total for his activities in defense of human rights, development of transatlantic relations, and defense of the Jewish people. He is an author of hundreds of papers, comments, open letters, and reviews in leading publishing houses and journals. His relations with Poland are important and close. AJC, led by David Harris, was the first Jewish American organization to establish contacts with Poland immediately after the fall of the Polish People's Republic. David Harris personally

supported Poland's efforts to join NATO and the Polish initiative to change the UNESCO name of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp to a German Nazi Extermination camp. He was the initiator and AJC was a partner of Poland in the reconstruction and commemoration of the German Nazi extermination camp in Bełżec. David Harris established the Jan Karski Award at AJC.

Ewa Junczyk-Ziomecka—President of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation. She is a lawyer and journalist, engaged in Polish-Jewish dialogue for many years. For five years (2001–2006) she was the Director of Development and Deputy Director of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw. She worked at the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, where from 2006 to 2010, first as Undersecretary, and then Secretary of State, she headed the Bureau of Social Initiatives. From 2010, for nearly five years, she served and the Consul General of the Republic of Poland New York.

Paweł Kowal, Professor—a political scientist, historian, publicist, and an expert on Eastern policy. Member of Polish Parliament. A Professor at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a researcher at the College of Europe in Nafolin. He is also a lecturer at the University of Warsaw. He was the Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a member of the National Security Council from 2006 to 2007. Paweł Kowal was a member of the European Parliament from 2009 to 2014, and a member of the EP Foreign Affairs Committee, and the head of the EU delegation to the EU–Ukraine Parliamentary Committee.

Dr. Peter F. Krogh—he was the Dean of the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington for 25 years (1970–1995), and he is considered the “second founder” of

the school, in which as a professor he lectured on international relations for 15 years. He moderated 200 episodes of PBS television programs and documentaries (one of which won an Emmy Award). He is also an author of the scientific trilogy entitled *Reflections on World Affairs and American Foreign Policy and Diplomacy*. His achievements were recognized by the governments of Austria and Germany, as well as by Georgetown University in Washington, which created a special scholarship of his name. Peter Krogh's *alma mater* the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University honored him with the Outstanding Leadership Award. Peter Krogh lives on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, where he wins fishing competitions from time to time; and in Georgetown, where he writes.

Robert Kupiecki, Professor—a diplomat, political scientist, professor at the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Warsaw. He was the Polish Ambassador in Washington from 2008 to 2012, then the Deputy Minister, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of National Defense (2012–2015). He was the Deputy Ambassador to NATO and the Western European Union from 1999 to 2004, and the director of the Department of Security Policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2004 to 2008. He specializes in international security issues. He is an author and co-author of several scientific monographs and over 200 papers on modern history and international relations as well as security issues. In 2012, he was honored with the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta for outstanding service in foreign service.

Roman Kuźniar, Professor—a diplomat, political scientist, professor of humanities, and a full professor at the University of Warsaw, head of the Department of Strategic Studies and International Security at the Faculty of Political Science and Internation-

al Studies at the University of Warsaw. He was a director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs from 2005 to 2007, and an advisor to the President of the Republic of Poland on international affairs from 2010 to 2015. He managed the Ministry of Planning and Analysis Department twice. Professor Kuźniar was also an editor-in-chief of *Rocznik Strategiczny*. Senator of the University of Warsaw from 2012 to 2020.

Georgette Mosbacher—the US Ambassador to Poland; an American entrepreneur and philanthropist. She was the managing director of Borghese Inc. based in New York from 2001 to 2005. In 2016, she was nominated by the US Senate to the American Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. Georgette Mosbacher has been actively involved in international affairs for several decades, both in private and public activities. Carrying out philanthropic activities, Georgette Mosbacher founded the New York Children’s Center to help juvenile victims of violence and their families residing in New York. She was also a member of the boards of numerous charity organizations providing support to veterans and their families.

Michał Mrożek—a graduate of the Georgetown University in Washington, a former student of Jan Karski. He is a President of the Management Board of HSBC Bank Polska S.A. Formerly Managing Director for Strategy and International Business in New York and Vice President of the Management Board of Citibank Handlowy in Warsaw. He is a member of the Board of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation and a philanthropist. For his contribution to promoting Poland on the international arena, he was awarded the *Bene Merito* Honorary Medal and the Bronze Cross of Merit for the development of the Polish banking market.

Stephen D. Mull—an American diplomat and academic lecturer, a Vice Rector for International Cooperation at the University of Virginia. He is a former US Ambassador to Poland (2012–2015) and Lithuania (2003–2006). He coordinated US diplomatic activities against Iran, managed crisis operations conducted by the State Department during the Russian–Georgian war in August 2008, and he conducted negotiations on issues related to US national defense. At the beginning of the US President Barack Obama’s term of office, he headed the Office of the Undersecretary of State for International Security and Arms Control. He was honored twice with the Presidential Meritorious Service Award for diplomatic service.

Katarzyna Pelczyńska-Nałęcz, PhD—a sociologist and political scientist, a specialist in Eastern European issues. She was the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland from 2012 to 2014, the Polish Ambassador to Russian Federation from 2014 to 2016. She was a member of the Polish–Russian Group for Difficult Matters from 2008 to 2012, and of the Steering Committee of the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum from 2009 to 2010. In 2016, she became the director of the Open Europe Program at the Batory Foundation, and then the director of the ideaForum, a think-tank pro publico bono of the Batory Foundation.

Andrzej Rojek—Chairman of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation in Chicago and Chairman of the Council of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation in Warsaw, Poland. He is one of the initiators of the creation of Jan Karski U.S. Centennial Campaign, and thanks to campaign’s actions it led to the award of Jan Karski to US President Barack Obama the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2012. Since 1986 he has held managerial functions in the

American and international financial sector. He sits among others in the Trusteeship Council of the Kościuszko Foundation in New York. He is involved in numerous philanthropic initiatives in Poland and the United States. In 2012, he was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland for his work for Jan Karski U.S. Centennial Campaign.

James P. Seevers, Professor—a director of studies and the Georgetown Leadership Seminar program at the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington. He is associated with the university since 2005, he previously worked in the US Department of State, where he dealt with international affairs, with particular emphasis on southern Asia, Europe, and Latin America.

Eugeniusz Smolar—a graduate of the Faculty of Sociology and Political Sciences at the University of Uppsala. He is an expert on international politics and security. He was a prisoner and political emigrant during the Polish People's Republic. He was a journalist and director of the Polish Section of the BBC Website in London (1975–1997). After returning to Poland from emigration, he was responsible for the program, the Vice President of the Management Board (1998–2002) and then the Program Director of the Polish Radio S.A. (2002–2004). He was the president of the Management Board of the Center for International Relations from 2005 to 2009, and the chairman of the Council of the Polish–Czech Forum at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He deals with the issues of European security (CFSP and ESDP), the future of NATO and transatlantic relations, eastern policy of Poland and the EU, Russia's internal and foreign policy, as well as human rights and the promotion of democracy.

Stanislaw Sulowski, Professor—a political scientist, the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies of the University of Warsaw. Since 2010, he has been managing the Political Analysis Center of the University of Warsaw. An editor-in-chief of the quarterly *Studia Politologiczne*, and an editor of the publishing series entitled *Studies in Politics, Security and Society* (by Peter Lang Verlag). He is a member of the Political Sciences Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He was a Polish Consul in Germany from 1991 to 1995, and a member of the Program Council of the Center Français de Berlin. His research interests include German issues, European integration, state and security studies.

Krzysztof Szczerski, Professor—Secretary of State, Head of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Poland, professor at the Jagiellonian University, and an associate at the Chancellery of the Prime Minister (1998–2001), and adviser to the Minister of Health in the field of European integration, regional health policy, and the healthcare system (1999–2000). He was the Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland from 2007 to 2008, and then in the Office of the Committee for European Integration. He was a member of the Civil Service Council at the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland (2009–2010), and a member of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (2011–2015). In January 2015, he became a representative of the Parliament in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. On August 7, 2015, he became the Secretary of State in the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Since April 4, 2017, he is the Secretary of State, Head of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Poland.

Maciej Wierzyński—a journalist and publicist. He began his professional career in 1961 in *Przegląd Kulturalny*. After it was shut down, he ended up in *Polityka*, and in 1965 he worked in *Kultura*, where in the 1970s he was a deputy editor-in-chief. At that time, he began working with Polish Television, first in the sports editorial office, and in 1981 in *Studio 2*. Released from TVP, he abandoned journalism and began working as a taxi driver. In 1984 he emigrated to the United States. He worked at the Polish radio station Free Europe in Munich and Washington from 1989 to 1994. For the next six years he managed the Polish section of the Voice of America in Washington, and *Nowy Dziennik* in New York from 2000 to 2005. He returned to Poland in 2005 and since then he is associated with TVN24, where he created the international magazine *Horyzont*. He is the author of the volume of conversations with Jan Karski entitled *The Emissary in His Own Words*.

Photos
from the Polish-American Conference
“The Great Power and Poland 1919–2019
The 100th Anniversary
of Polish–American Relations”

University of Warsaw
4 October 2019



Inauguration Ceremony of the Conference. From the left: Andrzej Rojek, Professor Marcin Pałys – Rector of the University of Warsaw, Minister Krzysztof Szczerski, Madam Ambassador Georgette Mosbacher, Ewa Junczyk-Ziomecka, Professor Stanisław Sulowski



Ewa Junczyk-Ziomecka – President of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation in Warsaw, Poland at the Inauguration Ceremony of the Conference



Daniel Przystek, Assistant Professor – an Associate Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies of the University of Warsaw, at the Inauguration Ceremony of the Conference



Piotr A.M. Cywiński – Director of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, at the Conference's Key Lecture



Distinguished Conference Guests. First row from the left:
Andrzej Rojek, Dean Peter Krogh, Ewa Junczyk-Ziomecka, Madam
Ambassador Georgette Mosbacher, and Minister Krzysztof Szczerski



Giving the *Spirit of Jan Kariski Award* to Dean Peter Krogh.
From the left: Andrzej Rojek, Michał Mrożek, Ewa Junczyk-Ziomecka,
and Dean Peter Krogh



After delivering the laudation in honor of the laureate.
From the left: Dean Peter Krogh and Stephen Mull



Dean Peter Krogh's speech



Distinguished Conference Guests



Participants of the first panel discussion.

From the left: Professor Robert Kupiecki, Professor James Seevers, Agnieszka Bieńczyk-Missala, Assistant Professor, Maciej Wierzyński, David Harris, and Jacek Stawiski



Participants of the first panel discussion.
From the left: Professor Robert Kupiecki, Professor James Seevers,
Agnieszka Bieńczyk-Missala, Assistant Professor,
and Maciej Wierzyński



Participants of the first panel discussion.
From the left: Professor Robert Kupiecki, Professor James Seevers,
Agnieszka Bieńczyk-Missala, Assistant Professor,
Maciej Wierzyński, and David Harris



Alumni of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation
at the Georgetown Leadership Seminar (GLS)
with Professor James Seevers—Director of the GLS program



Participants of the second panel discussion.
From the left: Daniel Fried, Professor Paweł Kowal, Dean Peter Krogh,
Eugeniusz Smolar, Katarzyna Pełczyńska-Nałęcz, Stephen Mull, and
Professor Roman Kuźniar



Participants of the second panel discussion.
From the left: Dean Peter Krogh, Eugeniusz Smolar, and Stephen Mull



Participants of the second panel discussion.
From the left: Eugeniusz Smolar, Katarzyna Pełczyńska-Nałęcz,
Stephen Mull, and Professor Roman Kuźniar



Our mission is to instill in people – especially youth – the values of leadership, courage and integrity, as exemplified by the life of Jan Karski.

Jan Karski (Jan R. Koziielewski, 1914–2000) – patron of the Jan Karski Educational Foundation and legendary emissary of the Polish Underground. After graduating in law and diplomacy at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv, he started working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland in 1939. Eight months later, on September 1, 1939 Hitler's Germany invaded Poland followed by the Soviet invasion on September 17. World War II broke out. Daring, devoted and endowed with a photographic memory, Karski was chosen to serve as emissary of the Polish Underground State, carrying messages to and from the Government in Exile. Risking his life, Karski collected information about the fate of the Jewish population in the Warsaw Ghetto and in the Nazi German transit camp in Izbica. As a result, he became a unique eye-witness to the horrors of the Holocaust and, following his escape to London, he was directed by his superiors in the Polish government to share his reports with the leaders of the free world. In the United States, Karski carried the first eyewitness account of the Holocaust to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, and other opinion leaders. In late 1944, he published the book entitled *Story of a Secret State* which became an instant bestseller but did little to affect Poland's already sealed fate.

After the end of World War II, Karski could not return to Poland. He settled in Washington, where he became a professor at Georgetown University, married Pola Nirenska, a dancer and disappeared from the public eye until the late seventies when Claude Lanzmann interviewed Karski for a monumental documentary series *Shoah*. In 1985, his opus magnum *The Great Powers and Poland 1919–1945: From Versailles to Yalta* appeared in the USA. The special edition of the work was published by Wydawnictwo Poznańskie on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Polish–American relations.



Jan Karski at Georgetown University in Washington, 1982. Photo: Carol Harrison. Photo publication courtesy of the Polish History Museum.

As the oldest international affairs school in the nation, School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington celebrated on 20 November 2019 100 years of service and commitment to the global community.

As part of the celebration Oscar-nominated actor David Strathairn starred in the world premiere solo production of *Remember This: The Lesson of Jan Karski*, which details the extraordinary journey of the Polish WWII resistance member, Holocaust witness and beloved SFS professor Jan Karski. Co-written by Derek Goldman and Clark Young, the play asks probing questions about the individual duty to bear witness and act justly.

The Jan Karski Educational Foundation in Warsaw makes efforts to present the performance in Poland in 2020.

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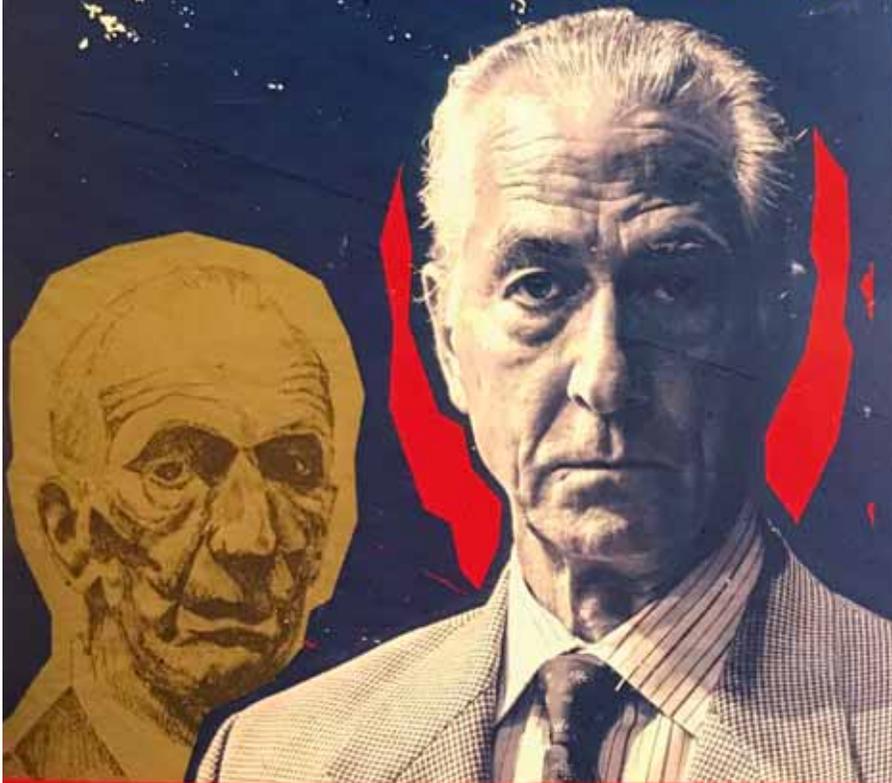
REMEMBER THIS: THE LESSON OF JAN KARSKI

BY CLARK YOUNG AND DEREK GOLDMAN
DIRECTED BY DEREK GOLDMAN

WORLD PREMIERE
SOLO PERFORMANCE

STARRING

OSCAR-NOMINATED ACTOR
DAVID STRATHAIRN
AS JAN KARSKI



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