



»»» Our Freedom  
& Yours  
EURO-ATLANTIC FORUM  
ON DEMOCRACY AND SECURITY

# Institute for Strategic Studies in Krakow

## 30 years of history





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# **Euro-Atlantic Forum on Democracy and Security: Our Freedom and Yours**

## **Krakow, September 10-11th, 2023**

The Euro-Atlantic Forum on Democracy and Security, the flagship event by the Institute for Strategic Studies in Krakow, Poland, in 2023 was held under the motto 'Our Freedom and Yours'. The forum also celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Institute for Strategic Studies Foundation (ISSF).

The issues addressed at the Forum concerned the identification and analysis of trends and changes affecting political systems in the Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Eurasian regions. Many of the developments are direct threat to the democratic constitutional order of states and the rules-based international order. The catalogue of threats is broad and includes authoritarian and populist tendencies, armed aggression, trade wars or aggressive disinformation, as well as sabotage and cognitive warfare by authoritarian states. The year 2022 was a turning point for the region – first and foremost, for the people of Ukraine attacked by

Russia, but also for European politics. The long-term effects of the war on Ukraine and the rest of the world are still unknown, but the war is undoubtedly affecting the international balance of power. The international order of the late post-Cold War era as we have known it is being redefined.

The Euro-Atlantic Forum on Democracy and Security: “Our Freedom and Yours” had two parts. The first part was a two-day international conference held on 10 and 11 September at the Auditorium Maximum of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. The second part was the School for Young Leaders, during which civil society representatives took part in seminars, workshops and study visits organised by the ISSF.

The Forum featured 11 panels focused on various developments that concern the condition of democracy in Poland, the region and the world. The first day focused on the issues of democracy. Anna Szymańska-Klich, Chairwoman of the ISSF, opened this part of the Forum with a keynote emphasizing how important it has been for the Institute to reflect on democracy in its various manifestations and civic education, addressed both to the citizens of Poland and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the thirty years of the Institute’s history. The Chairwoman emphasised the ISSF’s long-standing commitment to projects supporting the formation of Ukrainian and Belarusian civil society.

The first panel concerned political leadership in times of unrest, featuring: Hans-Gert Pöttering, former President of the European Parliament and former Head of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation; Agnieszka Turska-Kawa, who heads the Institute of Political Sciences at the University of Silesia; and Jerzy Baczyński – editor-in-chief of the *Polityka* weekly. Their discussion was moderated by Dorota Wysocka-Schnepf, a journalist from *Gazeta Wyborcza*. The moderator drew attention to the problem of political instability and the related crisis of trust in



authority. Hans-Gert Pöttering emphasised the importance of the concurrence of two aspects, political institutions and the credibility of politicians:

We, as Europeans, are not foreigners – we belong to the same political family, and the Lisbon Treaty is the basis of our beliefs, and the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which I had the honour of signing, is the basis of our values; everyone in the European Union has the right to criticise someone from outside their own country. I firmly believe that in the end the truth will prevail and we must resist campaigns based on fake news. You lose your conscience and credibility, and credibility is ultimately crucial in politics; it is credibility that ultimately wins<sup>1</sup>.

A slightly different root of instability was identified by Jerzy Baczyński. His emphasis was on the radically changing information ecosystem over the past decade:

We live in a world of social media, which involves a proliferation of news that has never been seen before, but also emotions and knee-jerk judgements. It also provides politicians with opportunities they did not have before; to reach voters directly, bypassing any filter or selection mechanism. We are seeing the effects of this in different countries, with varying degrees. What is perhaps the greatest challenge for leaders today is confronting populism, or the populist contagion that is sweeping across virtually all democratic systems.

Populism was precisely the topic of the second panel of the conference, chaired by Tok FM's editor Agnieszka Lichnerowicz.

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<sup>1</sup> The quotes referred to in the body are excerpts from speakers recorded during the Forum; courtesy: ISS.



Ed. Jerzy  
Baczyński,  
prof.  
Agnieszka  
Turska-Kawa

The panellists reflected on defining and understanding populism, cited among the most important contemporary challenges that are facing liberal democracies. The discussion on the long-term effects of populist political narratives was held among: Marjorie Castle of the University of Utah, Jarosław Kurski of Gazeta Wyborcza and Łukasz Fyderek of the Institute of Middle and Far East, Head of the Euro-Atlantic Forum on Democracy and Security: “Our Freedom and Yours” project. Łukasz Fyderek pointed out that populism, despite its negative connotations, is important for the evolution of political systems:

Populism is a mechanism for the replacement of the power elite. If it works, it ceases to be populism – the new elite phases out populist themes. We see this in Venezuela or in Turkey – the discourse of power is becoming less populist and more authoritarian.



Authoritarianism is different from populism. Populism can lead to authoritarianism, but authoritarianism is about building the authority of the new government, whereas populism is based on undermining trust in authority.

Prof. Agnieszka Tursocka-Kawa, Hans-Gert Pötinger, ed. Dorota Wysocka-Schnepf

The panellists agreed that populism takes different forms, depending on the cultural and institutional context. It has a different face in the US, under a rigid two-party system, and a different face in Europe. Jarosław Kurski analysed the European variant of populism:

The best example is the attempted takeover of the European Union by populist parties. Using all the democratic instruments it provides, with all its values, the EU could fall under the weight of European populism. [...] Firstly, we talk about the will of the people, as if

populists were legitimised to represent this will of the people. [...] This is pure sophism and usurpation and it must be made clear to us that they are not legitimised (to represent the people). The second caveat is that populism, as long as it operates within a democratic framework, always has existed and will exist.

The panel on the international consequences of Russia's invasion of Ukraine was a discussion. It was attended by General Ben Hodges, former US Army Europe Commander and NATO advisor, Camille Grand, former assistant Secretary General for NATO Defence Investments, General Jarosław Stróżyk, former Deputy Director of the NATO International Military Staff Intelligence Board, and Olena Tsybukh, Secretary General of the Ukrainian Embassy in Poland. The panel was moderated by Robert Pszczel, diplomat, analyst and former director of the NATO Information Office in Moscow. The moderator forwarded a thesis that "(...) 2022 was a turning point, first and foremost for the people of Ukraine invaded by Russia, but also for global politics. The long-term effects of the war on Ukraine and the rest of the world are still unknown, but the balance of power and the international order as we have known it are being redefined." The panellists proceeded on to analyse particular aspects of the Russian-Ukrainian war. General Ben Hodges drew attention to issues of military operations:

Ukraine is doing what NATO is doing, which is our doctrine, which is multi-domain operations. Land, air, sea, special forces, cyber, sabotage, and commando operations; all of these things are happening at the same time. I am reluctant to predict when they will finally break through the defences, but it is happening in a way that we would never ask a Polish, French or American soldier to do without total air superiority, and Ukraine is still making progress. Crimea is a decisive area – the Ukrainians intend to suppress the Russian



forces stationed there, make the area indefensible, then liberate it, and then it's over.

Camille Grand emphasised the international dimension of events and the effects of Russian aggression on the whole of Europe:

The argument that the world has changed needs to be repeated again and again. Depending on where you are in Europe, you can focus on a particular facet of this change. To assume that there is a 'return to the normal' scenario is misleading and wrong. Putin decided to literally destroy the European security architecture and it was a huge transformation. The violence of war, which is unprecedented since 1945, the war crimes – all this creates a new environment, and it is new that we cannot say, 'Ok, let's sign Minsk 3 or 4 to solve this issue'. There are other aspects besides Ukraine itself – the collapse

Dr. hab. Łukasz Fyderek,  
prof. Marjorie Castle,  
ed. Jarosław Kurski,  
ed. Agnieszka Lichnerowicz

of treaty-based security structures in Europe comes to mind – and here is no turning back. There is no longer a conventional forces treaty in Europe, there is no nuclear treaty – we are in a completely different environment.

Jarosław Stróżyk addressed issues concerning the coherence of NATO:

How to maintain a common perception of threat at NATO level? How do we maintain at this stage? There are two main NATO documents that concern with threat assessments, mainly political. [...] I propose to 'still-frame' these documents at this level, at this stage, for the next 10 years. We cannot afford to change our opinion of Putin in two months, a year or six months and return to even 10% of normal. Putin is an addict, and not an alcohol addict, like most Russians, but a war addict. We cannot let him come back to the European society after, say, six months of good behaviour. This will be a real challenge.

Diplomatic representative of the Ukrainian Embassy Olena Tsybukh pointed out the dramatic impact of the war on her country:

Let me remind you that this began in 2014 with the annexation of Crimea, not last February. The impact of the war in Ukraine? We have huge losses, for starters. 20% of Ukrainian territory is occupied. GDP shrank by 30%. Six million Ukrainians left the country and at least 11,000 civilians were killed. We have virtually no information from the occupied lands. Great challenges lie ahead after the war. Estimated losses will be \$411 billion, and this number are growing every day. We will have to deal with a demographic crisis. Pessimistic forecasts say that the population could shrink to 24 million, down from 38 million before the war. We will have to deal with environmental challenges and mine clearing, because as much as one third





of Ukraine could be mined. This remarkable unity of Ukrainians, who stand together like never before, makes the country one body. David can defeat Goliath. This war has dropped the veil of things that we had not noticed or had not wanted to notice before. Russia's true essence as an authoritarian or totalitarian regime is that of a prominent liar, violator of every possible international obligation, war criminal and terrorist. The second factor revealed is the ineffectiveness of existing security mechanisms. It is the defects of the world order orchestrated after the Second World War.

Gen. Ben Hodges,  
gen. Jarosław Stróżyk,  
Camille Grand, Olena Tsymbuk,  
moderator Robert Pszczel

The panel on civil society and polarisation featured Jakub Wygnański, Chairman of the Board of the Unit for Research and

Social Innovation “Stocznia”; David Gregosz, who heads the Polish branch of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and Akkan Suver, President of the Marmara Group Foundation. The discussion was moderated by Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, Associate Professor of Political Science and Political Philosophy at the Institute of Political Science and International Relations, Vice-Dean for Research and International Cooperation of the Faculty of International and Political Studies at the Jagiellonian University. Among other things, the professor highlighted the issue of the growing role of civil society in the balance of power and authority in all regions of the world, including the dimension of combating increasing polarisation. David Gregosz agreed with the thesis: “I am absolutely convinced that civil societies are important to overcome polarisation. Civil societies are people who need spaces, platforms and resources to come together, especially NGOs, think tanks and the private sector.”

Intriguing observations were shared by Jakub Wygnański. He pointed out the ambiguity of the phenomenon of civil society and its relation to democracy:

There resounds in this question some hope for civil society as a panacea for these problems we are talking about here. I am a veteran of this environment, so I can say that civil society is a part of the solution and part of the problem. It is a term that came back into favour somewhere in the late 1970s and was our main banner during the period of transition. It described the goal and the method we wanted to reach a civil society. It later turned out that we have something a bit different in mind when we think about civil society. It is certainly more than a collection of institutions, of which there are many. It is a wobbly hypothesis to think that the more institutions there are, the stronger civil society we have. There are different institutions, civic or historical, and many of us are afraid, recollecting with trepidation that history has not ended at all, it wants to repeat itself. The Weimar





Republic certainly had the most organisations and associations. The question is which ones a civil society is about. Some teach diversity, others teach how ‘garrison’ a civil society.

Day two of the forum, primarily focused to security issues, began with a speech by Mark Brzezinski, the US Ambassador to Poland. The US Ambassador stressed the importance of 1 September, a symbolic date for American society, and spoke about the lessons learned from the events which followed 9/11. He also outlined the issues discussed in the following panels. The US Ambassador reflected on the challenges facing democracy and security.

Dr. Akkan Suver, Jakub Wygnański, David Gregosz, moderator prof. Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves



The Ambassador of the USA in Poland Mark Brzezinski

The panel on Ukraine, NATO and rivalry of great powers featured: Dominik Jankowski, Advisor in the Cabinet of NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, Rolf Nickel, Vice President of the German Council on Foreign Relations and the Deutsches Polen-Institut and former Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Poland, and Eugeniusz Smolar, former President of the Centre for International Relations. The speakers discussed the historical context, current events and potential scenarios concerning the current situation of Ukraine and the rest of the world. The discussion was moderated by Ambassador Urszula Gacek, former Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe and Consul General in New York. The moderator noted that “(...) the long-term outcomes and consequences of Russia’s aggression against Ukraine are still unknown, but we can identify some important trends that relate to this critical moment for

the future of the international order and institutions.” The issue of trends within NATO was addressed by Dominik Jankowski:

NATO is back – this is the biggest and most important news for the eastern flank. If you look closely at what we agreed in 2022 in the New Strategic Concept, for the first time collective defence is the overarching goal of everything we do, through collective security, crisis prevention and so on. Every action we take leads to a collective defence. My second point is this: NATO is not the fastest organisation I have ever seen, but when NATO decides to do something, implementation is key. In 2022, after the Russian aggression, we decided to shift our focus from the eastern flank to defence. This is a concept that we have already implemented in the past in NATO. To put it into perspective, what we are doing now – ahead of the next summit in July 2024 in Washington – the 75th anniversary of the NATO – is to consolidate it for defence and provide it a concrete, tangible, measurable military deployment on the eastern flank. [...] The most difficult part of the discussion is Ukraine’s future membership in NATO.

The German perspective on the panel was presented by Ambassador Rolf Nikel:

I want to emphasise that German foreign policy has completely changed since 2022. We have made huge mistakes in our relations with Russia. What we did wrong was, first and foremost, that we tried to keep our business relationships. We thought we could separate this relationship from the difficult situation in Russia, oppression and the like. We thought we could democratise Russian society. Oh, the hubris! The second thing is that we also thought we could somehow influence Russia’s increasingly aggressive foreign policy. We thought that such a relationship, a business relationship, could alleviate this. Thirdly, we have allowed ourselves to become

dependent on Russian energy exports to an extent that, in retrospect, is totally unacceptable. Last February, Germany was more than 50% dependent on Russian gas. Now, thank goodness, this dependency has been reduced to zero. The fourth point is that we have also tried to view relations with countries on NATO's eastern borders from the perspective of Moscow. Not looking enough through the perspective of Ukraine or others. So yes, things have changed now. We are not going to return to the normal.

Eugeniusz Smolar provided a broader, global perspective on the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. He pointed to the countries of the Global South:

[These countries] refuse to condemn Russia's aggression against Ukraine, refuse to buy into the concept of a new Cold War with

Moderator  
amb. Urszula  
Gacek,  
Dominik  
Jankowski,  
amb. Rolf  
Nikel,  
Eugeniusz  
Smolar



China, and refuse to buy into President Biden's proposal for the struggle between autocracies and democracies; this is the result of historical experience, not only their national interests and a very pragmatic understanding of their national interests, but also the experience with American policy in the past. I am talking mainly about the disaster that was the war in Iraq, instigated by the Europeans, but with the support – quite reluctant one – of Obama for the war in Libya, today a failed state and a spawning ground of destabilisation throughout the region. This uncertainty has been an incredibly painful experience with President Trump. It is still being discussed around the world today because of how he can become re-elected as the President of the United States, or something Trump-like that could re-emerge in the US presidency. The formation of an expanded group of uninvolved states led by India should be given great importance. They form the framework of the next structure of international relations. The USA and the European Union have learnt from this, the best evidence of which is [...] that the G20 final communication did not include a harsh condemnation of Russia as an aggressor.

A panel on defending the rules-based order against neoimperialism featured: Dominique David, Advisor to the Chairman of IFRI, editor-in-chief of “Politique étrangère” and Deputy Director of RAMSES; Daniel Fried, former US Ambassador to Poland and Weiser Family Distinguished Fellow at the Atlantic Council; Bogdan Klich, Senator of the Republic of Poland, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and European Union Committee of the Polish Senate, and former Minister of National Defence of the Republic of Poland; and Alena Kudzko, Vice President for Policy and Programming at GLOBSEC. The panel was moderated by Piotr Łukasiewicz, former Polish Ambassador to Afghanistan and analyst at Polityka Insight. The panel outlined subjects concerning the new geopolitical dynamic and its relationship to the



international rules-based order, in particular the topics of sovereignty, international cooperation and diplomacy.

Dominique David emphasised the epoch-making significance of the war in Ukraine to the international political system:

The Russian invasion on Ukraine is a symbol of Russian aggressiveness and the evolution of the international system. We are experiencing the end of the post-Cold War era, we are experiencing the end of Western domination, we are experiencing the end of a kind of international consensus, a kind of rules-based order. The understanding of the importance of multilateralism on Ukraine and Russia was absolutely absent, both globally and regionally. The failure of Western dominance, its weak image, began at the beginning of this century with Iraq through Libya through Afghanistan, and so on. The importance of multilateralism and the failure of Western domination are creating a world in which the affirmation of the national interest is increasingly evident, with the emergence of new powers. Russia's move fits into this landscape. There is a specificity to Russian imperialism; still, it is taking place at a very specific time of change in the world. I think this is the opening of a new era for Russia, Ukraine and Europe, as well as for the whole world.

The internal determinants of the Russian state's foreign policy were analysed by Daniel Fried:

We should not assume that Putin is there forever. What has the last 40 years of Russian history given us? Not continuity, but discontinuity. It is possible that Putin will be discredited after Russia's defeat. Someone might say that it could get worse after Putin. Well, yes, but what is worse than Putin? Secondly, when Stalin died, who replaced him? Not the liberals. It was evil people. But what did they do then? They ended the Korean War and prepared the

ground for an Austrian state treaty; why did they do it? Because they understood that Russia was overstretched. Our policy should be to squeeze Russia hard. Using sanctions and support for Ukraine. Push Russia hard, because it is a threat to Ukraine, to the Baltic States, to Poland, to all of us. Push Russia hard, help Ukraine to become a thriving democracy, and that can have a good effect on Russia. You want to defend a rules-based order against neoimperialism – then deal with the one neoimperialist who is currently the most aggressive.

Bogdan Klich raised the issue of the overall vision of the international security system promoted by NATO:

Amb. Piotr Łukasiewicz, Dominique David, former USA amb. to Poland, Daniel Fried, Senator of the Republic of Poland, Bogdan Klich, Alena Kudzko



The cooperative security model was blown up by Russia's first invasion of Ukraine in 2014. I start with this security model because it is such an export product of NATO, realised since the 1990s as a kind of shield, an umbrella that was supposed to ensure stability, security, and peace, but also to secure this rules-based order as enshrined in the Preamble of the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty signed in Washington. I have to say that it was somewhat of a paradox that this order, which assumed that cooperation was better than confrontation, that dialogue was better than conflict, that this order was only included so late in the conceptual documents of NATO. It was only venerated in 2010 in the strategic concept and now, by yet another paradox, reiterated when it was repeatedly violated by the Russian Federation. I say this cooperative security model because NATO stands by it. NATO believes that the model has a future, but NATO has to recognise what everyone recognises – that the region in which these rules apply and are secured is much smaller now than it was before.

The speakers of the panel on the changing contexts of European integration and security were: Roland Freudenstein, Vice President and Head of GLOBSEC Brussels, Werner Fasslabend, former Defence Minister of Austria, and Michał Baranowski, Managing Director of GMF East and Regional Director in Poland. The discussion was moderated by Artur Gruszcak, Professor at Faculty of International and Political Studies and Chair in National Security of the Jagiellonian University. In concluding the discussion, the moderator pointed out the changes that have occurred in the public discourse on security issues:

In recent years, public discourse has increasingly returned to traditional security subjects, including the rivalry of great powers. At the same time, especially since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, notions of 'security' and 'integration' have also begun to





lose relevance in areas like as economic and healthcare policy. In migration policy, the most pronounced change, especially since the refugee crisis in 2015, is the militarisation of borders in Europe, in particular the militarisation of the EU's external border.

Prof. Artur Gruszcak,  
dr. Roland Freudenstein,  
dr. Werner Fasslabend,  
Michał Baranowski

The panel on NATO's challenges with China featured Alicja Bachulska, an expert from the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), Robert Pszczel, a diplomat, analyst and former Director of the NATO Information Office in Moscow from 2010 to 2015, and Marcin Przychodniak, an analyst from the Polish Institute of International Affairs. The panel was moderated by Adrian Brona from the Institute of the Middle and Far East at the Jagiellonian University. The panellists concluded that China's

aggressive policy in the East Asian region was formally recognised as a systemic challenge to NATO values, interests and security. Russia's aggression in Ukraine has caused the West to take a different view of a rising China. This has not completely erased the perception of China as a formidable economic rival and a potential buyer of European products, services and technology, as well as a possible investor. However, Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine and China's pro-Russian stance in recent months have somewhat reshaped the perception of the Asian superpower among European elites.

The final panel of the conference, addressing the issue of the Grand Strategy for Poland, featured: Piotr Buras, Director of the Warsaw office of the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), Łukasz Fyderek, fellow at the Jagiellonian University's Institute for the Middle East and Far East and Head of the Euro-Atlantic Forum on Democracy and Security project, Piotr Łukasiewicz, former Polish Ambassador to Afghanistan, analyst of Polityka Insight, and Karolina Olszowska, lecturer at Jagiellonian University, President of the Institute for Turkish Studies. The outset of the panel was the observation that the concept of Grand Strategy has recently become the dominant framework for the interpretation and analysis of foreign and security policy. The Grand Strategy for Poland and other countries on the eastern flank must combine both the expansion of defence forces against conventional and hybrid threats and multilateral security arrangements within NATO and the EU.

Piotr Buras analysed the Polish potential Grand Strategy in the context of the *raison d'état*:

We had a certain civilisational goal after '89, the goal of anchoring Poland in the Western world, also as a certain guarantee of security against Russia, and this goal was achieved at this level. The question at the moment is where the next objective is, where this

next challenge is. What is a real challenge for Poland is not the formulation of some new Grand Strategy, a new long-range objective that will galvanize our efforts in terms of security, technology and the economy. This Grand Strategy brings all these aspects together. I think what is the key challenge today is to respond to the changes that are taking place in the EU. We entered it at a certain point in our development, our transformation and modernisation. For a number of years, the EU was perfectly suited to our civilisational and modernisation needs. The question is whether we will be able to use these opportunities for European integration in the same way in the next 10, 15 or 20 years and in what direction we want to shape the Union. If we look at the main EU policies, there are a lot of these dilemmas. I would not be looking for a Grand Strategy for Poland as it is defined in academic textbooks, but I would rather be looking for a certain strategy of presence in the Union and perhaps more broadly, in the whole Western or transatlantic system, with a conviction that this remains the anchor which is unchangeable and for which we should not look for an alternative.

Łukasz Fyderek highlighted the importance of a comparative perspective in building for the Grand Strategy:

The Grand Strategy and its overall objectives focus on security. If we have a main objective – survival – then the strategy is something a little more specific, meaning the ‘how’ of achieving the objective. For Poland, it necessarily focuses on the greatest threat, namely Russia. In this spirit, it is worth monitoring the actions of the major powers, but not to follow them. The grand strategies of Washington, Moscow, or Beijing, are those of countries with a superpower perspective. Our optics are not and will not be those of a superpower, but we must find our way in a world of international relations shaped by great powers. Let us also remember the role of learning in politics. Note that Moscow studies various events and builds its

own strategies and tactics according to the lessons learnt from other areas of conflict in which it engages. The Russians have heated up the conflict in Syria very intensively and have brought about something that is beneficial from their point of view, namely the weakening of NATO cohesion, while winning over Turkish fears and ambitions very effectively. This had been led to by the open warfare raging just across the Turkish border. The Turkish experience in this regard is worth studying carefully. The research tool for this is comparative political science. It helps to lay out strategies, including the grand strategy of the state, allows us to learn from the mistakes of others and get a slightly better grasp of how our main adversaries think.

Piotr Łukasiewicz pointed out the dilemmas involved in translating general theses into operational planning practice in the event of conflict with Russia:

On the posters are the words: 'Polish Security.' What is more difficult, is how to get there. It's the little dilemmas that are sometimes interesting, sometimes boring. The first dilemma is a typically military one, and which happened to be the foundation of some fateful political dispute in Poland; namely, 'Where to defend ourselves?'. On the Vistula line, like Napoleon, Hitler and others? Which is where the armies coming from the west or the east need to stop? Should we defend every inch of territory, as Biden says, while Antoni Macierewicz says to move units to the East, because of what happened in Bucha... A dilemma arises; we know what the war with Russia is about; it's Russia gathering 100,000 troops, 2,000 tanks and a hundred helicopters, and strikes after six months. So what should we do? Should we start bombing air strips, storage depots and staging areas in Belarus already? Are we supposed to let them attack first, as NATO's doctrine is a defensive one, not that of an aggressor? Such ruminations are mostly classified, being



tucked away in the armoured safes at the NATO HQ. There are these kinds of dilemmas which are military strategies. Whether the Grand Strategy or something else, this is the *raison d'état*. The EU and NATO are Poland's reason of state and bulwark against war with Russia. Being here is not enough. Poland needs to contribute and develop Europe. Poland needs to stick to the rules. It also means keeping the U.S. presence on the European continent or in Poland. That is, to harness the economic potential of our own. It is economics, demographics, finances and so on, to make defence purchases where it pays off for us politically, not 12,000 kilometres away, in a country to which we have no strategic ties. Each of these issues opens up a field of conversation where even the concept of a Grand Strategy, even at times ridiculous, has interesting features.

Robert Pszczel,  
dr. hab. Łukasz Fydelek,  
dr. Karolina Wanda Olszowska,  
amb. Piotr Łukasiewicz,  
Piotr Buras

Concluding the conference, Łukasz Fyderek thanked the panellists, the audience and the organising committee, as well as the volunteers helping to organise the event. Fyderek stressed the importance of rethinking the issues of freedom and security. They are among the most essential tasks for *think tanks*, media and policy researchers in democratic countries.

Freedom and security are tied to each other not only on an abstract level, as two overly desirable values for the individual. They are also tied at the political level, in the 2020s, in which the systemic rivalry between powers is also a clash between autocracies and democracies. In this clash, the autocracy's advantage comes from its ability to influence the discourse of open societies, through social media manipulation, disinformation and other forms of cognitive warfare. Moreover, Russia has demonstrated that, despite its weaknesses, an authoritarian regime can attack its neighbours and pursue neoimperialist policies. The Russian regime has proved relatively immune to the negative consequences affecting Russian society. The near-complete impunity of the waning Russian power is ensured by its nuclear arsenal and Russia's position as a power exporting energy and materials. Not surprisingly, other potential powers, like Iran or even weak states such as North Korea, seek to acquire a nuclear arsenal as a guarantee of impunity in foreign policy.

In such conditions, the community of democratic states is faced with the task of defending the freedom of its citizens against the risk factors affecting societies, from polarisation, atomisation, xenophobic tendencies to fascist ideologies expressed by far-wing parties and social movements. However, democratic states must also defend their sovereignty against kinetic threats, coming today mainly from Russia, but also from Iran, or from fundamentalist terrorist movements. Western countries must operate in a systemic economic competition with an undemocratic China seeking to dominate sector after sector of the global





economy. The freedom and security of citizens, on the other hand, can only be ensured by efficient states with civil societies sensitive to the threats. It means states that can co-operate in both the economic and security fields.

At the conference – in front, former German Ambassador to Poland Rolf Nikel, Falk Altenberger of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation





# The Foundation

## – International Centre for the Development of Democracy (MCRD)

The Institute for Strategic Studies (originally the International Centre for Development of Democracy Foundation) was born out of passion, out of curiosity and out of a sense that a changing and jittery world presents challenges that cannot be left unreflected. Thirty years ago, the ‘Empire of Evil’ was collapsing. The Soviet Union came down, an independent Belarus and Ukraine emerged, Yugoslavia bloodily disintegrated and Czechoslovakia ceased to exist. The Middle East was riddled with conflict and unrest, while in Europe Ireland focused attention and anxiety about the future of the island, which was constantly struggling with extremism. In the United States, the election was won by Democratic candidate Bill Clinton.

Thirty years ago, the generation that created the Institute had dreams. We wanted to bring our country into the family of democratic European countries, and to ensure its future and its security with the accession to the North Atlantic Alliance, NATO. Our dream was a secure, democratic, well-organised, self-governing



Prof. Leszek  
Balcerowicz  
i Władysław  
Frasyniuk

Poland with a strong civil society. We dreamt of a Poland with good laws. We joined the debate on the new Constitution. We would work on standards to position us well within the structures of the European Union. We reflected on Poland's place in NATO. We pursued our dreams very consistently. Although difficult to imagine today – due to the reputation of this institution today – but the first objective achieved was Poland's membership in the Council of Europe<sup>2</sup>.

The MCRD Foundation was established in 1993 by the Jagiellonian University, the Academy of Economics and Bogdan Klich. The Foundation Council included: Władysław Bartoszewski, Leszek

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<sup>2</sup> Anna Szymańska-Klich, excerpt from the opening speech on the 30th anniversary of the ISS; courtesy: ISS.



Balcerowicz, Wiesław Chrzanowski, Bronisław Geremek, Marian Grzybowski, Aleksander Hall, Jerzy Jedlicki, Krzysztof Kozłowski, Józef Lassota, Jan Małecki, Jerzy Mikułowski-Pomorski, Jerzy Milewski, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Andrzej Olechowski, Andrzej Pelczar, Zbigniew Pucek, Paweł Sarnecki, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, Zygmunt Skórzyński, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Jerzy Turowicz, Edward Wende, and Janusz Ziółkowski.

Mecenas  
Edward  
Wende,  
Senator of  
the Republic  
of Poland  
Krzysztof  
Kozłowski

An International Honorary Council of the Foundation was also established, including: Andrzej Olechowski – Chairman (former Polish Foreign Minister), Zbigniew Brzeziński (former international security adviser to President Jimmy Carter), Valéry Giscard d’Estaing (former president of France), Hans-Dietrich Genscher (former Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany), and Henry A. Kissinger (former US Secretary of State).



Prof. Zbigniew  
Brzeziński  
with Insti-  
tute's crew



MP Bogdan  
Klich,  
amb. Piotr  
Ogrodziński,  
dr. Henry  
Kissinger

At the time, the Foundation's support was provided by NATO, the European Parliament, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Batory Foundation, Bank Przemysłowo-Handlowy, BIG Bank Gdański, Bank Handlowy, and PHARE funds. The Foundation established partnerships with a number of institutions and foundations operating in Poland, including the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the Ebert Foundation, and the Nauman Foundation. The Institute is linked to the Adenauer Foundation by a partnership that has lasted 30 years and bore many joint projects. Other important partners include: The German Marshall Fund, the National Endowment for Democracy, the US Consulate in Krakow, the US Embassy in Poland, and the French Consulate in Krakow.





# First conferences and the road to research work

The Foundation is an impressive display of the Polish dynamism and vigour unleashed in 1989. It is the fruit of regained freedom. I admire how much has been created here from nothing<sup>3</sup>.

In 1993, the Foundation initiated its technical operations with the Conference “Nowe Wyzwania – Nowa Odpowiedzialność” (New Challenges – New Responsibilities). The conference focused on the first phase of Polish-Ukrainian relations. It was attended by the then ambassador and later Foreign Minister of Ukraine, Hennadiy Udovenko. Hennadiy Udovenko described the conference as one of the most important events in the early days of independent Ukraine.

In the following years, large international conferences became the trademark of the MCRD Foundation: in October 1993, the conference “Razem czy osobno” (Together or Apart), heralded deeper cooperation within the Visegrad Group, followed by the Polish-Russian conference, one of the most important events at the time

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<sup>3</sup> Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, excerpt from the speech at Institute conference, 1993; courtesy: ISS.

Siergiej  
Kowalow –  
human rights  
activist in  
Russia –  
Krakow, 1995



Jacek Kuroń





of the development of new Polish-Russian relations, with the participation of the then foreign ministers Andrei Kozyrev and Andrzej Olechowski. Subsequent major conferences, “Wolne Media dla Europy” (Free Media for Europe) and “Ekologia, Demokracja, Wolny rynek” (Ecology, Democracy, and Free Market), bringing together the most prominent thinkers, experts, and politicians, served to exchange experiences and define barriers to transformation processes. In turn, the international conference “Od komunizmu do demokracji” (From Communism to Democracy) in 1995 recapitulated the main trends in the processes of structural transformations laying the groundwork for a free market economy and the development of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe.

Conferences were an important part of the Institute’s tasks, but the Founders decided to expand its operations to include a practical and research dimension, aimed at gathering knowledge about European and Euro-Atlantic integration processes, democratic institutions, as well as economic and financial transformation processes.

Inauguration of the Centre for European Studies with the participation of sen. Krzysztof Kozłowski, Tadeusz Syryjczyk, ed. Jerzy Turowicz, prof. Bronisław Geremek



# Milestones

## – The 1997 Constitution, Poland's accession to NATO, and the EU accession referendum

The Foundation came at a time when Poland was facing the most important challenges of a country rebuilding its identity after Communism and in a changing world. Poland had to enact a constitution defining the political system and ensure that it left the security grey zone; hence, the move towards NATO. Poland was striving to become part of the family of European countries, to which it had always belonged culturally, but from which it had been removed involuntarily by post-war world-shaping decisions and could not return for decades due to political circumstances. What was happening at the Institute was synchronised with the pace of the state's life. The Foundation was home to the Centre for Constitutional Work, the Centre for European Studies and the Centre for Eastern Policy. The Depository Library of the Council of Europe, which collects materials on the work of the Council, which Poland joined in 1991, was the first institution of its kind in Poland.

At that time, the Institute was developing projects and programs that brought us closer to achieving our goals: the adoption of the Constitution, accession to NATO and the European Union<sup>4</sup>.

Individual tasks were carried out through expert seminars, conferences and research programs. The Foundation was home to the Centre for Constitutional Work, the Centre for European Studies and the Centre for Eastern Policy. The Institute would publish:

- ▶ “Zeszyty”, the proceedings presenting materials from seminars and conferences
- ▶ Studies and analyses, or research project reports
- ▶ Books with reports and materials from international conferences
- ▶ “Ad Meritum”, a magazine published twice a year.

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<sup>4</sup> Anna Szymańska-Klich, excerpt from the speech on the 30th anniversary of the ISS; courtesy: ISS.



Instytut  
Studiów  
Strategicznych

# Udział USA w systemie bezpieczeństwa europejskiego



Instytut  
Studiów  
Strategicznych

# Raport o bezpieczeństwie 2000

Studia i analizy

# 10



Instytut  
Studiów  
Strategicznych

Die Stiftung für Europa und  
Friedrich Naumann

Stiftung

Rola Niemiec i Polski  
w kształtowaniu polityki UE  
wobec Ukrainy i Białorusi



Instytut  
Studiów  
Strategicznych

Europa i Stany Zjednoczone  
- nowe partnerstwo





Instytut  
Studiów  
Strategiczných

Instytut Studiów Strategicznych

Idee dla

i b



# Institute for Strategic Studies Foundation

Changes in NGO funding have led to a transformation of the Foundation's structures. All Centres have been merged into the Institute for Strategic Studies. It was then that the Institute's most important areas of interest in Polish foreign policy emerged: Poland's integration into the European Union, Poland's Eastern policy and Euro-Atlantic security.

In June 1997, the Institute for Strategic Studies was established as a specialised research facility of the MCRD Foundation, and in October 2001 the Foundation changed its name to the **Institute for Strategic Studies**.





# Key ISS research programs and developments in Poland and around the world

We created the Centre for European Studies, the Centre for Constitutional Work, and the Centre for Eastern Policy. We developed projects and programs that would first induce us into the regimen of European work and then provide us with an opportunity to use our know-how and share it with our neighbours. The Institute's work for our friends in Ukraine and Belarus is a very long and immensely impressive chapter. We created strategies for them, we worked with the Belarusian opposition and our friends from Ukraine, and we did training and projects. During the Orange Revolution and after the events in the Maidan, we had visitors from Ukraine. "You know, I looked at the members of the government that was formed in the Maidan. Many of them have been in training with you, so how did that happen?", we were asked. Because the Institute, as Jan Nowak Jeziorański used to say had reflexes, a flair, reacted to what was happening around it, gave people hope, and provided knowledge, because without knowledge, we are helpless. The transfer of knowledge for our friends from across the eastern border was extremely



Jan  
Nowak-Jezio-  
rański, prof.  
Zbigniew  
Brzeziński,  
MP Bogdan  
Klich,  
prof. Erhard  
Cziomer,  
dr. Piotr  
Górski

important to us. We also worked with people from Moldova and Georgia. We had the idea of repaying the debt incurred when we entered the EU, when we were helped to rebuild Polish democracy. To collaborate, to talk, to support the idea of building civil societies, institutions of self-government, independent centres that debate, that can talk to all participants in social and political life – this is classic think-tank DNA. This is the DNA of the Institute, which has always made space for everyone to meet, and everyone to talk to everyone<sup>5</sup>.

The history of the ISS is inextricably linked to the course of events in Poland, the region and the world, as reflected in the

<sup>5</sup> Anna Szymańska-Klich, excerpt from the speech on the 30th anniversary of the ISS; courtesy: ISS.



list of guests participating in conferences, expert seminars and debates. Among our long-standing friends, we should mention Zbigniew Brzeziński, one of the brain-fathers of the Institute and also a member of its International Honorary Council. In 2004, Zbigniew Brzeziński received a medal from Bogdan Klich, for the Foundation's tenth anniversary. Other of our oldest friends who are also on the Foundation's Council include Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Bronisław Geremek, Leszek Balcerowicz, Andrzej Olechowski, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, and Władysław Bartoszewski.

ISS conferences have been attended by Polish presidents, including Lech Wałęsa, Bronisław Komorowski and Aleksander Kwaśniewski, presidents of other countries – such as Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili and Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves – as well as other senior diplomats from many

Bishop Tadeusz  
Pieronek,  
former Polish  
Foreign Minister  
dr. Andrzej  
Olechowski,  
prof. Bronisław  
Geremek

countries, including Prince Edward, who attended the 2004 Polish-British-French seminar. The Institute hosted the Presidents of the European Parliament, Jerzy Buzek and Hans Gert Pöttering.

Since the Foundation's inception, international security projects have been carried out in close cooperation with NATO HQ and each conference has been attended by senior NATO representatives, including NATO Secretaries General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, and Deputy Secretaries General Sandy Vershbow, James Appathurai and Camille Grand.

## **"Poland in the European Union"**

The objectives of one of the main research programs of MCRD, and later of the Institute for Strategic Studies, was "Poland in the European Union" (*Polska w Unii Europejskiej*), which changed with the historical decisions that were made in Warsaw and Brussels. Poland established cooperation with the European Economic Community (the predecessor of the EU) soon after the fall of Communism. Already in September 1989, our authorities signed the first trade and cooperation agreement with the EEC. In 1994, Poland formally applied to join the European Union. The negotiations began in 1997. It was then that MCRD prepared the first public debate on Poland's road to European structures.

The initial task of the program was to assess the course of the accession negotiations and to identify the problems that arose on Poland's road to the EU. International conferences, seminars and debates focused on considerations of how to overcome the barriers, the dynamics of the adaptation process, as well as negotiation strategies and tactics. In addition, the Institute worked on preparing Polish civil society for the absorption of EU funds. After Poland's accession to the EU, the program addressed common





areas of cooperation, analysis of the course of EU integration processes, events on the history of the Treaties of Rome, *etc.*

The negotiations were led by Jan Kułakowski from 1997 to 2001, followed by Jan Truszczyński from 2001 to 2004. During this time, the ISS held a number of conferences, expert seminars and debates. These events served not only to create a platform for communication with our neighbours, as in the case of the April 1998 conference “Stan przygotowań Polski, Czech, Węgier, Estonii i Słowenii do negocjacji z UE” (The state of preparation of Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia and Slovenia for negotiations with the EU), but also to exchange knowledge. Attendees had the opportunity to do so, among other things, in 1999 during the conference “Doświadczenia Austrii, Finlandii, Szwecji i Norwegii a proces przystąpienia Polski do Unii Europejskiej” (Experiences of Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway and the Process of Polish Accession to the European Union).

Meeting  
of the pro-  
gramme  
council,  
11 November  
1994



Ed. Leopold  
Unger,  
Jan Nowak-  
Jeziorański

In 2000, the Treaty of Nice was signed, which defined how the EU would operate after the admission of ten new members. The Institute prepared three international events that year on the subject of the EU's external relations after the expansion. Later, the debates also extended to issues of economic integration or the introduction of the European currency.

The negotiations were successfully concluded at the Copenhagen Summit, 13 December 2002. Another year was to determine whether the Poles would accept the agreed terms of EU membership. It was a busy time for the ISS, with two international conferences on the EU Accession Treaty and the Copenhagen Summit and a dozen smaller events.

While preparations for the crucial EU accession referendum were underway, ISS held a series of seminars on the event, including "Jak



wygrać, jak przegrać referendum narodowe w sprawie przystąpienia do UE” or “Być albo nie być w Unii Europejskiej” (How to win and how to lose the national referendum on EU accession; To be or not to be in the European Union). These years go down in the Institute’s history as a period of extraordinary activity. The ISS tried to reach as many people as possible, from seminars and conferences to meetings with young people and senior citizens in care homes. The objective of all these activities were to build awareness about the European Union. This was reflected in a publication published by the Institute for Strategic Studies in 2003: *102 powody dla których Polska powinna wstąpić do Unii Europejskiej* (102 reasons why Poland should join the European Union).

On 7 and 8 June 2003, 77.45% of Poles participating in the referendum supported accession to the European Union. Poland

NATO Secretary General  
Jaap de Hoop  
Scheffer and  
Polish Foreign  
Minister  
Radosław  
Sikorski,  
ISS Conference,  
Krakow 2009



became a Member State on 1 May 2004 during the biggest expansion in the EU's history – along with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Malta, and Cyprus.

Since then, the main objectives of the ISS program “Poland in the European Union” have changed. After the successful EU accession referendum, ISS focused on the issues of Poland's first steps in European structures. Already in spring 2004, it prepared three debates relating to the EU Constitutional Treaty, the weighted voting system in the Council of the European Union and the Polish representation in the European Parliament.

In later years, the ISS began to study and analyse developments not only in Poland, but also in the European Union as a whole. On 25 April 2005, Bulgaria and Romania signed the Accession Treaty in Luxembourg and joined the EU on 1 January 2007. Much attention was paid to the issues of the Lisbon Treaty, which entered into force on 1 December 2009 after its ratification. In 2008 and 2009, the ISS organised the 1st and 2nd European Policy Forum “Europe in the World” (Europa w Świecie).

The “Poland in the European Union” program made room for conclusions and reflection. The first event of this kind was held in December 2004, when dozens of representatives from the Office of the Committee for European Integration, the Polish Ministry of the Economy and Labour, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the European Parliament took part in an expert conference titled “Ocena pierwszych miesięcy członkostwa Polski w Unii Europejskiej – fakty i mity” (Evaluation of the first months of Poland's membership of the European Union: Facts and myths). In 2019, as part of a series of events collectively called “Dialog Obywatelski” (Civic Dialogue), culminating the meeting titled “Bilans 15 lat Polski w Unii Europejskiej – perspektywy na przyszłość” (The Tally of Poland's 15 years in the EU: Prospects for the future).

Among the most important publications on the issues of European structures and Poland's accession to the EU produced



during this period include: *Polska w Europie* (Poland in Europe, 1994), *Program dla Polski: Polska w Unii Europejskiej* (Program for Poland: Poland in the European Union, 1996), and *Symbol Europy – historia i znaczenie Flagi Europejskiej* (The Symbol of Europe: The History and Significance of the EU Flag, 2004).

ISS Chairwoman Anna Szymańska-Klich, Rector of the Jagiellonian University Karol Musiol, Secretary of State in the Office of the Committee for European Integration Mikołaj Dowgielewicz, European Commissioner Cecilia Malmström

## **“The New Shape of Euro-Atlantic Security”**

At the time the Institute for Strategic Studies was established, Poland faced another huge challenge after the changes of 1989: the establishment of new security structures. Poland was looking to join the North Atlantic Alliance. On 3 July 1991, two days after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, President Lech Wałęsa paid a visit

to the NATO Headquarters in Brussels. In 1994, US President Bill Clinton famously said: “The question is no longer whether NATO will take on new members but when and how”, and a few weeks later, Polish Minister of Defence Piotr Kołodziejczyk submitted a Presentation Document to the NATO Headquarters pledging to develop military cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance. On 8 July 1997, at the NATO summit in Madrid, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary were officially invited to NATO membership talks, and in March 1999 they became plenipotentiary members of NATO.

It was these developments that led to the emergence of the “New Shape of Euro-Atlantic Security” (Nowy kształt bezpieczeństwa euroatlantyckiego) at the MCRD.

In 1995, a series of Security Conferences, the flagship project of the ISS, was launched, initially presenting the NATO accession processes. Subsequent international conferences, seminars and debates focused on further development of NATO, including the issue of the Baltic States and other Eastern European countries joining.

NATO changed with developments in the world. In September 2001, the world was shocked by the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. At the time, the ISS was preparing seminars on the impact of the threat of global terrorism on NATO’s defence strategy. The international conference in 2002 “Przed szczytem NATO w Pradze” (Before the NATO Summit in Prague) was attended by the then ambassadors of Romania, the Republic of Estonia and diplomatic representatives of Latvia, Slovenia and Lithuania.

Given the missile defence shield talks and the unfolding conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, the ISS was exploring the new shape of Euro-Atlantic security. Events were also prepared in 2008 and 2009 that focused on plans for a new partnership agreement between NATO and Ukraine, and in 2010, for a New Strategic Concept for NATO.

The ISS analysed events during the Euromaidan, Barack Obama’s foreign policy and subsequent NATO summits. The events



President  
of Poland  
Lech Wałęsa

in Crimea focused the world's attention on NATO's Eastern flank. In 2015, the ISS prepared the 23rd edition of the International Krakow Security Conference titled "NATO-Russia", the attendees of which included James Appathurai, NATO Deputy Secretary General for Political and Security Policy and NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for the Caucasus and Central Asia, Elmar Brok, Chairman of the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs, and – as every year – prominent security experts from Europe and the USA.

In 2019, it was time to take stock during the 28th Edition of the Krakow Security Conference on the 70th anniversary of NATO and the 20th anniversary of Poland's accession to NATO. At the 2020



Executive  
Director  
of the French  
Institute of  
International  
Affairs  
Dominique  
David



Deputy  
Secretary  
General  
of NATO  
Alexander  
Vershbow



Krakow Security Conference, the ISS greeted its attendees online for the first time to discuss the impact of a pandemic on the global security architecture. This formula continued in 2021 as well.

The ISS publications on the issues of Poland's changing security structures and aspirations to join NATO include: *Nowy kształt bezpieczeństwa europejskiego*, 1996; *USA, NATO, Polska. Problemy bezpieczeństwa europejskiego*, 1997; *Polska a dalsze otwarcie NATO*, 1998; *NATO u progu XXI wieku wobec nowych wyzwań i problemów bezpieczeństwa*, 2000; *Czy przemysł obronny wymaga obrony?*, 2001; *Polityka bezpieczeństwa Państw Bałtyckich*, 2003; *Nowa Koncepcja Strategiczna Sojuszu Północnoatlantyckiego*, 2010.

## **"Polish Eastern Policy"**

Polish Eastern policy, which is the issues of Polish-Russian relations, are today among the most important topics that shape Polish foreign strategy. When Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government was formed in the wake of general elections in June 1989, Poland immediately began working on moving closer to the Western world. The process of the break-up of the Soviet Union ended in 1991. Belarus, Russia and Ukraine formed the Commonwealth of Independent States. Poland supported democratic movements in the post-Soviet republics from the beginning. In 1992, Poland officially declared its intention to join NATO. In 1993, Russian President Boris Yeltsin met Wałęsa, and although he admitted that Russia had no veto power over Poland's NATO membership, he later tried to shoot down Poland's chances in the negotiations.

This was the background to the creation of the MRCD program "Polska polityka wschodnia" (Polish Eastern Policy), which complemented the other two, related to accession to NATO and the



President  
of Belarus  
Stanislav  
Shushkevich



European Union. The program was intended to define the shape of Poland's relations with its eastern neighbours, to analyse economic transformations related to the market economy, reform of the tax, banking and privatisation systems, but also to exchange experiences with representatives of civil society in Ukraine and Belarus, among other countries.

The program began with the February 1993 Polish-Ukrainian conference "Nowe Wyzwania – Nowa Odpowiedzialność" (New Challenges – New Responsibilities). Later, the ISS organised conferences, seminars and debates on various areas of Eastern policy. The then-prepared Polish-Russian conference "W stronę nowego partnerstwa" (Towards a New Partnership) was held at a time of increased trade between Poland and Russia. In 1994, Alexander Lukashenko won the elections in Belarus, and in 1996–1999, when Polish-Russian relations were tense due to the finalisation of Poland's NATO Accession Treaty and Poland condemned Russian actions in Chechnya, the ISS held debates concerning Russia and its neighbours.

In 2004, following the rigged presidential elections, the Orange Revolution against Viktor Yanukovich's ruling camp swept through Ukraine. In those days, a video conference was held courtesy of the US Consulate in Krakow. It was attended by US colleagues responsible for eastern policy, including then Director of the Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus Office Karen Stewart and Deputy Director of the Russian Affairs Office Damian Leader.

4 years later, Poland and Sweden proposed the creation of an "Eastern Partnership", which was intended to draw the EU's attention to democratic movements in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. The ISS then analysed developments at international conferences such as "Rosja-Ukraina. Partnerstwo czy uzależnienie?" (Russia-Ukraine: Partnership or Dependence?), "Polityka zagraniczna Federacji Rosyjskiej" (Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation) or "Białoruś częścią nowej Europy" (Belarus Part of the New Europe). The ISS hosted representatives of Belarusian and Ukrainian NGOs, Boris Tarasyuk, Hryhoriy Nemyria, Vitali Portnikov, Iryna Krasovskaya, Ales Belyatskiy (Centre for Human Rights "Spring") or Tadeusz Gawin (editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Dien"). The ISS trained new democratic cadres from Ukraine, Belarus or Georgia.

Another event that influenced the shape of the "Polish Eastern Policy" program was Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014. Since then, Poland's international policy has been focused on condemning Russia's aggressive foreign strategy, supporting Ukraine and becoming independent from Russian energy resources.

Even before the annexation of Crimea, the ISS would hold international conferences within Ukraine. In September 2010, Odesa hosted the event "Działania na rzecz podniesienia poziomu wiedzy społeczeństwa Ukrainy w zakresie zagadnień transatlantyckich" (Actions to raise the level of knowledge of the Ukrainian public on transatlantic issues) and in 2012, the conference "Przyszłość Ukrainy" (The Future of Ukraine). At that time, study



Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski, Polish-Russian conference 'Towards a new partnership', Krakow, 23-25 February 1994

visits also took place in cooperation with the Kyiv Branch of the Regional Union of Ukrainian Cities and the Polish-American Freedom Foundation.

Poland unequivocally condemned Russia's next invasion of Ukraine in 2022 and provided munitions, financial support and humanitarian aid to Ukraine, while fighting for tighter international sanctions against Russia. It is when the Polish-Russian natural gas deal ended. At the time, the ISS was concerned, like many other organisations in Poland, with the problems of refugees, as reflected in the bilingual online publication *Pracuję w Polsce – Працюю в Польщі*, (I Work in Poland), which was a comprehensive guide. It contains information on many aspects of the Polish labour market, from legalisation procedures, through job search options, to a contact database of institutions and organisations where direct support can be obtained both in refugee registration procedures and in the form of document translation, school diploma recognition or career coaching.

The ISS dedicated publications to Polish eastern policy, including: *Od komunizmu do demokracji*, 1996; *Trud niepodległości – Ukraina na przełomie tysiącleci* by Tadeusz Olszański, 2003; *Dynamika stosunków polsko-rosyjskich w latach 1991–1996*, 1997; *Stosunki polsko – ukraińskie*, 1998; *Polska polityka wschodnia* by Jan Nowak-Jeziorański et al., 2000; *Rosja i jej sąsiedzi*, 2000; *Ukraina między Rosją a Zachodem*, 2001.

## Educational activities

What are think tanks for? We are to be a provider of ideas, of opinions to those who make *realpolitik*, who operate in the realm of *realpolitik*. This is the meaning of civil society. This is the sense of functioning of institutions like ours and those we have helped to create. To be with people. To be where we are needed. To help, open up and listen to what people have to say. We are a kind of hub where we gather different ideas, ideas and try to develop them, discuss them, and send them out into the world. We are a civil organisation. I say this with a genuine sense that for 30 years at the Institute for Strategic Studies we have been carrying out such activities and have contributed to how the NGO sector and civil society operate in Poland today<sup>6</sup>.

Building a strong civil society after the 1989 transformation was one of the ISS' first defined goals. From the outset, the idea of creating a platform to bring together specialists, scientists, representatives of *think tanks* and the media was guiding the Founders' Council – which, after all, included representatives of Krakow's most important universities.

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<sup>6</sup> Anna Szymańska-Klich, excerpt from a speech on the 30th ISS anniversary conference.

Throughout its 30 years of work, the ISS has organised seminars, workshops, training courses and meetings with people from a wide variety of backgrounds and ages, seeking to respond to the needs dictated by the times and current events. Before Poland joined the European Union, the ISS coordinated training for Polish NGO concerning the absorption of EU funds. Later, the ISS worked on spreading knowledge of the EU institutions, also among children and young people, as demonstrated by the “Obywatelski Kraków” (Civic Krakow) project, which involved meetings with secondary school students in Krakow. During the period of increasing digital transformation, the ISS ran successive editions of the “E-senior – szkolenia komputerowe dla osób w wieku 60+” (E-senior: Computer skills training for 60+ people) projects in cooperation with the Polish Ministry of Labour and Welfare Policy.

Although the ISS’s flagship project, the Krakow Security Conferences, focuses on international affairs and Poland’s place in the world, a lot of work has also been put into improving the functioning of the immediate surroundings, meaning the Małopolska region. Through programs such as “Lepsze Niepołomice” (Better City of Niepołomice), “Bezpiecznie w mediach, sprawiedliwie w historii – wakacyjne warsztaty dla dzieci i młodzieży” (Safe in the Media, Fair in History: Holiday Workshops for Children and Young People), co-organised with the Siemacha association, “Szlakiem Armii Krajowej i Akcji Burza” (Following the Path of the Home Army and Operation Tempest), during which eight cities were visited together with the Home Army Museum and a mobile historical exhibition was shown on the road, the ISS tried to address as many needs of the local community as possible.

The ISS also acted as a platform for knowledge exchange between NGOs in the region and internationally. A series of study visits by civil society representatives from Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova or Georgia led to a series of debates, talks, exhibitions and training sessions. Topics ranged from the role of women in the

transformation process in Afghanistan in debates organised in cooperation with the US Consulate General in Krakow to training in NGO finance management for Belarusian NGOs.

## **ISS operations concerning the 1989 transformation and the Polish political and economic landscape**

The ISS actively participated in the analysis and evaluation of the economic and social changes taking place in Poland after the transformation that began in 1989. International conferences,

Prof. Bronisław  
Geremek,  
MP Bogdan  
Klich  
in the  
Chamber  
of the City  
of Krakow





seminars and debates met and discussed issues related to key social and political discourses.

The ISS went on to prepare a number of meetings relating to the enactment of the constitution, including the international conference “Konstytucja w służbie Demokracji” (The Constitution in the Service of Democracy) in 1995, the debates titled “Konstytucja – poprzec czy odrzucić” (The Constitution – Support or

Participants  
at the security  
conference –  
Krakow 2016



Reject) and “Wieczór konstytucyjny” (The Constitutional Evening Event) in 1997, during which politicians and intellectuals from Krakow discussed the Constitutional referendum.

At the time, the issues of transforming a centrally planned economy into a market economy stirred a lot of emotion in Poland. In connection to this, the ISS organised events analysing reprivatisation processes, banking products, the Polish insurance market, the problems of the CHF loan borrowers, and public-private partnerships. There was no shortage of events on other issues discussed at the time, such as discussions on the possible enactment of the death penalty in Poland.

Since 2007, the ISS has also studied energy security issues in Poland. The program kicked off with a review conference on “(Nie)bezpieczeństwo energetyczne Polski – stan obecny i wnioski na przyszłość” (Poland’s energy (in)security: Current state and lessons for the future). Later, conferences on green energy, hard coal and methane were also prepared.

## Our Freedom & Yours

Human Rights Office  
1000 University Avenue  
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A5

### Under the Implications of Human Rights Against Violence

Two years after the 1998 election, the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) issued its findings on the human rights situation in the world. The findings are the result of the work of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) and the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD).

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Under the Implications of Human Rights Against Violence

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# Thirtieth anniversary of the ISS

## – Euro-Atlantic Forum on Democracy and Security: Our Freedom and Yours

In 2023, the annual Krakow Security Conference coincided with a very special anniversary, 30 years of the Institute for Strategic Studies Foundation. The conference took place on 10 and 11 September 2023 at the Auditorium Maximum of the Jagiellonian University.

From its inception, the Krakow Security Conferences have served as an international forum for the exchange of opinions and views of prominent Polish, European and U.S. scholars, politicians, diplomats and experts dealing with the most topical issues in diplomacy and security. Head of the “Our Freedom and Yours” project, dr. hab. Łukasz Fyderek, together with the Chair of the Organising Committee, ISS Chairwoman Anna Szymańska-Klich, decided to divide the two-day forum into two segments focusing on security and democracy. The agenda included the challenges facing democracies in the region and around the world in the

era of the Russian invasion of Ukraine and issues of the rise of authoritarian and populist tendencies.

The event was attended by long-standing guests and friends of the ISS, including US Ambassador to Poland Mark Brzezinski, whose speech opened the second day of the conference. The speech had a special and symbolic significance, due to the important date for his fellow citizens, 11 September, the anniversary of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York.

The first panel discussion, addressing leadership in times of crisis and uncertainty, featured, among others, Hans-Gert Pöttering, former President of the European Parliament with long-standing ties to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and Jerzy Baczyński



Prof. Zbigniew  
Brzeziński



from the Polityka weekly magazine. Subsequent panels included Jarosław Kurski of Gazeta Wyborcza, Dominique David of the IFRI, former US Ambassador to Poland Daniel Fried, former Polish Ambassador to Afghanistan dr. Piotr Łukasiewicz, former Austrian Minister of Defence Werner Fasslabend, Professor Artur Gruszcak of the Jagiellonian University, dr. Alicja Bachulska and Piotr Buras from the European

Amb. Jerzy Kozłowski, President of the Polish-American Freedom Foundation, recipient of the ISS Semper in Altum award named after prof. Zbigniew Brzeziński



The founders of the ISS: Rector of the Krakow University of Economics prof. Stanisław Mazur, Vice-Rector of the Jagiellonian University prof. Jarosław Górniak and Senator Bogdan Klich present the ISS Semper in Altum award named after Prof. Zbigniew Brzeziński at the ISS 30th Anniversary Gala



Council on Foreign Relations, and dr. hab. Karolina Olszowska representing the Institute for Turkish Studies.

Guests from the community of institutions which undertake civil society initiatives included David Gregosz, who heads the Polish office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Jakub Wygnański, Chairman of “Stocznia”, Akkan Suver from the Marmara Foundation, Roland Freudenstein, Marcin Zaborowski, Alena Kudzko from GLOBSEC, and Michał Baranowski from the German Marshall Fund.

Russia’s aggression, a direct threat not only to the countries on the eastern flank of Poland but also to the international order consolidated around NATO, was discussed during two dedicated panels. The first day featured a panel titled “Implications of Russia’s War against Ukraine”. At that time, we had the honour of hosting Ms Olena Tsybukh, Vice Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of Poland, General Ben Hodges, former commander of US Army in Europe, General Jarosław Stróżyk, head of Poland’s Military Counterintelligence Service, and Camille Grand, former Assistant Secretary General for NATO Defence Investment. On the second day of the conference, our guests participated in the panel “Ukraine, NATO and the great power rivalry”. They included Dominik Jankowski, advisor at the office of NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, Rolf Nickel, former German Ambassador to Poland, and Eugeniusz Smolar, former head of the Centre for International Relations.

The event was accompanied by a gala, during which the Zbigniew Brzeziński ISS Semper in Altum Awards were presented. The Award is for individuals who have made a significant impact on Polish civil society. The Institute for Strategic Studies has been organising the Awards since 2006. Previous winners include Professor Leszek Balcerowicz, Władysław Bartoszewski, and Zbigniew Brzeziński.



In 2023, the Zbigniew Brzeziński ISS Semper in Altum Awards was presented to Ambassador Jerzy Koźminski, head of the Polish-American Freedom Foundation.

Prof.  
Władysław  
Bartosze-  
wski, one of  
the patrons  
of the Foun-  
dation

Jerzy Koźminski served as Poland's ambassador to Washington between 1994 and 2000. He was involved in NATO accession negotiations, culminating in Poland's membership the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation approved in 1999. Since 2000, he has been Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Polish-American Freedom Foundation, with the mission to support the building of civil society, the spread of democracy, and the market economy. He was a member of the program Council of the 2009 Congress of Polish Culture. In 2010, he became Vice Chairman of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, remaining a Board member there. He became a member of the Trilateral Commission.

As part of the “Our Freedom and Yours” project, the Institute for Strategic Studies, in cooperation with the Polish-American Freedom Foundation and the German Marshall Fund, organised the School for Young Leaders, an initiative aimed at young community leaders interested in issues of civil society, democratic and liberal values. The School’s program and related study visits were planned to stimulate young people to reflect on the challenges currently facing democracies in Poland and around the world.

For a fortnight following the two-day conference, participants from Belarus, Georgia, Ethiopia, Jordan, Moldova, Ukraine, and Spain took part in lectures and study visits. During workshops, they discussed democratisation processes with experts and lecturers from the Jagiellonian University. Later, as part of their study visits, they visited the headquarters of Radio RMF FM in Krakow, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum and Institute for Human Rights in Oświęcim and the European Solidarity Centre in Gdansk, an opportunity for the participants to improve their knowledge of modern Polish history and politics and relate it to the fall of Communism in Europe.

# Overview of other ISS programs

## **The Program “INDEX in Memory of Poles Murdered and Repressed by the Nazis for Helping Jews”**

The INDEX Program has significantly expanded the knowledge of Polish historians and documentary filmmakers on the scale of Nazi German repression of Poles who aided Jews. Its objective was to establish the names and biographies of Poles and Polish citizens of other nationalities (Ukrainian, Belorussian, Lithuanian, Armenian, German, etc.) who, as a result of the Nazis' actions, died or suffered repression for helping Jews during World War Two. The program was delivered out in cooperation with the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), the General Directorate of State Archives in Poland, and the PZU Foundation.

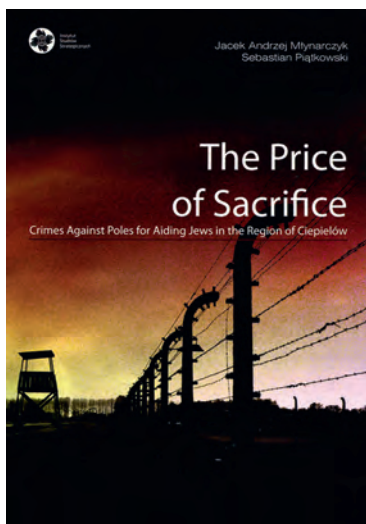
During the period of the task, relevant activities were carried out, the most important of which were archival and library searches in Poland and abroad. Work was also carried out to upgrade the database and bring it up to the latest IT standards, without modifying its structure.

As part of the INDEX Program, ISS worked with the following specialists: Jerzy Wróblewski and Piotr Cywiński, directors of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum, Professor Daria Nałęcz,

Director of the State Archives, Professor Gesine Shwan from Viadrina University and Professor Leon Kieres of the Institute of National Remembrance.

The program of searches was completed in 2015. In the end, 731 facts of repression were documented and a special database was created, 80% of which was the result of searches at the Jewish Historical Institute and the remaining 20% in German, Lithuanian, English, Ukrainian and U.S. archives.

Thereafter, until 2019, the ISS has continued its educational activities in expanding awareness of the Holocaust among young people. Under the project “Sprawiedliwi i ich świat” (The Righteous and Their World), addressed to secondary school students of Małopolskie Province, representatives of the ISS held a series of meetings and workshops, during which they imparted knowledge about the war, the Holocaust and Polish attitudes towards Jews based on the events in the towns where the classes were held. When specific information was not available, they presented the history of a neighbouring location.



ISS publications

As part of the program, the ISS published the first Polish edition of the *The Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Poland* edited by Israel Gutman. The results of the INDEX Program were included in the *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej* (*Register of Facts of Repression against Polish Citizens for Aiding the Jewish Population during World War Two*) published by the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) in 2014. The IPN later co-edited *Sprawiedliwi i ich świat. Markowa w fotografii Józefa Ulmy* (*The Righteous and Their World: Markowa on the Photographs by Józef Ulma*) in 2015.

## **“It is not enough to be... a woman”**

At the turn of 2010/2011, in cooperation with the then Consul General of the Republic of France, the ISS began preparations for the development of a new program dedicated to opportunities for women's empowerment in social, cultural, and political life. The issues of economic equality, the prospects for greater participation of women in political life, and the appreciation of the role of women in cultural life have become particularly important in view of the increasing disparity in women's access to high political office, the glaring wage gap between women and men to the disadvantage of women, at all levels of their careers, and the difficulty of securing adequate representation in the cultural and artistic space.

To support women in their fight for their rightful place, wages, position and respect, a conference “Nie wystarczy być... kobietą” (It is not enough to be... a woman) was organised jointly with the French Institute in 2012. The title, which spurred considerable interest, came from the observation of the modern world, in which



very often it is enough to be a man to have unjustified privileges in obtaining high positions or better salaries.

In the following years, until 2018, the project grew. In connection with this, annual conferences were organised with the participation of female experts in running their own businesses, female coaches and psychologists, as well as representatives from local authorities, academia and cultural institutions. Representatives from other countries, including France and India, were not absent from the meeting. We hosted such figures as: Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Sonia Draga, Marta Szklarczyk of the Rak'n'Roll Foundation, Delphine Girard, Elżbieta Bieńkowska, (then European Commissioner for the Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs), Joanna Bensch (Member of the Board of the American Chamber of Commerce in Poland), Marta Lempart (initiator and leader of the Polandwide Women's Strike on October 3, 2016); Dorota Segda (Rector of the Stanisław Wyspiański Academy of Theatrical Arts in Krakow), Urszula Gacek (Board Member of the Institute for Strategic Studies Foundation, former Polish Ambassador to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, former Polish Consul General in New York).

Men were also in attendance – the then Minister for Labour and Welfare Policy, Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz, among others, listened to the conference. Guests, speakers and participants took part in debates on who women are today and the importance of the changes taking place around them.

## **“Europe for Youth” and “Civic Dialogues”**

The ISS cooperated closely with the European Commission Representation in Poland, flagship examples of which were the debates in the “Dialog Obywatelski” (Civic Dialogue) series delivered

implemented in EU countries since 2012, and the “Europa dla młodych” (Europe for Youth) meetings.

“Civic Dialogues” at ISS were inaugurated on 8 September 2017. A discussion was then held with Elżbieta Bieńkowska, then Commissioner for the Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs. The European Defence Research program and the Preparatory Action on Defence Research, launched in June 2017, were then presented. The Program supported innovative defence technology research for the first time in the history of the European Union and culminated in the establishment of a new EU instrument, the European Defence Fund.

Meanwhile, in February 2018, a Civic Dialogue debate titled “Unia Europejska i jej sąsiedztwo – czy mamy się czego obawiać?” (The European Union and its neighbourhood – do we have anything to fear?) with Maciej Popowski, Deputy Director of the Directorate General for Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations (DG NEAR). In October, senior citizens from Krakow and the surrounding area, including organised groups from Niepołomice and Wieliczka, took part in the dialogue session “Polska w Unii Europejskiej – wspólne wartości, wspólne wyzwania” (Poland in the European Union – common values, common challenges), with an appearance by Ambassador Marek Prawda, head of the EC Delegation in Poland.

During the events titled “Rządy prawa: Polska i Unia Europejska na kursie kolizyjnym?”, “Bezpieczeństwo za prawa obywatelskie. Naprawdę tego chcemy?”, “Recepta na zdrowie” or “Migrować czy zostać? – o unijnym rynku pracy z perspektywy młodych”, representatives of the Jagiellonian University, the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, the Krakow University of Economics, journalists, activists, and representatives of civil society appeared.



# People of the Institute for Strategic Studies

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Wojciech Wróblewski – businessman and diplomat

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# Calendar of programs

## **Since 1993 – “Nowy Kształt Bezpieczeństwa Euroatlantyckiego” (The New Shape of Euro-Atlantic Security)**

### **1993**

- ▶ 29-31 October – “Razem czy osobno” (Together or Apart), Polish-Czech-Slovak-Hungarian conference

### **1994**

- ▶ 17-19 June – “Polska w Europie” (Poland in Europe), international conference
- ▶ 7-10 October – “Wolne media dla Europy” (Free media for Europe), international conference

### **1996**

- ▶ 17-18 February – “Nowy kształt bezpieczeństwa europejskiego” (The new shape of European security), international review conference
- ▶ 25 February – “Polska racja stanu” (Polish raison d’état), public debate

## **1997**

- ▶ 24-25 March – “USA, NATO, POLSKA – problemy bezpieczeństwa europejskiego” (USA, NATO, POLAND – problems of European security), international review conference
- ▶ 13-14 September – “Polskie stanowisko wobec rezultatów Konferencji Międzynarodowej, Amsterdam 1997” (The Polish position on the results of the International Conference, Amsterdam 1997), seminar
- ▶ 22 October – “Modele stosunków polsko-rosyjskich po przystąpieniu Polski do NATO” (Models for Polish-Russian relations after Poland’s accession to NATO), expert seminar

## **1999**

- ▶ 2-3 October – “Participation of the United States in New European Security System”, international conference

## **2000**

- ▶ 25 May – “Bałkany: Implikacje konfliktu na progu XXI wieku” (The Balkans: Implications of conflict at the turn of the 21st century), expert seminar
- ▶ 1-2 June – “Second Central European Forum for Security and Cooperation”, international conference

## **2001**

- ▶ 7 January – “Droga Państw Bałtyckich do NATO” (The Baltic States’ Road to NATO), international conference
- ▶ 9 April – “NATO – polityka bezpieczeństwa, przemysł obronny, technologie i badania w państwach Grupy Wyszehradzkiej” (NATO – security policy, defence industry, technology and research in the Visegrad countries), international conference
- ▶ 17-18 May – “Central European Forum for Security and Cooperation”, international conference

- ▶ 3-7 October – “Seminar on Modalities for cooperation with international organisations, including a review of themes emerging from the Oslo seminar”, international seminar

## **2002**

- ▶ 14 May – “Stan przygotowania służb cywilno-wojskowych do przeciwdziałania terroryzmowi” (State of anti-terrorism preparedness of civil and military services), expert seminar
- ▶ 18 October – “Przed szczytem NATO w Pradze” (Before the NATO Summit in Prague), international conference
- ▶ 29 October – “Transformacja – Integracja – Globalizacja” (Transformation – Integration – Globalisation), international conference
- ▶ 28 November – “Przyszłość Obwodu Kaliningradzkiego w integrującej się Europie” (Future of the Kaliningrad Oblast’ in an Integrating Europe), international conference

## **2003**

- ▶ 21 March – “Wpływ wydarzeń 11 IX na strategię obronną NATO” (Impact of the 9/11 on NATO’s defence strategy), expert seminar
- ▶ 24 May – “Nowy Kształt Współpracy Międzynarodowej USA–NATO–Rosja” (The New Shape of US-NATO-Russia International Cooperation), international anniversary conference

## **2004**

- ▶ 8 March – “Stan więzi transatlantyckich wobec zagrożenia światowym terroryzmem” (The state of transatlantic relations in the face of the threat of global terrorism), expert seminar
- ▶ 7 October – “Nowy wymiar terroryzmu. Granice okrucieństwa” (The New Dimension of Terrorism – The Limits of Atrocity), expert seminar

## **2005**

- ▶ 21 April – “US foreign policy towards a changing European Union” (Polityka zagraniczna Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec zmieniającej się Unii Europejskiej), international conference
- ▶ 13 May – “Wschodni wymiar polityki NATO” (Eastern dimension of NATO policy), international conference
- ▶ 21 May – “Unia Europejska – USA. Nowe partnerstwo?” (EU and the USA: A new partnership?), international conference

## **2006**

- ▶ 28-30 June – “Posiedzenie Wspólnej Grupy Roboczej NATO–Ukraina ds. Reformy obronnej (JWGDR)” (Meeting of the NATO-Ukraine Joint Working Group on Defence Reform)

## **2007**

- ▶ 29 June – “Czy Polska potrzebuje tarczy?” (Does Poland need a missile defence shield?), international conference
- ▶ 27 October – “Konferencja Europa–NATO–Ameryka. Nowe partnerstwo” (Europe–NATO–US Conference: A new partnership?), international conference

## **2008**

- ▶ 23-24 October – “Forum Bezpieczeństwa Euroatlantyckiego – nowy kształt bezpieczeństwa euroatlantyckiego – nowa odpowiedzialność” (Euro-Atlantic Security Forum – new shape of Euro-Atlantic security – new responsibilities), international conference

## **2009**

- ▶ 19-20 February – “II Forum Bezpieczeństwa Euroatlantyckiego – NATO przed szczytem jubileuszowym. Czy Sojusz potrzebuje Nowej Koncepcji Strategicznej?” (2nd Euro-Atlantic Security

Forum – NATO ahead of its jubilee summit. Does NATO need a new strategic concept?), international conference

- ▶ 29-30 October – “NATO-Ukraina – konferencja dotycząca planowania układu partnerstwa – Udział Społeczeństwa Obywatelskiego w Reformie Sektora Bezpieczeństwa. Dotychczasowe Doświadczenia i Rekomendacje na Przyszłość” (NATO-Ukraine Partnership Agreement Planning Conference – Civil Society Participation in Security Sector Reform. Past Experiences and Recommendations for the Future), international conference, Kyiv

## **2010**

- ▶ 16 October – “III Forum Bezpieczeństwa Euroatlantyckiego – Szczyt w Lizbonie szansą na nową sytuację międzynarodową” (3rd Euro-Atlantic Security Forum – Lisbon Summit – an opportunity for a new international situation), an international debate of research centres and experts on the future of NATO

## **2011**

- ▶ 17 April – “IV Forum Bezpieczeństwa Euroatlantyckiego NATO po przyjęciu Nowej Koncepcji Strategicznej” (4th NATO Euro-Atlantic Security Forum after adoption of the New Strategic Concept), international conference
- ▶ 27-28 October – “NATO-Ukraine Practical co-operation and its relevance for strengthening Euro-Atlantic security” (NATO-Ukraine Practical co-operation and its relevance for strengthening Euro-Atlantic security), international conference, Lviv

## **2012**

- ▶ 9 lutego – “V Forum Bezpieczeństwa Euroatlantyckiego NATO i Unia Europejska na rzecz bezpiecznej Europy” (5th



Euro-Atlantic Security Forum NATO and the European Union for a Secure Europe), international conference

- ▶ 6 June – “Debate poświęcona analizie postanowień ostatniego szczytu NATO w Chicago i ich konsekwencji dla polskiej polityki zagranicznej” (Debate on the analysis of the provisions of the recent NATO summit in Chicago and their implications for Polish foreign policy)

## **2013**

- ▶ 10 May – “VI Forum Bezpieczeństwa Euroatlantyckiego NATO po misji ISAF. Kreatywna obrona czy misje operacyjne, partnerzy i przemiany” (6th NATO Euro-Atlantic Security Forum after the ISAF mission. Creative defence or operational missions, partners and transition), an international conference in cooperation with NATO Headquarters and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Poland

## **2014**

- ▶ 17 January – “Zmieniając historię. Polityka zagraniczna Baracka Obamy” (Changing history. Barack Obama’s foreign policy), discussion and promotion of the book in cooperation with PISM
- ▶ 4 April – “Defence Matters – nowe wyzwania polityki bezpieczeństwa NATO i UE” (Defence Matters: New challenges for NATO and EU security policy), international conference in cooperation with the NATO Headquarters, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and PISM
- ▶ 17 October – “Nowy Kształt Euroatlantyckiej Polityki Bezpieczeństwa po Szczycie NATO w Walii” (The New Shape of Euro-Atlantic Security Policy after the NATO Summit in Wales), 22nd International Conference on Euro-Atlantic Security in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, PISM, and the NATO Headquarters

## **2015**

- ▶ 22 May – XXXIII Międzynarodowa Krakowska Konferencja Bezpieczeństwa “NATO-Rosja” (33rd International Krakow Security Conference: NATO & Russia), international conference in cooperation with the NATO Headquarters, KAS, and PISM

## **2016**

- ▶ 4 March – “XXIV Międzynarodowa Krakowska Konferencja Bezpieczeństwa – NATO jako Aktywny Opiekun – oczekiwania przed szczytem NATO w Warszawie” (24th International Krakow Security Conference: NATO as an Active Protector – Expectations before the NATO Warsaw Summit), international conference in cooperation with the NATO Headquarters and KAS
- ▶ 10 October – “Po szczycie NATO w Warszawie – właściwa odpowiedź na ciężkie czasy?” (After the NATO summit in Warsaw: The right answer to hard times?), 25th Jubilee International Krakow Security Conference in cooperation with KAS and NATO Headquarters

## **2017**

- ▶ 27 March – “XXVI międzynarodowa Krakowska Konferencja Bezpieczeństwa: Ameryka i bezpieczeństwo euroatlantyckie – ustawiając nowy porządek” (International Krakow Security Conference: America and Euro-Atlantic Security – Setting up the New Order), international conference in cooperation with the NATO Headquarters and KAS

## **2018**

- ▶ 16 April – XXVII Międzynarodowa Krakowska Konferencja Bezpieczeństwa “Pomiędzy NATO i Unią Europejską – wspólne bezpieczeństwo i wyzwania” (27th International Krakow Security Conference: Between NATO and the European Union – Common Security and Challenges), international conference in cooperation with the NATO Headquarters and KAS

## **2019**

- ▶ 22 May – XXVIII Międzynarodowa Krakowska Konferencja Bezpieczeństwa “Czy NATO sprosta nowym wyzwaniom bezpieczeństwa?” w 70 rocznicę powstania NATO i w 20 rocznicę przystąpienia Polski do NATO (International Krakow Security Conference: Will NATO meet new security challenges? on the 70th anniversary of NATO and the 20th anniversary of Poland’s accession to NATO)

## **2020**

- ▶ 19 October – “Czy pandemia zmieni globalną architekturę bezpieczeństwa” (Will the pandemic change the global security architecture?), 29th International Krakow Security Conference, held online

## **2021**

- ▶ 13 December – “NATO-U.S.-European Union – New Opening, New Challenges”. A New Transatlantic Order-Rebuilding Alliances-Strengthening NATO”, 30th International Security Conference, held online, in cooperation with KAS

## **“Polska polityka wschodnia” (Polish Eastern Policy)**

### **1993**

- ▶ 19-21 February – “Nowe wyzwania – nowa odpowiedzialność” (New challenges – new responsibilities), Polish-Ukrainian conference

### **1994**

- ▶ 23-25 February – “W stronę nowego partnerstwa” (Towards a new partnership), Polish-Russian conference

## **1996**

- ▶ 24 June – “Polska polityka wschodnia” (Polish Eastern Policy), public debate

## **1998**

- ▶ 21 October – “Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w latach 1992–1997” (Polish-Ukrainian relations 1992–1997), expert seminar

## **1999**

- ▶ 18 March – “Rosja i jej sąsiedzi” (Russia and its neighbours), expert seminar
- ▶ 12-13 June – “Nowy kształt stosunków Polski z jej wschodnimi sąsiadami” (The new shape of Poland’s relations with its eastern neighbours), international conference

## **2000**

- ▶ 28 October – “Rosja-Ukraina. Partnerstwo czy uzależnienie?” (Russia-Ukraine: Partnership or Dependency?), international conference

## **2001**

- ▶ 17 November – “Polityka zagraniczna Federacji Rosyjskiej” (Foreign policy of the Russian Federation), international conference

## **2004**

- ▶ 7 June – “Białoruś częścią nowej Europy” (Belarus part of a new Europe), seminar

## **2005**

- ▶ 16 grudnia – “Jakie sąsiedztwo? Rola Niemiec i nowych państw członkowskich w kształtowaniu polityki wschodniej Unii Europejskiej: stosunki z Ukrainą i Białorusią” (What neighbourhood should it be? The role of Germany and the new Member States

in shaping the Eastern policy of the European Union: relations with Ukraine and Belarus), international conference

## **2007**

- ▶ 5 October – “Ukraina i Białoruś 2007” (2007 Ukraine and Belarus), international conference

## **2010**

- ▶ 17 September – Działania na rzecz podniesienia poziomu wiedzy społeczeństwa Ukrainy w zakresie zagadnień transatlantyckich” (Actions to raise the level of knowledge of the Ukrainian public on transatlantic issues), international conference, Odessa

## **2011**

- ▶ 13 April – “Ukraina-Unia Europejska” (Ukraine-European Union), expert seminar

## **2012**

- ▶ 19 October – “Przyszłość Ukrainy” (The Future of Ukraine), international conference

## **2014**

- ▶ 24-28 November – “STP: Wizyty Studyjne w Polsce” (STP: Study Visits to Poland) Program – study visit in cooperation with the Kyiv Branch of the Regional Union of Ukrainian Cities and the Polish-American Freedom Foundation

## **“Polska w Unii Europejskiej” (Poland in the European Union)**

## **1997**

- ▶ 1 February – “Polska w Unii Europejskiej” (Poland in the European Union), public debate

## 1998

- ▶ 24 January – “Polska wobec reformy instytucjonalnej Unii Europejskiej” (Poland towards institutional reform of the European Union), expert seminar
- ▶ 24-25 April – “Stan przygotowań Polski, Czech, Węgier, Estonii i Słowenii do negocjacji z UE” (The state of preparation of Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia and Slovenia for negotiations with the EU), international conference
- ▶ 20 June – “Polska strategia negocjacji członkowskich z Unią Europejską” (Polish strategy for membership negotiations with the European Union), expert seminar
- ▶ 14-15 November – “Polacy, Niemcy, Francuzi – drogi współpracy” (Poles, Germans, French – Ways of cooperation), international conference

## 1999

- ▶ 20 November – “Doświadczenia Austrii, Finlandii, Szwecji i Norwegii a proces przystąpienia Polski do Unii Europejskiej” (Experiences of Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway and the Process of Polish Accession to the European Union), international conference

## 2000

- ▶ 8-9 June – “Stosunki zewnętrzne EU po rozszerzeniu” (EU external relations after enlargement), international conference
- ▶ 5 September – “Problemy rozszerzenia oraz reformy instytucjonalne UE” (Enlargement issues and EU institutional reforms), expert seminar
- ▶ 18 November – “Integracja Polski z UE a procesy globalizacji gospodarczej” (Poland’s EU integration and the processes of economic globalisation), international conference



## 2001

- ▶ 3 March – “Unia Europejska 2001. Konsekwencje decyzji szczytu w Nicei” (2001 European Union: Consequences of the decisions of the Nice summit), expert seminar
- ▶ 23 June – “Zdolności adaptacyjne polskiej gospodarki do integracji z Unią Europejską” (Adaptability of the Polish economy to integration with the European Union), expert seminar
- ▶ 20 October – “Francja, Niemcy, Wielka Brytania i Polska wobec rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej” (France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Poland towards the enlargement of the European Union), international conference

## 2002

- ▶ 23 February – “Jak informować o integracji” (How to communicate on integration), public debate
- ▶ 13 April – “Polska a EURO: stan i kierunki przygotowań Polski do przyjęcia wspólnej waluty” (Poland and the EURO: The state and trends of Poland's preparations to adopt the single currency), expert seminar
- ▶ 15 November – “Polski rynek finansowy wobec integracji europejskiej” (The Polish financial market towards European integration), expert seminar

## 2003

- ▶ 31 January – “Realizacja Europejskiego Celu Operacyjnego” (Implementation of the European Operational Objective), expert seminar
- ▶ 25 February – “Europa po Kopenhadze” (Europe after Copenhagen), public debate
- ▶ 3 March – “Jak wygrać, jak przegrać referendum narodowe w sprawie przystąpienia do UE” (How to win and how to lose the national referendum on EU accession), international seminar
- ▶ 31 March – “Być albo nie być w Unii Europejskiej” (To be or not to be in the European Union), expert debate

- ▶ 16 April – Open day at the ISS on the day of signature of the Accession Treaty with the EU
- ▶ 24 October – “Rozszerzenie Unii Europejskiej i jego wpływ na współpracę transgraniczną i międzyregionalną” (The enlargement of the European Union and its impact on cross-border and interregional cooperation), international conference
- ▶ 28 November – “Wymiar Wschodni Unii Europejskiej” (The Eastern Dimension of the European Union), international conference
- ▶ 15 December – “Konferencja Międzyrządowa – sukces czy porażka Europy” (The Intergovernmental Conference – Europe’s success or failure), debate

## 2004

- ▶ 23 February – “Wartości judeochrześcijańskie w preambule Traktatu Konstytucyjnego Unii Europejskiej” (Judeo-Christian values in the preamble of the Constitutional Treaty of the European Union), constitutional debate
- ▶ 29 March – “System wdrażania głosów w Radzie Unii Europejskiej” (Implementation system for votes in the Council of the European Union), public debate
- ▶ 5 April – “Polscy przedstawiciele w Parlamencie Europejskim. Jak informować o integracji?” (Polish representatives in the European Parliament: How to communicate integration?), expert seminar
- ▶ 22 October – “Bezpieczeństwo obrotu gospodarczego w Polsce i w Niemczech” (Security of business transactions in Poland and Germany), international conference
- ▶ 3 November – “Europejska polityka obronności: wiek Entente Cordiale” (European Defence Policy: the Century of the Entente Cordiale), Polish-British-French seminar: the visit of Prince Edward
- ▶ 8 November – “Konstytucja Europejska – po podpisaniu, przed ratyfikacją” (European Constitution: After signing, before ratification), debate

- ▶ 10 December – “Strategia Lizbońska dla polskiej szkoły” (The Lisbon Strategy for the Polish School), conference
- ▶ 20 December – “Ocena pierwszych miesięcy członkostwa Polski w Unii Europejskiej – fakty i mity” (Evaluation of the first months of Poland’s membership of the European Union: Facts and myths), expert conference

## 2005

- ▶ 31 August – “Europejski Program Badań nad bezpieczeństwem (ESPRP) szansą dla wzrostu innowacyjności w Europie” (European Security Research Programme (ESPRP) an opportunity for increased innovation in Europe), international conference

## 2006

- ▶ 7 April – “Jaka jest, jaka będzie Polska w Unii Europejskiej – co dalej z eurokonstytucją?” (What is Poland like, what will it be like in the European Union: What next for the Euro-Constitution?), debate
- ▶ 22 May – “Przyszłość Unii Europejskiej. Rola i miejsce Polski w zmieniającej się Unii Europejskiej” (The Future of the European Union: Poland’s role and place in a changing European Union), anniversary conference
- ▶ 27 October – “Polska a EURO – szanse i wyzwania” (Poland and the EURO: Opportunities and challenges), international conference
- ▶ 3 November – “Dialog polsko-niemiecki” (German-Polish dialogue), international conference

## 2007

- ▶ 24 March – “Regionalne Obchody 50 rocznicy podpisania Traktatów Rzymskich” (Regional Celebrations of the 50th Anniversary of the Treaties of Rome), expert conference
- ▶ 18 June – “Trójkąt Weimarski a przyszłość Unii Europejskiej” (The Weimar Triangle and the Future of the European Union), international conference

- ▶ 16 November – “Granice Europy. Czy kolejne rozszerzenie UE jest możliwe?” (The Limits of Europe: Is another EU enlargement possible?), international conference

## 2008

- ▶ 19-20 June – “Forum Polityki Europejskiej Europa w Świecie – 50 lat współpracy” (European Policy Forum: Europe in the World – 50 Years of Cooperation), international conference

## 2009

- ▶ 8-9 October – “II Forum Polityki Europejskiej – “Polska i Unia Europejska – Współpraca, Wyzwania, Perspektywy” (2nd European Policy Forum: Poland and the European Union – Cooperation, Challenges, Perspectives), international conference

## 2017

- ▶ 8 September – Dialog Obywatelski (Civic Dialogue): “Bezpieczniejsza Polska, bezpieczniejsza Europa, Bezpieczniejsi obywatele” (Safer Poland, Safer Europe, Safer Citizens) in cooperation with the European Commission Representation in Poland

## 2018

- ▶ 1 February – Dialog Obywatelski (Civic Dialogue): “Bezpieczniejsza Polska, bezpieczniejsza Europa, Bezpieczniejsi obywatele” (Safer Poland, Safer Europe, Safer Citizens)
- ▶ April-December – “Ochrona flagi Unii Europejskiej” (Protecting the flag of the European Union), in cooperation with the European Front
- ▶ 1 October – Dialog Obywatelski (Civic Dialogue): “Polska w Unii Europejskiej – wspólne wartości, wspólne wyzwania” (Poland in the European Union: Common values, common challenges)

## **2019**

- ▶ 28 January – Dialog Obywatelski (Civic Dialogue): “Przyszłość Budżetu UE po 2020 – spójność czy elastyczność?” (The future of the EU Budget after 2020: Coherence or flexibility?)
- ▶ 13 May – Dialog Obywatelski (Civic Dialogue): “Bilans 15 lat Polski w Unii Europejskiej – perspektywy na przyszłość” (The Tally of Poland’s 15 years in the EU: Prospects for the future)
- ▶ 12 June – “Europejski Kraków – 15 lat w Unii Europejskiej” (European Krakow – 15 years in the European Union), debate

## **Since 2008 – ISS Programme for NGOs: Educational projects**

### **2012**

- ▶ 19-24 March – study visit to ISS as part of the Euro-Atlantic College of Eastern Europe: “Administration and Non-Governmental Organisations” project co-financed by the Polish-American Foundation RITA/STP Program – Study Visits
- ▶ 18 September – “Debata dotycząca roli kobiet w procesie transformacji w Afganistanie” (Debate on the role of women in the transformation process in Afghanistan), organised in cooperation with the US Consulate General in Krakow

### **2014**

- ▶ May-October – “E-senior – szkolenia komputerowe dla osób w wieku 60+” (E-senior: Computer skills training for 60+ people) in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour and Welfare Policy (ASOS 2014 Program)

### **2015**

- ▶ 1 November 2014 – 31 December 2015 – “Lepsze Niepołomice” (Better City of Niepołomice) program in cooperation with the

Niepołomice Land Enthusiasts' Association (Stowarzyszenie Miłośników Ziemi Niepołomickiej) and the Batory Foundation

- May-October – "E-senior III – szkolenia komputerowe dla osób w wieku 60+" (E-senior III: Computer skills training for 60+ people) in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour and Welfare Policy

## 2017

- 10 August – 15 October – "Bezpiecznie w mediach, sprawiedliwie w historii – wakacyjne warsztaty dla dzieci i młodzieży" (Safe in the Media, Fair in History: Holiday Workshops for Children and Young People), in cooperation with the Marshal's Office of Małopolskie Province and the Siemacha association

## 2018

- March-December – "Szlakiem Armii Krajowej i Akcji Burza" (Following the Path of the Home Army and Operation Tempest) – the ISSF cooperated with the Home Army Museum under the educational project "Szlakiem Armii Krajowej i Akcji Burza" (Following the Path of the Home Army and Operation Tempest); a mobile historical and educational exhibition, organised by the Home Army Museum, intended to showcase the history of Home Army soldiers and operators in Operation Tempest in Małopolska; the museum's mobile roadshow unit visited 8 towns and cities in May and June; during a two-day event there was an opportunity to play an educational game, take part in demonstrations by military re-enactment groups, and those interested in the history of World War Two could see replicas of weapons and uniforms, as well as photographs and archival materials

## 2019

- 1 October – 15 December – Educational project: "Obywatelski Kraków" (Civic Krakow) – five meetings with young people from secondary schools (I LO, IIX LO, ZSE 1 and XXV LO), a total of 84



## 2022

- From September – Project: “Po drugiej stronie ekranu: Fałszywe informacje, uzależnienia, cyberprzestępstwa, co czeka na nas w sieci?” (The Other Side of the Screen: Fake news, addictions, cybercrimes, what lies in wait for us online?), cyber workshops for primary and secondary schools from Krakow and the surrounding areas and online cyber workshops for teachers/educators/librarians/educators interested in improving their competences in the area; 50 workshops for 600 students in Zielonki, Zakrzów, Szarów, Niepołomice, Gaj, Tarnów, Oświęcim, Libertów, Jerzmanowice, Konary, Bystra, Gorlice, training of 36 teachers in Małopolska
- E-book *Pracuję w Polsce – Працюю в Польщі*, a comprehensive guide to the Polish labour market in two language versions, Polish and Ukrainian; project coordinator: Weronika Piotrowska; authors: Weronika Piotrowska, Jagoda Szpak, Oliwia Jastrząb, Wiktor Antolak, Piotr Filipiak

## Since 2011 – “It is not enough to be... a woman” (Nie wystarczy być... kobietą)

### 2012

- 1 March – “Nie wystarczy być... kobietą” (It’s not enough to be... a woman), international conference

### 2013

- 21 March – “Nie wystarczy być... kobietą. Kobieta, praca i sukces” (It’s not enough to be... a woman: Woman, work and success), international conference

### 2014

- 5 April – “Nie wystarczy być... kobietą. Niedoceniany potencjał kobiet” (It’s not enough to be... a woman: Underestimated potential of women), 3rd International Conference

## **2015**

- ▶ 13 March – “Nie wystarczy być... kobietą. Zmiana. Start do sukcesu” (It’s not enough to be... a woman: Change – The springboard to success), 4th International Conference

## **2016**

- ▶ 2 April – “Nie wystarczy być... kobietą. Marka: kobieta” (It’s not enough to be... a woman: Brand: the woman), 5th International Conference

## **2017**

- ▶ 22 May – “Nie wystarczy być... kobietą. Co to jest startup i dlaczego jest dla wszystkich?” (It’s not enough to be... a woman: What is a startup and why is it for everyone?), 6th International Conference

## **2018**

- ▶ 20 April – “Nie wystarczy być... kobietą. Kobiety aktywne w życiu publicznym” (It’s not enough to be... a woman: Women active in public life), 7th International Conference

## **Energy security**

### **2007**

- ▶ 26 November – “(Nie)bezpieczeństwo energetyczne Polski – stan obecny i wnioski na przyszłość” (Poland’s energy (in)security: Current state and lessons for the future), review conference

### **2008**

- ▶ 21 April – “Bezpieczeństwo energetyczne filarem bezpiecznej Europy” (Energy security as a pillar of a secure Europe), international conference
- ▶ 15 December – “Zielona energia – trend czy konieczność? Innowacyjne technologie a europejska polityka zagraniczna”

(Green energy: A trend or necessity? Innovative technologies and European foreign policy), international conference

## **2012**

- ▶ 20 September – “Odmetanowanie i zgazowanie podziemne węgla kamiennego – droga do poprawy bezpieczeństwa energetycznego Polski” (De-methanation and underground coal gasification: A way to improve Poland’s energy security), national conference

## **2013**

- ▶ 31 January – Visit of Azerbaijani delegation to the ISS
- ▶ 12 April – “Problemy energetyczne w Polsce i Azerbejdżanie w kontekście polityki energetycznej UE” (Energy problems in Poland and Azerbaijan in the context of EU energy policy), international conference

## **INDEX**

### **2005**

- ▶ 17 November – “Prawdy i fałsze w powszechnej wiedzy o Holokauście” (Truths and Falsehoods in Common Knowledge of the Holocaust), international conference

### **2008**

- ▶ 5 December – “INDEX Pamięci Polaków zamordowanych przez hitlerowców za pomoc Żydom” (INDEX in Memory of Poles Murdered and Repressed by the Nazis for Helping Jews), international conference

## 2010

- ▶ 28 June – “Ten jest z Ojczyzny mojej – jest Człowiekiem – Polscy Sprawiedliwi wśród Narodów Świata” (He is from my Homeland and a human being: Polish Righteous Among the Nations), international conference

## 2012

- ▶ 15 March to 15 July – Program: “Sprawiedliwi i ich świat” (The Righteous and Their World), history meetings for secondary school students, in cooperation with the Marshal’s Office of Małopolskie Province
- ▶ 1 April to 30 October – Program: “Małopolskie szlaki dziedzictwa żydowskiego” (Małopolska Trails of Jewish Heritage) – website design for: [www.zydziwmalopolsce.pl](http://www.zydziwmalopolsce.pl)
- ▶ 16 November to 31 December – Acquisition of new data in Poland and abroad concerning citizens of the Polish state repressed by the German occupiers in 1939–1945 for helping the Jewish population: Queries in cooperation with the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and the IPN

## 2013

- ▶ 1 August to 31 December – “INDEX in Memory of Poles Murdered and Repressed by the Nazis for Helping Jews”, in cooperation with the IPN and the PZU Foundation: Queries at the Central State Archive in Lviv, the Staatsarchiv in Hannover, the Bundesarchiv Berlin, the Holocaust Museum in Washington and the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

## 2014

- ▶ 1 January to 31 December – “INDEX in Memory of Poles Murdered and Repressed by the Nazis for Helping Jews”, in cooperation with the IPN and the PZU Foundation: Queries

in the Archives of the Polish Underground Studies and the Józef Piłsudski Institute in London, Kaunas County Archives, Kaunas Archdiocese Curia Archives, Lithuanian Central State Archive, Vilnius State Jewish Museum, Lithuanian Special Archive, Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Lviv Central State Archive, Federal Archive in Berlin, Holocaust Museum in Washington, Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, and State Archive in Kielce

## **2015**

- ▶ 1 April to 30 October – “Sprawiedliwi i ich świat” (The Righteous and Their World), history meetings for secondary school students, in cooperation with the Małopolskie Province authorities and the Polish History Museum
- ▶ 2015 – “INDEX in Memory of Poles Murdered and Repressed by the Nazis for Helping Jews”, in cooperation with the IPN and the PZU Foundation: development of the website [www.represje.iss.krakow.pl](http://www.represje.iss.krakow.pl)
- ▶ 1 December – Conference: “Polacy represjonowani za pomoc Żydom” (Poles repressed for helping Jews)

## **2016**

- ▶ 1 March to 30 June – “Sprawiedliwi i ich świat” (The Righteous and Their World), history meetings for secondary school students, in cooperation with the Małopolskie Province authorities and the Polish History Museum
- ▶ 2 May to 30 September – “Mapa pamięci – Wspólnota dziejów Polaków i Żydów na terenie Małopolski” (The Map of Remembrance – A Community of the History of Poles and Jews in Małopolska)

## **2018**

- ▶ April to November – “Sprawiedliwi i ich świat” (The Righteous and Their World), history meetings for secondary

school students, in cooperation with the Małopolskie Province authorities and the Polish History Museum

- July to October – “Mapa pamięci – Wspólnota dziejów Polaków i Żydów na terenie Małopolski” (The Map of Remembrance – A Community of the History of Poles and Jews in Malopolska): research focused on Gorlice, Nowy Wiśnicz, Wolbrom, Zakopane, Bochnia and Chrzanów

## **2019**

- November – “Sprawiedliwi i ich świat” (The Righteous and Their World), history meetings for secondary school students, in cooperation with the Małopolskie Province authorities and the Polish History Museum

## **Events focused on the 1989 transformation and the Polish political and economic landscape**

### **1995**

- 24-25 November – “Ekologia, demokracja, wolny rynek” (Ecology, Democracy, and Free Market), international conference
- 10-12 March – “Konstytucja w służbie Demokracji” (The Constitution at the Service of Democracy), international conference
- 4-6 June – “Od komunizmu do demokracji – zagrożenia i szanse” (From Communism to Democracy: Threats and Opportunities), international conference

### **1996**

- 28 January – “Debata uwłaszczeniowa” (Property rights debate), public debate

### **1997**

- 18 February – “Reprywatyzacja w Polsce – historia i stan obecny” (Reprivatisation in Poland: History and current state), seminar



- ▶ 27 March – “Rynek nowych produktów bankowych” (The market for new banking products), seminar
- ▶ 4 May – “Konstytucja 1997 – poprzeć czy odrzucić” (The 1997 Constitution: Support or reject?), public debate
- ▶ 25 May – “Wieczór konstytucyjny” (The Constitutional Evening Event), meeting of Kraków politicians and intellectuals on the occasion of the Constitutional referendum, broadcast live on TVP (Polish State Television)

## **1998**

- ▶ 28 November – “Bariery rozwoju rynku ubezpieczeniowego w Polsce” (Barriers to the development of the insurance market in Poland), expert seminar
- ▶ 27-28 June – “Tendencje światowe i zmiany na wschodnio europejskim rynku bankowym” (Global trends and developments in the Eastern European banking market), international conference

## **1999**

- ▶ 6 January – “Rola konkurencji w kształtowaniu i rozwoju polskiego systemu bankowego” (The role of competition in shaping and developing the Polish banking system), expert seminar
- ▶ 27-28 June – “Tendencje światowe i zmiany na wschodnio europejskim rynku bankowym” (Global trends and developments in the Eastern European banking market), international conference
- ▶ 29 November – “Kara śmierci” (Death penalty), public debate

## **2001**

- ▶ 1 December – “Tempo harmonizacji polskiego prawa z ustawodawstwem wspólnotowym” (The pace of harmonisation of Polish law with Community legislation), expert seminar

## **2002**

- ▶ 14 June – “Offset – szansa dla polskiej gospodarki” (Offset – an opportunity for the Polish economy), international conference

## **2003**

- ▶ 8 May – “Partnerstwo publiczno-prywatne niedoceniony instrument rozwoju gminy” (Public-private partnership: An underestimated instrument for municipal development), national conference

## **2005**

- ▶ 2 June – “Po co Polakom dwie konstytucje?” (Why do Poles need two constitutions?), debate

## **2015**

- ▶ 30 September – “Frankowicze: społeczno-gospodarcze skutki polskiego boomu kredytowego” (CHF loan borrowers: socio-economic consequences of the Polish credit boom), 3rd conference in cooperation with the Krakow University of Economics

## **“Europa dla młodych” (Europe for the Youth)**

### **2021**

- ▶ 18 November – First debate of the “Europa dla młodych” (Europe for the Youth) series titled “Rządy prawa: Polska i Unia Europejska na kursie kolizyjnym?” (Rule of law: Poland and the European Union on a collision course?), in cooperation with the European Commission Representation in Poland, with the participation of the Institute of European Studies of the Jagiellonian University and EU3D
- ▶ 18 December – Second debate of the “Europa dla młodych” (Europe for the Youth) series titled “Bezpieczeństwo za prawa obywatelskie. Naprawdę tego chcemy?” (Security in exchange)

for civil rights: Do we really want it?), in cooperation with the European Commission Representation in Poland

- ▶ 6 December – Third debate of the “Europa dla młodych” (Europe for the Youth) series titled “Recepta na zdrowie” (Recipe for health) in cooperation with the European Commission Representation in Poland
- ▶ 20 December – Fourth debate of the “Europa dla młodych” (Europe for the Youth) series titled “Migrować czy zostać? – o unijnym rynku pracy z perspektywy młodych” (To emigrate or to stay? Concerning the EU labour market from the perspective of the youth), in cooperation with the European Commission Representation in Poland with the participation of the Krakow University of Economics.

## **“Patent na Polskę” (A Way for Poland)**

### **2021**

- ▶ 29 June – Debate: “Czy polska szkoła kształci analfabetów przyszłości?” (Are Polish schools producing the illiterate of the future?), online format
- ▶ 29 November – Debate: “Kto zjada nasze podatki? Rachunek zysków i strat młodego pokolenia” (Who’s burning our tax money? Profit and loss account of the younger generation), online format, in partnership with Instytut Obywatelski
- ▶ 7 December – Debate: “Powietrze po krakowsku” (Air, the Krakow way), online format, in cooperation with the Krakow City Council

### **2022**

- ▶ 13 March – Debate: “Zielona transformacja – r(ewolucja)?” (The Green Transformation: A (r)evolution?), online format, in partnership with Instytut Obywatelski

- ▶ 30 June – Debate: “Armata czy klawiatura?” (Guns or keyboards?), online format, in partnership with Instytut Obywatelski
- ▶ “Po drugiej stronie ekranu. Fałszywe informacje, uzależnienia, cyberprzestępstwa, co czyha na nas w sieci?” (The Other Side of the Screen: Fake news, addictions, cybercrimes, what lies in wait for us online?)

## **2023**

- ▶ “Our Freedom and Yours – Euro-Atlantic Forum on Democracy and Security”, in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the NATO HQ



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This publication is both a summary and testimony of the last 30 years of activity of the Institute for Strategic Studies, founded in 1993 under the name of the “International Center for the Development of Democracy” Foundation.

We would like to recall the most important events from the Institute’s activity to date – the goals and aspirations of the Foundation, the projects and actions that contributed to their achievement.

This publication is also an expression of gratitude to all those who have worked with the Institute, without whose contribution the fulfillment of our mission would not be possible.



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