

REVIEWS

Joanna Kamińska, *Siła zmiany – polska polityka zagraniczna po 2004 roku* (original title: *Influence of the new EU members on the Eastern Dimension of the EU's external relations: The case of Poland*), **Wydawnictwo ECE, Toruń 2014, pp. 321** (Zuzanna Osmólska*)

International relations and foreign policy researchers usually look forward to every publication in this field. It is a fact that in books published for over the last 10 years, a description of Polish foreign policy ends at the Polish accession to the European Union. Moreover, the majority of books related to the European Union focuses on history, institutions and law, fewer of them on specific political instruments. Meanwhile, the book written by Joanna Kamińska concerns European foreign policy, exactly – rarely discussed subject – eastern dimension of the EU's external relations.

Importantly, the author of the book – Joanna Kamińska is not only a theoretician. After receiving her PhD at the University of London, she worked at the University of Cambridge and at the General Secretariat of the European Commission. She is currently working as a consultant in the field of foreign policy in the European Parliament Committee of Foreign Affairs. She is also an Associate Researcher at the Institute for European Studies at the Vrije Universiteit (VUB) in Brussels. She specializes in issues of European foreign policy, especially in the relations between the EU and its eastern partners.

The author's main purpose is verification how Polish membership in the European Union and in Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) influenced the Europeanization of foreign policy. Kamińska also attempts to answer whether the changes at the national level in the field of foreign policy would have ever been possible without the factor of the European Union [Kamińska 2014: 10]. The author formulates a thesis that the EU has played a significant role in the transformation of Polish foreign policy and Polish institutional structures transformation related to the EU [Kamińska 2014: 10]. She argues that although internal conditions limit the ability of the impact of the national government, national ambitions of being a major European player allowed the Polish foreign policy transformed from passive state (policy-taker) to an active state (policy-maker). This transformation was possible because of indolence policy at the EU level in the field of relations with its eastern neighbours. Therefore, the author focuses on both CFSP and the New European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). It gave Poland an opportunity to participate

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in shaping the evolving the EU policy towards its eastern neighbours [Kamińska 2014: 10-11].

The book's content is divided into seven chapters. First – entitled *Introduction to Polish foreign policy* relates to the idea of Europeanization and its mechanisms. In this part author presents concepts of “downloading” and “uploading”¹, which she consequently uses through entire book. Those concepts are very important because in next chapters Kamińska uses them to evaluation of different solutions and politics.

Second chapter – *Cooperation in the field of Polish and European foreign policy* refers to some problems connected with system transformation in Poland. The author suggests that *inter alia*, due to the transformation, Polish foreign policy is vitiated by a lack of administrative capacity for the implementation of the Polish influence after accession to the EU. Kamińska also draws attention to the issues of developing Poland's image as a regional leader, having an influence on the relations between the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In this chapter, the author presents the EU's impact on the national administrative structures and decision-making processes, taking before and after integration.

The third chapter – entitled *Between Europeanization and national commitments: negotiating a new cooperation framework between EU and Ukraine* presents the negotiation process between Ukraine and the European Union on visa facilitation agreement (signed in 2007) and the Association Agreement (signed in 2014). Kamińska perfectly describes the situation when the European Neighbourhood Policy vision stood in opposition to the Polish order to realize the promise of Ukraine's accession to the EU. Poland had, according to the author, faced with strong pressure from EU eastern policy, while being an effective advocate of the EU membership for Ukraine.

The next chapter – *Directing EU policy towards Russia? Veto case* discusses the negotiation on a new Partnership Cooperation Agreement (PCA) with Russia. In the years 2006-2008 it was highly located on the European political agenda. It has gained Polish and European media attention due to the Polish veto on the European Commission mandate. In this part the author describes consequences of enlargement for EU–Russia relations, the context of the PCA and the EU negotiation mandate and internal and external pressures in Polish policy. Kaminska also describes the whole process of PCA negotiations. She refers to her “uploading” concept to explain alliances mechanisms in this veto case.

In the next part, entitled *Directing EU policy towards the East? Polish role in the creation of the Eastern Dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy*, Kamińska focuses on the developing a new initiative – the Eastern Partnership, which has been an important element of the Polish agenda since 2003. The author describes and explains the consequences of enlargement on the EU's external relations, pressures within the EU, departure of European players to the Eastern Dimension. The author also pays attention to the objectives of Polish foreign policy and internal

¹ According to the author's concept, the Europeanization has two directions: *downloading*, which represents adaptation solutions from EU to national politics and *uploading* – a transfer of institutional model to the EU level, which can reduce costs adaptation [Kamińska 2014: 11]

and external adaptive pressures on Poland. In this chapter Kamińska uses the “uploading” concept to study the feasibility of various governments in 2003-2009 to gain influence in the EU and examine used and missed opportunities of the governments of Miller (2001-2004), Belka (2004-2005), Marcinkiewicz (2005-2006), Kaczyński (2006-2007) and Tusk (since 2007).

The sixth chapter refers to the Polish Presidency of the Council of the European Union. Kamińska evaluates this period positively. She argues that “Poland has made not only the good use of its opportunity in foreign policy and reaffirmed the strong position of the EU countries, but it has also gained the opinion of the »premier player« on the European stage” [Kamińska 2014: 262]. The success of Polish diplomacy, according to the author, includes focusing on the the Ukrainian issues and the institutionalization and strengthening of the Eastern Partnership place in the European Union’s foreign policy.

In the last chapter the author presents conclusion of her research. She describes the Polish contribution to the CFSP and evaluates “downloading” and “uploading” issues. Kamińska concludes, that during the ten years Poland’s presence in EU, it has made significant progress, both in the “uploading” and “downloading” processes. The author believes that Poland is able to influence the EU external relations agenda at a very high level.

Although probably many authors would disagree with the Kamińska’s conclusions, it should be noted that reviewed book was prepared with the enormous solicitude. The evidence of this is well prepared and very rich bibliography and well thought-out book construction. Such details will facilitate the publication’s reception.

But most importantly, the Joanna Kamińska’s book concerns very innovative issues on Polish book space. In fact, most books relates to the European Union in Polish language focuses on the history of the European integration idea and EU and its institutions development in the period to the Treaty of Lisbon. Meanwhile, not Kamińska only describes issues until 2012, but her interest also includes issues which have not yet moved into Polish publications.

Subject taken in the book is a major asset. Kamińska’s publication is one of few which refers to so important issues as the process of development of the Eastern Partnership. The author presents them in a concise and synthetic way, but without neglecting important problems such as the Poland’s presence in the Weimar Triangle and the Visegrad Group.

A big advantage is also an interesting research perspective used by the author. Kamińska applied her “uploading” and “downloading” concept consequently in whole book. It represents an innovative theoretical contribution to the presented issues and can be certainly used in other publications related to the states’ presence in international organizations.

A reviewed book, what is important, is not a typical “textbook” on the EU. The author formulates very difficult problems and chapters are further steps to solve them. In addition, Kamińska is not afraid of evaluation. She attempts to describe the advantages and disadvantages of different types of solutions and processes. She manages to keep her with the relative political neutrality.

All of these arguments make the book *Siła zmiany – polska polityka zagraniczna po 2004 roku* is an excellent elaboration of the very important, though rarely undertaken, problems of the Polish foreign policy, Poland’s presence in the

European Union and its consequences for the Polish and the EU's eastern policy. The book is certainly worth recommending for students, politicians and journalists. It perfectly shows the complicated mechanisms of diplomacy and foreign policy in intricate socio-political reality.