



**Poland Beyond Solidarity:
Defining New Priorities for Polish
Domestic and Foreign Policy**

**A report reflecting the views of the
Network 20/20 delegation to Poland
November 2005**

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**POLAND BEYOND SOLIDARITY:
DEFINING NEW PRIORITIES FOR
POLISH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY**

A Network 20/20 initiative to reach out to our counterparts in Central Europe

INTRODUCTION

Seventeen years after its historic transition from communism to democracy, Poland has achieved a number of its important domestic and foreign policy goals, including the creation of a civil society and market economy, and membership in both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). At the same time, having accomplished these goals, Poland now faces the question of what's next: what will be its priorities for the domestic challenges that the country faces, what role will it play within the European community, and what will be the nature of bilateral relations with the United States.

With these issues in mind, in November 2005 a Network 20/20 delegation went to Poland seeking answers to three different questions:

- 1) With the recent Polish parliamentary and presidential elections, what will be the domestic priorities of the new government?
- 2) What economic policies will the government pursue in order to address the fiscal challenges that Poland faces?
- 3) What will be the government's approach towards foreign policy, including relations with the US, NATO and the EU, and its eastern neighbors, including Russia?

After an intensive week of meetings in Warsaw and Krakow with senior government officials, business leaders, parliamentarians, academics, and representatives from foundations and the non-profit world, the Network 20/20 delegation reached certain preliminary conclusions.

MAIN FINDINGS

Poland believes that it is a loyal and reliable partner of the United States and wants to strengthen what it considers to be a strategic partnership with the US.

Polish officials emphasized that Poland has historically looked to the US as the leader of the democratic world and America can, therefore, count on Polish support in the future. There is a long history of US support for Polish democracy, including during the Solidarity movement of the 1980s, and there continues to be a reservoir of good feelings between the two nations. A 2005 Pew Research poll, for example, cited Poland as one of only four nations whose population expresses favorable feelings towards America. The one issue where this is not the case is the war in Iraq. Poland's involvement in Iraq has created a disconnect between the Polish public and the government, with 70% of the population opposed to the conflict, according to the Polish Institute of Public Affairs.

Throughout our discussions, Polish officials expressed their desire for a strategic partnership with the US. They argued that Poland can offer more than just assistance in Iraq. In addition to serving as a bridge with the EU, and providing guidance on US policies towards Poland's eastern neighbors, Polish leaders stressed that the close US-Polish relationship enables them to offer frank advice on how the US should respond to international crises.

The new Polish government is likely to continue the same foreign and defense policies of its predecessors. Both the foreign and defense ministers are likely to follow Poland's traditional policy since 1989 of cultivating strong ties with the US, pursuing military and economic integration within Europe, and remaining cautious in relations with Russia. The current Foreign Minister, Stefan Meller, was associated with Solidarity and is a professional diplomat and academic, having served as Ambassador to France, and most recently, Russia. The current Defense Minister, Radek Sikorski, is Western-educated, was also associated with Solidarity, has served previously as deputy Defense Minister, and has ties to the Bush Administration.

Our Polish interlocutors emphasized that Poland will continue its attempts to define its role within NATO and the EU, and will further strengthen relations with the US. The government will face some foreign policy challenges, particularly on how to improve relations with certain members of the EU, as well as with Russia. One potential concern is whether the government will be able to execute such policies given strong Euro-skeptic and anti-Russian feelings within the governing

party and its allies in the Sejm, the Polish parliament. The US, therefore, should encourage and support policies by the Polish government that coincide with US national interest. It should also provide guidance or incentives in cases where the direction of Polish government policy is unclear.

Poland needs to cultivate and promote its competitive economic advantages – a highly educated population, low cost labor, geographic location – and tackle effectively its challenges – excessive red tape, corruption, and a poor infrastructure. Poland is strategically situated at the center of Europe and has the largest economy of all of the former Soviet bloc countries, with a well established heavy industry base. Poland could be the assembly, warehouse, and transport hub of Eastern Europe. But after more than 15 years of pioneering free market experiments, Poland's economy is not keeping up with many of its East European neighbors. The higher growth rates posted from 2000 to 2004 are now expected to diminish, despite an environment of increased liquidity provided by EU accession funds, stable foreign direct investment (FDI) flows, continued government spending, and a dynamic consumer services sector driven by rising incomes and improved access to credit. Moreover, high unemployment rates persist despite a continuous stream of foreign companies establishing a presence in Poland. Corruption and red tape are serious impediments to continued foreign investment as is Poland's underdeveloped infrastructure. (See below)

Poland's new government is willing to station part of the United States anti-missile defense system on its soil, the only such base not on American territory. The US had been conducting secret basing negotiations with Poland. The new Polish government, however, prematurely made a public announcement about Poland's willingness to base the system. This irritated Russian military leaders who stated that such a space umbrella in Central Europe would only make sense in a conflict with Russia. It is not clear what motivated this announcement, whether it was to prove Poland's loyalty and willingness to share in US defense structures, to demonstrate to Russia that Poland is now firmly part of a Western defense system, to irritate officials in the Kremlin, or all of the above.

Poland would like the United States to spend more money on the F-16 offset program. When Poland agreed to purchase F-16 aircraft from the US, Polish officials were promised that in exchange for this purchase the country would receive investment from American companies in the civilian sector, including research and development, and infrastructure. Polish officials have indicated that so far there have been many promises but little action in this regard.

ISSUES AND CONCERNS

The minority government will have to seek alliances or a formal coalition with radical parties to help push through its agenda. A minority government was established following the Fall 2005 parliamentary elections. Two center-right parties – the Law and Justice Party (PiS) and the Civic Platform Party (PO) – had received the most votes (28% and 26% respectively), but differences between the two – mainly over economic strategies and political disagreements – prevented the anticipated formation of a coalition government. Law and Justice subsequently formed a minority government. The previous ruling party, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), which is descended from the former communist party, won only 11% of the vote. It lost largely because of numerous corruption scandals during its tenure and its failure to tackle Poland's high unemployment rate of 18%. In the October presidential race of the same year, Lech Kaczynski (PiS) won 54% of the vote, beating his rival Donald Tusk (PO), who received only 46%.

The Law and Justice Party drew much of its support from pensioners, lower-income voters, rural voters, and others who felt they had been under-represented in the past. Its platform urged welfare reforms, the strengthening of social benefits, curbing corruption, and the defense of Catholic and family values (the country is 90% Catholic). Law and Justice also played skillfully on the fears of voters who were skeptical about European integration and concerned that they would be hurt by further economic reforms. For example, PiS leaders have expressed skepticism about Poland's plan to adopt the euro by the scheduled date of 2011. President Kaczynski has stated that Poland should hold a referendum on joining the euro zone despite the fact that Poland has already agreed to expedite euro-entry preparations. Civic Platform, on the other hand, was committed to the promotion of a free market economy, including the rapid adoption of the euro and the introduction of a 15% flat tax. It attracted well-educated, market-oriented urban voters who wished to enjoy the benefits of European integration and globalization.

PiS decided to govern as a minority party because it was able to gain the support of two radical parties that shared parts of its domestic platform: the nationalist League of Polish Families (LPR) and the Farmers' Self-Defense Party (Samoobrona). In May 2006 PiS entered into a formal coalition with the two parties. In the current coalition government, the LPR's leader, Roman Giertych, is deputy prime minister in charge of education and Andrzej Lepper, the head of Samoobrona, is also a deputy prime minister whose portfolio includes agriculture and rural development. On the

international front, both these parties have Euro-skeptic tendencies and are staunchly anti-Russian. This political fact will probably complicate Polish-Russian relations as well as Polish compliance with EU-mandated economic reforms.

Given the fragility of the coalition government, it is not unlikely that cabinet posts, including that of prime minister, will be reshuffled periodically to bolster parliamentary support or fight off votes of no confidence. The likelihood that the government will stay in power for its full term depends on how it tackles Poland's social and economic problems. However, new elections appear unlikely at this time. The Polish president has the constitutional authority to call new elections if successive governments fall or if he/she determines that the current parliament is unlikely to produce a functional government. It seems unlikely that President Lech Kaczynski would act against his own Law and Justice Party, but that could change if PiS and its allies decide that new elections would serve their interests over those of the opposition.

On domestic issues, the Polish government faces a number of pressing challenges: delivering on promised social welfare programs, addressing the ongoing, divisive issue of “decommunization”, bolstering its border security, tackling issues that impact Poland’s economy, and finding alternative sources of energy to reduce its dependency on Russian gas. The government favors social policies that include the economic and social strengthening of the family. It proposes new income tax deductions for families with children and payments for new mothers to encourage childbearing. But such policies require spending increases that could hinder Poland's ability to meet the strict budget-deficit limit of three percent of GDP required to enter the euro zone. And the government's public criticisms of abortion and homosexuality directly contradict EU policy. The government has also indicated that it plans to abolish the post of Minister for Women, which would make Poland the only EU country without such a cabinet post.

The issue of decommunization (“łustracja”) has not been fully addressed in Poland and was a popular campaign issue for PiS. The old policy was that individuals slotted for senior government jobs had to declare if they had ever belonged to the communist party. Although party membership was not in itself a disqualification, the declarations were verified. Individuals found to have lied about their membership were removed from office. The new government wants to vet all candidates for

government service, including the police and the security services. It argues that numerous officials have escaped justice and secured wealth and power by exploiting their old communist connections. This new vetting policy will be expensive and time consuming to implement. It seems likely to exacerbate divisions within Polish society and to increase the risk that personal information – whether factual or not – will be released for political purposes.

Strengthening the protection of Poland's borders is also of primary importance. In our meetings, Polish officials voiced concern about the flow of illegal goods and organized crime elements from the East. In addition, there was some anxiety expressed about the potential for a terrorist act on Polish soil, given Poland's participation in the Iraq conflict. All these issues are also of concern to Poland's EU neighbors.

The government will also face **a challenge in keeping its well-educated population** in Poland.¹ A large percentage of Poles (more than one million students by some accounts) are enrolled at universities. Many of them are technically proficient and fluent in English and German. But in recent years a large number of educated Poles have left the country to take jobs in the EU and elsewhere. By some estimates, Poland has lost an average of 26,000 people per year since 1989². Since 2004, for example, 200,000 Poles have gone to Ireland alone.³ The brain drain will accelerate unless Poland implements economic policies and incentives that create faster growth in order to employ the surging population of university graduates.

Poland is also losing its low cost labor advantage. In 2004 Poland's minimum monthly wage was €190 versus €1,286 for France and €490 for Spain. Yet Poland's minimum wage was significantly higher than that of Latvia, Lithuania or Slovakia.⁴ Poland's labor cost advantage should be exploited now in order to strengthen the industrial base before wages equalize with the rest of the EU. The equalization of wages has already started and will inevitably subject numerous Polish economic sectors to medium-term price pressure.

One of Poland's greatest impediments to economic growth is its underdeveloped infrastructure. Poland is ideally located at the crossroads of Europe. An

¹ Population (#23 in the world, US is #14, (http://www.nationmaster.com/graph-T/edu_sch_lif_exp_tot))

² (http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/poland_table1.cfm). Polish census data indicated that in 2002 there were 786,000 Poles living abroad (http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/IOM_III_PL.pdf)

³ Cited in A Survey of Poland, The Economist, May 13, 2006, p.3.

⁴ (<http://www.eiro.eurofound.eu.int/2005/07/study/tn0507101s.html>)

underdeveloped infrastructure, however, prevents Poland from taking full advantage of its attractive geographical location and seriously undermines the prospects for future growth⁵. Poland's infrastructure of modern roads and transportation is in catastrophic condition. It has the worst road network in Europe, with only 3% of its main roads meeting EU standards. Its motorway density is one-sixth that of other central European countries. There are various reasons for the infrastructure problems: building roads is expensive, there is a lack of trust in public/private partnerships, which the new government argues are open to potential corruption, and there is legal ambiguity about who owns the land.

Now that Poland is a member of the EU, it can tap into community funds for infrastructure development. It could also impose a gasoline excise tax to rapidly build highways, and introduce an effective eminent domain law to enable the rapid purchase of adequate roadbeds.⁶ An additional challenge, however, will be to get different sectors of local government plus the government ministry to agree to a plan.

Ironically, the lack of adequate roads has resulted in the rapid development and expansion of the airport infrastructure. Low-cost carriers such as RyanAir⁷ and EasyJet have transformed cities such as Krakow and Wroclaw into booming tourist destinations with rapidly expanding hospitality sectors.

The government must **increase access to capital** in order to encourage the entrepreneurial sector and promote growth. Poland has a very high rate of small entrepreneurs and small farms. Inadequate access to capital, however, limits the prospects for small and medium enterprises and farms ("SMEF"), and the regulatory environment is burdensome. The majority of the commercial banks has focused on the consumer sector by emphasizing products such as mortgages and credit cards, but has failed to satisfy the demands of the SMEF sector.

Poland lacks channels that could **provide risk capital** to potentially viable startup ventures. Entrepreneurs with limited options to develop start-up companies in Poland tend to pursue their goals in other countries. The opportunity exists to establish formal channels to attract investment capital from the large Polish diasporas in the US, Canada, and elsewhere. Such risk capital could stimulate the development of an entire venture capital industry in Poland.

⁵ (http://www.masterpage.com.pl/outlook/poland_roads.html)

⁶ In a country where land was nationalized by the former communist government, there is an inherent distrust by the population for a concept like eminent domain and the government authorities will have to approach the topic diplomatically and with a sound financial benefit to the affected parties.

⁷ "60 Years After VE Day: Rynair Liberates Poland", 18 May 2005.

In general the government must make greater efforts to **attract foreign direct investment**. Poland lags per capita in relation to its neighbors in the amount of FDI it has received. It should, however, be attractive for such investment because of the size of its market (40 million people), location (center of Europe), young and well-educated workforce, and low wages. Moreover, there is some concern that foreign investors will shift their attention to newer EU member states that offer even cheaper labor.

Historically, the privatization process has been responsible for a large portion of FDI flows. But the Polish economy is largely privatized at this point. So Poland will have to build global awareness about the advantages it can offer to potential investors. It would help to focus on key industries in which Poland can position itself most effectively. Some of the more successful sectors to date include the automotive industry, furniture manufacturing (already preeminent in Europe), and agriculture, particularly fruit and vegetables. The current agency in charge of attracting foreign capital⁸ needs a broader mandate with powers to establish representative offices throughout the EU and North America.

One of the main obstacles to increasing direct foreign investment that must be addressed urgently is the **high degree of corruption** throughout all levels of government. Transparency International listed Poland at number 70 in its perceived corruption ranking, putting Poland in the same category as Syria and Burkina Faso and making it the most corrupt of all Central European countries. The new government has created an anti-corruption task force that is expected to employ around 500 elite investigators at a cost of \$30 million annually. Some opposition politicians, especially from Civic Platform, maintain that this task force will only add an additional layer to the bureaucracy. They argue that the government should instead focus on enforcing existing anticorruption laws.

The government will also have to tackle the problems of **excessive red tape and the need for judicial reform**, both of which hinder economic growth. One legacy of the Solidarity movement was labor laws that strongly favored trade union rights and interests at the expense of business development. Poland desperately needs to create a more efficient and fair judiciary and to develop a simplified tax system. CIT and VAT taxes are in line with the rest of the EU, but social security contributions and payroll taxes are excessive.⁹ According to a 2006 World Bank report ranking

⁸ PAiiZ

⁹ Katarzyna Debek, "Temperature Slumps in Poland's Business Climate" Warsaw Business Journal, p. 19, November 7-13, 2005

entrepreneur-friendly business climates worldwide, Poland fell from 45 to 54 out of 155 countries¹⁰ in recent years. Poland dropped in the rankings largely because of its overly burdensome tax regime and its excessively complicated legal regulations and bureaucracy. Poland has made efforts to fix these problems, but contract enforcement in Poland still takes an average of 980 days¹¹, making Poland 104th out of 155 countries worldwide in enforcing contracts. In order to do business in Poland, a company must pay 43 different taxes, giving Poland a ranking of 106 out of 155 countries worldwide. Estonia, by contrast, only has 11 business taxes.

Although Poland's commercial and residential real estate markets have been booming in recent years, the country's complex history creates a degree of land title uncertainty. For example, many descendants of Poles who were displaced during World War II argue that they have a valid claim on ancestral property now occupied by others. Enforcing these claims is expensive and can drag on for years. Government authorities will have to address the uncertainty around certain land ownership rights by encouraging the expansion of the existing title insurance program,¹² which alleviates some of the risks arising from disputed property rights.

Finally, Poland is far too reliant on Russian natural gas and must **diversify its energy sources**. Poland currently imports 61% of its gas from Gazprom, the giant Russian energy conglomerate. Poland is trying to buy energy from other countries, such as Norway or Germany, but these options are very expensive. A current pipeline project is underway that will connect the Black Sea port of Odessa with the Polish city of Brody, and ultimately reach the city of Gdansk. Historically, however, Poland was able to generate most of its electricity from mining its large coal deposits. One potential alternative is for the government to encourage the redevelopment of Poland's shrunken domestic coal industry.

Polish-Russian relations have historically been difficult. Poland holds a deep historic mistrust of Russia and is often skeptical of the intentions behind Russia's foreign policy. Russia can use its monopoly supplier status to put political and economic pressures on Poland. Polish defiance risks placing Poland in the position of Ukraine this past winter, when Moscow abruptly cut off Ukraine's gas supplies. Polish relations with Russia have been particularly difficult over the past year due to the dispute over a new German-Russian gas pipeline that bypasses Poland (Defense

¹⁰ Doing Business in 2006: Creating Jobs (<http://www.doingbusiness.org>)

¹¹ Doing Business in 2005: Removing Obstacles to Growth

¹² *Overview of the current insurance title program*

Minister Sikorski recently likened the agreement to the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939), Polish support of the Ukrainian Orange Revolution, and the Russian boycott of Polish meat and produce over certification issues. Moreover, Moscow has voiced its indignation at Polish support of democratic movements in Belarus and the government's willingness to station a US anti-missile defense system on Polish soil. At the same time, most Polish politicians understand that Poland needs a constructive relationship with Russia.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The United States should give serious consideration to Poland's requests for an increase in US military assistance so that the country is able to meet both its modernization requirements for NATO, as well as continuing to be an effective coalition partner in Iraq. There are currently 1,500 Polish soldiers serving in Iraq, the third largest number of combat troops. For its participation, Poland receives from the US \$100 million in military funding. During our discussions, Polish officials pointed out that this amount was insufficient as Poland has diverted the money that was originally allocated to modernize the military to cover the cost of fighting the war in Iraq. Moreover, with the war on terrorism, the Polish army now has to focus on extra-territorial defense, which requires changes in equipment and training. Polish officials mention that there are other countries that receive more assistance from the US, but deliver less than Poland does.

Both the Polish Defense Minister Radek Sikorski and Foreign Minister Stefan Meller have pledged that participation in Iraq will continue, but that Poland's military role will change to largely humanitarian aid and training of Iraqi security forces. In addition, the government will also likely pressure the US to allow Polish firms to bid on lucrative reconstruction contracts from the Iraqi government which so far have been mostly awarded to American companies.

The United States should take advantage of Poland's willingness to serve as an important guide and facilitator for American policy towards Eastern Europe and Eurasia. In our meetings, Polish officials stressed their years of experience and knowledge about the priorities and concerns of their eastern neighbors. Moreover, Poland's successful transition to democracy gives the country, they argue, a moral authority in the region, as demonstrated by Warsaw's assistance during the Ukrainian Orange Revolution. Poland, for example, encouraged the EU to support the demonstrators and convinced EU foreign policy Chief Javier Solana to visit Kiev. There were also close contacts between Polish and Ukrainian NGOs, and Lech Walesa and other leading Solidarity activists also visited Ukraine to show their support for the demonstrators.

In addition, Warsaw's commitment to liberal democracy and market reforms makes Poland a good advocate to spread these ideas and democratic institutions further east, including into Belarus and Russia. Poland, for instance, is helping Ukraine in its quest to join both the EU and NATO by sharing its own experience with integration. In

Belarus, both the Polish government and NGOs are trying to protect the interests of ethnic Poles from Aleksander Lukashenko's regime. US support of Poland's eastern policies will bring about increased stability and security in the surrounding eastern states, and the region as a whole, which also serves US global interests.

A resolution to the divisive US-Polish visa issue should be reached as soon as possible. The visa problem was frequently raised by our interlocutors as a divisive issue for bilateral relations. Currently, the visa fee is \$100, which is considered expensive for most Poles. In addition, there have been many cases of visas being granted by the US Consulates in Poland but then rejected by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at the US port of entry. Other former Eastern bloc countries, such as the Czech Republic, pay lower visa fees and experience lower rejection rates (one source indicated that the rejection rate for Polish applicants was over 25 percent). Polish officials feel, therefore, that there should be a less restrictive policy in line with Poland being a coalition partner in Iraq and member of NATO.

The United States should take seriously Poland's offer to create bridges between the US and the EU. Polish officials repeatedly asserted to the Network 20/20 delegation that Poland is Atlanticist in its approach, wanting to keep the US within European structures, something which is also in America's national security interests. Poland, for example, favors security agreements that bind the European Union defense system together with that of NATO.

Poland is actively trying to heal international rifts caused by its participation in the Iraq war. Some recent efforts have been made by Warsaw to improve relations, for example, with Germany, a major trading partner. Moreover, there is an understanding among Polish politicians that Poland must have good relations with Germany if it wants to have an influential voice within the EU.

Network 20/20 Delegates to Poland

George Billard, Adam Chepenik, Steven Fox, Joanna Gwozdzowski, Patricia S. Huntington, Ion Nemerenco, Margaret Pasanowic, Maureen C. Potter, Brigitte Rajacic, Josee Reboul, Lena Sene, Richard Steere, Amit Vemuri, and Michel Zaleski

Appendix A

Network 20/20 Mission Statement

Preparing Future Leaders to Shape the Global Security Debate

Twenty years from now, when business leaders and policy makers from the United States and countries of pivotal concern for global peace sit down at the negotiating table, will they meet as strangers or as colleagues with a history of cooperation?

Network 20/20 is an independent nonprofit organization that helps prepare next generation leaders in the U.S. to participate meaningfully in public diplomacy and the creation and execution of policies promoting global public security. We do this by means of lectures and educational initiatives here at home and through a series of trips and exchanges abroad.

Network 20/20 fills two major gaps in U.S. foreign policy: lack of youth participation and lack of serious input from civil society in general. Network 20/20 helps to bridge these gaps by assisting mid-career individuals with new and vigorous ideas drawn from their experiences in the real world of civil society to refine their foreign policy understandings and share their insights with their peers.

Network 20/20 members come from the business world, the professions, media, NGOs, think tanks, government and academia. They are a diverse group that includes talented foreign nationals living in the U.S. What draws them together is that they are all “thinking,” motivated and disciplined individuals who are volunteering significant time and energy to improve their understanding of the world.

Appendix B

Entrepreneurial Diplomacy Program

In 2004, Network 20/20 launched its Entrepreneurial Diplomacy Program in an effort to connect young private sector leaders from the United States with their counterparts in other countries. Believing that the term “public diplomacy” has come to mean little more than government propaganda, Network 20/20 is building a broad network of influential private citizens that will generate concrete, actionable ideas to enhance international security and prosperity. The organization pursues this goal through study, dialogue, and field research in regions of global security concern.

Network 20/20 is an international association of talented young people who wish to make their mark in international affairs. In a world that grows more ideologically polarized by the day, Network 20/20 trains its members in civil debate dedicated to finding common ground between East and West, Islam and Christianity, developed and developing countries.

We believe that the world can only become more secure if its leaders know and respect each other. In the years ahead, our members will rise through the ranks of business, the private sector and civil government while maintaining ties to their counterparts in countries of vital concern for global security. Because of Network 20/20, they will have ready access to an international network of their peers. Together, our members and their international associates will help build a more secure and prosperous world.

Richard M. Murphy
Chairman, *Entrepreneurial Diplomacy Program*

Richard M. Murphy is a senior editor at Fortune Small Business magazine. He holds an undergraduate degree in literature from Harvard College and a doctorate in social anthropology from Oxford University, based on fieldwork in Pakistan, where he was a Fulbright Scholar. Murphy's journalism has appeared in Fortune, The Wall Street Journal, The New Republic, the New York Times, and many other media. He is currently under contract with Alfred A. Knopf to write "Lahore Nights," a memoir about the culture and politics of contemporary Pakistan.

Appendix C

Network 20/20 Delegation

George Billard

Documentary Filmmaker. President of Miracle Media, Inc., which produced "The Well-Seasoned Traveler," for network television. President of Do Diligence, Inc., a company which produced, directed and photographed a motion picture library of international imagery from over two dozen countries. A wide variety of businesses, filmmakers, journalists, networks, NGOs and advertising agencies use Do Diligence's footage.

Adam Chepenik

Global Equity Strategy Associate, J.P. Morgan. Provides investment strategy and equity advice to JP Morgan Private Banking clients, many of whom either reside in Poland, or have an acute interest in the nation. Spent two years studying the relationship and development of Poland's economy pre and post World War II.

Steven Fox

Former Foreign Service officer with eight years of State Department experience, most recently as Political/Economic section chief in Algiers. Has held numerous meetings with government officials and drafted reports on political and economic developments. Recently joined Diligence, a consulting firm, which specializes in strategy consulting for emerging markets.

Joanna Gwozdzowski

International Affairs Consultant. Currently she serves as a foreign policy advisor to congressional and gubernatorial candidates in Connecticut. Most of academic and professional career has been focused on Russian/Eastern Europe affairs, with specific expertise in Poland. Her doctorate from Oxford University examined Soviet policy toward the Eastern bloc, including the Polish uprisings of 1956, 1970, and Solidarity in 1980-81. Awarded the US State Department's Fawcett Fellowship and worked at the US Embassy in Warsaw. She also served as a political consultant to a variety of Polish political parties, and she was a senior advisor to Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, former Polish Central Bank president and Polish presidential candidate.

Dr. Patricia S. Huntington

Network 20/20 Founder and President, consultant to grant makers in foreign policy, former clients include American Express, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the U.S. Department of Defense, and the U.S. Department of State. Author, position paper, "Landmines and U.S. Leadership: A View from the Field." Creator of educational CD-ROM on global humanitarian mine clearance titled, "Landmines: Clearing the Way," that has been disseminated widely throughout the world. Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Women's Foreign Policy Group, Women in International Security, and the Foreign Policy Association's Off-the-Record Lecture Series.

Ion Nemerenco

Analyst, Blackstone Group. Before joining Blackstone, he worked at GAIN Capital, responsible for business development, marketing, and relationship management for the Eastern European market segment. Studied the EU economy and the effects of the EU expansion at the University of Copenhagen and University of Virginia. Grew up in Moldova, traveled extensively throughout Eastern Europe, fluent speaker of Romanian and Russian.

Margaret Pasanowic

Director of Finance, Symphony Space. Of Polish descent, speaks Polish, and has visited Warsaw and Krakow. She is very knowledgeable about Polish current events, and has access to news from Poland.

Maureen C. Potter

Former Founder and President of Fanfare, Inc., a highly successful and prestigious food business in New York that she owned and operated for almost two decades. Member of the Committee of Twenty, a group of volunteer leaders that helps extend the reach of Network 20/20. Director of Trips for Network 20/20.

Brigitte Rajacic

Attorney at Law. She is the Co-Chair of International Law and Practice Committee at New York Women's Bar Association. Traveled to Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Brazil with New York University's Stern School of Business. Fluent in Polish and conversational in Serbo-Croatian.

Josee Reboul

Member of the Committee of Twenty. Practices law in both France and New York. Studied at the Institute for Advanced International Studies and the Center for the European Communities of the Faculty of Law in Paris, France.

Lena Sene

Banker, Lehman Brothers. Advises high net worth individuals and mid-size institutions on asset allocation and a full range of investment solutions. NASD Series 7 and NASD Series 63 certified. Prior to Lehman, she worked as Private Banker at JP Morgan. Recipient of the 2003 Annual JP Morgan Chase “Rising Star Award.” Developed growth strategies and organized fundraising activities for *WorldLinks*, a non-profit organization dedicated to bridging the digital divide between third world and developed nations. Elected Board Member of the United Nations Association of New York in 2005. Born in the U.S., raised in Senegal, Russia and the Ukraine. Fluent in English, French, Russian and Wolof.

Richard Steere

Investment Banker. Founder of New Heights Capital, a private investment firm focused on buyouts of small businesses in the US. Has worked for over 10 years with the private equity community in the US, many of whom are looking to invest abroad. Studied Eastern European History while at Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service.

Amit Vemuri

Studying for his MBA at London Business School. Former Vice-President, Travelocity, one of the largest online travel sites in the world. He is an expert on travel, tourism and new media. Conversational in French and Telugu.

Michel Zaleski

Private Investor, past director of numerous public and private companies including Harry Winston, Southern Electronics Corporation, Birmingham Steel Corporation among others. He has had executive level positions with AEA Investors and Paine Webber, Inc. He was a co-founder and Chairman of Zaleski, Sherwood & Co., a middle market, principal buyout firm. He is currently President of The Dream Project, an educational NGO operating in the Dominican Republic. Longstanding interest in Poland, where his ancestors came from. Member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Judith Symonds
Poland Project Advisor

A strategy consultant for not-for-profits, multi-lateral agencies and corporations on international development, partnerships, communications and advocacy. Her substantive areas of expertise include, European enlargement, Poland, Civil Society and international Agriculture Policy. She recently returned to the United States after over twenty years of living and working in Europe. Some of her positions include: Senior Advisor at the UN World Food Programme; Executive Director, Future Harvest Foundation; Managing Director of Ruder Finn Europe; President of the Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture in Poland and representative of The German Marshall Fund in France. She was a professor at the Institut d'Etude Politique de Paris and is currently advising on the launch of a new online philanthropy.

Appendix C

List of persons interviewed in Poland

Academia

Professor Jerzy Wilkin	<i>Head of the Section for European Integration Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development</i>
Paulina Biedronska	<i>Strategic Development Department Tischner European University</i>
Malgorzata Grzelewska	<i>Director, Strategic Development Department Tischner European University</i>
Grzegorz Fitta	<i>Vice-Rector Tischner European University</i>

Agriculture

Piotr Szczepanski	<i>President and Founder Rural Development Foundation</i>
Urszula Budzich-Szukala	<i>Director Office of Rural Programs Cooperation Fund</i>
Piotr Krasinski	<i>Landscape Design and Maintenance Angielskie Ogrody</i>

Business

Slawomir Sikora	<i>CEO Citibank Handlowy</i>
Iwona Jaworska	<i>Director Corporate Communication and Marketing Dept. Citibank Handlowy</i>
Joanna Grzeszkowska	<i>Coordinator of Management Associate Program Citibank Handlowy</i>
Pawel Bochniaraz	<i>Partner Idea! Management Consulting</i>
Pawel Graniewski	<i>Advisory Director Investment Banking Division Morgan Stanley</i>

Dr. Henryka Bochniarz *President*
Polish Confederation of Private Employers
Lewiatan

Anna Karasze wska *Deputy Director General*
Organization Development Department
Polish Confederation of Private Employers
Lewiatan

Government

Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz *Deputy Director*
Civic Platform Party
Klub Platforma Obywatelska

Bronislaw Komorowski *Deputy Speaker of Parliament*
Civic Platform Party
Klub Platforma Obywatelska

Pawel Dobrowolski *Spokesman*
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Amb. Jaroslaw Bratkiewicz *Director*
Dept. of Strategy and Foreign Policy Planning
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dr. Beata Kolecka *European Correspondent and Deputy Director*
European Union Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Karol Buchara *Security Policy Department*
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mariola Busz-Macherska *Senior Counselor*
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Jakub (Kuba) Borwaski *International Relations*
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Wladyslaw Pajak *Chief Expert*
Department of Defense Policy
Ministry of National Defense

Dr. Iwona Pawlikowska *Head of Section of NATO*
Politico-Military Initiative
Department of Defense Policy
Ministry of National Defense

Arkadiusz Szydłowski	<i>Acting Deputy Director Department of Defense Policy Ministry of National Defense</i>
Magdalena Redziniak	<i>Head of Regional Security Policy Division Department of Defense Policy Ministry of National Defense</i>
Paweł Pietrzak	<i>Senior Expert Ministry of National Defense</i>

Media

Tessa Capponi Borawska	<i>Journalist and Food Critic</i>
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Religion and Culture

Rabbi Michael Schudrich	<i>Chief Rabbi of Poland Nożyk Synagogue in Warsaw</i>
Chris Schwarz	<i>Founder and Director Galicia Jewish Museum & Heritage Institute</i>

Think Tanks and NGOs

Maria Wagrowska	<i>Transatlantic Program Center for International Relations</i>
Olaf Osica	<i>Center for International Relations</i>
Dr. Jacek Kucharczyk	<i>Director for Programming Institute for Public Affairs</i>
Jacek Michałowski	<i>Program Director Polish-American Freedom Foundation</i>
Anna Wojakowska-Skiba	<i>Program Director Polish-American Freedom Foundation</i>
Rafał Serafin	<i>Executive Board Director Polish Environmental Partnership Foundation</i>
Marcin Kaszuba	<i>Executive Vice President Polish Information & Foreign Investment Agency</i>
Agnieszka Lukasiak	<i>Media Relations Division – Press Centre Polish Information & Foreign Investment Agency</i>

Piotr Nowina-Konopka	<i>President Robert Schuman Polish Foundation</i>
Anna Rozicka	<i>Executive Director Stefan Batory Foundation</i>
Jakub Boratynski	<i>Director of International Programs Stefan Batory Foundation</i>

U.S. Embassy and Consulate in Poland

Kenneth M. Hillas	<i>Deputy Chief of Mission U.S. Embassy in Warsaw</i>
David T. Morris	<i>First Secretary Political Military Unit Chief U.S. Embassy in Warsaw</i>
Ruth Rudzinski	<i>Political-Economic Officer U.S. Consulate General in Krakow</i>
Iwona Sadecka	<i>Public Affairs Specialist U.S. Consulate General in Krakow</i>

Young Leaders

Arkadiusz Arcisz	<i>Citibank Handlowy</i>
Luiza Laszczynska	<i>Citibank Handlowy</i>
Bartosz Luczak	<i>Citibank Handlowy</i>
Michal Muchorski	<i>Citibank Handlowy</i>
Tomasz Zawadzki	<i>Citibank Handlowy</i>
Michal Meller	<i>Idea! Management Consulting</i>
Anna Karaszewska	<i>Idea! Management Consulting</i>
Jerzy Potocki	<i>Idea! Management Consulting</i>
Adam Sankowski	<i>Idea! Management Consulting</i>
Anna Smolka	<i>Idea! Management Consulting</i>
Malgorzata Szczesniak	<i>Idea! Management Consulting</i>
Piotr Samson	<i>Telekomunikacja Polska</i>
Michael Cisowski	<i>Tischner European Unviversity</i>
Grzegorz Gadek	<i>Tischner European Unviversity</i>
Grzegorz Lewicki	<i>Tischner European Unviversity</i>
Jan Strycharz	<i>Tischner European Unviversity</i>

Appendix D

List of Persons Interviewed in the United States

New York

Richard Adams	<i>Documentary Filmmaker Director, “Solidarity”</i>
Andrzej Harasimowicz	<i>Visiting Professor Columbia University</i>
Agnieszka Kozak	<i>Referendary Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland</i>
H.E. Krzysztof Kasprzyk	<i>Consul General Consulate General of the Republic of Poland</i>
Agnieszka Magdziak-Miszewska	<i>Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister Chancellery of the Council of Ministers</i>
Elzbieta Matynia	<i>Associate Professor of Sociology and Liberal Studies Director, Transregional Center for Democratic Studies New School for Social Research</i>
John S. Micgiel	<i>Adj. Associate Professor, International and Public Affairs Associate Director of Harriman Institute Director of East Central European Center Executive Director, Institute for the Study of Europe Columbia University</i>
William S. Moody	<i>Program Officer Rockefeller Brothers Fund</i>
Clark Winter	<i>Chief Global Investment Strategist Citigroup</i>

Washington

Matt Bryza	<i>European/Eurasian Affairs U.S. Department of State</i>
Robert Sessums	<i>Poland Desk Officer U.S. Department of State</i>

Appendix E

Additional Important Contacts

Lena Kolarska-Bobinska	<i>Director Institute for Public Affairs</i>
Zbigniew Bochniarz	<i>Director, Center for Nations in Transition University of Minnesota</i>
Amelia C. Fawcett	<i>Vice Chairman Morgan Stanley International Ltd.</i>
Eugeniusz Smolar	<i>President Center for International Relations</i>
Piotr Tomaszuk	<i>Saint Oedipus Theatre Wierszalin Warsaw and New York</i>
Andrzej Zdebski	<i>President of the Board Polish Information & Foreign Investment Agency</i>