

vis capital.” At present, he says, “the dearth of jobs and the asymmetries in globalization have created competition for jobs in which workers have lost and the owners of capital have won.”

The book is very interesting. From one hand Joseph Stiglitz presents obvious facts, like those that existing system we live in is simply unfair and there have to be some changes in it. What is more, he gives the evidences supported by economic and statistic factors. From the other hand, he

also gives some ideas how the problems can be solved. Stiglitz thinks that all the changes would need to be started from revising the law acts. The politics sphere should be the initiator of those changes by amending new laws which could provide some acceleration to the changes in the economy. In the end of his book, Stiglitz advises that the people and their work should be the biggest values and the politicians should serve them having in mind changes for the good of majority.

Book review: Renata Podgórzkańska, *Polityka zagraniczna Polski wobec obszaru pojugosłowiańskiego* [Polish Foreign Policy towards the Post-Yugoslav Territory], Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2013, pp. 626

by Ewa Piepiora

In 2013 Adam Marszałek Publishing House, Toruń, Poland published a monograph by Renata Podgórzkańska *Polityka zagraniczna Polski wobec obszaru pojugosłowiańskiego* [Polish Foreign Policy towards the Post-Yugoslav Territory]. The issue bears great significance considering the scale and nature of problems related to the process of disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia initiated in the early '90s of the 20th century, as well as the events accompanying the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and its implications for European safety.

In the monograph under review the Author understands foreign policy as “deliberate and organised activity of a country, subordinated to its key interests, and expressed in addressing the shaping of its external environment”¹.

The Author’s analysis of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory follows the approach of neoclassical

¹ R. Podgórzkańska, *Polityka zagraniczna Polski wobec obszaru pojugosłowiańskiego* [Polish Foreign Policy towards the Post-Yugoslav Territory], Toruń 2013, p. 17–18.

realism, emphasising the possibility and need for combining system and internal variables to determine the foreign policy of a country.² The use of neoclassical realism in explaining the Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory stems from the complexity of the implemented policy, the diversity of its determinants, generated by internal circumstances as well as external impulses.³

The Author points out that Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory was not based on any direct interest. From the point of view of Polish interests, the post-Yugoslav territory was perceived as secondary and Polish presence as well as forms of foreign policy employed in the post-Yugoslav area stemmed from the Europeanisation of Polish policy. First and foremost, however, the Author sees Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory as a “tool” serving the achievement of goals relating to the implementation of the Euro-Atlantic option in state foreign policy.⁴

For the purpose of the aforementioned analysis the Author describes two stages. Firstly, the pre-accession period of 1989–2004, secondly, the post-accession period initiated by the Polish accession to the European Union.

In her publication the Author aims at differentiating the motives, functions, character, and direction with which the constructive elements of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory were evolving (aims, rationale, resources, and instruments), as well as the scale of Polish impact on the developments in that part of Europe.⁵ Moreover, she seeks to establish whether and how far Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory has changed since the moment of joining NATO.

The monograph provides an attempt at answering the question of Polish impact on the developments within the territory of the former Yugoslav Federation, its role in ending the Yugoslavian crisis, as well as in the stabilization and security strengthening in the post-conflict area. A further research question refers to the position and role of the post-Yugoslav area in Polish foreign policy. Furthermore, the Author seeks to determine if the declarations of active Polish participation in overcoming problems faced by the former Yugoslavia were merely triggered by the joint contribution to the operations of international community, including the actions undertaken by NATO and the EU for European safety, or in fact resulted from understanding the state’s national interest. Addressing the questions, the Author proves that Polish foreign policy

² *Ibidem*, p. 20.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 19–22; p. 70–72.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

towards the post-Yugoslav territory was of secondary importance; thus, the contribution of Polish foreign policy was inconsiderable, and actions taken by Polish diplomats were largely an echo of the policies of the EU and the USA.⁶

The challenges of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory are specified by Renata Podgórska as the need for verifying the perception of the post-Yugoslav area in foreign policy, and for revising the assumptions underlying Polish foreign policy in terms of the post-Yugoslav territory, broadening the spectrum of Polish foreign policy by the aforementioned area, as well as resigning from lip service and wishful thinking in favour of actual support, correlating and joining all the forms of Polish presence, and developing a concept of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory.

The Author concludes that Poland cannot and should not, on its way to achieve major goals in European policy, marginalise other directions of the EU interest and the interests of other member states. Only the success of enlarging the European Union towards the western Balkans may facilitate the verification of the cooperation of the EU with its eastern neighbour.⁷

The monograph under review consists of five chapters, an introduction, a conclusion, and references.

The manner in which the Author presents separate parts of the monograph indicates a deep understanding of the subject matter. The coherence of raising and discussing the issues of each chapter allows for following the Polish undertakings towards the post-Yugoslav territory with utmost methodicalness.

Extensive references employed by the Author are particularly worth noting. Both Polish and foreign-language they equip the reader with a valuable source of information since Podgórska indicates relevant authors and publications in the footnotes.

The first chapter, *The post-Yugoslav territory in Polish foreign policy as the object of research*, revolves around basic foreign policy theories with reference to Polish foreign policy. Some characteristics of the Polish activity in the research area are explained through neorealist foreign policy, adopting the approach of neoclassical realism. In the following part of the chapter the Author defines the notion and typology of Polish foreign policy and characterises its essence. The chapter is particularly significant due to defining the notion of *the post-Yugoslav territory* and specifying its political, geopolitical, and economic boundaries. The objective and subjective scope of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory is discussed for pre- and post-accession period. The chapter is concluded with an analysis of the aims of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 537.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 555.

The second chapter, *Factors shaping Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory*, presents the impact of Polish internal and external political conditions on Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory. In terms of internal conditions, the Author discusses Polish economic and military potential as determinants of the policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory, the influence of system transformation on shaping Polish foreign policy, the traditions of Polish-Yugoslavian cooperation, and the concepts of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory. As to external conditions, attention is drawn to the issue of transformations in countries on the doorstep of Poland, the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Polish position in the system of international relations, as well as Polish legal and international obligations, their structure and scope.

The third chapter, *The implementation of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory prior to EU accession*, elaborates on the process of implementing foreign policy towards the area of the former Yugoslavia before the Polish entry to the EU. The Author provides a clear insight into the Polish stance towards the quest of independence presented by some Yugoslavian republics: Macedonia, Slovakia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The chapter is mainly

focused on foreign policy towards Yugoslavian conflict in 1992–1995, Polish actions in favour of peace and safety in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Polish participation in peace and stability missions after the conclusion of Dayton Agreement. The Polish stance towards Serbian policy in Kosovo and Polish undertakings for safety and consolidating peace in Kosovo after NATO's actions are discussed as well.

The fourth chapter, *The implementation of the foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory employed by Poland as a EU member*, analyses the Polish commitment to actions for integrating the states of the former post-Yugoslav area with the EU, their impact on the Polish presidency of the EU Council in terms of enlarging the EU to include the post-Yugoslav states. It also discusses the Polish participation in the process of NATO enlargement during the accession of the post-Yugoslav countries.

The fifth chapter, *Assessment and prospects of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory*, sums up the implementation of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory and identifies challenges for the future of Polish foreign policy in this context.

The need for verifying the past perception of foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory as secondary is indicated as one of the challenges. According to the Author, Poland should revise its

attitude considering the position of the western Balkan countries in EU policy.⁸

The monograph provides a comprehensive discussion of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory. The Author displays utmost expertise in relevant literature. The index of archives, printed publications and studies presented therein provides a valuable source of additional information when dealing with the

issue of Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory for the first time.

The monograph *Polish foreign policy towards the post-Yugoslav territory* by Renata Podgórzeńska constitutes a noteworthy source of knowledge for the students of political studies, international relations, safety, Balkan studies, and individuals working on the post-Yugoslav territory- highly recommended particularly to those starting to uncover the mysteries of Polish foreign policy.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 551.