

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will explain the Background of Problem of the Russia-Poland Relations, Research Question, theoretical frameworks, methodology, the hypothesis of Russia-Poland Relations, research purposes and explanation structure of the undergraduate thesis .

1.1. Background of Problem

Relations between Poland and Russia have been going on since the 19th century before the outbreak of the second world war. When referring to existing history, relations between the two countries have been going on since Poland and Russia was still in the form of empires, namely The Kingdom of Poland and The Russian Tsar Empire. Before the Second World War, Polish-Russian relations at that time had the same tension as the relationship between Poland and Nazi Germany during both the Third Reich and the Weimar Republic. Poland for two decades labeled the Soviet Union and Germany as neither friendly countries nor enemies to Poland. until 1939, Poland was invaded by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany which made relations between Poland and the Soviet Union or Russia worse in the 20th century (Gilbert, 2022). After the second world war ended in Europe, Poland was under the control of the Soviet Union. Starting from government administration, the doctrine of communism to the Soviet armed forces colonized Poland which made Poland an eastern block country, namely The People's Republic of Poland or the Polish People's Republic (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa, PRL) (Institute of National Remembrance, 2023). After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Poland and the countries that were part of the Eastern Block regained the long-awaited independence and sovereignty due to the influence exerted by the Soviet Union on Poland during the cold war in the mid-20th century. In the end, Poland got full sovereignty after the formation of a new democratic government in 1989 (Snyder, 2009).

In terms of economic relations that occur between Poland and Russia, the two countries are economically close because of the large number of exports and imports made to each country. In terms of exports, Russia is an important business partner for the European Union. In 2020 Russia exports goods to Poland worth 8.66 billion USD. 4.22 billion of which are Crude Petroleum exports to Poland. while Polish exports to Russia amounted to 7.63 billion USD, 284 million USD of which were computer exports (OEC, 2022). Based on the European Commission, trade relations between the

European Union and Russia in 2021 alone amount to 256 billion euros. Most of this trade was dominated by fuel and mining products, especially mineral fuel, amounting to 98.9 billion euros or 62% (Commission, 2023).

Polish-Russian relations have undergone dynamic changes. Many issues arose in the relations between the two countries from the early 20th century to the present. Starting from the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1939, Soviet control over Poland in 1945, the 2010 Plane Crash, the Annexation of Crimea in 2014 to the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 which had an influence on the relations between the two countries politically, economically to the social community of Poland and Russia.

Russia in 2022 implements a policy that destabilizes global political stability. The global political situation is worried about the occurrence of a 3rd world war. The policy of the so-called "special military operation in Ukraine" which was instructed by Russian President Vladimir Putin was in fact an act of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Right on February 24, 2022, Russia began its invasion of Ukraine starting with a direct attack on the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv and the second largest city in Ukraine, Kharkiv (Bigg, 2023). Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine at the end of February 2022, the perceived impact of the invasion can be felt on a global scale. Starting from the humanitarian crisis that occurred in Europe. Because most Ukrainians had to flee from Ukraine, and the European Union countries that were close neighbors of Ukraine became a place where over 7 million Ukrainians fled to countries in the European Union. (Karasapan, 2022).

In addition to the humanitarian crisis that has occurred since the war occurred, there are several sectors affected by the Russia-Ukraine war. Such as in the food sector, economic sector, international trade, and energy, to international political tensions (Global Data, 2022). The European Union implemented various blocking policies in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Such as blocking transactions with the Russian Regional Development Bank, blocking investments in the mining sector, and exports of goods and technology to Russia (European Council, 2023). Countries that are members of the European Union must of course comply with the policies set by the European Union, and Poland is no exception.

Poland has become one of the key players in the political news and the country that is leading the Europe's response to war. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has made

Poland one of the key players in the crisis. The country that is leading, along with the Other EU countries like Germany, in supporting Ukraine, delivering military weaponry, and hosting hundreds of thousands and Millions of refugees (Frencis, 2023). In the first three weeks after the Russian invasion alone, Poland took in more than two million refugees. From the start of the war, Ukraine practically overnight, became fourth on the list of countries with the most refugees in the world, behind only Venezuela, the Syrian Arab Republic, and Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2022).

Actions taken by the Polish government in response to the Russo-Ukrainian War against Russia, such as blocking Russian citizens from entering the Polish border, terminating trade relations with Russia and Belarus, terminating relations in various sectors such as in the economic sector, imposing joint sanctions with Other European countries, to the point of view from the government to the Polish people who are not in favor of Russia. Since the beginning of the war, the Polish government and society have mobilized to put in place an unprecedented system of housing, transportation, food, psychological support, and aid of all kinds. The Polish government is even paying small monthly allowances to families that have arrived from Ukraine (Republic of Poland, 2022). The refugees are allowed to seek work in the country and the health and education system has also been opened wide. Tens of thousands of Ukrainian children are already enrolled in Polish schools (European Commission, 2022).

Geographically, Poland is very close to Ukraine and Russia. Specifically, Ukraine is in the east of Poland, while Russia is directly adjacent to Poland north of the city of Gdansk, namely in the Kaliningrad Oblast. Since the Russia-Ukrainian war, Poland as the largest European Union member state closest to Ukraine has felt the effects of the war directly. Poland condemns Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022. As a form of not supporting Russia's brutal policies, the government of Poland has frozen diplomatic relations with Russia and stop entry to Russian tourists along with neighboring countries such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland (Estonian Police and Border Guard Board , 2022). As a member of the European Union, Poland cut off trade relations with Russia and implemented sanctions against Russia as were carried out by other EU member countries aimed at stopping the war and re-stabilizing political tensions in Europe (Union, 2023).

1.2. Research Question

Based on the background of the problems above, the research problems can be formulated as follows:

“What factors shaping the Polish Government Diplomatic Sanction Policies on Russia?”

1.3. Theoretical Framework

Foreign Policy Decision Making Theory

According to Willian D. Coplin, there are several significant factors that can help explain the reasons why a government conducts a policy, including the domestic political situation, economic situation, and military capabilities, with the final factor being the international context in which it is implemented. In addition, Coplin's theory explains the processes of decision-making before a foreign political policy is created, which is followed by state action (Coplin, 2003).

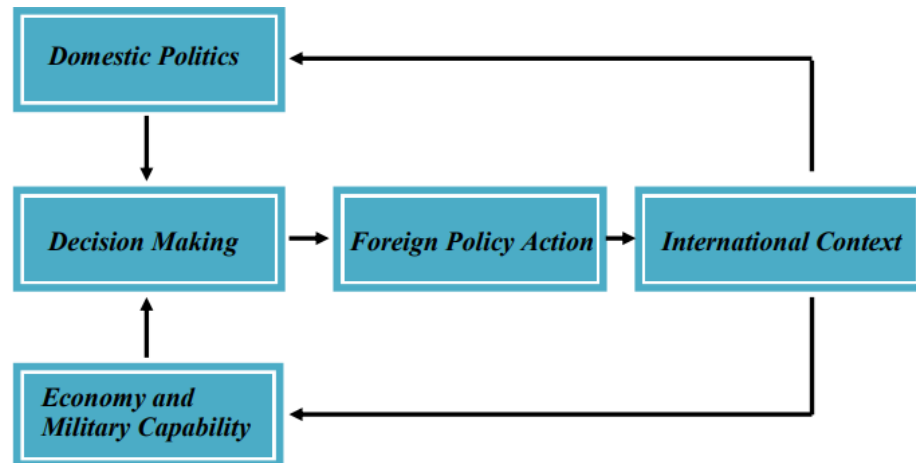


Diagram 1. Foreign Policy Decision Making Theory (Coplin, 2003)
Source: *Introduction of Internasional Politics* page: 30

Based on **Diagram 1**, there are 3 consideration factors that influence the formation of a country's foreign policy:

1. Domestic Politics

Domestic Politics in this case is where the political situation that occurs in a country is influenced by actors who influence a country's policy-making. Such as *bureaucratic influencers*, namely individuals and state executive institutions who assist decision-makers in formulating and implementing state policies, and *mass influencers*, which is the public opinion / or society owned by the population which is considered by decision-makers to design foreign policy.

2. Economy and Military Capability

Which means how the capabilities of a country in the economic and military of a country when facing a conflict that will affect the stability of the country which is a consideration for designing a foreign policy. According to Coplin (2003), The state must consider and balance the country's desires with understanding the limitations imposed by the country's economic and military conditions (Coplin, 2003).

3. International Context

The international context is the product of all countries' past, current, and future foreign policy decisions that will be taken into consideration by decision-makers (Coplin, 2003). In the international context, factors that can influence the formation of a country's foreign policy are influenced by international political conditions that occur in the region around that country. Apart from that, the international context can be influenced by international ties or regional relations that occur between many countries in one region.

To give another example, such has led to scholars like Charles Hermann described foreign policy as "the definite purposeful action that comes from the political level choice of an individual or group of individuals. It is the tangible result of a choice made at the political level. It is a result of the decision, not the decision itself." This illustrates how Hermann defines foreign policy as how governments act (Hermann, 1989).

Lastly, According to Graham Allison, a former assistant defense secretary of the United States, foreign policy is only a comparative or case-specific analysis of the procedures, consequences, causes, or effects of making foreign policy decisions (Allison, 1999). Foreign Policy Theory is a concept that explores a nation's interactions and activities with other nations, with the intention of serving as a guide for government decision-making and actions regarding relations with other nations (Kafle, Making a Difference: Allison's Three Models of Foreign Policy Analysis, 2011). This theory discusses how the process of formulating a foreign policy of a country or an association of countries in an international organization is in response to certain situations and

issues. There are 2 categories that influence the choice of how to respond to issues in terms of foreign policy. The first is internal factor for example historical aspect, the second is external factor such as threat aspect and regional community aspect.

1. Internal Factor

What is meant by internal factors in Foreign Policy is how the government in a country considers various aspects of its country so that it can decide policies for the good of the country itself. One of the internal factors in a foreign policy decision is the historical approach factor. A historical approach tends to describe broad trends in states' foreign policies and relates those policies to the social, political, economic, ideological, and geographic conditions within a certain time. It focuses on the analysis of reactions to other nations or the behavior of interest groups within a broader historical background (Bojang, 2018).

The relation of this theory and the undergraduate thesis is how history becomes a determining factor in Polish foreign policy over Russia as a result of the invasion that was carried out on Ukraine in 2022. In the context of the historical approach in foreign policy theory, it is said that the historical approach tends to describe broad trends in states' foreign policies within a certain time. which means that Poland uses a historical approach in making foreign policy toward Russia.

2. External Factor

What is meant by external factors in Foreign Policy is how the government in a country considers various aspects of the situation originating from its neighboring or regional countries as a basis for making foreign policy decisions for that country. In deciding an order to respond to any problems, from external factors, there are two aspects that influence the foreign policy decision making. The first is a Threat of War aspect, the second is the Regional Community Aspect (Hermann, 1989).

- Threat of War Aspect

What is meant by the aspect of the threat of war is when a country must immediately design a policy based on a feeling of discomfort or threat because of the political tension situation in the

region. In the aspect of threats, there must be a common thought from the government of the country to the voice of the people of the country regarding the presence of a threat.

- Regional Community Aspect

The regional community factor is a factor that is no less important than the threat aspect described in the war threat aspect. In the regional community aspect, a large organization consisting of many countries certainly has great influence in deciding a policy for its member countries. An example of a regional community in Europe is NATO and the EU. Poland as a member state of the EU, Poland must of course comply with the policies implemented by the European Union for all its member countries.

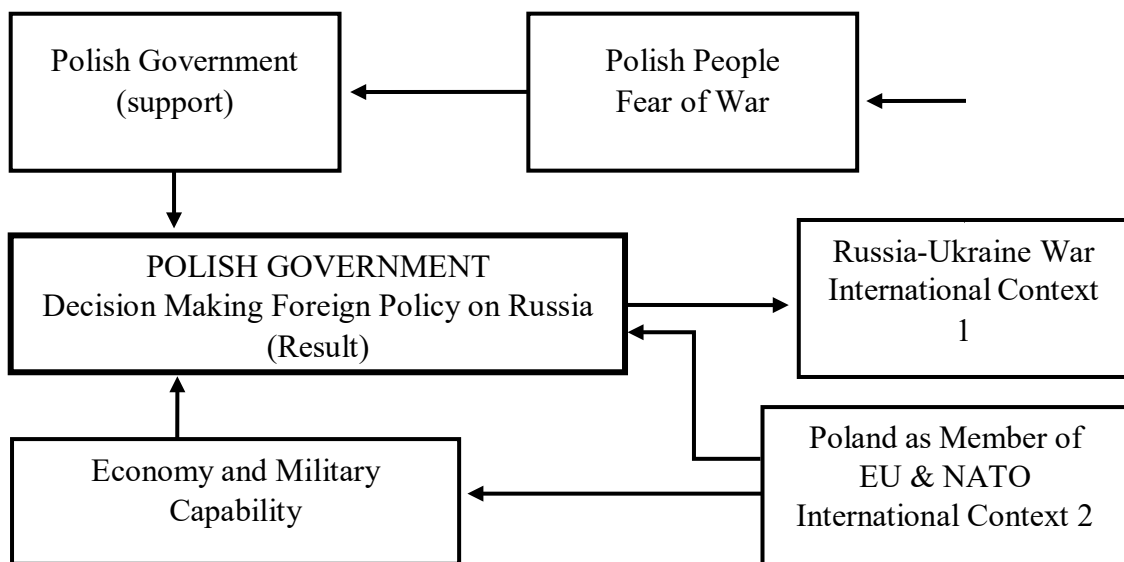


Diagram 2. Mind Map Polish Decision Making Process

According to **Diagram 2**. Polish Foreign policy decision-making process regarding Russia must be carried out in stages. In the diagram, it is stated that there are 2 international contexts. Which is the context of the Russia-Ukraine war, and the context of Poland as a member of the EU and NATO. The Russia-Ukraine war will have a significant influence on Poland, and the first to be affected are the Polish people who are worried and afraid that the conflict will spread to Poland and other Western European countries. Polish people are protesting and demanding policies from the Polish government towards Russia so the

Polish government must immediately act and issue policies or sanctions against Russia. Apart from that, in the context of Poland as a member of the EU and NATO, Poland is at the forefront of the Russia-Ukraine conflict for the EU and NATO because Poland is close to where the conflict is taking place. The EU and NATO provide economic and military assistance to help overcome the humanitarian crisis in Poland and help provide "security" for Poland from the possibility of a Russian invasion of Poland because Poland cannot overcome the humanitarian crisis of Ukrainian refugees and Polish security alone with its capacity. By receiving support from the EU and NATO, Poland must also follow the policies or sanctions given by the EU and NATO against Russia by implementing or adopting in its foreign policy. Based on the theory of Foreign Policy Decision Making Process, there are factors that can influence a country's policy making. In the case of the Polish Government, there are 2 factors that influence Polish foreign policy making, namely internal factors and external factors. The internal factor is from the Polish government and the Polish people who have the same opinion about the Russian government and the invasion that was carried out against Ukraine. While the external factor is Poland as a member country of NATO and the European Union. As a member of the alliance, Poland must follow the policies set by NATO and the EU.

1.4. Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this research is there are two factors influence the Polish Government Foreign Policy decision making on Russia:

1. Internal Factor: The Polish Government policy towards Russia was formed on the basis of the common opinion between the Polish people and the Polish government regarding Russia-Ukraine War .
2. External Factor: The Polish Government Policy was shapen by its relations with EU and NATO, as the member of both EU and NATO, Poland must follow the Policy to condemn Russia. Also Poland view of the Russia-Ukraine conflict as a threat and fear that the conflict that will be spread to West Europe including Poland.

1.5. Research Objectives

This Undergraduate thesis has the purposes of analyzing the impact of Russo-Ukraine War on Poland and Russia diplomatic relationship in 2022. This analysis includes the Poland-Russia relation history Post-WWII, Cold-War Poland, Russia-Ukraine War and Poland-Russia Relation in 21st Century.

This Undergraduate thesis also has a purpose to fulfill the last requirement for the undergraduate student to graduate from the bachelor's degree in the social science faculty.

1.6. Research Methode

The method that will be used in this research is qualitative. In this qualitative research method, the research data is collected through secondary data, from a paper, internet, international electronic mass media, official government or international governmental organization websites, and other sources.

1.7. Structure

The outline of this undergraduate thesis:

- **Chapter 1**

In chapter 1 contain the background, Research Focus, theoretical frameworks, methodology, research objectives and structure of the undergraduate thesis.

- **Chapter 2**

In chapter 2 contain the explanation the history of Poland-Russia relationship Post-World War 2 and After the Collapse of the USSR. This chapter contains the progress of Poland-Russia Relations in the 20th century, NATO & EU involvement with Russia, Poland Relation after the Collapse of the USSR, and the Early 2000s Poland-Russia Relations.

- **Chapter 3**

In chapter 3 contain the analysis of the Russia-Ukraine war, the Russia-Ukraine war impact on Poland, the World and Europe's stability, including economic and energy stability in Europe and Europe Reponds on the conflict.

- **Chapter 4**

In chapter 4 contain the analysis of the Polish government responds on Russia invasion and what factor influence Poland foreign policy on Russia.

- **Chapter 5**

In chapter 5 contain conclusion of the research about the analysis of all chapter in this undergraduate thesis about Poland-Russia Relations in 2022.