

NATO Enlargement: Poland's Response

Is the United States getting what it bargained for?

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INTRODUCTION

As if kindled by a freshening Westerly breeze, the smoldering embers of freedom ignited in the spring of 1989 and cast the die for the future of a democratic Poland and a new European security environment. The roots of liberty that grew from the labor of calloused hands and the spirit of hopeful hearts of determined shipyard workers in Gdansk and millions like them have become firmly fixed throughout the nation and have now spread thick throughout the soil of Central Europe. Vital and charged with a vision of destiny, the independent Polish spirit has germinated into an expectation of human dignity, security, and prosperity. Cutting through the weight of oppression and hopelessness that characterized the bankrupt Soviet ideology, the challenge of realizing their simple, democratic goals rises anew each day on the horizon.

In the ten years since the fall of the Iron Curtain, the European landscape has undergone unimaginable political change. On 12 March 1999, in the Harry S. Truman Library in Independence, Missouri, the first round of NATO expansion was implemented with the core of the former Warsaw Pact, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic being recognized as fully vested members of the North Atlantic Alliance. Furthermore, nine other nations (Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia) are currently executing NATO-developed Membership Action Plans (MAP) in conjunction with Partnership for Peace (PfP) activities in anticipation of a similar future. In addition, fifteen more European and Asian nations, largely comprised of Soviet legacy nations from the Commonwealth of Independent States, have established Partnership for Peace relationships with NATO in the spirit of military and security cooperation.¹

In this greatly altered landscape, former adversaries are now conducting a host of combined military operations across the continent in bilateral, trilateral, and multinational fora under the auspices of a spectrum of security organizations. Combined with a corollary scope of economic activity to promote prosperity and develop nonmilitary cooperation between democratic nations from the Atlantic to the Caucasus, the vision of a reunified European continent is coming into focus and seems far more a reality now than at anytime in history.

The division of Europe along ideological lines in the wake of World War Two, the bipolar muscle flexing that characterized the will to preserve those ideologies, and the resulting disparities of economic fortune that have evolved from their execution all set the stage for an unprecedented circumstance in the development of modern nations. The inevitable failure of Soviet ideology created a new vision of sovereignty virtually overnight, a vision that would require significant adjustment, accommodation, patience, and cultivation.

However, the prospects, challenges, and opportunities that would follow the failed communist myth were problematic to say the least. Not surprisingly, the transformation of these complex states would test the will, resourcefulness, and resources to the limits. As predictable as Maslow's hierarchy of needs, these emerging democracies of Eastern Europe immediately cast their focus on the building blocks of that pyramid, physiological needs (prosperity) as characterized by membership in the European Union, and safety as characterized by membership in and the umbrella of the NATO Alliance. Properly laid, this foundation could guarantee the stability long missing from the architecture of Central Europe.

That NATO and EU membership quickly became the objective of the new democracies is not surprising. Their constant exposure and awareness of the reality of haves and have nots throughout the fifty years of superpower tension that stretched across their lands firmly embedded the vision of security and prosperity that was the good fortune of Western European states on the other side of the Wall. Clearly, there would be no hesitation on their part in the pursuit of this same good fortune and security.

However, not only would these new democracies have to combat a host of domestic reform challenges and staggering paradigm shifts, they would face the additional burden of having to court the favor of both the EU and NATO in their quest for inclusion. Whether membership in the EU or NATO would occur first, and which nations would be so fortunate as to blaze the trail was the dilemma of the Western governments. Not only would they have to weigh the individual and collective assets of the new democracies, they would also face the whimsy of the pundits, the circumspection of the public, and the wrath of Russia.

As it would unfold, despite national preference or philosophical merit, NATO was the only organization either willing or capable of acting within a reasonable timeframe to both encourage and absorb new members. While membership in the EU would have allayed, or at least deferred the concerns of Russia and facilitated the focus of more direct financial attention on domestic reform and reconstruction, the EU is largely beyond the scope of U.S. influence and bound by the quagmire of an intensely bureaucratic legislative process. Charged with U.S. passion and leadership, NATO on the other hand, would emerge as the first opportunity for the new democracies to find inclusion in the European fraternity.

Among the existing NATO members and the hordes of political, economic, and military pundits within them, there emerged vehement and convincing arguments for both the enlargement of NATO and the maintenance of the status quo. In the pro-enlargement camp, the pillars of their argument hinged on such sweeping and noble concepts as bolstering stability and democracy in Central Europe, the reunification of Europe and erasure of the artificial dividing lines that resulted from the Yalta Agreement, and the strengthening of the NATO Alliance both numerically, and by reducing potential sources of conflict within another Central European security vacuum.

In the status-quo camp, cogent argument developed around the prospect of dilution of the Alliance. A territorially expanded NATO would by definition become less operationally effective, more bureaucratically congested, and more resource constrained. It would also inherit new security challenges in the historically unstable periphery of the Alliance. Furthermore, the costs of expansion, while elusive and hard to capture, were cast as prohibitive to both new and existing members. Defense budgets across the European and Atlantic landscape were being slashed to address other domestic issues and realize a peace dividend. Similarly, it was clear that the newly accessing nations could ill afford the cost of membership and the commensurate financial detriment it would surely impose on more pressing domestic issues. Despite their commendable aspirations, they were certain to leave the substantial financial burden to existing members.

Of course, looming in the background of any prospect of NATO expansion was Russia. The enlargement of NATO would incur a serious price to pay in the West's relationship with a struggling, suspicious Russia. New spheres of influence and dividing lines would emerge, dangerous nationalistic tendencies would surface, and strategic arms reduction initiatives would be stymied. The ideological battle of superpowers had

devolved into an ostensibly less threatening, but no less emotional challenge of international posturing and postulating.

The new European security environment would prove to be as complex and challenging as the old. Grandiloquence flourished. The dichotomy of views on NATO enlargement swept the spectrum of possibility. President Clinton optimistically exhorted all to capture destiny in “one of those rare moments when we have within our grasp the opportunity to actually shape the future.”² At the same time, George Kennan issued his foreboding prediction that NATO enlargement would be “the most fateful error of American policy in the post-cold war world.”³

The multitude of rational and convincing pro and con issues and concerns acknowledged, the decision to enlarge NATO was ultimately founded on an amorphous political construct, with a view towards, but not hinging on either specific military or economic criteria. Those details would be worked out in due course. The U.S. policy statements made leading up to and during the enlargement decision-making process were intended to crystallize the vision of the future and make it clear to the American public what the government expected the enlargement to do for the United States. Enlarging the Alliance would make America safer and more prosperous. This was carefully articulated by the State Department in their public information campaign in the context of the following four objectives:

- Enlargement will make NATO stronger and better able to address Europe’s security challenges. It will strengthen common security, enhance NATO’s ability to fulfill its core collective defense mission (NATO Charter Article 5 mission), respond to a range of security

challenges (non-Article 5 missions), reduce the possibility of another major conflict in Europe, and allow more states to share the responsibility of NATO missions (burden sharing).

- Enlargement will strengthen NATO's military capability and its ability to perform its missions by adding over 200,000 troops, equipment, and strategic assets (infrastructure). A corresponding willingness to contribute to security in and around the Central and Eastern European region will contribute to NATO's effectiveness.
- Enlargement will bolster stability and democracy in Central Europe. It will support, encourage, and accelerate the development of democratic trends such as civilian control of the military, free market economies and fiscal reform, peaceful resolution of ethnic, religious, and border disputes, and a better long-term climate for American trade and investment.
- Enlargement will erase Stalin's and the Yalta Agreement's artificial dividing line in Europe. It will prevent the emergence of a gray zone of insecurity (security vacuum) in what historically has been the heart of the century's worst conflicts. Enlargement, and the constructive relationships it spawns with Russia and the Ukraine, will push the benefits of newly realized regional security beyond the borders of NATO.⁴

In summary, from the U.S. perspective, enlargement would make NATO stronger and reaffirm America's commitment to stay engaged in Europe. In so doing it would make Europe safer and more prosperous, and a safer, more prosperous Europe will make America more prosperous and secure. Simple.

The expansion of NATO in the spring of 1999 (with the addition of the three Central European nations of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary) relegates the need to further discuss whether it should or should not have taken place to the historians. It is now more reasonable to look at the decision and ask some questions that may be useful in thinking about the future. Although founded on a decision based largely in the context of broad political factors, there is a spectrum of implications and considerations in the details of the domestic political, military, and economic activity of the new NATO members that cast a shadow on the future of NATO and the security interests of both Europe and the United States. One year after the accession of NATO's three newest members, it is reasonable to reassess the value of enlargement and ask if things are working out as they were forecast. Simply put, is the United States getting what it bargained for when it fervently led the charge for an expanded Alliance?

In addressing this broad question, I will examine relevant aspects of the activities of Poland both leading up to and since its accession into the NATO Alliance. As Poland is generally credited with being the catalyst that precipitated the dissolution of the Soviet Union, its activities are particularly germane. Not only was it the most aggressive in its pursuit of unfettered sovereignty, it represents other important factors that illustrate challenges and opportunities for any alliance.

In geographic, demographic, military, and economic terms, Poland is clearly the largest of the new accession members. By these measures, it offers the greatest

opportunities for either the success or failure of an enlarged Alliance. Moreover, by the intangible measures of motivation, national will, and proactivity, Poland has been the most aggressive in its endeavors toward full integration with Europe and the Western security Alliance. It therefore offers the best opportunity for a holistic evaluation of what enlargement of the Alliance can produce with respect to American interests.

This paper will capture only a representative snapshot of Polish undertakings toward both the requirements of NATO membership and the general progress of military and economic reform as they relate to U.S. interests. To establish a point of reference, I will first review NATO's general expectations and requirements of new members and the contribution they are expected to make to the Alliance. I will then briefly address the historical circumstances affecting Poland's perspective on its general national security concerns and develop them in the context of motivation and national will.

To further examine the context of Poland's value to an enlarged NATO and the impact of its contribution to U.S. interests, I will then address aspects of its economic activity and the indicators that contribute to a solid foundation of military viability and subsequent operational contributions to NATO. This will allow a more relevant examination of military considerations, from the perspective of personnel, infrastructure, equipment modernization, and burden sharing that Poland has undertaken in the pursuit of national security and directly in support of membership in the NATO Alliance.

Although there is much to offer by way of detailed analysis, I will not specifically address the composition or changes in military forces and structures. Rather, I will only address the salient aspects of those elements required to enunciate the collective effect of its membership in the Alliance. Nor will I address high-level government or Ministry of National Defense institutional reform, as much of that work has already been

accomplished and has been recognized as a fundamental precondition for NATO membership. Suffice to say that the United States efforts in supporting the efficacy of democratic institutions and processes in Poland have been fruitful.

With that foundation, I will go on to make an assessment of Poland's contribution to an enlarged Alliance, and determine to what extent it is facilitating the attainment of the United States' overarching goals and objectives. From that assessment I will then make general observations and conclusions regarding the effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy, the future of the Alliance, the European Security and Defense Identity/Policy, and the developing relationship with Russia and Ukraine.

I will pursue this course of this examination with full appreciation of the fact that NATO has undergone three formal, and one informal enlargement episodes since its inception in 1949. They are:

- The admission of Greece and Turkey in 1952, ostensibly to secure NATO's southern flank
- The admission of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955 during the acceleration of the arms race, and the corresponding development of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact)
- The admission of Spain in 1982
- The de facto enlargement in October 1990 with the unification of East and West Germany.

None of the previous enlargement initiatives were as ambitious nor experienced the scope of global scrutiny as this most recent iteration. However, all have withstood the test of time and the associated concerns of their respective eras. Individually and collectively they illustrate the complexities of the changing international security environment, the ability of democratic nations and institutions to recognize and respond

to those changes, and reinforce the belief that the continued pursuit of security and prosperity is a worthy investment of the world community.

¹ Simon, Jeffrey, "Partnership For Peace (PFP): After the Washington Summit and Kosovo." *Strategic Forum*, No.167, Aug.1999, 3.

² Clinton, William J., "Remarks by the President on the National Interest for Enlarging NATO." http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/980320_clinton_nato, Jan 12, 2000.

³ Schwenninger, Sherle, "The Case Against NATO Enlargement: Clinton's Fateful Gamble." *The Nation*, Oct.20, 1997. <http://www.wf.org/schwenni.htm>, Jan 12, 2000.

⁴ U.S. Department of State, "Why NATO Enlargement Is In America's National Interest." http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/fs_980219_4points, Jan 12, 2000.

Section 1: NATO MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS

Pressure for a structural and confidence-inspiring change in the European security environment was building in the early part of the 1990s. The implementation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in 1991 represented the first major outreach effort of NATO. Embracing the thirty-eight former members of the Soviet sphere of influence, it focused on a spectrum of engagement opportunities to begin a bonding process between East and West.

Despite the sweeping outreach, a number of factors occurred in the early Nineties that created insecurity in East-West relations, predictably concerning the stability and developing identity crisis in Russia. Internal capitalist exploitation, resurgent nationalism, unsuccessful intervention in Chechnya, and the troubled administration of President Yeltsin created discomfort and a fear of revived Russian imperialism in the Central European states. A recently reunified Germany feared instability of its eastern border and the projected negative economic impact on new markets to the east.⁵ Pressure for change was building. Although earlier consideration for an enlarged Alliance had been ruled out, the position was being reconsidered.

In Brussels on 10 January 1994 at a meeting of the North Atlantic Council, NATO announced that the Alliance was open for the candidacy of new members. The process of new member accession would be managed through a program announced as a “Partnership for Peace.” With the door swinging open as a result of the Brussels Declaration, NATO commissioned a study to define the objectives of an enlarged Alliance and identify the requirements and expectations of prospective members. This “Study on NATO Enlargement” would help both NATO and aspiring members quantify, in general terms, what it would take to be considered for eligibility. The Partnership for

Peace process would be the tool to help guide those who sought membership down the road.

NATO was suddenly thrust into what was at once an opportunity, a challenge, and a mandate to build a new security architecture. Articulating the fundamental aims of this proposed architecture was simple: they were to preserve peace and provide increased stability and security without creating new dividing lines.⁶ The Alliance would maintain its purely defensive posture. While no specific or fixed criteria for accession were available “off the shelf,” new members would necessarily be expected to contribute positively toward the principles of the NATO Charter and the generally understood purposes of enlargement. The Alliance would decide to invite and accept new members based on a consensus of judgment that a contribution to security and stability would be the result. Accordingly, the enlargement study undertook the task of defining general purposes, principles, and expectations that could focus an assessment of the merits of prospective members vis-à-vis their ability to contribute to these broad goals.

The purposes of enlargement themselves connote qualities and activities by which new members could be measured in their ability to contribute and in the pursuit of which they were expected to be integral. These purposes are listed in Figure 1.⁷ Through the acknowledgement of these overarching purposes, the Alliance would expect to enlarge under the auspices of specific basic principles. These principles also connote qualifications and abilities that would be sought in prospective members, and are listed in Figure 2.⁸

Figure 1. The Purposes of NATO Enlargement

- Encourage and support democratic reforms, including civilian and democratic control over the military
- Foster patterns and habits of cooperation, consultation, and consensus building
- Promote good-neighborly relations between member and non-member states
- Emphasize common defense
- Increase transparency in defense planning and military budgets
- Reinforce integration based on shared democratic values
- Reduce tendency toward disintegration along ethnic and territorial lines
- Strengthen the Alliance's ability to contribute to regional security through peacekeeping activities
- Strengthen and broaden the trans-Atlantic partnership

Figure 2. Guiding Principles of NATO Enlargement

- Accord with and promote the purposes and principles of the UN Charter
- Accord with Article 10 of the Washington Treaty that acknowledges the admission of new members with the ability to contribute to security
- New members will assume all obligations of membership and conform with principles, policies, and procedures of the Alliance
- New members will strengthen the effectiveness and cohesion of the Alliance, and preserve the political and military capability to perform core functions and undertake peacekeeping and other new missions
- Contribute to true cooperation throughout Europe, threaten no one, and enhance security and stability for all
- Support the Partnership for Peace to strengthen relations with partner countries
- Complement the enlargement of the European Union

Together, these purposes and principles would represent the issues and factors the Alliance would have to consider. These factors would be further flavored by an assessment of the level of commitment of candidate states to the following Alliance objectives:

- Uniting their efforts for collective defense
- Peacefully settling ethnic, territorial, or internal jurisdictional disputes
- Refraining from threat or use of force in the conduct of their international relations
- Contributing to peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions and promoting conditions of stability
- Maintaining the effectiveness of the Alliance by sharing roles, risks, responsibilities, and the costs of common security.

Beyond these general subjective measures, the complex process of evaluating whether or not new members could actually strengthen the Alliance would require the use of more specific elements. Several general measures of effectiveness were established across the spectrum of specific capabilities related areas. These areas included collective defense, command structure, conventional forces, nuclear forces, force structure, intelligence, finance, and interoperability. Figure 3 depicts the general elements by which NATO members would judge a prospective member's ability to contribute to the military credibility of the Alliance.⁹ Figure 4 further specifies the political and military expectations of new members.¹⁰

Figure 3. Elements of Military Effectiveness

Collective Defense: New members will be expected to contribute to the Alliance's collective defense and be prepared to contribute to other military missions.

Command Structure: New members should participate in the command structure and be integrated into existing NATO headquarters.

Conventional Forces: New members will need to participate in NATO exercises and be able to host exercises on their territory.

Nuclear Forces: New members will be expected to support the concept of deterrence and the essential role of nuclear weapons.

Force Structure: New members should be prepared to participate in the Alliance force structure through a variety of means including the hosting of Alliance forces, development and maintenance of mobile of forces, pre-positioning of material, maintenance of infrastructure, and the development of strategic or theater lift capabilities.

Intelligence: New members will have full opportunity to participate in the Alliance intelligence process. They are expected to bring new capabilities and to safeguard NATO information.

Finance: New members will be expected to contribute their share to commonly funded programs and to acknowledge the considerable costs and requirement to contribute to Alliance budgets.

Interoperability: New members will be expected to make every effort to meet NATO interoperability standards and incorporate NATO standard operating procedures.

Figure 4. Political and Military Expectations of New Members

- Conform to basic principles of the Washington Treaty: democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law
- Accept NATO as a community of like-minded nations joined together for collective defense with each nation contributing to security and defense
- Be firmly committed to the principles of the Partnership for Peace
- Commit themselves to consensus building as the basis for cohesion and decision-making
- Participate fully in the Alliance consultation and decision-making process
- Establish a permanent representation at NATO Headquarters
- Establish military representation at SHAPE and SACLANT
- Nominate qualified candidates to serve on the International Staff and in NATO agencies
- Contribute to Alliance budgets
- Participate in the exchange of Allied intelligence
- Apply NATO security rules and procedures
- Accept the Documents that provide the basis for Alliance policies
- Demonstrate a commitment to OSCE norms and principles
- Demonstrate a commitment to promote stability, well-being, economic liberty, social justice, and environmental responsibility
- Undertake a commitment to ensure adequate national resources are devoted to these obligations
- Prepare to share roles, risks, responsibilities, and benefits of the Alliance
- Subscribe to the Alliance's Strategic Concept
- Demonstrate a commitment to pursue standardization and interoperability

The scope of the criteria leading to the open arms of the Alliance was imposing enough at face value. But, when put in the context of newly formed democracies and market economies emerging from a shroud of fifty years of communist repression, they were at once intimidating, challenging, and optimistic. Could it be possible for Europe's new democracies to pass these comprehensive litmus tests within the foreseeable future? Would the scope of the criteria motivate or discourage potential members? Expansion of the Alliance was a serious business. NATO would walk a fine line between the competing objectives of extending the promise of hope, maintaining credibility, risking

dilution, alienating those whom it sought to unite, and preventing the deterioration of relations with the Russians. Poland's ability to meet those objectives would obviously define the type of contribution they could make to the Alliance, and potentially dictate the future of both NATO and the Euro-Atlantic security environment.

The complexity and sensitivity of the decision to enlarge and the methods chosen to execute it dictated both a deliberate yet malleable strategy. The unprecedented nature of this enlargement proposition, the ramifications facing it, and the amount of international scrutiny all ensured that the process would not be quick, would not be universally popular, and would not result in completely predictable consequences. Nonetheless, a process and a set of flexible criteria were developed to undertake the challenge to construct a new European security architecture. Within ten years of their break from communist rule, and within five years of implementing the Partnership for Peace, this process had determined that Poland would contribute to the stability and security of North Atlantic Alliance.

⁵ Kaplan, Lawrence, "The Meeting of East and West," *50 Years of NATO*, 1999: 196.

⁶ North Atlantic Treaty Organization, *Study on NATO Enlargement*.

<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/enl-9502>, Feb. 24, 2000.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Section 2: POLAND

“Only ten years ago, Poland was in a state of political enslavement, contrary to the will of the nation, and in violation of the fundamental values that constituted its identity.”¹¹ “Poles know the value of peace. For centuries Poland was subject to wars of cruelty of unprecedented scope. Generations gave their lives to fight for freedom.”¹²

These two quotations capture the essence of Polish identity, ambition, motivation, and national will. A country of forty million people in the heart of Europe, Poland has been the epicenter of global power struggles that defined much of the course of history in the twentieth century. Despite a historical legacy that repeatedly deprived them of both sovereignty and liberty, the Poles have ascended once again from tragic circumstances and are now considered the most progressive and forward leaning of all the nations of the former Soviet sphere of influence. The extent of the Polish contribution to NATO and the security interests of Europe and the United States will be driven by these unfortunate elements of history, the national identity they cultivated, and the byproducts of the resulting society that has developed in Poland.

Motivation

In his recent book, “America’s New Allies,” Andrew Michta recognizes that “Poland clearly has the political will, at the level of both the government and the society at large, to make a contribution to NATO.”¹³ Will connotes motivation. What motivates Poles and gives them this strong will to make such major and sweeping transformations throughout their nation in the interest of NATO membership? Can this motivation ensure that Poland is a contributor, and not just a consumer of NATO’s collective defense and

collective security capabilities? Polish Ambassador to the United States Jerzy Kozminski articulated a powerful case for the motivational strength of the Polish population as the guarantor of their quest for reunification with mainstream Europe and NATO membership. The following are the essential elements of the motivational forces that he acknowledges as key to Poland's successful future:

- A conviction that Poland has a historical place in Europe. The Polish population shares the same values, principles and practices as its Western European neighbors. Historically, they have been contributors to the cultural heritage of Europe. Their cities and towns share a common way of life.
- In a moral sense, Polish citizens want to re-establish Poland in its rightful place on the European landscape and erase forever the artificial dividing lines created by the Yalta Agreement. There is a deep-rooted sense of injustice that so many were artificially excluded from the opportunities for freedom and prosperity developed on the Western side of the dividing line.
- Polish membership in NATO is an integral part of an unprecedented opportunity to establish a new European security environment. It is an opportunity to create a new order based on commonly shared values, culture, and goals.

- Remembering the lessons of the past, there is a real desire to eliminate any connotation of a “security vacuum” or “gray zone” of security on the European continent, and in particular, one that resides in and around their national boundaries.
- The pursuit of and ultimate membership in both NATO and the EU adds vitality and reinforcement to the goals of their democratic and economic reforms. It provides them with the guidance, tools, measuring sticks, and motivation to sustain the efforts that will portend prosperity and security for the future.
- EU and NATO membership will consolidate and substantiate good neighborly relations throughout the region and will promote reconciliation, consultation, and consensus building through which the spectrum of existing and future bilateral issues can be addressed.
- The quality of their relations with Russia will be enhanced. NATO membership will ultimately improve political relations by stabilizing the security relationship between them, and potentially contribute to the decline of nationalistic and imperialistic tendencies. This stability will bode well for enhanced economic activity with Russia.

- The bonds between the United States and Poland in specific, and Europe and the United States in general will be strengthened. It will help to ensure continued U.S. engagement in Europe. This bond between Poland and the U.S. is revered for the historical reasons of U.S. support of Poland and is sustained by the positive influence of the large body of Polish immigrants living in the United States.
- The security provided by NATO membership bodes extremely well for enhanced trade and investment in Poland. This is a direct route to prosperity and security.
- There is an understanding that inclusion in NATO will produce benefits in other aspects of national security including terrorism, organized crime, refugee immigration, and other dimensions of insecurity that may define the future.¹⁴

As these motivational factors would suggest, public support for NATO membership in Poland has been extremely high. Indeed it has peaked at the ninety percent level and remained consistently above the eighty percent mark throughout most of the decade of the Nineties. The spectrum of these motivational factors—from the intrinsic personal values, to the legacy of historical morality, to the practical implications on prosperity—combine to present the strongest scenario for sustained national commitment to the values, requirements, and expectations of NATO membership. As the

cornerstone of a productive and contributing member, it may be difficult to find similarly compelling circumstances within the body of existing members.

Economic Empowerment

The transfiguration of national will into sustainable national policy is the true test of popular sentiment, commitment, and capability. Implicit in the high motivation factor of Polish citizens and their government was an earnest willingness to act. Poland's recognition of the economic component of national security as the enabler of successful reform initiatives, and the steps they took to implement this insight, characterize the depth of Polish commitment and national will. In this regard, the duality of seeking NATO and EU membership was well conceived and synergistic. The International Monetary Fund's (IMF) most recent report concluded, "In the decade since Poland embarked on its course of economic transition, economic performance has been outstanding. Inflation has been dramatically lowered, economic growth has been strong, and the structure of the economy—including the financial sector, company ownership, international trade, and capital account arrangements—has been transformed."¹⁵

Indeed, since the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and Polish independence, the IMF has consistently noted that international capital markets increasingly favor Poland among emerging market countries as evidenced by buoyant capital inflows in the form of foreign direct investment. The confidence of foreign corporations has taken shape in the form of over \$35 billion of direct investment in the last ten years, far exceeding that of any other nation in the region.¹⁶ Over \$5 billion of this impressive vote of confidence

comes from 119 major investors in the United States, second only in both total investment and number of investors to Germany.

As evidenced by these IMF reports, the impact of Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz's "shock therapy" plan implemented in 1990 has been both sweeping and positive.¹⁷ These dramatic changes can be measured across the last decade through the indicators of GDP growth, inflation reduction, unemployment reduction, privatization increases, and in the maintenance of Poland's position in the top fifty nations on Professor Jeffrey Sach's Global Competitiveness Report for four consecutive years.¹⁸ While much remains to be done, the course has been charted and the mechanisms have been implemented to keep the trends moving in the right direction.

As a strong indicator of national will and committed leadership, these economic trends bode well for the prosperity of the Polish citizen of the present and the future. More to the point of sustaining a commitment to the NATO Alliance, the economic indicators support the emphatic belief that the upfront and recurring financial requirements of membership are well within the capabilities of the Polish national budget to support. Based on an estimated two percent share of the overall NATO budget requirement, the Polish Ministry of National Defense assumes a direct support cost of NATO's civil, military, and investment fund budgets that will be in the \$35 to \$40 million range annually.¹⁹ This amount represents less than two percent of the annual National Defense budget. On a comparative basis of contribution to the pre-enlargement 1998 NATO military budget, Poland's two percent share exceeds that of Denmark, Greece, Norway, Portugal, Turkey and Luxembourg, and approximates those of Belgium and the Netherlands.²⁰

Of course, the costs of NATO membership go far beyond the direct budgetary support of the NATO machinery. NATO recommended that the appropriate level of financial commitment to the National Defense budget should be an annual expenditure of three percent of GDP.²¹ In the case of 1998, this would amount to Poland spending just less than \$4 billion on national defense. However, the reality of 1998 defense spending indicates that just less than 2.3 percent, or about \$3.2 billion dollars were spent on the total MOD budget.²² Although presently falling below its recommended target, Poland's increasing GDP ensures an increasing defense budget and sufficient financial wherewithal to execute an effective, carefully targeted modernization program. Maintenance of these defense-spending trends will support their role as a contributor, not just a consumer of NATO's collective security. When viewed in the comparative light of the expenditures of other NATO members, Poland's 2.3 percent of GDP eclipses that spent by Norway (2.2), the Netherlands (1.9), Italy (1.9), Denmark (1.7), Germany (1.6), Belgium (1.6), Spain (1.4), and Luxembourg (.8).²³

On a strictly financial basis, it is therefore apparent that Poland is a net contributor to the Alliance, in many cases exceeding the level of support tendered by other members. However, these numbers do not reflect the scope of the domestic requirements facing Poland in the restructuring and modernization of its military forces, and what fiscal resources may ultimately be required to meet NATO's expectations as well as its own self-defense capabilities. Similarly, when shaping an opinion of Poland's military value to the Alliance, it is useful to remember that the defense budgets of other NATO members do not necessarily reflect the actual condition of their military forces,

their respective modernization requirements, or in the end, the utility of their military capability.

Ultimately, it is clear that “NATO enlargement would cost as much, or as little, as the Alliance decides to spend.”²⁴ That said, from Poland’s perspective it is equally clear that the cost of any requirements necessary to fulfill obligations to NATO’s collective defense and security will pale in comparison to that which would be required to provide a stand-alone capability. Combined with the realization of a significant “peace dividend” from comparing defense spending now to what would have been required in a sustained “cold war” environment, the result is a win-win for Poland. From this perspective it is easily conceivable as the same for the rest of the Alliance. In this regard, the combination of national will, motivation, and economic empowerment synergistically support the viability of Poland as an asset to the NATO Alliance and the interests represented therein.

Defense Planning

As previously mentioned, the amount invested in national defense is but one factor that will shape the value of Poland’s military contribution to NATO. In the complex modern warfare environment, “more” does not necessarily equate with “better.” The evolved strategic, tactical, environmental, social, and economic conditions of national security dictate new methods and equipment to respond to the developing requirements.

This condition is not unique to Poland. The new NATO Strategic Concept of 1999 makes it clear that non-Article 5 missions will continue to prevail on Alliance

resources for resolution. In this respect it may be fortunate that Poland is so deeply involved in the challenging transformation of their military forces, as it will allow them an opportunity to define their force requirements to best fit the future security requirements on the European continent. Ironically, in view of the present trend of declining defense budgets throughout Europe, Poland may be better positioned to make meaningful strides toward transformation than most, and may emerge as one of the nations best prepared to address the needs of the future.

The viability of this endeavor is necessarily manifested in the construct of the Polish defense budget. A typical historical representation of budget allocation would be broken down into 51 percent for personnel costs, 33 percent for training and maintenance, and the remaining 16 percent for acquisition and research and development.²⁵ The projected budget breakdown reflects the paradigm shift toward a smaller, better-trained, and better-equipped force. The new breakdown projects just 34 percent allocated for the direct personnel costs of the smaller, more professional force, a moderately reduced training and maintenance budget of 29 percent, and a greatly increased acquisition and R&D budget of 37 percent.²⁶

While this budget construct has yet to be fully realized, it is representative of the level and direction of planning developed and being implemented in the military reform program “Army 2012: The Foundation of the Modernization Program for the Armed Forces 1998-2012.”²⁷ This fifteen-year program, implemented in September 1997, defines both the near-term plan and the long-term forecast for the national defense forces. Constructed in three phases, the plan addresses the near-term objectives of NATO membership and force reductions upfront in the 1998-2002 and 2003-2007 timeframes,

and the more costly and difficult infrastructure cuts and modernization acquisitions being completed by the year 2012.²⁸

The efficacy of this defense planning effort has not been by chance. The spadework of defense reorganization and hard-fought changes to the legal framework of the Polish constitution transcended notoriously contested initiatives between Poland's military organization and civilian governmental leadership. The iterative investment of considerable attention by the first democratically elected governments demonstrated an intense sense of purpose in establishing solid civilian control of the military.²⁹ The commitment to developing a functional civilian-controlled defense budget and planning processes that congealed during this timeframe facilitated the development of the nationally approved fifteen-year plan and paved the road for the transformation to follow.

Force Structure

The plan targets a personnel end-strength of 180,000 by the year 2004.³⁰ This represents not only an impressive quantitative reduction from the massive 412,000 Cold War number in 1988, but more significantly addresses a well-conceived qualitative shift to a professional force. The historic level of over 60 percent conscripts in the uniformed force will be transformed to less than 30 percent by the year 2012.³¹ Correspondingly, officer end-strength will be reduced from the current 46 percent level to 30 percent, and the non-commissioned officer (NCO) component will increase from 23 percent to 40 percent by the year 2004.

Unlike Hungary, and to a lesser extent the Czech Republic, the demographic composition of Poland and the predicated twelve-month conscription requirement will

pose no obstacle to their ability to meet these end-strength levels throughout the period of the transformation plan.³² Coupled with a high level of esteem within their society and recognition by the Ministry of National Defense of the need to invest in their people, the end-strength reductions and budgetary growth are promising indicators for the establishment of a professional force that can qualitatively and numerically enhance the Alliance's military requirements.

Infrastructure

In terms of military infrastructure, Poland has been historically well endowed with a network of rail, highway, air, and water transportation systems. From that perspective they were an instantly viable resource to NATO, providing geographic flexibility and logistic options in a strategically important region. Nonetheless, significant upgrades to airports, seaports, highways, and their respective management systems were required to meet NATO standards of safety and reliability. From a budgetary perspective, the dual-use nature of these resources allows the costs of upgrades to be borne largely by sources other than the MOD. The national budget, Polish State Railways, World Bank credits, user fees, and foreign investment will provide the lion's share of all infrastructure improvements.³³ While some NATO funds will be required to support the process, they will be minimal in view of the spectrum of resources being made available to the Alliance and are not projected to increase membership costs.

Interestingly, another perspective on infrastructure portends potential promise for the fiscal solvency of the Polish military. The likelihood of realizing significant financial gain from the disposal of a tremendous amount of excess infrastructure developed to

support an army of a half a million looms in the future. Land, bases, airfields, barracks, storage depots, rail terminals, and medical facilities greatly exceeding current and projected requirements need to be disposed of. A commensurate reduction of equipment and supplies is aggressively being pursued (the going rate for a MiG 21 fighter is \$5000!³⁴). An estimated infrastructure reduction of 35 percent is planned by the year 2012 with 20 percent of that scheduled to occur by 2003.³⁵

Of course, the great benefit of these reductions will not come directly from the sale of these assets, but from the reductions in the overhead of personnel, maintenance, and management costs it takes to support them. The resulting budgetary and manpower savings from these reductions will greatly contribute to the realization of the force goals of 2012.

Equipment Modernization

To understate, Poland's equipment modernization requirements are substantial. From the dual circumstances of years of neglect and the changing operational imperative of transition from a territorial defense force to a mobile, regional force, a spectrum of challenges need to be dealt with. These equipment modernization objectives will continue to be a challenge to the transformation of Poland's defense forces throughout the fifteen-year period. They should not, however, unfairly be viewed exclusively through the lens of NATO requirements and not judged to be fundamentally different than the challenges of other nations on the European continent.

Managing the transition from a large, territorial force to smaller, mobile force is a condition common throughout the Alliance. As with other nations, the significant

element of the challenge for Poland will be discerning the required from the desired acquisition programs, folding these acquisition programs intelligently into force reductions plans, and carefully managing the budgetary implications along the way. In other words, a liberal dose of reality needs to be folded into the recipe. In simple terms, former NATO Secretary General Javier Solana succinctly captured the requirements and expectations of new Allies: “We need communication systems that can communicate. We need to be able to send reinforcements in times of crisis, and we need our soldiers to speak the same language. No one wants our new members to put their economic reforms at risk by overspending on defense.”³⁶

In their view of the requirements, Poland has estimated the fifteen-year cost of modernization to approach nearly eight billion dollars.³⁷ Spread evenly across the fifteen-year period, it will consume over 20 percent of the defense budget annually. Acknowledging the other direct costs of NATO membership, it is apparent that planned modernization costs will exceed defense budget authority and alternate funding sources, rolling back the acquisition timelines, or modification of requirements will be required.

That said, the near-term requirements directly impacting interoperability were identified and are in the process of implementation. These first tier requirements focus on the upgrade or procurement of equipment precisely dedicated toward the preparation of forces designed to operate directly with NATO forces. They include digital command, control and communication systems (C3), reconnaissance/radar systems for their aircraft, electronic warfare and navigation systems, air defense systems, Identification Friend or Foe (IFF) systems, armed and multi-purpose helicopters, anti-tank weapons, and armored

personnel carriers. Second tier requirements include ground support vehicles, naval vessels, small arms equipment and the contentious multi-role fighter aircraft.³⁸

The true focus of the Polish modernization program hinges on the identification of real requirements, budget realities, and tough decision-making. Like other defense issues, this dilemma is not unique to Poland, but reaches across the continent as the technology and capability gap between the United States and Europe expands, and European defense budgets contract. This reality necessarily complicates any major defense system acquisition decision in a number of competing ways. The case of the acquisition initiative for one hundred multi-role fighter aircraft illustrates a number of complex issues involved in the decision making process for major defense systems. A closer look at this acquisition initiative is useful to highlight dilemmas facing the Polish Defense Ministry and prospects for the international defense industry, both of which will influence future military capability, and impact on U.S. interests.

From a budgetary sense, this proposed multi-billion dollar program is clearly out of reach of the national defense budget. In response, it has been supported by the establishment of a separate national budget allocation.³⁹ The Polish government has recognized that such an expensive acquisition program will undoubtedly have serious repercussions on competing domestic social programs that enjoy strong public support. This trade-off is likely to become one of military capability for public support, obviously a troubling choice the government would rather not have to make. As a result, the acquisition decision has undergone a steady process of deferral for the last several years.

From a requirements perspective, while several squadrons of F/A-18s, F-16s, or JAS-39s would significantly enhance both Polish and regional air defense capabilities,

the questions of necessity begs at the purse strings. NATO is rich with air superiority fighter aircraft and holds a significant near- and long-term capabilities advantage over any hypothetical adversary. With full appreciation of the concept of air sovereignty, in the present environment, just how necessary is the addition of still more fighters to the vitality of NATO and the maintenance of Polish security? Extrapolating Poland's desire for new fighters to both Hungary and the Czech Republic further develops the question of accurately pairing defense dollars to needs.

Not dismissing the huge question of expense, the emotional and historic issue of air sovereignty opens the door to some resourceful, alternative proposals. There are currently a number of nations and defense equipment manufacturers knocking at Poland's door with attractive lease and offset deals that promise both capability and affordability. In the case of offsets, attractive and potentially substantial economic and social benefits through the creation of jobs weigh in the balance. Not the least noticeable on this competitive landscape is the United States. Both the defense industry and the uniformed services have been courting a Polish fighter acquisition decision for years. This highlights the dichotomy between supporting the U.S. defense industry and addressing the practical security concerns of our new Allies as we work to develop a credible balance of capability in their forces.

This is not unique to fighter aircraft. Similar acquisition programs are in progress. Most recently, the grant transfer of a guided missile frigate from the United States Navy to the Polish Navy signals the beginning of what will hopefully develop into a significant appetite for American naval systems and armaments. The market implications of these modernization and interoperability efforts sweep across the

spectrum of military equipment and systems. There is enormous potential for the sale of defense equipment and services throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Correspondingly, there is tremendous potential benefit for the health of our domestic defense industries and our military services through the economies of scale. The positive economic ramifications of this market expansion beyond the defense industry are predictable.

This prospect has not been lost on the rest of the world's defense equipment manufacturers. Further, it has not been lost on the Government of Poland and the Polish defense industry. With considerable capacity, there is a significant opportunity for the resurgence of a once vibrant Polish defense industry and a commensurate value added to the domestic economy. The pursuit of teaming, offsets, and licensed or co-production opportunities will be integral to the both the defense force and the defense industry modernization efforts. While these endeavors will undoubtedly be problematic, the economic benefits to both the United States and Poland are promising.

The last and most practical approach to modernization dilemmas, and one that receives broad support, is for Poland to avoid any near-term, high-cost acquisition programs and keep their current weapon systems alive for as long as possible or until they are economically capable of replacing them. Again, in the case of fighter aircraft, Poland currently has 11 regiments (nearly 300 aircraft) of fighter and fighter-bomber aircraft, including MiG-21s, MiG-23s, MiG-29s, and Su-22 Soviet-era aircraft charged with the mission of protecting Polish air space.⁴⁰ While there are maintenance and logistic issues involved in retaining these aircraft in service, the expense of upgrading

their communications, IFF, and navigation systems is a fraction of the cost of a new aircraft acquisition program.

This concept applies across the services. While it does little for the U.S. economy in the near term, its positive effect on the Polish economy in the long term may prove to bear even more fruit for the U.S. defense industry. Moreover, in the absence of a foreseeable military threat, patience and suppression of an instinctively competitive defense appetite may prove to best suit Poland's national interests.

Burden Sharing

The concept of burden sharing is one of the most visible and emotionally charged on the enlargement landscape. It promises some tangible reward for the admission of new members—perhaps a reduction in the level of effort for existing members, as the more on the team, the less each will have to do. Of course, the converse of this hypothesis is what concerns Allies the most: rather than not having to do less, it is likely that they will have to do more, and pay more, if new Allies don't have the “right stuff” to be effective team members. Hence, the origin of the consumers versus contributors argument. While similar concerns surely accompanied previous iterative enlargements, the geopolitical and economic implications as well as the greatly increased public visibility in this case make the stakes seem worthy of much closer scrutiny and cost-benefit analysis.

It will be difficult in the near term to evaluate any net reduction in the level of effort of the Allies. European security isn't a zero-sum equation based on absolute requirements and a prescribed level of resources. One additional battalion of Polish

peacekeepers won't necessarily correspond to the reduction of a Dutch battalion elsewhere. Nor does it represent a definable reduction in national defense budgets throughout the Alliance. In fact, the circumstances more closely resemble a balloon, whose physical properties allow it to expand and contract in response to evolving needs and mission requirements. New commitments, planning, exercises, and training requirements are all likely to propagate in the advent of new variables to an already multifaceted security equation, while old commitments lose vitality, budgetary support, or wane with the introduction of new technologies and strategies. Such is the environment in which quantifiable constructs are forced to fit.

Nonetheless, it is possible to come to terms with the question of contribution while acknowledging the implications of potential increase in risk. To develop the idea of a quantifiable burden sharing contribution by Polish defense forces, I will illustrate a number of instances where they have undertaken missions, hosted exercises, contributed forces, provided services, and augmented staffs in the NATO, bilateral, and United Nations arena. In the end, however, it will not be possible to judge whether these contributions can somehow be evaluated in a specific formula that adds the 312,683 square kilometers of territory, the 491 kilometers of Baltic coastline, and the 1774 kilometers of border frontier with Belarus, Lithuania, Russia, Slovakia, and Ukraine that geographically define Poland, and now the eastern frontier of the NATO Alliance.

There is little doubt that Poland has aggressively taken advantage of the opportunities to prepare for membership in NATO. By any measure, they have been the most active members of the Partnership for Peace, a program that was clearly taken onboard and established as a national priority. Figure 5 depicts the steadily expanding

scope of Polish activity, as represented by the number of separate events conducted via their Individual Partnership Plan, from the establishment of their relationship with the Partnership for Peace (PfP) on 2 February 1994 through 1997.⁴¹

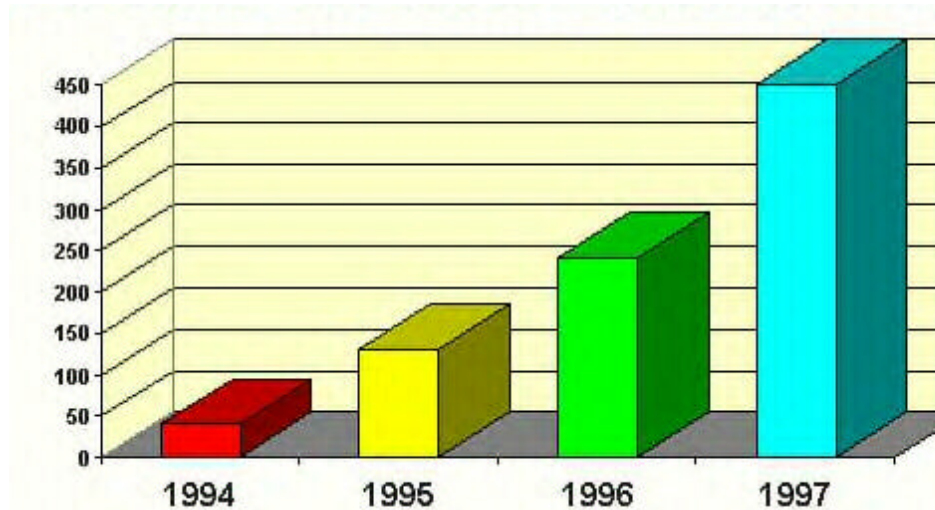


Figure 5. Polish Individual Partnership Plan Activity 1994-1997

While this activity doesn't expressly imply a de facto contribution to burden sharing with the Alliance, it crystallizes the image of the Polish national will, provides an emphatic demonstration of commitment, and credibly enunciates the promise of solid, future contribution. This PfP activity clearly provided the focus needed by the Polish MOD to establish its place in the NATO scheme. As a result, during the associated Planning and Review Process (PARP) between 1995 and 1999, Poland declared its tangible commitment of the following forces to the support of NATO:

- One airborne battalion (6th Airmobile Assault Brigade)
- One air-cavalry regiment (25th Airborne Cavalry Division)

- Two land brigades and three land battalions (elements of the 12th Mechanized Division, 11th Armored Cavalry Division, and the 10th Armored Cavalry Brigade)
- Infrastructure, including airfields at Malbork and Poznan-Krzesiny, storage depots at Przewoz-Potok and Cybowo, and naval ports at Gdynia and Swinoujscie
- Land forces division- and brigade-level command and staff elements
- One air force search and rescue (SAR) helicopter and two naval search and rescue vessels (ORP PIAST and ORP LECH)
- One headquarters hospital (10th Military Clinic).⁴²

On the whole, Poland has declared its intention to dedicate approximately 30,000 members of its operational forces to the direct support of NATO requirements.⁴³ Elements of the above forces have been selected for and are training or participating respectively in support of the NATO ACE Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC), the Immediate Reaction Forces (IRF), and the Main Defense Force. The priority for interoperability and modernization resources has been focused on the Polish power projection forces assigned to the ARRC and IRF. True measures of effectiveness in contributions to real NATO and United Nations missions abound in the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and most recently in Kosovo, where battalions of Polish peacekeepers have been serving effectively since 1995.

From the broader perspective of burden sharing in United Nations missions, Poland has been a visible player on the international stage since 1953. Figure 6 illustrates the level of participation of Polish soldiers in UN missions during the period 1953-1997.⁴⁴

Soldiers

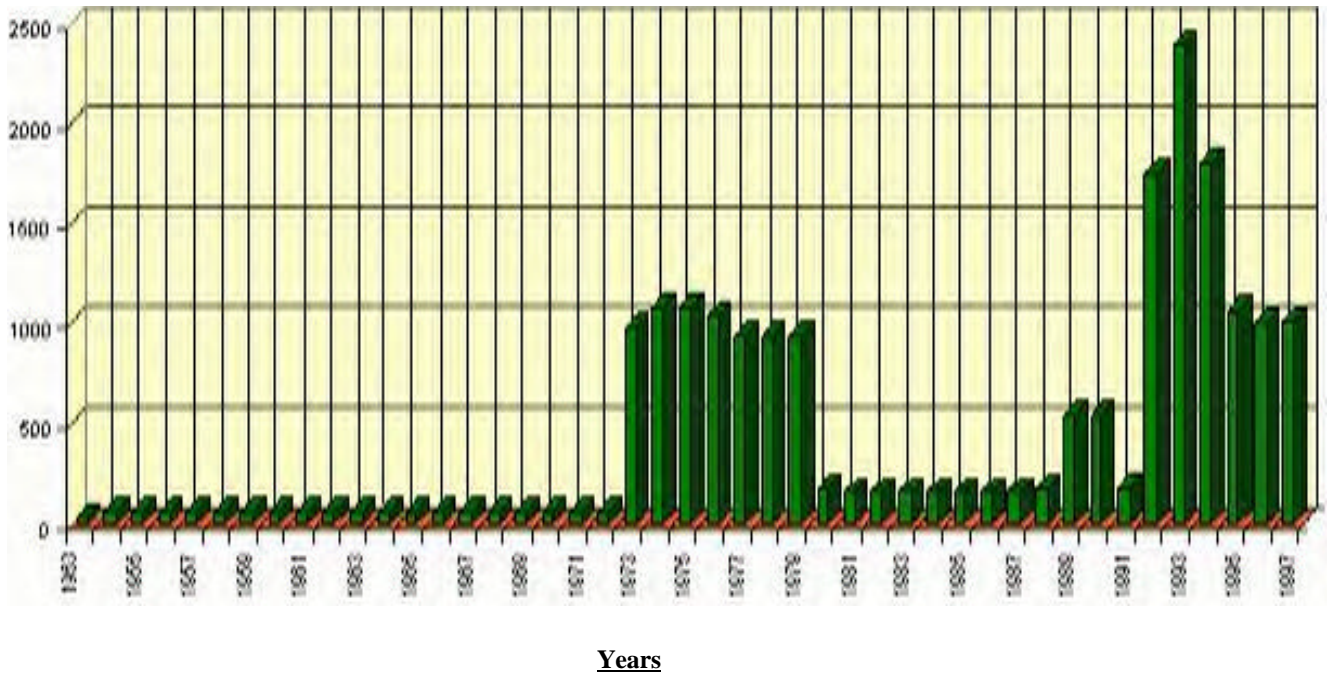


Figure 6. Polish Soldier Contribution to United Nations Missions 1953-1997

Rounding out the spectrum of activity contributing to a perspective on Poland's burden sharing activity in regional security matters is the scope of bi-, tri-, and multilateral interaction. In addition to formally negotiated bilateral security agreements with each of her neighbors, Poland has demonstrated a consistently proactive level of commitment to involvement in matters of mutual security interests both within and outside of the Alliance. Figure 7 depicts the level of bilateral security related activity with NATO members in the period 1997-1999.⁴⁵

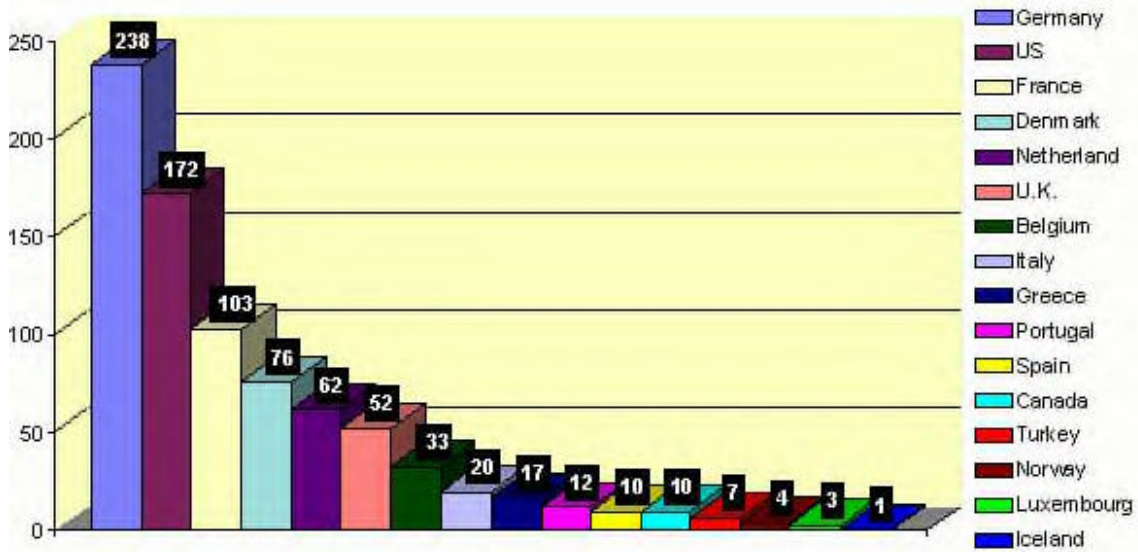


Figure 7. Polish Bi-lateral Cooperation Activity with NATO Members 1997-99

The scope of this activity includes Military-to-Military/Joint Contact Team Program activity, field and staff exercises, training, personnel exchange programs, and high-level defense policy and staff talks. These bilateral relationships were further developed through the establishment and active participation in several other bilateral and multinational military cooperation initiatives. These include:

- The Multinational Corps Northeast (Polish, German, and Danish forces)
- The Polish-Lithuanian Battalion
- The Polish-Ukrainian Battalion
(The above three activities are all headquartered in Poland.)
- The Nordic-Polish Brigade with Germany and Denmark
- The “Weimar Triangle” cooperative agreement with Germany and France.⁴⁶

These facets of Poland’s overt and aggressive action in international, cooperative military endeavors add constructively to the European security equation. Considered collectively with the host of supporting and enabling activities in the realm of

institutional reform, economic growth, human resources, and national spirit, they comprise a strong and credible body of evidence by which to optimistically measure the impact on the Alliance's military potency. Viewed in the morning twilight of a newly emerging democracy, Poland's level of effort conjures a promising vista of an Alliance strengthened by both a transfusion of exuberance and a rededication of commitment to purpose. Viewed from the calculus where risk equals resources over mission requirements, the resulting vista is equally optimistic.

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²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Michta, 57.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid, 60.

²⁴ Onyszkiewicz, Janusz, "Estimated Cost of NATO Enlargement: A Contribution to the Debate,"

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²⁵ Poland Ministry of National Defense, "The Costs of Integration," *Report on Poland's Integration with NATO*, <http://www.wp.mil.pl/integra6>, Feb. 24, 2000.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Kwasniewski, Aleksander, "New Members of NATO: New Challenges, New Functions."

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²⁸ Michta, 53.

²⁹ Simon, Jeffrey, *NATO Enlargement and Central Europe: A Study in Civil-Military Relations*, (Washington DC: NDU Press 1996) 117.

³⁰ Simon, Jeffrey, "The NATO Members: Will They Contribute?," *Strategic Forum*, No.160, April 1999, 3.

³¹ Michta, 52.

³² Simon, Jeffrey, "The NATO Members: Will They Contribute?," 4.

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- ⁴⁰ Clark, Colin, "Polish Government Nears Frigate Buy From US Navy," <http://search.mconetwork.com/dmembers/darch>, Nov. 1, 1999.
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- ⁴⁶ Ibid.

Section 3. ASSESSMENT

Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO Robert Hunter described the U.S. expectations of our new and potential Allies in his remarks to the 1997 NATO Workshop in Prague: “The new Allies must be willing to show a tangible commitment to security and to playing their full and equal roles as Allies. But we are not asking them to prepare or to engage in a new Cold War. However, all of the new Allies and aspirants must show they are prepared to adopt NATO’s standards, become interoperable with us, provide for their own security, and show they are serious about this relationship.”⁴⁷

This perspective, in concert with the broader context of U.S. national security and prosperity interests presents a framework for assessing whether or not the United States is getting it bargained for in the NATO enlargement process. To shape an assessment of what the enlargement process has contributed to U.S. national interests, I will frame the discussion in terms of both its military and political impacts.

Military

There are a number of metric tools available to objectively assess the military impact of enlargement. These can be used to determine a specific level of progress or changes in specified areas of interest and yield a numerical, quantitative assessment of Poland’s contribution to the Alliance in specific military capabilities terms. These include:

- The percent and nature of compliance with the over 1200 NATO Standardized Agreements (STANAGs). This will yield a very specific measure of progress toward defined standards of interoperability.

- Personnel statistics, including the number and percent of conscripts, the ratio of NCOs to officers, NCOs to junior enlisted, changes to pay and allowance tables, types and numbers of formal school training days, and general retention trends. This will keep a finger precisely on the pulse of the transformation toward a professional military force.
- Post-exercise and after-action reports, hot wash-ups, and lessons-learned reports from U.S., Allied, and Polish forces. This will give an indication of the actual effectiveness of troops in the field.
- Budgetary analysis and oversight. Transparency of defense budgets, one of the basic fruits cultivated in the development of civilian control of the military, can provide status and indicators of acquisition initiatives, efficacy of research and development programs, and an accurate measure of equipment inventories, target force goals, and several other diagnostic indicators of the health of military organizations.

These quantitative yardsticks are being routinely used to make discrete evaluations of military effectiveness. The Polish MOD and military departments, the NATO Staff, the U.S. European Command Staff, the U.S. Joint Staff, and the U.S. Department of Defense employ these tools to get their arms around a way to assess the progress of the Polish military. There are also two essential lenses through which this information should be viewed to draw conclusions on the question of value added to American interests.

First, recall there are only subjective, not specific objective military criteria for membership in the Alliance. This simple fact seems astounding in this era of nearly chemical dependence on statistical dissection and “show me the money” analyses, but it is the case. While there are detailed objectives delineated in Individual Partnership Plans of the PFP program and the associated Planning and Review Process, and now further in the Membership Action Plans for prospective members, they are more aptly described as planning tools and guidelines, and have not been adopted as approved “go-nogo” gauges.

Neither NATO nor the United States created such a finite checklist for measuring the effectiveness of NATO members in the execution of their membership responsibilities. This lack of concrete definition, while an apparent anomaly in what is normally considered a thorough and analytical military structure, was not so much an act of omission as one of commission. Indeed, there is risk in establishing such a checklist. In the four previous instances of enlargement, no such criteria were established or used. While times, methods, and perspectives have evolved, and these tools could be readily adapted, it would be too easy for prospective members to “cry foul” by the implementation of a rule change such as this. This complaint of discrimination is likely to be resonated by a cry for fair play and transparency throughout the Alliance. What’s good for one goose should be good for the whole flock.

The risk lies in two areas. First, establishing such finite criteria provides a measurable means of illustrating failure. If any of the new members should stumble, or be unable to attain prescribed criteria in prescribed timeframes, there is no easy way out of acknowledging that things are not working out as planned. This would contribute to the net detriment of all Alliance members and serve no useful purpose other than soulful introspection. Second, such a finite checklist provides a yardstick to measure not only new members’ performance, but also a tool for assessing, in quantifiable means, the value added by existing members. This is likely to be an assessment NATO would be reluctant to make.

The current implementation of a European-led Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI), best summarized as a “get-well” program for the array of European defense infrastructures languishing in the glow of a peace dividend, represents the vulnerability of

such an analysis. In recent remarks at the National War College in Washington, D.C., French Ambassador to the United States Bujon de l'Estang put the exclamation point on this reality by brusquely acknowledging, "it is no secret that if NATO members fulfilled their force goal objectives, the need for DCI would largely diminish."⁴⁸ The double standard cannot be applied and could not withstand the scrutiny of public review in the judgment of NATO's viability and relevance.

The second, and more important lens to view the military contribution of new members through is a reiteration of the fact that enlargement was a political, not military decision.⁴⁹ While the military underpinnings require certain feasibility, NATO accessed its new members largely because they were nations of common values that could contribute in a variety of ways to both regional and international security and prosperity. They were nations that we considered to be our friends. Merely recognizing the extreme divergence of Allied capabilities illustrates this point. It is an impossible assessment of value added when comparing military capabilities of Luxembourg to the United Kingdom.

Though not so extreme, there is a similar correlation to be made when comparing Poland to the Czech Republic. The reality of the political nature of the decision is the heart of the enlargement question. Professor Ivo Daalder, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former National Security Council Director for European Affairs, insightfully recognized the reality of NATO's new paradigm by observing that the time is right to reverse polarity from what has historically been a military alliance with a political foundation to one that now envisions itself as a political alliance with a military foundation.⁵⁰

Acknowledging the subtleties and hazards of trying to measure military contribution, what are the apparent military contributions to the Alliance and the national interests of the United States? In a recent interview, General Wes Clark, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, was asked about the cost of expanding the Alliance. He succinctly stated, “We have not paid one extra penny” since the enlargement of NATO.⁵¹ While this doesn’t answer the question of a burden sharing benefit, it does frame the argument that in the initial stages, enlargement is not increasing the financial burden on existing members. From this departure point, it is easy to construct a scenario of a preponderance of military burden sharing benefits.

Clearly, at “no cost to the U.S. government,” Poland’s 200,000 present force structure and supporting tanks, planes, and ships is a net asset to both the United States and NATO at large, particularly with a view toward recent history, when the same forces were potential adversaries. With due consideration for the resultant territorial expansion of NATO, the presence of Poland’s capable and respected military on NATO’s eastern flank is providing an enhanced level of physical and emotional security to the region. The preponderance of bilateral and multilateral military cooperation in the area is unquestionably building a framework of trust and cooperation that will pay dividends. While Poland’s activities to date cannot be specifically linked to a reduction of U.S. force presence or defense budget expenditures in Europe, it can be reasonably inferred that continued modernization and interoperability improvements of their large military force could lead to such a reduction.

In the near term, principal benefit to the United States will come only in time of crisis and mobilization. There is no doubt the additional infrastructure in Poland is a

burden sharing benefit to the U.S. The ability to process troops and equipment in closer proximity to a potential conflict will produce tangible savings in both time and money, connotes an inherent reduction in risk to our troops, and strengthens the resources element of the security equation. Port cargo handling facilities, airfields, railways and storage depots will be invaluable to NATO Allies. In the near term, as the only military with real strategic lift capability, the United States will be a principal beneficiary of Poland's infrastructure resources in time of crisis. Depending on the nature of conflict, the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force will each benefit in varying degrees as a result of infrastructure availability.

From a warfighting perspective, there is a real, near-term benefit to all Allies in the willingness and capability of Polish forces to effectively undertake non-Article 5 NATO missions. The attention and resources dedicated to the modernization and interoperability of their power projection forces has already produced direct contribution to NATO-led efforts, notably in Kosovo. There is little doubt about Poland's willingness to sustain these types of troop contributions in the dual interests of establishing themselves as a credible partner, and in directly contributing to regional security concerns.

In the broader, Article 5 collective defense consideration, the U.S. Army is likely to benefit greatly from the infusion of Poland's military capability into the Alliance. There is already a spectrum of dialogue addressing the wisdom of maintaining U.S. Army forces in Germany when the border to the eastern flank of NATO has been moved a thousand kilometers to the east. Continued development of the Polish ground forces will draw the reasonableness of a significant U.S. footprint in Europe further into question,

and any reduction in overseas presence will be a significant financial component of burden sharing from the U.S. point of view. In addition to reduced presence, credible Polish ground forces present a very attractive prospect of changing the mission requirement for U.S. troops, potentially relegating them expressly to special capabilities roles and CONUS-based reserve or augmentation forces. Continued development of U.S. high-speed lift capabilities will make this even more likely to materialize.

The U.S. Air Force will benefit significantly from the availability of Polish infrastructure. Airfields, fuel and weapons dumps, maintenance supplies, and the potential for forward basing connotes an array of benefits to logistic overhead and the sustenance of combat power. As with the Army, the opportunity for a reduction in Air Force forward presence will develop as the Polish Air Force modernizes and integrates their nearly 300 combat aircraft into the regional air war requirements. Similar to effects on other services, the flexibility that will be made available to the Air Force through access to Polish air space will clearly be a force multiplier in time of crisis.

On the maritime frontier, the U.S. Navy will prosper least from the accession of our newest Allies. There is no likely overseas force presence reduction that can be attributable to the Polish Navy. There can be, however, significant benefits in access to Poland's excellent ship repair resources, as well as the refueling, rearming, logistic support, and troop debarkation facilities in Polish ports that would otherwise be unavailable. There are also significant benefits to naval aviation and cruise missile strike planning gained through increased access to Polish air space.

Despite a once vital naval force, the Polish Navy historically suffered from the smallest share of the defense budget and has the greatest distance to cover on the road to

modernization. It can be reasonably argued that the best course of action for the Polish Navy is a complete mission transformation to one of expressly coast guard type responsibilities and shift blue water navy missions to existing Allied naval resources. While unlikely to occur due to a matter of national pride, there are considerable savings in both fiscal and manpower resources through a transformation of this nature. In any circumstance, during the near term, it is arguable that the addition of the Polish coastline and its proximity to Russia is a liability that could require a further commitment of U.S. naval resources rather than less.

In an indirect sense, there is likely to be a burden sharing benefit to all U.S. services through marketing of defense products and services to Poland. Whether through the sale of fighter aircraft, ships, armored personnel carriers, and spare parts, or through an array of formal school training or consultant services, there will be a measurable benefit to both the U.S. military and U.S. defense industry through the economies of scale and the creation of market opportunities.

While there are potentially enormous and direct benefits to the U.S. military, the European defense forces could possibly feel the greatest impact in what could now be considered an improved opportunity for the development of a credible European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). Poland's ambitious team spirit, coupled with vital modernization and force professionalization programs, has the potential to add vitality and viability to the current groundswell of European defense responsibility grabbing. In fact, NATO's emerging members may be just what are needed to break the spell of complacency in the more sedentary and less forthcoming members of the European defense community. In the end, from a U.S. perspective it is the resultant transfer of a

greatly increased share of regional defense responsibilities to European nations that will comprise the greatest military burden sharing benefit of NATO enlargement to the U.S. should it occur.

Political

While Poland's direct and indirect military contributions to both the Alliance and U.S. national interests presents a strong case, it is in the political sphere where many feel their most significant contribution will be made.⁵² The strength of Poland's political will and sweeping public support of Western ideological principles ensures a steadfast partnership in this historically troubled region. Their legacy of subjugation at the hands of regional powers, and the emotional heritage developed by it will ensure they remain a reliable advocate of the tenets of free and democratic society.

In this regard, Poland can play a pivotal role as both a model and a coach throughout the region of Eastern Europe, as it continues to deepen and broaden its support of democratic reform and market economy principles. Poles have clearly demonstrated the desire and ability to be strong advocates of the Partnership for Peace program, a tool they employed extensively in their reform activities. Through their positive PfP experience, Poland has the potential to bear witness to the goals, mechanisms, and results of the program, and their living testimonial will invigorate the execution of Membership Action Plans by other aspiring members throughout the region. Poland's demonstrable success in transformation of their economic, political, and military structures will be an important component in the incubation of developing democracies.

While there is a point of view endorsing the likelihood of alienation and the development of new dividing lines between haves and have-nots in Europe, on balance, Poland's array of bilateral security and trade agreements and practices, and deep public support, is more likely to foster cooperation than alienation. The prognosis for strong, ideological osmosis is good. Not only will this continue to produce a climate favorable to foreign direct investment in Poland, it is likely to produce, or at the very least positively promote the same environment elsewhere in the region.

The most significant geopolitical impact is likely to emerge from Poland's relations with Germany and Russia, and to a lesser extent Ukraine. With respect to Germany, Poland's accession to NATO has engendered a sense of finality to this historically antagonistic relationship. As Alliance partners, there is no foreseeable scenario that could resurrect the territorial disruptions that characterized the past. The enormous economic ties between the two nations have further cemented the strength of this relationship. Of the \$35 billion of foreign direct investment in Poland, German firms comprise the largest share with over \$6 billion, or nearly twenty percent.⁵³ The sense of relaxation in the Polish-German tension, the depth of interlocking economic development, and the close military cooperation between them bodes extremely well for the development of a powerful bilateral relationship and stabilizing regional influence.

Poland's role in the developing relationship between NATO, the United States, and Russia has the greatest potential for contributing to regional growth and stability. The maintenance of well-established lines of communication and the growth of economic ties between Poland and Russia are critical to the climate of change. Bolstered by continued refinement and vitality of their democratic institutions and processes, Poland

can develop as a pillar of trust that will buttress not only its own national interests, but on which the Russian-United States relationship can continue to build as well. Through its performance as both an Alliance member and a bilateral partner with Russia, Poland can bridge the legacy of Cold War rivalry and convey a sense of change in the character of the United States and NATO. Poland's credible relationship with Russia can be the most effective tool to transform the sense of suspicion that grows from deep adversarial roots and mitigate the perception of encroachment embodied in the enlargement of the Alliance.

Poland's close cultural, economic, and military ties with Ukraine have continued to serve this same purpose. Its thoughtful and broad spectrum of ties to Ukraine is paying dividends to European security and has the potential to accelerate their incorporation into the European security landscape. This is a matter of great sensitivity vis-à-vis Russia, in which the strength of Poland's relationship with each can ameliorate tension and promote cooperation.

The political impact of Poland's aggressive and fervent pursuit of a democratic, open market society on European stability, security, and prosperity will be widely felt. It follows, therefore, that American national interests of prosperity and security will be well served. The prospects for expanded access to economic markets in the immediate Eastern European region, and over time further into the Commonwealth of Independent States, carry great promise not only for direct economic prosperity, but for the commensurate development of democratic principles and institutions. The stability and security that accompany these processes reach far into the spectrum of U.S. concerns in the region. Arms control, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism,

organized crime, drug trafficking, and refugee migration top the list of concerns that are likely to benefit directly or indirectly from Poland's democratic reform, initiative, and leadership.

Unintended Consequences

Evaluation of the success or failure of the intended results of NATO enlargement vis-à-vis Poland will become clearer in time. Time will also shed light on a number of the unintended, but perhaps not unimagined consequences. In general terms, here are some of the plausible unintended consequences that could evolve from the success of Poland's accession and an enlarged NATO Alliance:

- Poland's emergence as a regional power; it becomes a motivator, leader, and consensus builder in Central and Eastern Europe.
- Poland's success increases the disparity between regional haves and have-nots, and spawns regional unrest, instability, and refugee migration.
- Poland becomes both the glue and backbone of the European Security and Defense Policy; ESDP crystallizes and relieves significant overseas presence requirements of U.S. forces.
- Military self-sufficiency develops in Europe, facilitating the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and equipment. This produces significant savings for the U.S., but leads to a widening gap in Trans-Atlantic cooperation, a reduction of U.S. engagement activity in Europe, and re-emergence of isolationism in America. A commensurate decline in U.S. market share develops adversely affecting U.S. economy.
- The successive spawning of new NATO members extends the eastern flank to the Chinese border, necessitating a China policy for NATO.
- Progressive democratization and reform precipitates NATO dissolution, transformation, or absorption into a greater entity, such as the United Nations or the OSCE.
- Polarization of Eurasia through Russian retaliatory nationalism and resurgence, assertion of regional control, and re-establishment of Russian sphere of influence.

There are many other possible iterations. It is not at all unlikely that some form of these or other unintended consequences will materialize as different forces exert pressure on the European security environment. The containment and control of unfavorable, unintended consequences will require continued prudence, diligence, forward-leaning, technical insight, and some element of risk taking as usual. Gracious acceptance of the favorable, such as the rapid centrifugal deterioration of the Soviet Union, will no doubt be taken in stride.

On balance, the assessment scale swings favorably toward a significant benefit for the United States and Europe across a wide spectrum of considerations in the present benign environment. Optimism, however, is a questionable attribute of foreign policy. The lessons of history stress the need to temper optimism with both skepticism and an insurance policy. Best-case planning, fueled by both the prevalence of democratic ideology and sustained economic vitality, could easily lead to a perception that the military underwriters of the current geopolitical circumstance in Europe are under-employed. However, worst case planning would have to considerably stretch the plausible scenarios to reach a level of risk approximating that which was cultivated throughout the Cold War.

In other words, even the worst case seems to be better than the superpower tension of the past. In these terms, the United States seems to have invested wisely in the decision to spearhead the enlargement effort and is making excellent returns on the investment.

⁴⁷ Hunter, Robert, "European Security: Problems, Risks, and Challenges," <http://www.csdr.org/97Books/HUNTER>, Feb. 2, 2000.

⁴⁸ De L'Estang, Francois Bujon, "Defense and Security Projects in Europe," <http://www.info-france-usa.org/news/statmnts>, Feb. 11, 2000.

⁴⁹ Joulwan, George, "The New NATO: The Way Ahead," <http://www.csd.org/97Book/JOULWA>, Feb. 2, 2000.

⁵⁰ Daalder, Ivo, "NATO at 50: The Summit & Beyond," <http://www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/nato/Daalder0499>, Jan. 12, 2000.

⁵¹ Clark, Wesley, "NATO Enlargement Costs US Very Little," <http://www.defensenews.com>, Mar. 3, 2000.

⁵² Michta, 190.

⁵³ "Foreign Investments in Poland," Polish Market Review 1999.

Section 4: CONCLUSION

It would be a stretch to attribute the final resolution of historic European security dilemmas directly to the sweeping wave of independence led by Poland in 1989. However, it would not be so difficult to construct a chain of events emanating from the Polish shipyards in Gdansk that could lead to the development of a unified, prosperous Europe from the Atlantic to the Caucasus Mountains. While this end state can be defined, there has been no consensus on how to achieve it.

There has been strong advocacy for implementing change in Europe through economic, versus military means, and debate continues as to whether NATO or the European Union is the best tool to lead to its transformation and reunification. In the near term, American-led NATO has assumed this leadership challenge. From the Polish perspective, the umbrella of security afforded by NATO not only provided the motivation and means for the rapid development of their democratic institutions, it filled an emotional need in the population that enabled the transformation.

It is unlikely that European Union could have filled that need. At the same time, there is little doubt that the EU has a leading and immediate role to play in the successful incorporation and economic success of the Eastern European democracies and in the ultimate re-unification of Europe. From a security and defense perspective, although “there is no shortage of architectural designs to address European security issues, regrettably, the same cannot be said about Europe’s will and capabilities.”⁵⁴ In the near term, the EU-led ESDP architecture lacks resolve and resources, and is bureaucratically unable to act quickly enough to provide a credible security assurance or deterrent capability.

To the emerging democracies, what the European Union lacks most is the United States. Arguments for NATO or EU first are interesting but, in the near-term irrelevant. What Poland and other new NATO members want is a reliable, strategic partnership and security agreement with the United States. Only through U.S. leadership and recognition of this historic opportunity was NATO able to react quickly to the emerging needs of Eastern Europe. And only through U.S. leadership was a thoughtful, balanced, and incremental approach successfully implemented.

Driven by U.S. national interests and supported by a willingness to act, U.S. presence in Europe is still recognized, as it has been since the end of World War Two, as the guarantor of security and liberty. Europe is simply not ready for the mantle of this kind of leadership. To quote General Klaus Naumann, recently retired Chairman of the NATO Military Committee, “It is no surprise that Americans sometimes act unilaterally in certain crisis scenarios when we Europeans do little more than offer a kaleidoscope of opinions.”⁵⁵

It is through this prism that the relevance of the question, “Is the United States getting what it bargained for?” should ultimately be viewed. With full appreciation of the military and financial implications, what was bargained for was the achievement of the objectives specified in our National Security Strategy. To review, they are:

- To enhance U.S. security
- To bolster America’s economic prosperity
- To promote democracy abroad.⁵⁶

The bargain wasn't for a smaller military footprint in Europe, a peace dividend, or the opportunity to unload military responsibilities on our Allies. While these benefits may accrue over time, the objective of the strong push for NATO enlargement was based not on reducing our security workshare, but on seizing the opportunity to make the world a better and safer place. In this regard, the United States bargaining toolkit, its "foreign policy," has been tested for effectiveness in a very visible and substantive sense.

How the U.S. policy on NATO enlargement is regarded, whether it was considered well articulated, coherent, or "ugly but effective," it is a matter for the pundits to chew on and digest. In practice it has worked. Professor Steve Walt of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University succinctly distilled the Clinton administration's foreign policy into four goals that closely parallel the objectives of the National Security Strategy. They are:

- Dampen security competition and reduce the risk of major war in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East
- Reduce the threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)
- Foster a more open and productive world economy to promote U.S. economic prosperity
- Build a world order compatible with basic American values.⁵⁷

By these measures, as they apply generally to NATO enlargement and specifically to Poland's performance, the answer to the question "Is the U.S. getting what it bargained for?" is "Yes, and then some." While it is typical for Americans to hotly debate the permutations and demand a cost-benefit analysis of policy decisions, public opinion by

and large substantiates that in this case our foreign policy makers got it right by using strong democratic principles as the stars by which to steer. In the process, it seems that the military analyses of defense planners, the balance sheets of international economists, and the subtle anxiety of Russo-phobic political scientists claimed an inordinate share of the spotlight in the enlargement decision. In the end, however, and not discounting their necessity, the data and rhetoric were only fodder on which the public, the press, and the politicians would chew while they knowingly followed their gut instincts and acknowledged the true tenets of American strength: an unabiding commitment to freedom, democracy, and prosperity. While the political, economic, environmental, and social factors that cross-connect with these tenets may flex, the undergirding values that define America cannot.

The world will continue to turn. The near-term success of this most recent enlargement decision will obviously draw a lot of water during any deliberations on the prospect of future enlargement initiatives. The decisions that lie ahead are not likely to be any less difficult. Whether NATO should continue to enlarge will hinge on multiple factors, many the same, many more troubling than in the past. Russia's stability, sensitivity, and tolerance will continue to be critical elements of future decisions as the NATO frontier inevitably encroaches. Russian "buy-in" to NATO through increased Partnership activity coupled with increasingly integrated economies would certainly reduce the apprehension of policy makers throughout the Euro-Atlantic community.

The concurrent development of the embryonic European Security Defense Policy interposes prospects for both greater cohesion and possibly greater tension in Europe. NATO Spokesman Jamie Shea claims, "We have two processes [the change of NATO

mission evolving from the new Strategic Concept, and the development of a Common Foreign and Security Policy within the EU] coming together at the right moment. And what we have to do is exploit the synergistic effect of these two developments whose time is suddenly right.”⁵⁸ From a Russian perspective, ESDP could prove to be the architect of new avenues of cooperation or of new dimensions of suspicion. From the Western European perspective, it could be infused with commitment and vigor by emerging new democracies and signal the end of reliance on the United States, or it could wistfully die in the parliamentary defense budget hearings, should latent European defense complacency come completely out of the closet.

From the perspective of the United States, ESDP could either be the harbinger of a true peace and burden sharing dividend, or just another bit of organizational alphabet soup in the European diet. Pessimistically, and with full appreciation for current defense budget reality in Europe, there is a probability that the complex, collective nature of ESDP may further contribute to a propensity to rely solely on institutional mechanisms rather than instruments of military force. Supplanting a credible deterrent or enforcement capability with a bureaucratic placebo may unwittingly lead the European Union further into the doldrums of complacency that accelerates the present downward spiral in their ability to deal with real regional security issues. Optimistically, continued U.S. engagement in European security matters and influence in the developmental processes of ESDP will ensure both its success, and the support of our national interests.

However the future unfolds, some of it will be through hard work and good judgment, and some of it will be through luck, either good or bad. Clearly, American-led efforts that steadfastly support our over-arching national security objectives will need to

maintain an overt character in order to steer the future toward increasing prosperity and development of democratic and free market systems. Ultimately, whether through luck or hard work, the future of alliances such as NATO, that were built to preserve the vitality of such ideologies, may languish in a state of revered obsolescence.

⁵⁴ Naumann, Klaus, "The Transatlantic Link Remains Vital," *European Affairs*, Vol.1, No.1, Winter 2000, 32.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ The White House, "A National Security Strategy for a New Century," Washington DC: US Government Press, October 1998, iii.

⁵⁷ Walt, Stephen, "Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2000, 66.

⁵⁸ Shea, Jamie, "The Alliance and The EU Must Work Together More Closely," *European Affairs*, Vol.1, No.1, Winter 2000, 36.

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