

The Analysis of Poland's Foreign Policy through the Individual Level of Analysis Approach to the Issue of Crimean Annexation by Russia

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Keywords: Annexation of the Crimea, Individual Level of Analysis, Poland, Psycobiography, and Ukraine.

Abstract: Relations between Russia Federation and western countries are heating up again due to the Russia-Ukraine conflict related to the annexation of the Crimean region. Russia made an attempt to the annexation of Crimea precisely in 2014, it turns out this annexation effort is supported directly by the Crimean community that many belong to the ethnic community of Russia. Crimea for the Federation of Russia is a strategic place to expand its influence in Europe, especially Eastern Europe. Clearly, the effort to annex this region has been heavily criticized internationally including Poland. At present, the Polish state has become one of Russia's greatest critics in its many controversial policies. Including in 1968 although the new Polish state was founded in 1989, resistance to Russia was already present at that time. The author on this occasion uses a Level of Analysis (Individual) approach with the Psycobiography method in reviewing Polish foreign policy towards the Russian-Ukrainian conflict by tracing the temporal study of the elected president (2010-2015), Bronislaw Komorowski of this country from childhood to president. Leaders are the key to a country's foreign policy, this trend is enormous and can be used as a basis for foreign policy making of a country. The author's judgment in many policies issued by Poland in addressing the Crimean conflict in 2014 has been somewhat influenced by the personal life and values held by its leaders.

1 INTRODUCTION

The conflict between Russia and Ukraine escalated in 2014 when the NATO commander observed that Moscow's army had entered Russia on 12 November 2014 (BBC, 2014). But its early history was when President Viktor Yanukovich won the election in 2010, so after the elected president had run the government, Yanukovich severed ties and agreements with the EU to further improve relations with Russia. Though Ukraine itself has been away and tends to have no relationship with the Russian Federation during the reign of the previous president. This political maneuver by Yanukovich tends to be very dangerous, because Russia is basically desperate for Soviet Union countries to be reunited on behalf of the Russian Federation. But at this moment if it is reviewed in terms of economics and the objectives desired by President Viktor Yanukovich to get help from the Russian Federation are welcomed by President Putin by providing sustainable economic policies one of them by purchasing debt of Ukraine of fifteen billion US dollars and reducing the price gas supply to one-third. Eventually the protest against this policy

began to enlarge until in December of 2010 protesters controlled the Capital of Ukraine that is Kiev with a mass of about eight hundred thousand people (BBC, 2014).

The masses continued to dominate the Ukrainian capital and continued to grow in line with the president's policies that were not in accordance with the wishes of the people until finally the demonstrators decided to occupy the office of the presidential office of Ukraine. Subsequently on February 22, 2014, the Ukrainian parliament decided to overthrow or impeach President Yanukovich who could not be located back then and make the situation was no longer under control. This condition lead to a wave of protests. Right after it was reported by the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin held a limited meeting which essentially said that the two governments actually have a good will and the agenda was not supposed to cause much protest, Putin then decided to resume control of the Crimea. This decision is also based on the demographic condition of the Crimean region, that the people who reside there are the majority of ethnic Russians, and it is the responsibility of the Russian Federation to make them prosperous marked by the Russian

parliamentary agreement to allow President Vladimir Putin to do whatever required including the use of military force in protecting the interests of the Russian Federation (BBC, 2014).

Then the annexation was done successfully based on the results of the referendum conducted by the Crimean society, this referendum resulted in 97 percent of the Crimean community saying it wants to rejoin the Russian Federation (BBC, 2011). The attempts by Russia to restore the Crimea in its territory certainly receive many criticisms and threats from around the world (Europe and the United States) including Poland. Poland has become one of Russia's greatest critics in the Crimean phased annexation issue. The Polish president stated that what Russia is doing at the moment is cruel and has not been seen since the Second World War (Telegraph, 2015). The annexation of the Crimea is an act that violates international law according to Polish authorities, whereas in its policy, Ukraine seeks to draw closer to the European states, seeking to live a more normal life without the shadow of Russia. According to Bronislaw Komorowski, the war that occurred in Ukraine is an act that is not praised by Russia and violate the rule of law in the relationship between countries. Whereas in the past years Russia was very cooperative with countries trying to stand on its own feet including Poland, Bronislaw Komorowski added that Russia's Red Army freed its country from the Nazi population, but now does not at all uphold these values.

President Bronislaw Komorowski's statement goes that Poland has very good relations with Russia before, but in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, Poland tends to be very opposed to the attitude of Russia. Relations between the two countries were never good after the end of the Soviet axis of 1989 (Bernstein, 2005). The Polish population based on the exposure of analysts assumes that the behavior of Russia is always bad especially regarding Ukraine. Russia always has the trait to dominate the small countries around it like Ukraine and Poland. But in the days of the Crimean annexation by the Russian Federation is the worst. The Polish government through its president has made many connections to pressure Russia in order to relinquish the Crimea, even President Bronislaw Komorowski condemned the actions taken by Russia at the annual meeting of countries in the world through the UN.

1.1 Individual Level of Analysis

To explain the problems and typical policies issued by Poland against the annexation conflict

perpetrated by Russia against the Crimea, one of the administrative regions under the authority of Ukraine, the author decided to use the Individual Level of Analysis (LoA). Because however the policy is made, in it will definitely contain the values brought by the formulator. As Stephen (2004) has pointed out in Stephen Benedict Dyson that if you see the British invasion of Iraq strongly influenced by the authority of Anthony Charles Lynton Blair, even if it were not for his influence there would be no one in the plains wanting to fight with Bush (Dyson, 2006). Blair tends not to take any pressure in joining the US coalition in attacking Iraq, even in the view of Naughtie (2004) in Dyson (2006) Tony Blair is advised to withdraw from the coalition shortly after being subjected to domestic pressure by British society, but he is not listening. Moreover even according to the news circulating despite the many losses it generates and many opportunities also to withdraw its involvement in statehood to support the United States, Blair remained in its stance, not wanting to withdraw.

Through the understanding of Dyson can be formulated that it turns out one leadership with other leadership tend to have different patterns of decision-making depending on the values owned by the person. Because according to the psychologist everyone will learn through dominance, comfort, resistance, punishment, persuasion, strategy, stress levels, and control it has (Hudson, 1990). Every experience in his life will be very influential in the steps to be taken. In the formulation of foreign policy, it is very often the researchers illustrate that the influence of personal is very large, the tendency of this decision-making style born of the values, decision styles and perhaps life (Greenstein, 1967, Winter 2003) in Dyson, 2006). Of course, a series of paradigms that influence small or large leaders will influence the spaces of faith, personality, emotions, perceptions and decision-making processes.

The author uses psychobiography methods in explaining Polish policy-making phenomenon of Crimean case. Psychobiography is a method that develops self-portraiture as a political judgment, in which it contains the cultural, historical, and political context of how the personality of the next leader is formed and the context in politics. The purpose of this psychobiography is to identify or translate the pattern of repeated actions to the leader (Post 2003). Man through his journey of life can be called an agent who can become the main actor in the formation of a national identity by combining the historical experience of the state and the logic that they have based on self-understanding (Hudson,

2013). The use of psychobiography combines past life patterns of leaders (elites) that can be fully explored in psychology. Focusing on consciously opposed behaviors and through appropriate means, for example, the policy is not rational in the wider public's view but still done by the leader (Post 2003). Running an assessment mechanism of empathy and detachment is then combined or combined through awareness of the leader's emotional reaction. Then how is the operation? The Operationalization is to use the tracking of the origin and dynamics of the leader's life from his childhood life, how his steps in going through various problems or issues in the direction of adulthood, their early experiences and their personal psychological development.

1.2 The Personality of Bronislaw Komorowski

To illustrate the psychobiography of a Bronislaw Komorowski it is necessary to have a thorough observation of his life from childhood, his development in adolescence, and his life in politics and ideologies adopted by him. It is important because life in the past is a reflection of future action, and is the basis for the policy of refusing annexation of Crimea by Russia. Here is the life of Bronislaw Komorowski from childhood, youth or adolescence and his adult life to his political constellations and ideological views while in the circle of government of the predecessor presidents in Poland.

1.2.1 Childhood

President Bronislaw Komorowski was the fifth Polish President in history after a series of changes in state forms and conflicts involving the country. Komorowski was a child raised by an aristocratic family, in other words he was a noble child of many landowners in Poland at the time (Britannica, 2017). He was born on June 4, 1952, precisely in Oborkini Slaskie region, Poland. The existence of the communist regime in his country makes his family very depressed psychologically and economically. This is not unreasonable, but as the author has explained earlier that a Komorowski was born of a noble family to become an object isolated in the communist regime. Komorowski's family often moved from one place to another due to the communist government's provocation. His parents had to move after the communist government decided to expel him from the current territory of

Lithuania (Zoznam, 2015). Bronislaw Komorowski's childhood experience was characterized by scout activities he inspired as a survival practice, he spent much of his time in the scout as one of his childhood activities. Young Komorowski has been very active in anti-communist opposition activities since he was in high school (Britannica, 2017). Furthermore, young Komorowski tends to be close to a democratic understanding of the communism that he expressed during school.

1.2.2 Adolescence

President Bronislaw Komorowski was involved several times in demonstrations such as the March 1968 protests and in 1971 imprisoned for the first time by local authorities (President, PL, 2017). The protest in March 1968 was a foundation of Polish opposition to communism as a governance tool (Chmielowski, 2011). Students including Komorowski decided to take to the streets against the inhuman communist government regime at the time. His hate in the communist regime at that time was hateful, evident from his actions during his college years, his joining to support the solidarity movement led by the then Polish President Lech Wales in the 1980s (Zoznam, 2015). Lech Wales, formerly a technician for the field of electricity, made and became the brain of a strike movement against the communist government in Poland in 1980, a demonstration lasting for weeks, with the allowance for an initial raise of basic labor (BBC, 2017). But eventually it developed into a solidarity action to improve the lives of the workers and coupled with the freedom of speech and the release of political prisoners by the government at that time. Subsequently he also worked with the Committee on the Protection of Workers' Rights and movements to defend human rights and other civil rights also took part in many demonstrations to defend his country. The young Komorowski has also processed himself as a chief editor of the Freedom and Solidarity magazine that voices workers' rights and freedoms in their work (News Week, 2015). In the years of Polish communist state government at the time Bronislaw Komorowski was often arrested and victimized by government discrimination. The young Komorowski's life is very much a struggle and a hatred of communism and its values. Even in the years of martial law declared in 1981 it was interned by the then prevailing authorities because it was perceived as endangering to the stability of peace and state security (France 24, 2010).

1.2.3 Adulthood

In an interview with local media Bronisław Komorowski said that in his father's mind, Bronisław was his soldier, his father mobilized against Bronisław in a series of actions and often asked how quickly the uprising would be done, advised to go to join the guerrilla forces (News Week, 2015). In addition to a martyr in opposition to the communist government, Bronisław Komorowski is also one behind the spread of anti-government and anti-communist leaflets, journalists and distributors and the underground press (Blisko Polski, t.t). After his release from prison, in 1977 Komorowski worked at the PAX press group, in 1982 becoming an independent magazine editor (ABC - Adiatik - Baltic Black Sea). During the emergency period until 1989 until Polish freedom from Communism, Komorowski taught a variety of education in Niepokalanów. After the destruction of communist politics in Poland, Bronisław Komorowski was only considered to have an important role, then began his first political career at the Council of Minister (Britannica, 2017). His political career in the 1990s was in the direction of liberal democrats in the Democratic Union and Freedom Union positions quite convincing in the party that he had served as secretary-general in both parties (Revolvy, t.t). Komorowski became a candidate for the parliamentary seat of the Republican Union party in 1991 and 1993. Through his career in politics it was clear that a Bronisław Komorowski was a very liberal man and in his life he hated Communism very much. The point is that his life-time is so dark against the existence of psychological communism has made Komorowski become very anti against communism, let alone the factors that cause very strong as his family who lived moved during the occupation of communism, by his father was advised to fight the regime, never do direct action, joining newspapers to resist information disclosure, joining many anti-communist movements since the early days of his youth in high school, was once considered a threat by the military government after the martial law was finally interned in certain areas so as not to damage stability. In behavioral psychology, it should not be wrong when Komorowski decides in his political policy not to support the Crimean annexation movement by the Russian Federation which has the direction of the communist state, the ideological enemy of Komorowski from childhood, to having a political ideology as a democrat high freedom to argue.

1.3 Identity Construction and Politics (Fear towards Communism)

Bad experience is an important editorial for a person to learn and try not to repeat it back in the future. In the view of Cindy Dietrich (2010) past experiences can have an impact on future decisions. The reason is that when a decision produces something good or positive one is more likely to do more and to make the same damage by treatment. As for a bad experience running an unfavorable mechanism, one tends to avoid decisions that will lead the situation to a bad thing and repeat the same mistakes (Sagi and Friedland, 2007 in Dietrich, 2010). Even a mouse in a proverb says that the rat will not eat the same poison in its life, or even fall in the same place. Man as a most perfect creature equipped with the mind will tend to think like so that the decisions that will be taken by humans will be created the same pattern. In addition to the role of past human experience, it turns out that in decision-making there are also influential cognitive biases such as trust, dependence, backward and others (Dietrich, 2010).

Komorowski was a very anti-communist because he was confronted with an uncomfortable past with communism. Since childhood Komorowski's life was haunted by communism that dominated the Polish landscapes and caused his family to live nomadic, often moving around to avoid repressive attitudes of authority. Even from his early years of high school education, he had been incorporated into anti-communist movements, his spirit of nationalism burning to free Poland from the influence of communism. It is quite clear that this hatred is present because a Bronisław Komorowski belongs to a noble lineage early in his life, forced to submit to the rules of communism. His family lands were usurped by the regime and his wealth was entirely on the state's behalf, in the above concept it should have been the bitter experiences of Komorowski to direct his political steps away from and condemn the actions of communism from all sides because it was so detrimental to him that embraced the values of liberty and liberalism economy. Moreover, Bronisław Komorowski's political background is from the democratic party, although at the end of his government in 2015 he tends to be independent. It is not surprising, therefore, that Russia's annexation of the Crimea in 2014 was thoroughly opposed by Komorowski as it would revive the influence of communism in the European region, including Poland, and potentially jeopardize regional stability and threaten Poland's sovereignty in the end. Because in history Russia has had a strong influence

on European politics, including in Poland. Bad memories will repeat automatically if Poland returns under Russian rule.

Bronislaw Komorowski as President of Poland said in the United Nations General Assembly forum before all world leaders that the international community and the countries of the world must recognize that the Russian occupation of Crimea and the efforts of the Aggression against Ukraine is a very necessary to be addressed for violating international law and its standards, the Crimean annexation done militarily is not justified by the concept of human rights (President, PL, 2017). The dominance of the Russian Empire will be even greater if not addressed seriously, the surrounding countries are poor and have no great influence in terms of the military will continue to be pressed all-out to obey the regime of Eurasian communism. Komorowski believes that the only organ capable of punishing Russia is the UN Security Council, but the fact is that at present is not sufficiently useful and functioning well against the Ukrainian conflict, the tendency of the surrounding countries to fall deeper will be even greater and disrupt international stability. In his speech also President Bronislaw Komorowski expressed his sadness for communism is very messy and incompatible with the life of the state, experiencing himself in his youth, he also said that there was excitement in Poland related to the twenty-five year warning of the country's escape from the influence of communism. Poland is a country vulnerable to security issues because its history has always been occupied by enemies from Europe such as Germany and the east like Russia. Poland has been trying for 25 years to establish good relations with the West, to properly restructure its government and to build a better and new society visibility without the interference of communism (The Guardians, 2015).

2 CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation of psychobiographic study of Bronislaw Komorowski above, it can be concluded that behind the decision or policy of the Polish State besides the instinct of the action of annexation against the Crimea violates international law and the conceptions of the sovereignty of a state, it is also the role of a president is quite central in making that decision. Psychobiography incorporates both the implicit and explicit facts ever undertaken by the perpetrator or research subject to conclude that actions taken in the past have implications for

future actions. As a president who has a family background of landowners during the communist occupation of Polish, anti-communist activists, and a state historian can reasonably be considered reasonable in the policy-making. Moreover, his involvement in several demonstrations to overthrow the communist government, it is hinted at his hatred of communism.

Until the 1980s he was exiled to a territory for his actions against the government. Time and time again Komorowski went out in jail. Because the memory of the past that has never been good with communism especially when associated with the life of his family who is a family of landowners (feudal) is considered a threat to the poor by the communist government. Finally this segmentation shaped the psychological life of Bronislaw Komorowski to hate communism until it brought him into a political ideology, Komorowski began his political career and possessed a democratic-liberal political path which he brought forward as one of the parliamentarians. The values it brings up are freedom of expression, prosperity for all Polish citizens and other democratic policies.

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