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# FUNDAMENTALS OF FOREIGN POLICY AND POLAND'S SECURITY POLICIES AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BIPOLAR WORLD SYSTEM

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*The present study offers an insightful exploration of Poland's foreign policy and security strategies from the late 1980s to the early 21st century. Following the collapse of the bipolar system, Poland pursued a path of independent development, prioritizing integration into the European Union (EU) and NATO for economic growth and national security. Two major political parties, Law and Justice and Civic Platform, played pivotal roles in shaping Poland's foreign policy, with differing stances on EU relations.*

*The study highlights Poland's active participation in NATO operations, addressing both collective defense and crisis response missions. Despite initial concerns, Poland engaged in EU military and civilian missions, contributing to the development of European defense capabilities. The strategic framework prioritized partnerships with the United States, EU members, and regional cooperation.*

*Overall, Poland showcased strategic adaptability, successfully navigating a transformed security landscape, balancing commitments to the EU and NATO, and actively contributing to international security efforts. This abstract provides a concise overview of Poland's foreign policy evolution, emphasizing its commitment to alliances, diplomatic achievements, and proactive engagement in global security initiatives.*

*Keywords:* Poland, security, NATO, European Union, Foreign Policy and Security Concept, Eastern European countries.

***Introduction.*** Poland is one of the largest states in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), being a member of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and plays a large role in the European security system. Therefore, Poland's foreign policy is of great importance not only at the regional level but also on a global scale.

After the collapse of the bipolar system, Poland chose an absolutely free path of development, different from the path of development of neighboring countries, which forced the formation of a completely new concept of security in the field of foreign policy, thanks to the internal consolidation of the nation in the face of new challenges of our time, where the old system of the world order was not completely destroyed, but a new one "The world" order has not yet been formed. It was necessary to choose the path of free development, in close integration into the world economic system, the world security system, and especially into European society as a common home of development.

In this context, both ruling circles and opposition forces began to prepare their concepts for national security. In this national task, there are mainly two powerful political forces. In the foreign policy of the Republic of Poland, two political parties play more decisive roles:

1. The doctrine of the «Law and Justice» Party puts forward the US-NATO-EU formula. In this doctrine, the main direction is close cooperation between the United States and NATO
2. Another political party, the "Civic Platform," determines foreign policy in close relations with the European Union according to the EU-NATO-US formula.

Between these political parties' approaches to foreign policy, it can be said that the Civic Platform is Euro-optimist and Law and Justice is Eurosceptic, based on their approach and decisions on the foreign policy of the Republic of Poland.

In the history of Poland in the field of fundamental principles of security and foreign policy, two historical documents have national significance. In November 1992, Polish President Lech Walesa signed two fundamental documents that are the starting point of Poland's security and defense policy.

These two documents created a powerful foundation for Poland's security, which eventually led to Poland's membership in the EU and NATO. Further adjustments were made by the Polish leadership for more flexible integration into the EU. These adjustments were reflected in the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland and the National Defense Strategy of the Republic of Poland. Thus, scientific work has the following tasks:

1. Identify new priorities and challenges for the Republic of Poland after EU and NATO membership
2. Fundamentals and main directions of regional policy in the field of national security and national defense, Based on these conclusions it is possible to analyze the foreign policy of Poland.

Since the late 1980s, the collapse of the bipolar system began in 1989, leading to parliamentary elections, based on which Polish society and the state switched to a different system of government. The planned economy of the communists was replaced by the development of the private sector - based on the principles of the "free market", which was determined by three main factors:

i. Form a new system of national and state security
ii. Receive support for reforms carried out in society from the main players of big politics
iii. Receive the status of the first country in Eastern Europe in the field of Pan-European security and become a NATO outpost in relations with Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia.

This task was a priority. Since Poland took a key place in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Pact Organization, and in the new reality, it was important for Poland to become the same key country in European society. The country took a new economic defense orientation towards the Western world, led by the United States, which forced it to look for new favorable opportunities for economic development and national security. But this task was quite difficult in all areas. Based on this, in the first years of integration, if the softest transformation was chosen through the security system formed within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) [17, s.21], then gradually this led to Poland's accession to the North Atlantic Alliance, which was in line with the concepts adopted in 1992. The Western European Union is recognized as another significant factor in the collective security system in Europe. In this regard, Poland's strategic goal is full membership in NATO and the European Community [4].

To achieve Poland's membership in the EU, after many years of negotiations, the Republic of Poland became a member of the European Union. This was a historic success for Poland, opening up new horizons for economic development and national security. In May 2004, Poland joined the EU. This membership in NATO and the European Community was considered by its leaders as a guarantee of the security of the new Polish state. But this did not end the task of the country that was previously planning. There is a need for new changes in these areas since membership requires the country to accept EU rules and regulations. The new Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Möller, speaking at the Sejm on 15 February 2006, outlined the Polish foreign policy priorities for the coming year as follows: the model for the future community should correspond to Poland's key goals in three main areas:

– accelerated development and progress of civilization;

– meeting the needs of broadly understood security, taking into account in this the context of the transatlantic dimension and the role of the United States;

– strengthening Poland's position as a reliable and serious member of the EU, skillfully combining his interests with the interests of the Union.

Poland's perception of the EU and NATO and the relationship with these organizations based on it, set out in the 2007 Strategy. It is especially emphasized that membership in the EU and NATO, as well as the alliance with the United States, provided Poland with a high level of security in several aspects, and became the main guarantees of the Republic of Poland's position in the international arena, and created favorable conditions for the internal development of the country. Poland is recognized as a border state of NATO and the EU, occupying an important place in the European security environment, and its territory is an area of great strategic importance [3, s.12].

During this historical period, it was developed in accordance with the strategic documents of NATO and the EU in the field of security - the NATO Strategic Concept, adopted at the Lisbon summit

on November 19-20, 2010, and the European Security Strategy of 2003. The document has a clear structure and consists of five sections.

Section I, called "Diagnostics of the National Security System," examines in detail the strengths and weaknesses of the Polish national security system, the conditions for its successful functioning, threats, and internal and external factors affecting the system.

The strategy states that Poland's membership in NATO and the EU guarantees the country's security and provides an opportunity to increase its role in the international arena. The following are named as external security conditions for Poland:

i. Friendly relations with neighboring countries, where CEE countries are of particular interest to Poland;

ii. Strengthening international law and ensuring its compliance throughout the world;

iii. Participation in international development assistance. Among the external threats and security challenges, the following are highlighted:

iv. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;

v. International terrorism;

6. Activities of foreign intelligence services;

7. Differences in the perception of security threats as well as self-interest between NATO and EU member states, coupled with unclear and unpredictable developments in the security environment, could pose a serious challenge to these international alliances. In this regard, concern is expressed about the development of NATO, which from a regional security organization is increasingly becoming an alliance with a global level of influence, which may entail a weakening of allied obligations towards Poland. The shift of US attention to non-European regions is also recognized as a challenge of this kind;

8. The importance and place of the EU on the global stage, especially in light of the existing disproportions between the economic potential of the community and the lack of real instruments in the field of foreign and security policy;

i. Weakening of the influence of international organizations (including the UN), as well as arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation regimes;

10. Threats to Poland's energy security;

11. Cyber terrorism, international organized crime;

12. Threats caused by natural forces and human activities;

13. Threats to food security [1].

Section II analyzes the challenges, development trends, and vision for the development of the country's national security system. The analysis was carried out based on the conclusions made in the previous section. It is argued that the optimization of national security forces which means the effective use of the potential of the state defense system and crisis management system [9, s.8].

Section III contains information about the goals of the Strategy and the directions of the State's activities in terms of their implementation. The main goal of the strategy was recognized as increasing the efficiency and consistency of the national security system, understood as the synergy of efforts of individual bodies, institutions, and public services responsible for state security to identify and eliminate the sources, manifestations, and consequences of threats to national security.

A logical continuation of the main goal is operational goals, which relate to areas that are critical to ensuring security. They are as follows:

i. Formation of a stable international security environment in the regional and global dimensions. This goal includes:

1.1. Increasing the effectiveness of the implementation of Poland's priorities in NATO and the EU, ensuring the effective functioning of allied mechanisms. In this aspect, the most important are:

– measures aimed at strengthening collective defense within NATO;

– developing the EU's capacity to carry out comprehensive measures to respond to the crisis;

– deepening cooperation with Eastern European partners within the EU and NATO;

– deepening cooperation in the field of energy security and cybersecurity on the EU and NATO platform;

– participation in increasing the effectiveness of cooperation between NATO and the EU.

1.2. Effective cooperation in bilateral and multilateral formats: – strengthening the strategic partnership with the United States;

– cooperation with main partners (France, Germany, Great Britain):

– deepening cooperation within the framework of the Weimar Triangle, the Visegrad Group, and the Council of the Baltic Sea States; – deepening cooperation with Poland's neighbors in the east in a bilateral and multilateral format.

1.3. Increasing the effectiveness of international law and international organizations.

The second goal is to strengthen the defense capability of the state. The following priorities are highlighted here:

2.1. Increasing the potential of the armed forces.

2.2. Improving the organizational structures of the armed forces.

2.3. Increasing the level of education and professional training of the armed forces.

2.4. Strengthening the ability of the country's administrative and economic structures to function in crises and support the defense of the state.

2.5. Improving national defense planning.

2.6. Effective development of defense capabilities.

2.7. Creating a modern and productive research and development capacity for defense needs.

2.8. Improving the ability to recognize, prevent, and combat threats to the internal security of the state, as well as recognize threats at all levels of national, allied, and coalition command systems.

It is expected that the implementation of these priorities and directions will provide Poland with the protection of vital national interests and a strong position in the international arena, especially in NATO and the EU. The third goal is to develop the ability to counter threats to national security, which is supposed to be implemented by strengthening the protection of critical infrastructure and creating a system of strategic reserves.

The fourth goal is to increase the integration of public policies with security policies.

Section IV presents the system for implementing the Strategy, which defines the areas of activity of the main entities responsible for its implementation, as well as documents for its implementation. The strategy was subject to periodic updating, at least once every 4 years. The Minister of Defense, acting on behalf of the head of government, was appointed coordinator of the implementation of the Strategy [12, s.15].

Section V, entitled "Financial Framework of the Strategy," reflects the amount of public funds allocated to achieve its goals.

Thus, the Strategy has become a document of a new generation, created in response to the challenges of the changed security environment and taking into account the requirements of the modern system of managing the country's development. As a result of this, for the first time, the concept of the national security system of the Republic of Poland was developed, coupled with the socio-economic policy of the country, which included a methodology that made it possible to realize the intentions stated in it. In the security context, it is particularly noteworthy that the First Strategic Review of the National Security of the Republic of Poland, conducted in 2010–2012, recommended the development of a new National Security Strategy for the country in 2013 [11, s.9]. His theses were reflected in the White Paper on Poland's national security issues [2, s.10].

These two documents formed the basis for the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland 2014. It was developed based on the principles of the Law on the Universal Responsibility to Protect the Republic of Poland of November 21, 1967 [15], as well as by the NATO Strategic Concept (2010) and the European Security Strategy (2003). On October 21, 2014, the Council of Ministers adopted the new National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland. On November 5, 2014, The document was approved by President Bronislaw Komorowski.

From the point of view of security issues, Strategy 2014 fully defines all aspects of Poland's security and its role in regional and international factors.

In Strategy 2014, it was possible to finally formulate a holistic concept of the Republic of Poland's security policy, which has been used by the country's leadership to this day. Poland was

recognized as an independent security entity, defining its national interests and formulating strategic goals, and the formula for its international participation in security cooperation began to look like this:

– NATO is the most important form of military-political cooperation;

– The EU is the pillar of Poland's socio-economic development, helping to strengthen its position on the world stage;

– The USA is the most important partner outside of Europe;

–The Weimar Triangle and the Visegrad Group are key forums for international cooperation on security issues;

– Poland is a reliable member of the UN and OSCE.

The 2014 Strategy identified the factors on which the security of Europe will depend shortly, such as NATO, the EU, the US strategic presence on the European continent, and relations with Russia.

The choice of NATO as the key organization capable of ensuring the country's external security was made relatively quickly. After all, NATO is a military-political alliance that guarantees collective defense to its member states. The decision to join NATO was immediately reflected in the Fundamentals of Polish Security Policy and the Security Policy and Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, adopted by the National Defense Committee in November 1992 [7]. The choice of NATO was obvious: it is the strongest military-political bloc not only in the Euro-Atlantic zone but also all over the world.

Thus, having approved NATO membership as one of its foreign policy priorities in 1992, the Polish leadership believed that it was going to join its country to a defensive alliance. However, it soon became obvious that the activities of the North Atlantic Alliance were increasingly going beyond the boundaries outlined by Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, which provides for the protection of Allied territory [10]. Increasingly, NATO conducted non-Article 5 operations, that is, outside the alliance's area of responsibility, which were later enshrined in the new Strategic Concept of 1999 as crisis response operations [17].

Despite all the difficulties of foreign policy in the new context, Poland, wanting to prove in practice its desire to become an active participant in NATO, joined its operations even before it allied within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program, which it joined in 1994 [14].

On March 12, 1999, Poland joined NATO. Already in 2001–2003, the Polish military contingent participated in ensuring the safety of international EU and OSCE observers within the framework of NATO operations in Macedonia. In March 2002, the Polish leadership sent the first group of about 100 soldiers to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission area in Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the North Atlantic Alliance, without abandoning the function of a classical collective defense organization, was increasingly involved in conducting missions outside its area of responsibility. "Either we cope with the problems where they appear, or they will be on our doorsteps," said NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer at the organization's next summit, held in Istanbul on June 28–29, 2004 [13].

The central topic of the meeting was the transformation of the alliance. In this regard, the implementation of the decisions of the 2002 Prague Summit was discussed:

– the creation of the NATO Response Force, which by this time has reached preliminary operational readiness;

– establishment of a multinational battalion for protection against chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons;

– reorganization of the command system;

– commitments of individual allies to improve national defense capabilities.

At the meeting, it was decided to strengthen the mission in Afghanistan, but the situation in Iraq caused a lot of controversy. Participants expressed full support for action in favor of the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Iraq, as well as Polish participation in command of the multinational division in the central-south zone. At the Istanbul summit, seven new states were accepted into the alliance: Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Estonia [13].

Already a member of the EU, Poland continued to participate in various NATO missions. So, in August 2004, she became involved in the alliance's operation to ensure the protection of the Olympic

Games in Greece. The Polish military joined the humanitarian mission sent by NATO to Pakistan after the devastating earthquake that occurred there in October 2005. In 2005–2011 Polish military contingent took part in the NTM-I training mission in Iraq, established at the 2004 NATO Istanbul Summit.

During the same period, the Polish Navy was involved in Operation Active Endeavor, which was carried out to ensure the safety of navigation and prevent terrorist attacks in the Mediterranean Sea.

Since 2006, Poland has repeatedly contributed forces to NATO's air policing mission in the Baltic countries. (Baltic Air Policing). This mission to protect the airspace of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia has been carried out by the alliance since 2004, that is, since the accession of these states to NATO. Within its framework, members of the alliance, on a rotational basis, perform tasks related to the control and protection of the airspace of the Baltic countries and the provision of aviation support in emergencies.

Meanwhile, the alliance-led ISAF mission in Afghanistan faced serious challenges, which became the main theme of the NATO heads of state meeting in Riga on November 28–29, 2006. Although the summit took several important decisions and initiatives, especially in the area of military transformation of the alliance, At the same time, deep differences between the allies on key issues concerning the future of NATO were revealed.

The concept of the Lisbon summit on November 19-20, 2010, in the development of which the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland Adam Daniel Rotfeld participated, identified three main tasks of NATO: - collective defense, including the obligation to assist in the event of an armed attack on one of the alliance members by Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, deterrence and protection against the threat of aggression [5];

– crisis management – the use of appropriate political and military instruments to counter crises, effectively respond during a crisis and eliminate its consequences;

– security based on cooperation – activities to strengthen international security through the development of partnerships with states and international organizations.

The first of these tasks was declared as a priority. Countries participating in the ISAF mission in Afghanistan announced at the Lisbon Summit the gradual transfer of full security responsibility to the Afghan authorities during 2011-2014. This process was planned to be carried out depending on the potential and capabilities of the Afghan security forces [6, s.1157].

Thus, Poland's membership in the EU did not affect its activities within NATO. The gradual transition of the organization's leadership from collective defense to crisis response operations was not met with enthusiasm in Warsaw. However, wanting to maintain the image of a reliable ally, the country throughout the entire period under study continued to participate in both the missions carried out by the alliance and in initiatives for its transformation. The Polish armed forces were most involved during the ISAF operation in Afghanistan, where the strength of the Polish military contingent reached its maximum in 2010 and amounted to about 2,600 people [1].

Poland took part in the formation of the NATO Response Force and joined the alliance's initiatives such as the Ground Surveillance System, Strategic Airlift, the Helicopter Initiative, Force Enhancement, Military Gendarmerie, and Defense Planning. Warsaw was very wary of the European Security and Defense Policy, as it could pose a threat to NATO unity and the US presence in Europe, two other pillars of Poland's security.

However, Poland did not want its actions in terms of the formation of the EU armed forces to cause a conflict with the obligations arising from the country's membership in NATO. In addition, she tried to avoid additional expenses. Therefore, the said frame brigade was also assigned to carry out operations under the auspices of the North Atlantic Alliance, and therefore it is not possible to assess this contribution of Poland to the creation of EU capabilities and resources for security and defense.

Wanting to strengthen the image of a reliable partner, Poland took part in the EU peacekeeping mission in Macedonia EUFOR Concordia - the first EU military operation, carried out from March to December 2003. The tasks of the mission included the protection of international observers, control of border traffic between Kosovo and Macedonia, provision of support to the force's rapid response in

case of threats, and protection of convoys organized by the EU and OSCE. With a total EU force of about 400 soldiers, Poland's participation amounted to 25 soldiers [16, s.89].

The success of Polish diplomacy was the decision taken by the EU Council on May 14, 2005, to locate the first Union agency in the capital of the new member state - Warsaw. The EU Council Regulation of 26 October 2004 established the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of EU Member States (Frontex). The agency began its work in Warsaw in the fall of 2005. Its main task was to coordinate the activities of EU countries to protect the external border of the Union, especially in terms of combating illegal immigration and organized crime. The choice of Warsaw was explained by the fact that Poland has the longest land border and neighbors countries such as Russia, Ukraine and Belarus [8].

In the same year, Poland joined the advisory mission EUBAM Moldova / Ukraine, established by the European Commission in response to a joint request from the presidents of Moldova and Ukraine. The mission began its work on November 30, 2005. Its staff consisted of more than 200 people. The Polish contingent became one of the largest in this mission - 18 people. It included employees of customs and border services.

***Conclusion.*** Thus, despite Poland's initial concerns regarding a possible conflict between the EU and NATO based on the ESDP, which could also affect the US presence in Europe, Warsaw decided to participate in most military and civilian missions, as well as in other community activities in within the framework of creating European defense, thereby forming an image of a reliable partner.

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## BİPOLYAR DÜNYA SİSTEMİNİN DAĞILMASINDAN SONRA POLŞANIN XARİCİ VƏ TƏHLÜKƏSİZLİK SİYASƏTİNİN ƏSASLARI

Məqalə Polşanın 1980-ci illərin sonundan 21-ci əsrin əvvəllərinə qədər xarici siyasət və təhlükəsizlik strategiyalarının dərin tədqiqinə həsr olunmuşdur. Bipolyar sistemin dağılmasından sonra Polşa iqtisadi artım və milli təhlükəsizlik üçün Avropa İttifaqı (Aİ) və NATO-ya inteqrasiyanı prioritetləşdirərək müstəqil inkişaf yolu tutdu. İki böyük siyasi partiya – "Hüquq və Ədalət" və "Vətəndaş Platforması" - Aİ münasibətlərində fərqli mövqelərlə Polşanın xarici siyasətinin formalaşmasında mühüm rol oynadılar.

Tədqiqat Polşanın həm kollektiv müdafiə, həm də böhrana cavab missiyaları ilə bağlı NATO əməliyyatlarında fəal iştirakını araşdırır. Polşa Aİ hərbi və mülki missiyalarında iştirak edərək Avropanın müdafiə qabiliyyətinin inkişafına töhfə verdi. Ölkə strateji baxımdan ABŞ, Aİ üzvləri ilə tərəfdaşlıq və regional əməkdaşlığa üstünlük verirdi.

Ümumilikdə, Polşa strateji uyğunlaşma qabiliyyətini nümayiş etdirdi, transformasiya edilmiş təhlükəsizlik mənzərəsini uğurla idarə etdi, Aİ və NATO qarşısında öhdəlikləri balanslaşdırdı və beynəlxalq təhlükəsizlik sahəsinə öz töhfəsini verdi. Bu məqalədə Polşanın xarici siyasətinin təkamülünün qısa icmalı verilir, onun ittifaqlara sadiqliyi, diplomatik nailiyyətləri və qlobal təhlükəsizlik təşəbbüslərində fəal iştirakı vurğulanır.

*Açar sözlər:* Polşa, təhlükəsizlik, NATO, Avropa Birliyi, Xarici siyasət və Təhlükəsizlik konsepsiyası, Şərqi Avropa ölkələri.

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## ОСНОВЫ ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ И ПОЛИТИКА БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ ПОЛЬШИ ПОСЛЕ РАЗРУШЕНИЯ БИПОЛЯРНОЙ МИРОВОЙ СИСТЕМЫ

Настоящая статья предлагает глубокое исследование внешней политики и стратегии безопасности Польши с конца 1980-х годов до начала XXI века. После распада биполярной систе-

мы Польша пошла по пути независимого развития, отдавая приоритет интеграции в Европейский Союз (ЕС) и НАТО ради экономического роста и национальной безопасности. Две основные политические партии, «Право и справедливость» и «Гражданская платформа», сыграли ключевую роль в формировании внешней политики Польши, придерживаясь различных позиций по отношениям с ЕС.

В исследовании подчеркивается активное участие Польши в операциях НАТО, направленных как на коллективную оборону, так и на миссии реагирования на кризисы. Несмотря на первоначальные опасения, Польша участвовала в военных и гражданских миссиях ЕС, способствуя развитию европейского оборонного потенциала. Стратегические рамки отдают приоритет партнерству с Соединенными Штатами, членами ЕС и региональному сотрудничеству.

В целом, Польша продемонстрировала стратегическую адаптивность, успешно ориентируясь в изменившейся обстановке безопасности, балансируя обязательства перед ЕС и НАТО, и, активно внося свой вклад в усилия по международной безопасности. В этой статье представлен краткий обзор эволюции внешней политики Польши, подчеркивая ее приверженность альянсам, дипломатические достижения и активное участие в инициативах по глобальной безопасности.

*Ключевые слова*: Польша, безопасность, НАТО, Европейский Союз, внешняя политика и концепция безопасности, страны Восточной Европы.

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