

## GEOPOLITICAL CONCEPTS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND: A CASE STUDY

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The article is an attempt to present the geopolitical concept that is presently taking shape in the foreign diplomacy of the Republic of Poland, which I believe to be the Polish-Romanian-Turkish consultations. The analysis shall be conducted from the Polish perspective. The fundamental conclusion of this article is the fact that the Polish-Romanian-Turkish block aspires to be a regional forum constituting a prominent geopolitical entity, acting on its own as well as within the NATO framework.

**Keywords:** foreign policy, geopolitics, nationalities/ethnic issue, Poland.

**Introduction.** In the past years it has been possible to observe the attempts of the Polish diplomacy to employ various kinds of geopolitical concepts. The aim of these actions is obvious – strengthening the position of Poland on the international arena. The majority of them is based on the existing structures, e.g. increasing the activity of the Visegrád Group. Attempts to create a completely new concept of conducting foreign policy are rare. It is possible to hazard a statement that they are limited to the most important international entities. This situation is possible to observe in the Polish diplomacy of late. The article is an attempt to present the geopolitical concept that is presently taking shape in the foreign diplomacy of the Republic of Poland, which I believe to be the Polish-Romanian-Turkish consultations. The Polish foreign policy is taking place mainly in the framework of two dominating international organizations: the EU and the NATO. The analyzed consultations are a narrower concept of cooperation with hallmarks of strategic importance for the Central and Eastern European states. Referring to the above conclusions it is possible to create the following research hypothesis: Among the most important geopolitical determinants in Polish-Romanian-Turkish cooperation there are struggle for influence (especially in the Central and Eastern Europe) and attempts to create a counterbalance for the policy of the Russian Federation.

**Review of scientific sources.** In the framework of the established research problem, it is necessary to point to a circle of academics engaged in researching key elements pertaining to this article. The issue of geopolitics is the subject of analysis of (among others) Leszek Moczulski, who in his research inquiries made an attempt to synthesize the output of academic geopolitics and an evaluation of the main concepts of applied geopolitics [9; 10], as well as an analysis of the Intermarum megaregion [11]. The determinants of the Polish foreign policy were researched by Roman Kuźniar [5; 6], Robert Kupiecki and Krzysztof Szczepanik [4], Gerard Labuda and Waldemar Michowicz [7], as well as Piotr Wandycz [17], who pointed to several fundamental phenomena determining the history of the Polish diplomacy, focusing mainly on factors related to history, political science and law, and less so to geopolitics. Przemysław Pacuła analysed Poland as one of main beneficiaries of the NATO's «open door» policy [14], which is particularly important in the context of cooperation with such states as Romania and Turkey. Polish-Romanian political relations after 1989 are researched by Grzegorz Bonusiak, who, apart from discussing the stages of development of bilateral relations, demonstrates also the stages of development of both states in the period

of systemic transformation [1]. Romanian researchers Luminita Soproni and Mirela Marcu analysed the position of Poland and Romania from the perspective of European integration, showing similarities and differences in the approach of the authorities to integration in the EU framework [15]. The research on potential areas of cooperation between particular states was carried out also by a group of Polish and Turkish researchers including Witold Lewandowski [8], Canan Uslu and Murad Cinoğlu [16].

It is possible to indicate two fundamental goals of this paper. The first is demonstrating the genesis of the trilateral cooperation taking shape in the context of the most important geopolitical problems of the participating states. The second is showing the most important geopolitical dimensions that condition foreign policy of the Republic of Poland and relations between parties in consultations. On the account of the mutable geopolitical situation in the area of interest of the trilateral consultations beneficiaries and the short time period of this form of cooperation, the article aims to initiate further research. In the future, it will be worthwhile to consider the meaning of this form of multilateral contacts for particular states, especially Poland.

Before taking up the analysis of the main research topic, it is necessary to specify more precisely the meaning of geopolitics in the sciences. The notion of «geopolitics» was created by Rudolf Kjellén at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Since the beginning, geopolitics gave rise to disputes and controversies. The researchers single out three notional categories of geopolitics: a separate scientific discipline, a research paradigm, and a political doctrine [2, p. 5]. Geopolitics in the understanding of the first category «(...) is not a policy of territorial expansion. It is a scientific discipline which combines the disciplines of geography, history and political science, and also economy and social sciences (...)» [9, p. 70; 10, p. 203-209]. In the second perspective, geopolitics is a «scientific approach, which makes an attempt of rationalization and introducing the highest possible degree of measurability of complex actions, which create the strength of a state, its ability to maintain and develop its own territory, waging and winning wars or other forms of conflict that do not include armed confrontation» [13, p. 11]. In turn, supporters of the third category object to seeing geopolitics as a separate science, considering geopolitics to be a «(...) subjective <<interpretation of political-geographical and other important factors, the intent of which is to promote national, state or bloc interests, understood in particular as influence, control, and strengthening, establishing or confirming political, economic and military power>>» [2, p. 13; 3; 5].

The Polish foreign policy and geopolitical issues are an object of constant scientific research; however, in the deliberations to date there is an apparent lack of research on the contemporary geopolitical concepts of particular governments and states, in particular in correlation with policies of other states. Thus it is worth to consider the concept of conducting foreign policy in the framework of trilateral consultations between Poland, Romania and Turkey that is taking shape. Especially given that the results of this enhanced cooperation could exert considerable influence over the key phenomena of the European policy – especially in the region of Central and Eastern Europe. The analysis shall be conducted from the Polish perspective.

**Polish-Romanian-Turkish consultations.** Currently consultations are taking place during trilateral meetings, which are organized with an appropriate advance. Until now four meetings were held and more are being planned. The first trilateral consultations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Romania and Turkey (see Fig. 1) were held on 6 November 2012 in Bucharest. The main objective of the meeting was to debate on the North Atlantic Alliance and regional security. Discussed were also other topics, such as the anti-missile shield, smart defense and NATO expansion, as well as frozen conflicts in the region and the future of the conventional armament regime in Europe. The delegations were headed by deputy ministers from particular states, i.e. Bogusław Winid (Poland), Bogdan Lucian Aurescu (Romania) and Fatih Ceylan (Turkey). The second meeting was held on 9-10 May 2013 in Izmir and was attended by the same deputy ministers as the previous one. The delegations continued the debate on the issues discussed on the previous meeting (including global security in the framework of NATO operations) and initiated the topic of security in Central and Eastern Europe. Particular attention was directed to the evaluation of trilateral cooperation and the possibility of its extension to new fields. The Polish side called for including energy security and cyber security into the scope of consultations [12].

In 2014 two meetings took place. First consultations were held on 26 May in Warsaw and were devoted to the crisis in Ukraine (in the context of regional security), preparations to the NATO summit in Great Britain, and cooperation of Turkey with the EU. Polish and Romanian delegations were once again headed by Undersecretary of State Bogusław Winid and State Secretary for Strategic Affairs Bogdan Aurescu, while Turkey was represented by Deputy Undersecretary of Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Muhtar Gün. The Polish side underlined the fact of existence of shared interests uniting Poland, Romania and Turkey in the face of worsening crisis in Ukraine. The Polish deputy minister stated that «Our countries have unwaveringly pointed out that NATO must be ready to fulfil its main function, that is the collective protection of the territory of its members», adding further that «events in Ukraine prove that we were right. We agreed that cooperation of Turkey with the EU in the field of security policy should be deepened and intensified» [12]. The fourth round of consultations took place on 19 November 2014 in Bucharest. During this meeting, talks on the situation in Ukraine and the region were continued and a part of the discussion concerned the evaluation of the state of incorporation of the decision taken on the NATO summit in Newport. Apart from that, also the current situation in Syria and Iraq were discussed, mainly in the context of the fight against the Islamic State.

During the talks the Romanian side was represented by Bogdan Aurescu, while the Turkish side was represented by Ahmet Muhtar Gün. Poland was represented by Undersecretary of State Leszek Soczewica, who concluded that «The two currently most important international crises, that is the conflict in Ukraine and the creation of a quasi-state on the territory of Syria and Iraq by the so-called Islamic State, are taking place just outside our borders. Poland, Romania and Turkey agreed that NATO must be ready to fulfil its fundamental function, i.e. the collective protection of the territory of its members» [12].

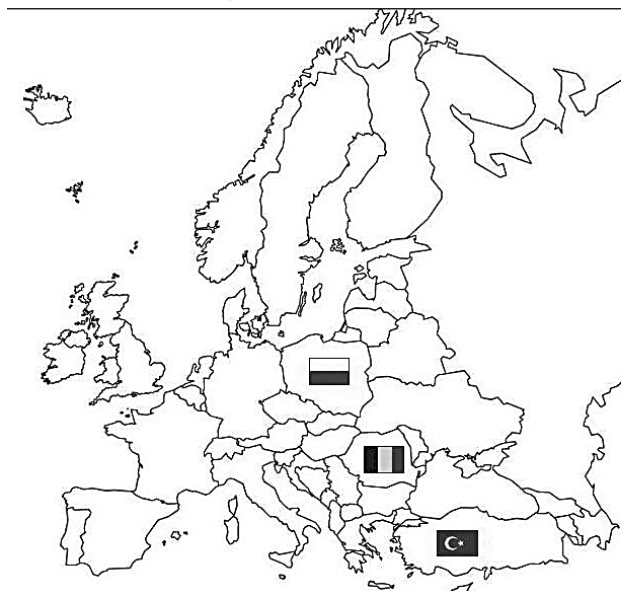


Fig. 1. Consultations participants

Source: Own study

The discussed formula is supplemented also with other multilateral and bilateral contacts. This includes meetings at the NATO level, participation in various anniversary commemorations, bilateral negotiations on various political levels, and trilateral consultations on a lower level. For example, a meeting between deputy minister Henryka Mościcka-Dendys and delegations of foreign affairs committees of the Romanian and Turkish Senates was held on 17 March 2015 in Warsaw. The main topics of the discussion were strengthening NATO in connection with the armed conflict in Ukraine, the project of energy union, and the process of European integration. According to deputy minister Mościcka-Dendys «(...) trilateral consultations are also an expression of a view on the problems of the region shared by our countries. In relation to the situation in the East of Ukraine, the need of a speedy implementation of the decision of the NATO summit in Newport was agreed upon (...). The discussion partners stressed their support for the «open doors» policy of the Alliance. During the meeting also the issues of the energy union were debated. According to the deputy head of the Polish diplomacy, diversification of energy supply sources will assure EU's independence and will allow to lower energy prices, thus lowering the role of sources supply as an instrument of political pressure. Both Poland and Romania for many years have unvaryingly been in favour of Turkey's accession to the European Union (...). Deputy minister Mościcka-Dendys stressed that from the point of view of Poland, accession of Turkey to the EU would be a completion of the process of European integration» [12]. Another aspect deepening cooperation among the said states is cultural activity. A particular manifestation of this activity

is the competition organized by the Polish Institute in Bucharest for the logo commemorating the 20th anniversary of the signing of the «Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Romania and the Republic of Poland» and the celebration of 600 years of Polish-Turkish diplomatic relations in 2014 [12].

The concept of trilateral Polish-Romanian-Turkish cooperation that is being shaped constitutes an element of Polish foreign policy that is very interesting and important from the geopolitical perspective. Even though it is only a beginning of cooperation between these states, in this form, in the past Poland shared geopolitical interests with Romania and Turkey. Scrutinizing trilateral cooperation between Poland, Romania and Turkey, I see three key geopolitical dimensions to a large degree determining the foreign policy of Warsaw. This means cooperation in the NATO framework, historical anti-Russian position and energy security (diversification of energy supply sources).

**1. Cooperation in the NATO framework.** Closer relations can in the future contribute to the creation of a military-political bloc within the Alliance characterized by a mechanism of enhanced cooperation and potential support in external conflict situations. All that is in the context of the project of locating NATO military infrastructure in Poland. It is not without reason that, during the meeting in Izmir, delegations from all the states visited NATO Allied Land Command where they met with General Frederick Hodges. It was also important for the Polish side since at that time a group of Polish officers started their service there and one of the deputy chiefs is General Bogdan Tworkowski [12].

**2. Energy security (diversification of energy supply sources).** This issue seems to be the most promising of the geopolitical foundations of the Polish-Romanian-Turkish cooperation. This is attested by the recent fiasco of the long-planned construction of the Nabucco pipeline that was supposed to bypass Russia, transporting natural gas from Azerbaijan and Iran to Central Europe. This situation is additionally complicated by the activity of the Kremlin, since every project of diversification of energy supply sources to Poland (and the entirety of the Central and Eastern Europe) meets with antagonistic actions of Moscow, which tries to obstruct in every possible way Europe's energy independence.

**3. Historical anti-Russian position.** For ages, Russia was the main rival of the Republic of Poland and Turkey for geopolitical influence in the region. Also Romania has traditions of struggling with the Russian element. What is more, all the states are connected by the experience of closer or looser cooperation directed against Russia. Before the Second World War, Warsaw had a military treaty signed with Bucharest

prepared especially in case of conflict with Moscow. Despite the fact that it is possible to show conflict situations between Poland and Turkey in history, these states enjoy a good relationship and there are no major antagonising issues in their mutual relations. Moreover, Russia is a historical rival of Turkey in the struggle for influence in Europe and South Caucasus. Incidentally, the symbolic importance of the bilateral relationship is attested by the fact that the Turkish state never officially acknowledged the partition of Poland in the 18th century, the main instigator of which was Russia.

In the relations between the said states there are some minor difficulties. However, their significance is not high, especially in contrast to integrative elements, so that they are not a barrier to enhancing the formula of trilateral consultations. An example of said difficulties is the rivalry for influence and EU funding between two concepts of regional cooperation in the framework of European Neighbourhood Policy, that is the Eastern Partnership (Poland) and the Black Sea Synergy (Romania and Turkey). Nonetheless, this should not affect relations between those states.

#### **Conclusions and perspective research directions.**

The aim of the article was to demonstrate the importance of the concept of geopolitical cooperation of states in foreign policy. The conducted analysis leads to three main conclusions. First, verification of the research hypothesis presented in the introduction: Among the most important geopolitical determinants in Polish-Romanian-Turkish cooperation there are struggle for influence (especially in the Central and Eastern Europe) and attempts to create a counterbalance for the policy of the Russian Federation. The analysis demonstrated that there are grounds to confirm that statement, however the fact that currently this form of cooperation is being shaped necessitates a conclusion that this verification was negative. Second, the analyzed research material allows to claim that the Polish-Romanian-Turkish bloc aspires to be a regional forum constituting a prominent geopolitical entity, acting on its own as well as within the NATO framework. Third, the analysis of the origin and course of consultations and the historical tradition of cooperation provokes a statement that this concept shows limited presence in the Polish diplomacy. It is being used mainly to fulfill objectives supplementing diplomatic activity conducted within the NATO and the EU. The perspective for further research pertains to three dimensions: (1) Analyzing the foreign policy of main international entities towards trilateral consultations, especially the Russian Federation, Germany, and USA; (2) Demonstrating the results of the Polish-Romanian-Turkish cooperation; (3) Presenting an analysis of the trilateral cooperation from the Romanian and Turkish perspective.

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## ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ КОНЦЕПЦИИ ВО ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКЕ РЕСПУБЛИКИ ПОЛЬША: СОЦИОЛОГИЧЕСКОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ

### Аннотация

Эта статья является попыткой презентации формирующей геополитической концепции в польской внешней политике, за которую я считаю польско-румынско-турецкие переговоры. Анализ будет проводиться с польской точки зрения. Основным выводом этой статьи является то, что блок польско-румынско-турецкий претендует на региональный форум, который есть существенным геополитическим образованием. Действуя как индивидуально, так и в рамках НАТО.

**Ключевые слова:** внешняя политика, геополитика, национальный/ этнический вопрос, Польша.

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## ВПЛИВ АНТИТЕРОРИСТИЧНОЇ ОПЕРАЦІЇ НА МОДИФІКАЦІЮ ФУНКЦІЙ ГРОМАДЯНСЬКОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА В УКРАЇНІ

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У статті обговорюються проблеми модифікації функцій громадянського суспільства у період проведення антитерористичної операції. Акцент робиться на аналізі діяльності волонтерів. Перелічені соціальні, економічні, воєнні, соціокультурні, політичні та інші функції, які здійснює волонтерський рух. Проведений аналіз рівня довіри населення до влади та волонтерів. Виділені негативні фактори, що виникають в процесі діяльності волонтерських організацій.

**Ключові слова:** громадянське суспільство, волонтерський рух, АТО, функції громадянського суспільства, політичні функції, функції допомоги, патріотизм.

**Постановка проблеми.** Зараз громадянське суспільство в особі волонтерського руху грає роль альтернативної влади у певній сфері суспільного життя, що виконує частину функцій держави в зоні АТО. Громадянське суспільство певним чином стало партнером держави, і разом ці два політичні інститути задовольняють потреби суспільства у воєнній сфері та питаннях допомоги громадянам в зоні АТО.

Завдяки надзвичайним обставинам функції громадянського суспільства стали більш виразними і посилили свою дієвість. Найбільш значущою структурою громадянського суспільства в добу АТО стає волонтерський рух. Саме через аналіз функцій волонтерства найбільш виразно відображається ефект модифікації функцій громадянського суспільства в надзвичайний період сучасної історії України.

**Завдання статті.** Надати аналіз модифікації функцій громадянського суспільства через дослі-

дження функціонування волонтерського руху в Україні.

**Обговорення проблематики** громадянського суспільства в українській та міжнародній літературі. Загальні питання, сутність, основні риси та функції громадянського суспільства розглядає Кін Джон, Айвен Догерті, А. Кудряченко, Ю. Шайгородський, М.Скригонюк, М. Патей-Братасюк, І. Кресіна, Г.Зеленько, М. Калініченко, Т. Андрійчук, А. Дідух, Ф. Рудич та ін. Проблематику взаємодії громадянського суспільства з державою висвітлює О. Якубовський, Т. Бутирська, Г. Щедрова, П. Ситник, Я. Пасько І. Макарова. Ю. Левенець, В. Анікін, С. Кириченко.

Історію та еволюцію громадянського суспільства розглядає А. Фергюсон, О. Чувардинський, А. Колодій, І. Воронов та ін.

Правові аспекти громадянського суспільства розглядає В. Ковальчук. Фінансові та економічні аспекти аналізує В. Кодацький. Американський до-