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**DIFFICULT PERSPECTIVES
FOR POLISH FOREIGN POLICY
– A REPORT FROM THE FOURTH NATIONAL
POLITICAL SCIENCE CONGRESS**

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INTRODUCTION

On 18–20 September 2018, the ‘Fourth National Political Science Congress’ took place in Lublin. Professor Ph.D. Józef M. Fiszer, head of the Department of European Studies of the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, prepared and ran a panel on ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats’. Seven panellists took the floor, each of whom gave a comprehensive speech on one of the aspects of Polish foreign policy. The proceedings were inaugurated by Professor J. M. Fiszer, who presented a paper on ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Goals, Challenges, Directions, Opportunities and Threats’. The second speaker, Grzegorz Zbińkowski, M.Sc., presented an analysis of the current conditions of Polish foreign policy. In turn, Professor, habilitated doctor Kazimierz Kik in his speech entitled ‘The Regional Aspects of Foreign Policy of the Third Republic of Poland’ presented the most important issues concerning regional cooperation and its determinants.

The next three speakers in their addresses analysed the role of particular states and regions of Western Europe in Poland’s foreign policy. The speech

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of Professor Ph.D. Ryszard Żelichowski was entitled ‘The Place and Role of Western Europe, with Particular Emphasis on the Benelux States, in Poland’s Foreign Policy’. In turn, Doctor Krzysztof Garczewski devoted his lecture to the issue of relations with our western neighbour. In a paper entitled ‘Germany in Polish Foreign Policy Today and in the Future’ he tried to define the role of the Federal Republic of Germany in contemporary Polish foreign policy. Next, Doctor Adrian Chojan in his speech on ‘The Place and Role of Great Britain in Poland’s Foreign Policy in 2004’ tried to show the successes and failures as well as prospects of Polish-British relations before and after our accession to the European Union. The last speaker, M.Sc., engineer Mariusz Rukat devoted his speech to the topic: ‘Asia, with Particular Emphasis on China, in Poland’s Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century’.

The fruits of the panel being discussed ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats’ are not only the featured speeches and engaging discussions about them, but also the articles that were published in the second issue (2/2019) of “Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna” [‘Economic and Political Thought’]. Articles of the four above mentioned speakers were printed there, that is of Professors: Józef M. Fiszer, Ryszard Żelichowski and Kazimierz Kik and Master of Science Grzegorz Zbińkowski. The journal contains also an article of Doctor Martin Dahl who was also present at the Congress and during the panel took part in the discussion which took place after the speeches were delivered. Doctor Martin Dahl drew attention to the problem of the migration crisis and its consequences for Poland’s foreign policy. This topic also fits in with the problems taken up by the other authors.

In this study I attempt to summarise and analyse the above-mentioned speeches and articles. My goal is to present the main assumptions, theses and conclusions that appeared in the delivered speeches, during the discussions and in the texts created on their basis.

The most important common feature of the discussed articles and speeches is the reference to the problem of determining the directions and priorities of contemporary Polish foreign policy. At present all states are facing a difficult task of adapting to the complicated international situation in which a new post-Cold War world order is being created. Unfortunately, history shows that most stable systems of powers usually arose as a result of wars.

Of course, most of us still hope that the new system will be born without the entanglement of the majority of significant actors into a serious conflict, which, if it was joined by nuclear powers, could end tragically for the whole humanity. It is also possible that the current period of changes will be *post*

factum classified as a kind of war of a new type, i.e. hybrid war. As early as December 2016 Holy Father Francis said that many conflicts occurring in the world testify to the fact that we are dealing with the ongoing third world war.

Eminent scholar, diplomat and politician Henry Kissinger stated that:

‘The rise and fall of previous world orders is the only experience on which one can draw in trying to understand the challenges facing contemporary statesmen. The study of history offers no manual of instructions that can be applied automatically; history teaches by analogy (...), but each generation must determine for itself which circumstances are in fact comparable’ (Kissinger 2016–2018: 28).

Unfortunately, such a conclusion is frequently reached after the fact, often with tragic consequences. An in-depth analysis of international conditions may, however, help draw the right conclusions that can direct foreign policy on the track that is as close as possible to the *raison d’etat* of the country.

The presented articles, on the one hand, discuss the challenges facing Polish foreign policy, and on the other hand, show its most appropriate – in the opinion of their authors – directions and assumptions. In this context, these studies may also be treated as a kind of guidance for decision-makers who face the responsibility of setting tasks, goals and strategies for Polish foreign policy. One of the main goals of the panel discussed here was to show the Polish *raison d’etat* in the conditions of the dynamically changing international environment. The analysis of the speeches delivered at the Congress of Political Science in Lublin and articles published in the second issue of “Myśl Ekonomiczna i Polityczna” [‘Economic and Political Thought’] proves that the task was accomplished. The priorities of Polish foreign policy were presented both in relation to our most important European partners and neighbours, and the current state and prospects for Poland’s future relations with world powers were depicted. A number of postulates regarding the future tasks of our country in the international arena were formulated.

Detailed analysis and conclusions of the panellists’ speeches and papers are presented below.

1. DEFINITION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DIRECTIONS OF POLISH FOREIGN POLICY

The proceedings of the panel on ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats’ were inaugurated – as I have

already mentioned – with Professor J. M. Fiszer’s speech entitled ‘Poland’s Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Goals, Challenges, Directions, Opportunities and Threats’.

Already at the beginning of his speech, he stated that the Republic of Poland is in a difficult situation on the hundredth anniversary of regaining independence. In the course of his address Professor J. M. Fiszer stressed that we are currently dealing with the renaissance of nationalism and populism that lead to conflicts and wars, contrary to earlier predictions of many researchers, e.g. Professor Francis Fukuyama, who said that after the fall of communism there would be peace in the world.

Some activities of the most important world power, that is the United States, fit in with this tendency. It is trying to rebuild its position of a world hegemon. At the same time, China has taken the path of building the imperial power, strengthening the army and preparing for the conquest of the world. As a result of this situation we are dealing with a growing US-Chinese conflict. In the context of the increasingly dangerous international environment, professor Fiszer advanced an important thesis, namely that Polish foreign policy should be very cautious now, so as not to drag our country into the ongoing local wars. In this context, he praised the fact that Poland is currently pursuing a realistic policy towards the crisis in Ukraine. The threat of deepening German-Russian cooperation over Poland’s head that he discussed is also worth stressing (Fiszer 2019: 147).

In his speech, Professor J. M. Fiszer elaborated and substantiated the hypotheses and theses described here. The main thesis of his paper concerns the most important vectors of Polish foreign policy:

‘(...) the thesis of the article is the ascertainment that Poland’s foreign policy should be active and reach far beyond Europe. It should be based on the Euro-Atlantic system and close relations with Germany, France, Great Britain and the United States. Cooperation with the Visegrad Group countries and within the Weimar Triangle should continue to play an important role in Polish foreign policy. Poland’s foreign policy should be grounded in proper cooperation with our neighbours, including Russia, which in the twenty-first century will be one of the world’s greatest powers and the major threat to Poland’s security. Poland should also be active on the international forum within the framework of NATO and the European Union (EU) as well as in its common foreign and security policy. However, Poland’s direct involvement in internal affairs of Ukraine should be limited, because in the geopolitics of Russia it holds and will continue to occupy a prominent place. Together with EU and NATO countries, especially with Germany, France and the United States, Poland should talk to Russia and fight for peace in Ukraine’ (Fiszer 2019: 141–142).

The country’s foreign policy postulated by the author would be based, on the one hand, on the closest possible cooperation with the Western

European allies and the US. On the other hand, it would cover befitting cooperation with Russia and other eastern neighbours. The assumptions presented by Professor Fiszer are in line with the Polish *raison d'état*. Due to its geopolitical location, Poland is forced to maintain at least correct relations with all its neighbours. The security of the country requires initiating talks and cooperation regardless of discrepancies occurring sometimes in the current political line or ideology represented by governments.

In the further part of the work, Professor Fiszer devotes a lot of attention to the European Union, European integration and the role of Poland in this process. In this context, he highlights two important issues. Full membership in the European Union allows our country to participate in discussions about this project as well as in activities that affect its shape. However, the Polish voice must be measured because

‘the shape and fate of the EU have a fundamental impact on the status and security of Poland. It determines whether Poland will be a member of an effective organisation influential in the world, or whether it will be somewhere between claustrophobic Western Europe and the unspecified East’ (Fiszer 2019: 146).

In this context, the author’s next statement by is also significant, saying that debates on the future of the European Union are also debates on the direction of Poland’s development (Fiszer 2019: 146). The thought contained in this sentence seems to be particularly important as we can often observe an attitude of lack of interest in the discussion on the future shape of the European Union and the objectives of integration. These problems are treated as abstract and supposedly detached from the domestic reality. Meanwhile, the results of these debates can strongly affect not only Polish foreign policy, but also national policy, the life of every citizen.

One of the goals that Polish foreign policy should strive to achieve, according to the author of the discussed text, is for

‘Poland to attain a leader position in Central and Eastern Europe and a significant role in the Euro-Atlantic structures. Such a status is attainable for our country’ (Fiszer 2019: 162).

Unfortunately the achievement of this real goal is hindered by periods when the state loses the ability to conduct ‘ordinary’ policy, based on cool calculations of profits and losses, replaced by wishful thinking and megalomania (Fiszer 2019: 162). In the last part of the text, the author stresses the importance of Poland’s accession to NATO and the European Union for the security of our country, at the same time sensitising the reader to the

presence of numerous threats and dangers in the rapidly changing world (Fiszer 2019: 165).

Professor Fiszer's interesting, erudite text can be recommended as required reading to decision-makers in the field of Polish foreign policy. The detailed analysis he makes of the current situation of Poland on the international arena can be very useful for formulating specific strategies. At the same time, he gives proposals of priority directions for diplomatic activities and warns against megalomania. I think that the last warning is very important, because successes are usually a derivative of activities based on cold calculations. In turn, hasty actions based on an exaggerated, not grounded in reality, sense of greatness, often fail, even if the intended goals are right or even noble.

In addition, it is worth noting that, similarly to Professor Fiszer, all the authors agree here that regardless of *ad hoc* prejudices, Poland should try to cooperate with both of its most important neighbours in order to preclude their too close relations which are against the national interest of our country.

2. OPPORTUNITIES AND BENEFITS OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

In turn, in his text Professor Kazimierz Kik in a captivating way refers to the theme of the ambitions of the most important players on the world stage. His observation that new powers already growing in the global world concentrate on the use of geoeconomic methods seems interesting and worth emphasising (Kik 2019: 220). In these difficult conditions, Poland is trying to look for opportunities for cooperation and support also within the framework of informal regional structures. Unfortunately, despite sometimes promising assumptions, they have failed to develop sufficiently to play strategically important roles. One of the reasons for this state of affairs are the discrepancies existing between their members. The best example of this are relations within the Visegrad Group, where one of few issues connecting all four countries is reluctance to accept migrants from outside Europe. Professor Kik notes also that the Three Seas Initiative, on which the Polish government has pinned a lot of hope, is unfortunately foundering on conflicting interests

'no wonder then that the arrangements from Warsaw and Washington did not satisfy all the signatories of the Initiative, especially the Czechs, Hungarians and Slovaks' (Kik 2019: 233).

The New Silk Road project described by Professor Kik can be very important for Poland's economic relations. As part of it, the 16+1 initiative was created covering 16 countries of Central and Eastern Europe and China. The author's statement that the countries of the Visegrad Group, especially Poland and Hungary, have gained a dominant role in implementing this plan is important from the point of view of Polish interests. It is connected with raising Polish-Chinese relations to the level of strategic partnership. The fact that within the framework of the institutionalisation of the 16+1 initiative the Secretariats for Investments and Maritime Affairs are located in Warsaw is worthy of note (Kik 2019: 238). Certain successes of this initiative may testify to the great potential of Poland resulting from the location of our country. It predisposes us to being a kind of intermediary between the East and the West. In this context, fragments of a broad gauge railway in our country are also important. The development of the 16+1 initiative can also confirm the author's thesis about the growing role of geoeconomy, as it focuses on an economic project.

Unfortunately, Poland does not have sufficient potential to create new trends on the international arena. Sometimes, however, it is possible to take advantage of the existing global conditions. It seems to me that the described initiative can become one of the examples of such development. At the same time, it should be emphasised that it is necessary to analyse the more and more rapidly changing international situation precisely in terms of phenomena that, if skilfully yoked to Polish foreign policy, would strengthen the position and potential of our state.

Also Professor Ryszard Żelichowski writes extensively on cooperation that increases the potential of the countries involved in it. In the article entitled 'Benelux Countries in Poland's Foreign Policy' he describes an interesting, also for our country, perspective of deepened regional cooperation which Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg initiated at the end of the Second World War. This article illustrates how many years of engagement and seeking a consensus are necessary to reach the described level of cooperation (Żelichowski 2019: 244–247). On the other hand, it shows the successes that such cooperation can bring. For this reason, a fragment of the text in which the author quotes a comment published by the Polish Institute of International Relations has an optimistic overtone:

'At the same time, the V4, wanting to build the strength of its image along the lines of the Benelux brand, can follow the example of cooperation in such fields as new technologies, renewable energy sources and innovations, on which Visegrad cooperation increasingly focuses' (Żelichowski 2019: 266).

We can hope that Polish decision-makers will also see the potential of increased regional cooperation, despite differences that sometimes divide. In the era of the great role of geoeconomics, economic relations can become a contribution to the development of comprehensive cooperation and tightening of ties.

It is a pity that in the face of the possibility of obtaining this knowledge regarding fruitful regional cooperation, relations between our country and Benelux are currently handled exclusively within the Visegrad Group, in the V4 plus format. In addition, meetings of top-level politicians in this format are not very regular. The summit of the heads of governments of the V4 and Benelux countries on 19 June 2017 in Warsaw and the willingness to build a new force in Europe together with the Visegrad Group expressed on the occasion by the politicians are grounds for optimism. In this context, the author's statement that the countries of the Visegrad Group may attempt to form a coalition with the Benelux countries in EU voting is important (Żelichowski 2019: 269). We can only hope that such attempts will be made and will prove effective despite the existing differences, while the prospect of cooperation will overcome particularisms or prejudices resulting from differences of opinion on other issues.

3. PROPOSALS FOR THE CORRECTION OF POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY

A wide field of possibilities, but also threats is opening up before Poland also in the area of bilateral interstate contacts. Grzegorz Zbińkowski, MSc., makes an interesting analysis of this issue. It points to the need to revise and correct Poland's foreign and security policies in order to rebuild the position of our country, which has weakened in recent years. It is worth stressing that the theses he and the other authors advance are congruent in that it will be possible only in cooperation with our largest neighbours, that is Germany and Russia. He states that attempts to achieve the most important goals of Polish foreign policy in opposition to Germany are unlikely to succeed, regardless of whether they concern the eastern or western direction (Zbińkowski 2019: 180).

What is also important here is the author's reflection on carrying out policy towards Russia, which should be unambiguous, based on reciprocity, but at the same time avoiding the creation of an external enemy for the needs of the narrative of domestic policy.

The list of directions proposed for Polish foreign and Euro-Atlantic policy for 2019–2030 presented by Grzegorz Zbińkowski in ten succinct points is particularly noteworthy. The realisation of some of the postulates can be relatively easy, others, in turn, are very ambitious. The first of them, saying that Poland needs to regain the position of a decision maker within the EU, belongs to the latter category (Zbińkowski 2019: 193). Nevertheless, I think that even in the face of potential difficulties, ambitious goals should be set for foreign policy. At the same time, care should be taken not to confuse ambitious goals with those resulting from excessive ambition, which are unattainable due to limited potential.

4. THE PROBLEM OF POLAND'S ACTIVITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

In turn, Mariusz Rukat, MSc., in his paper undertook an uneasy task of analysing the place of Asia, and in particular of China in Polish foreign policy. He devoted a lot of space to relations prevailing on this continent, and also showed the growing power ambitions of China. At the same time he stated that on the basis of the observation of the current growth of China it is possible to draw a conclusion that at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century, the state decided to assume the role of a hegemon in Asia. China's new, hegemonic role would take on the contemporary form of tributarieness (the tributary system was an institutionalised and long-term mechanism aimed at establishing strong ties between the Chinese Empire and the vassal states (Jura 2018: 199)).

At the same time, the author noted that in the whole region of Asia and the Pacific we can observe the clash of economic interests of the most important world powers. In this context, it should be stated that the policies of China, Russia, the United States and their allies have a decisive influence on our country's possibilities to operate in these areas. Mariusz Rukat also drew attention to the significance of the growing Chinese-American conflict for Polish foreign policy. Against this background, the possibilities of Poland's operations in Asia are of course limited. This results, to a large extent, from the low potential of our country in comparison with the clashing powers. The above picture shows that Polish proceedings in the region of Asia and the Pacific, and especially in relation to China must be very cautious. On the one hand, it is necessary to maintain political and economic relations with

the Middle Kingdom, on the other hand, too close association could harm the relations between Poland and the United States.

It is not surprising that one of the main theses of this author was the statement that Poland's foreign policy in Asia is reactive to the activities of the great powers, and its current activity in this area of the world is insignificant. Further in his text, Mariusz Rukat shows constant fluctuations and a lack of vision in Poland's policy towards China. Of course, systemic changes in Poland and aspirations to enter the western structures did not facilitate this task. Xi Jinping's visit to Warsaw in 2016 arose some hope for the rapprochement with China. At the time, a number of agreements were signed regarding, *inter alia*, the deepening of economic and political cooperation.

Unfortunately, even taking into account this positive element, the picture that emerges from this analysis of Polish foreign policy towards China does not give grounds for much optimism. It is obvious that the limited potential of our country and the described difficult geopolitical and geo-economic conditions preclude carrying out ambitious schemes on the Asian continent. All the more we should consider the fields of engagement and real goals that lie within our capabilities. A long-term strategy, formulated as a document, would afford an opportunity to systematically take small steps that could prospectively strengthen Poland's position on the Asian continent, and make policy less reactive and servile to the strategies pursued there by the great powers. Strengthening our position at the political level would give us a chance to assist in establishing better business contacts.

5. MIGRATION CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON POLAND'S POSITION IN THE EU

Another author, Doctor Martin Dahl, discusses the problem of the migration crisis that affected Europe, and in particular its impact on Poland's foreign policy in 2015–2018. It reminds us that the summit of the migration crisis in 2015 coincided with double elections in Poland. In connection with this fact, already at the beginning he advances a thesis that

'The overlap of these two processes at the same time led to a situation in which populist slogans and short-term electoral goals substituted a substantive discussion on the possibilities of counteracting the migration crisis in Europe and Polish contribution in this area'(Dahl 2019: 202).

The problem of mass migration did not affect our country directly, but it did have a significant impact on the political situation in the country because the attitude to migration and immigrants became one of the most important topics during the election campaign.

According to this author, the main problem in the face of the uncontrolled influx of people to the territory of the European Union was

‘the lack of an effective migration and asylum policy at the community level. In this dynamically changing situation and having to deal with a rapidly growing number of migrants, European countries began to be guided primarily by their own interests. In the face of the new challenges, no measures were taken to solve the migration problem’ (Dahl 2019: 206).

At the same time, Martin Dahl aptly notes that the migration crisis has become one of the major causes of disintegration processes on the European continent. At this point, he quoted, among others, the alarming thesis of Professor Roman Kuźniar who said that the migration crisis could even lead to the breakup of the European Union (Dahl 2019: 203; Kuźniar 2016: 239).

Thus, this is a situation which is potentially very dangerous for the Polish state of affairs, although the migration crisis did not affect our country directly. The intensification of disintegration processes and threats to EU cohesion are not beneficial for Poland. The lack of ability to develop effective methods of dealing with the effects of the crisis, the rise of national particularisms in a difficult moment are not good phenomena. Another crisis (not necessarily connected with refugees) may hit also Poland. The conclusions that can be drawn from the observation of the Union’s conduct in dealing with difficult problems are alarming.

In addition, the Polish side showed a lack of solidarity with the hardest-hit European countries. The original promise of admitting a small number of migrants in the context of their relocation was not fulfilled. It seems to me that it was a mistake, because with relatively limited costs and threats, it was possible to demonstrate willingness to help and solidarity with European partners.

The author rightly observes that this fact may lead to negative consequences in the future. It will be more difficult for Poland to obtain favour in attempts to advance our interests that require cooperation with European countries. Western countries will be less willing to help Poland if it faces any serious problems.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the content of the speeches of the individual panellists and of the collected articles leads to a sad conclusion that the current geopolitical situation of Poland is more difficult than on the 1st of May 2004 when it became the Member of the European Union. Together with NATO membership, this made our country an ally of a number of world powers, with the United States at the helm, which seemed to be a permanent guarantor of our security and peace.

Today, as a result of the changing balance of power on the international scene and uncertainty about the shape of the future international order, combined with the renaissance of geopolitics and particularisms, Polish foreign policy is facing new and difficult tasks. Our security is still based on our presence in the Atlantic Alliance and the European Union. However, we should not stop at that. In this context the statements about the need to cooperate with both of Poland's major neighbours, i.e. the Federal Republic of Germany and Russia are particularly important. Professor Fiszer is right when he notes that it is essential because otherwise these two states could reach an agreement over Poles' heads. Because of this, in the face of numerous threats and dangers, some grudges and unresolved historical issues should be relativised in the name of maintaining and cultivating correct relations.

Cooperation within various regional, both political and economic, partnerships should be promoted in a similar way. We can anticipate to revive the Visegrad Group and to renew Weimar cooperation at the highest levels. Some hope can be pinned in the 16+1 initiative. Also on this plane, cooperation should be encouraged while conflicts should not be escalated. In the face of the complex international situation, the benevolence of each country, especially of those in the vicinity of Poland, is of great importance.

At the same time, the articles clearly show that the Polish side has a chance for an understanding and rapprochement with many countries. In order to achieve it, two conditions must be met. On the one hand, potential planes of cooperation, common economic or political interests should be found. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that in foreign policy it is sometimes necessary to retreat in some issues, to show the willingness to compromise. In the short-time perspective, sometimes such a move may not seem beneficial, but in the long term it allows one to achieve measurable profits. Unfortunately, Polish politicians too often treat the area of foreign policy as a field where they can get quick support at the national level. Such activities are often spectacular in the short term, but in the long term

they bring more losses than benefits. The use of the migration crisis for immediate political goals described by Martin Dahl was a good example of such activities. One can only hope that such situations will become rarer as it is always necessary to keep in mind the highest *raison d'état*, that is maintaining the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland.

Summarising these considerations, we can state that the proceedings of the panel on 'Poland's Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats' were very fruitful. In their speeches and in the texts created on their basis the participants of the panel put forward a number of important theses on both the current state and the possible development of Polish foreign policy. These works created a picture of the challenges and possible directions of action facing Polish foreign policy and its diplomacy. They can become an inspiration for foreign policy decision makers, and are highly recommendable for researchers, students as well as to all those interested in the subject matter.

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DIFFICULT PERSPECTIVES FOR POLISH FOREIGN POLICY – A REPORT FROM THE FOURTH NATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE CONGRESS

Abstract

This article is in fact a report from the discussion panel organised on 18 September 2018 during the Fourth National Political Science Congress entitled *The State in Times of Change*. As part of the Congress, Professor Józef M. Fiszer from the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, organised an interesting panel entitled 'Poland's Foreign Policy in Times of Change in Europe and the World in the Twenty-First Century: Directions, Goals, Forms, Opportunities and Threats'. Panellists, outstanding specialists, who took part in it discussed goals, tasks, opportunities and threats for Polish foreign policy in the twenty-first century. During the discussion numerous interesting, theoretically and practically significant theses and hypotheses were formulated. They are presented and analysed in this article.

Keywords: Polish foreign policy, NATO, European Union, threats, migration crisis

NIEŁATWE PERSPEKTYWY DLA POLSKIEJ POLITYKI ZAGRANICZNEJ – SPRAWOZDANIE Z IV OGÓLNOPOLSKIEGO KONGRESU POLITOLOGII

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł jest *de facto* sprawozdaniem z panelu dyskusyjnego, zorganizowanego w dniu 18 września 2018 roku podczas IV Ogólnopolskiego Kongresu Politologii pod nazwą *Państwo w czasach zmiany*. W ramach

tego Kongresu prof. Józef M. Fiszer z Instytutu Studiów Politycznych PAN zorganizował interesujący panel pt. *Polityka zagraniczna Polski w czasach zmian w Europie i na świecie w XXI wieku: kierunki, cele, formy, szanse i zagrożenia*. Paneliści, wybitni specjaliści, biorący w nim udział dyskutowali o celach, zadaniach, szansach i zagrożeniach dla polskiej polityki zagranicznej w XXI wieku. Podczas dyskusji zostało sformułowanych wiele ciekawych tez i hipotez o dużym znaczeniu teoretycznym i praktycznym. Są one prezentowane i analizowane na łamach niniejszego artykułu.

Słowa kluczowe: polska polityka zagraniczna, NATO, Unia Europejska, zagrożenia, kryzys migracyjny

СЛОЖНЫЕ ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ ПОЛЬСКОЙ ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ – ОТЧЕТ IV ВСЕПОЛЬСКОГО КОНГРЕССА ПОЛИТОЛОГОВ

Резюме

Настоящая статья выступает de facto в качестве отчёта панельной дискуссии, организованной 18 сентября 2018 года во время IV Всепольского конгресса политологов, проходящего под девизом «Государство в эпоху перемен». В рамках этого конгресса профессор Юзеф М. Фишер из Института политических исследований Польской академии наук организовал интересную панель на тему «Внешняя политика Польши в эпоху перемен в Европе и в мире в XXI веке: направления, цели, формы, шансы и угрозы». Панелисты, выдающиеся специалисты, принимающие участие в дискуссии, дискутировали о целях, задачах, шансах и угрозах для польской внешней политики в XXI веке. В ходе обсуждения было сформулировано много интересных тезисов и гипотез, имеющих большое теоретическое и практическое значение. Они нашли отражение и проанализированы в настоящей статье.

Ключевые слова: польская внешняя политика, НАТО, Европейский Союз, угрозы, миграционный кризис

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