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US-POLISH RELATIONS: STABILITY OF THE EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY IN THE FOCUS OF NATO

Oleksandr Shevchuk,

e-mail: shevchukov07@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0335-6873>

*National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine,
Ukraine, 03041, Kyiv, Heroes of Defense Ave, 15*

Iryna Tykhonenko,

e-mail: irinavi2202@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7716-085X>

*Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University,
Ukraine, 54003, Mykolaiv, 68-Desantnykiv st., 10*

Abstract

The issue of stability in the Euro-Atlantic community is related to NATO's activities and the interaction of European states with the United States. In turn, an important place in the security environment of the European subcontinent is occupied by Poland, due to the geopolitical position of the state (critical influence on the stability in Central and Eastern Europe) and its activities in cooperation with the United States within NATO.

US cooperation with Poland has some conceptual background and determined by Warsaw's participation in NATO operations, military and defense cooperation with NATO allies. There is a certain cyclical nature in US-Polish relations, given the political priorities of both countries (priorities of American Presidents' administrations and activities especially of the Law and Justice (PiS) party in Poland), however, the security sphere is becoming an element of expanding allied relations. In connection with the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, US cooperation with Poland has gained new significance both in the format of strengthening bilateral cooperation and in the regional context.

In turn, a tendency to change the European architecture of regional security due to the transformation of the Western European security complex in accordance with the theory of B. Buzan is existed, given the military threat from Russia, which determines the strengthening of Poland's role in NATO, cooperation with the United States in the Euro-Atlantic community.

Keywords: US, Poland, NATO, Euro-Atlantic community, security

АМЕРИКАНСЬКО-ПОЛЬСЬКІ ВІДНОСИНИ: СТАБІЛЬНІСТЬ ЄВРО-АТЛАНТИЧНОЇ СПІЛЬНОТИ У ФОКУСІ НАТО

Олександр Шевчук,

e-mail: shvchukovo7@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0335-6873>

Національний університет біоресурсів і природокористування України,
Україна, 03041, Київ, Героїв оборони, 15

Ірина Тихоненко,

e-mail: irinavi2202@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7716-085X>

Чорноморський національний університет імені Петра Могили,
Україна, 54003, Миколаїв, 68 Десантників, 10

Анотація

Питання стабільності в євроатлантичному співтоваристві пов'язане з діяльністю НАТО та взаємодією європейських держав із США. У свою чергу, важливе місце в безпековому середовищі європейського субконтиненту займає Польща, що зумовлено геополітичним становищем держави (вирішальний вплив на стабільність у Центральній та Східній Європі) та її діяльністю у співпраці зі США в рамках НАТО.

Співпраця США з Польщею має певне концептуальне підґрунтя та визначається участю Варшави в операціях НАТО, військовому та оборонному співробітництві з союзниками по НАТО. В американсько-польських відносинах існує певна циклічність, зважаючи на політичні пріоритети обох країн (пріоритети адміністрацій президентів США та діяльність, зокрема, партії «Право і справедливість» (PiS) у Польщі), однак сфера безпеки стає все більш актуальною з огляду на її роль як елементу розширення союзницьких відносин. У зв'язку з російським вторгненням в Україну в лютому 2022 року співпраця США з Польщею набула нового значення як у форматі посилення двостороннього співробітництва, так і в регіональному контексті.

Автор дійшли висновку щодо посилення тенденції до зміни європейської архітектури регіональної безпеки за рахунок трансформації західноєвропейського комплексу безпеки відповідно до теорії Б. Бузана. Запорукою таких змін виступають як військова загроза з боку Росії, що зумовлює посилення ролі Польщі в НАТО, так і американсько-польські відносини у XXI столітті з акцентом на взаємодію в межах євроатлантичного співтовариства

Ключові слова: США, Польща, НАТО, євроатлантична спільнота, безпека

Problem statement. Stability within the Euro-Atlantic community is conditioned by the membership of states in sub regional structures – North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). Analyzing Poland's place in the Euro-Atlantic security system, it should be noted that NATO and EU membership has provided Poland with a high level of border security and the opportunity to become one of the centers of strength of international relations in Central Europe.

US-Polish cooperation demonstrates not only the importance of the European vector for US foreign policy, but also the importance of Poland's role in ensuring the security and defense of the Euro-Atlantic community in the format of NATO's functioning. It should be noted that the growing role of Poland in US policy, as well as structural and functional features of transatlantic cooperation, occurred in connection with the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

Analysis of research and publications. Relations between the United States and Poland are the subject of a number of studies, in particular, in the security sphere and cooperation within NATO. Among Ukrainian scientists who comprehensively analyze the foreign policy of the Republic of Poland, it is worth noting the analytical materials of S. Zhelikhovsky (2021). The role of Poland in the foreign policy of the United States was investigated by L. Chekalenko (2019). The relationship between Poland and the USA in the context of the security environment of Europe (in particular, Eastern Europe) is considered by A. Koper and A. Charlish (2022), M. Zaborovski and K. Longhurst. Poland's participation in NATO and the influence of the United States on the effectiveness of the alliance on the military and defense situation in the European security environment were studied by O. Kienitz (2016), M. Polishchuk (2022), Yu. Sheiko (2021). Publications of mass media, primarily Polish, became important during the research in view of the events of 2022 and Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which made it possible to analyze Poland's policy and approach to the situation, as well as its communication and statements to Western partners – NATO and the United States.

Primary purpose is to analyze the evolution changes of US-Polish cooperation, point out the relevant determinants and factors in dynamic of relations that have contributed to maintaining stability and security of the Euro-Atlantic community given the interaction between Warsaw and Washington in a security format within the North Atlantic Alliance.

Theoretical background. Collective security creates organizations that will help to form an environment conducive to peacekeeping: by providing information useful to reduce concerns about other countries' expansionist intentions, and by creating international forums for the exchange of ideas and the strengthening of common values (Kuchyk, 2011: 35).

North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an example of such organization that implements collective security provisions and has the tools and mechanisms to function effectively.

In turn, NATO is an alliance that embodies transatlantic cooperation and coordinates cooperation between the United States and European nations in the field of political, military and defense cooperation. Therefore, the foreign policy interaction between the allies and the national interests of the bloc states are important in determining the effectiveness of such cooperation.

Therefore, theory of regional security complexes by B. Buzan and O. Wæver is appropriate to investigate of the security of Euro-Atlantic community and American-Polish relations as an element of security cooperation in regional level.

According to B. Buzan's theory, the Western European regional security complex together with the Post-Soviet regional security complex (RSC) form a weak European supercomplex (Buzan and Wæver, 2003: 350).

In turn, the European segment of the Post-Soviet RSC (Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova) is influenced by the neighboring RSC member states – Poland and Romania, which are members of the EU (Eyvazov, 2011: 21).

At the beginning of the XXI century, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have lost their status as a Baltic sub-complex and are not the insulators states that have separated the Post-Soviet RSC from the Western European RSC due to the fact that in 2004 they have become the member states of the European Union and NATO. Therefore, these states are already full subjects of the Western European RSC (Kotlyar, Lyman & Tykhonenko, 2020: 237).

In the context of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic aspirations, the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine and the importance of Poland's role in ensuring Euro-Atlantic security in modern conditions, we can talk about the future transformation of the Western European RSC. Poland and its relations with the United States within NATO and the security sphere will contribute to such dynamic changes.

Conceptual Background of US-Polish Security Cooperation and Some Practical Implementation under the Bush administration (military operations as the determinant). Poland, which joined NATO on 12 March 1999, took part in its first NATO summit, held in Washington on 24 and 25 April 1999. Polish President

O. Kwasniewski, in his speech at the summit, underlined that for the Polish people the existence of NATO has always been a symbol of hope for salvation, indivisible freedom and democracy in Europe. He stressed that after the fall of the bipolar world order, the fall of communism and the end of the Cold War, NATO and the American presence in Europe have stabilized the Euro-Atlantic space. The joining the alliance of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary has expanded the security zone in Europe (Speech by President of the Republic of Poland Mr. Aleksander Kwaniewski, 1999).

Poland has deployed its peacekeeping forces in the Balkans, participating in operations in Macedonia and Kosovo, before started its participating in operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

“Polish Ostpolitik” (Polish Eastern Policy Program), which has been a central element of the country’s foreign policy since independence is played the leading role in Poland’s foreign policy (Dunn, 2002: 70). According to NATO’s report in 1998 on the state of affairs in Central Europe, Poland will face a particularly difficult situation on its eastern borders, which will create problems for both the country and the West as a whole (Poland: the Challenges of Ostpolitik..., 1998).

As noted by Zbigniew Brzezinski: “Poland’s territorial defense is incorrectly arranged in the context of compliance with “Article 5 of the NATO Treaty”. Its defense must be reformatted to modern challenges and threats” (Dunn, 2002: 72). A more detailed view was presented by a member of the National Security Council in the George W. Bush administration, who stated that: “Poland is in a dangerous neighborhood. Just look at its boundaries. It has no tank divisions ready to repel the blow in the event of an attack. Poland needs to learn to adopt the mentality of NATO members, it needs to look at many things in the context of the alliance. We need to think about the threats that arise again and again in the XXI century” (Dunn, 2002: 73). Thus, the US position on Poland’s security emphasizes that the country’s leadership should be more concerned with the structure of territorial defense and care for the development of military capabilities to project its strength at both the national and regional levels.

After September 11, 2001, the Bush administration, was clearly aimed at the deployment of missile defense, and Poland did not want to risk valuable relations with Washington.

Building a dialogue with Poland, the United States sought to balance its relations with Russia. The US leadership attached great importance to building pragmatic relations with the Russian government. O. Kwasniewski’s visit to Moscow in October 2001 and his invitation in response to V. Putin to visit Warsaw in January 2002 are illustrative evidence of efforts to build diplomatic relations very thoughtfully.

Since gaining independence in 1989, Poland, with its “Eastern policy” has been of particular value to the United States as a new regional ally. Poland, along with Hungary and the Czech Republic, which joined NATO, was a model of “return to Europe” for all Central and Eastern European countries. At the same time, Polish and American security interests coincided. Both countries called for the alliance to expand.

Poland has been an ally of the United States in the fight against international terrorism, primarily by contributing to the mission in Iraq, as well as providing substantial assistance in the Balkans and Afghanistan. The importance of Warsaw for the US security focus was demonstrated by its choice as the venue for a regional anti-terrorism conference in November 2001, attended by US President George W. Bush.

In 2003, the US government provided about 32 million 640 thousand dollars as an aid to Poland: \$520 million under democratic reform programs, \$720 million under the Economic and Social Sector Reform Program, \$31 million for law enforcement development (U.S. Government Assistance to Eastern Europe..., 2006).

However, allied relations were sometimes overshadowed under the Bush administration. For instance, in a series of interviews and speeches in 2004, Polish President O. Kwasniewski made critical remarks about the American foreign policy. The decision to take part in the Iraq war, according to the Polish president, was extremely

difficult for him, and he allegedly fell victim to unreliable information about Hussein's possession of weapons of mass destruction. Such statements undoubtedly paved the way for the withdrawal of Polish troops from Iraq (Kastels, 2016).

Strategic partnership between Poland and US in defense mechanism of NATO as instrument of security balancing in Central and Eastern Europe (military straight as the determinant). For Poland, the North Atlantic Alliance is first and foremost a security institution. Military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan make us think about the urgency of the balance of power. The principle of balance of power is said when states are involved in the struggle for power and influence. In this case this is the United States.

B. Obama had an idea to combine the existing military capabilities of the state into an effective strategy, and the strategy is not military, but national, which would accumulate the resources of old and new allies and partners. As regards NATO's 2010 Strategic Concept, it has committed itself to the Alliance's efforts to prevent crises, resolve conflicts and stabilize post-conflict situations, including through closer cooperation with NATO's international partners. The Concept states that the active and effective contribution of the EU assists to the overall security of the Euro-Atlantic area (NATO-EU: a strategic partnership, 2015). In support of these principles, the NATO-EU Strategic Partnership has been strengthened in the spirit of full mutual openness and transparency. Practical cooperation in operations on the full range of crises, from coordinated planning to mutual support in this area, has expanded, and political consultations have developed.

In March 2012, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland adopted the document "Priorities of Polish Foreign Policy" – the first long-term strategy of foreign policy (including European) of Poland since 1989, which prioritized building equal dialogue in the military with USA (Priorytety Polskiej Polityki Zagranicznej 2012-2016). For Warsaw, cooperation with the United States is one of the cornerstones of Poland's security.

F. Zakaria, an American political analyst and editor of the weekly Newsweek International, notes that Poland is quite independent in ensuring its own security. The political scientist proceeds from the historical path of the Central and Eastern European countries. It is based on historical preconditions, when no ruler was able to conquer all of Europe or at least most of it. Among the countries that gained independence after the collapse of the Soviet empire, the best results in terms of liberal democracy were achieved by those who were once part of the Austrian and German empires (and therefore had what can be called "Western experience"). The border between Western and Eastern Christianity in 1500 now separates successful liberal regimes from disadvantaged and illiberal ones. Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic belonged to Europe and have now gone further than others in strengthening democracy (Zakariya, 2004: 44).

Central and Eastern Europe is a strategic region where Poland has significant geopolitical weight. First of all, it is the construction of US missile defense complex on May 13, 2016 in the village of Redzikowo, Pomeranian Voivodeship, Slupsk County, in the north of the country. The complex in the village of Redzikove is the third final phase of the missile defense shield, the other two systems are located in Turkey and Romania, respectively. This system was put into operation in 2020. This system protects the whole Europe from ballistic threats and thus effectively completes the construction of NATO's European security architecture. Thus, the base serves to defend both Poland and Europe as a whole.

It should be noted that in 2019, US President D. Trump and Polish President A. Duda signed Joint Declarations, the principles of which are reflected in the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) signed on August 15, 2020 by the Polish Minister of Defense M. Blaschak and US Secretary of State M. Pompeo (Agreement between the government of the United States of America..., 2020).

In 2020, the Polish embassy in the United States said on Twitter that the country's increased military power "would help protect not only Poland, but NATO's entire eastern flank". The protests in Belarus and the harsh reaction of the self-proclaimed President

A. Lukashenko to the protest movement in the country increase the risks of the deployment of Russian troops there, which required a NATO response. To some extent, such an answer was made (SShA naroshchuvatymut svoiu viiskovu..., 2020).

The US support for the security dimension of Poland's foreign policy strategy is a catalyst for the process of strengthening Warsaw's role as an integrator of the Central European region, which includes intensifying cooperation within the Visegrad Group.

Undoubtedly, the Visegrad Group is creating an agenda and a platform for discussing important areas of geostrategic development of Central European states. In particular, the Visegrad Group calls for intensified cooperation within NATO on joint exercises, in particular in the member states. Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary call on the United States to continue its activities in the field of security in Europe, and European allies – not to lose determination in increasing its own defense capabilities (Khotkova, 2012: 66).

NATO's military activity in Poland and the Baltic States increased in the second half of 2010 through the deployment of four combat battalions and military equipment. Accordingly, this changes the security situation in the Baltic region. In 2016, 2018, the "Saber Strike" military exercise were held in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia (NATO Allies and partners..., 2018).

A. Kazekamp, Director of the Estonian Institute of Foreign Policy, believes that the Baltic States have strengthened their defense capabilities within the NATO alliance. For example, the Tallinn-based NATO Cooperative Cyber Defense Centre of Excellence (Republic of Estonia) has been successfully established and is operating. NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence based in Riga (Republic of Latvia), NATO Energy Security center of Excellence based in Vilnius (Kienitz, 2016).

The Russian factor and prospects of the new security architecture of the Euro-Atlantic community. The 46th US President, J. Biden expressed the view that US alliances and alliances with other countries are "the greatest asset" of Washington. "Diplomacy means standing side by side with our key allies and partners", – stressed the US President (Sanger, 2020).

According to United States secretary of state A. Blinken, the US ability to be effective diplomats depends not least on the strength of US army (America looking at the world, 2021). In this context, the Polish authorities have made great efforts to arrange a meeting between President A. Duda and US President J. Biden before the summit with Russian President V. Putin in Geneva. Poland fears that Nord Stream-2 will set a precedent that will determine the way Biden's team treats Poland and the countries of the region (Burkalo, 2021).

However, it should be noted that members of the US Congress in a joint statement on August 4, 2021 pointed to the "alarming trajectory of Polish democracy", warning that threats to it could deter American investment (Shaheen, Bipartisan Group of Senators, 2021).

The Biden administration has taken a tougher stance on Poland's adherence to democratic values, unlike its predecessor, D. Trump, who saw the Polish government as a rare ally in the European Union.

The scandal surrounding the new US ambassador, played an indicative role in US-Poland relations. Thus, US President J. Biden proposed M. Brzezinski as ambassador to Poland. M. Brzezinski is the son of a Cold War national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. However, the Polish authorities are blocking M. Brzezinski's visit to Poland and do not want to give him an agreement for the post of ambassador.

The reason for this is significant: Polish government set a rather unusual condition, namely the refusal of M. Brzezinski to renounce Polish citizenship. Under Polish law, every person, at least one of whose parents is or was a Pole, a priori has Polish citizenship and, accordingly, cannot be a foreign ambassador to that country. Therefore, the Polish authorities want M. Brzezinski to renounce Polish citizenship by submitting an application to President A. Duda. This demand stunned both the US government.

At first glance, this diplomatic conflict looks comical. However, in Washington, these actions of Polish authorities were understood as a gesture of resistance to President J. Biden.

It is worth recalling that after last election of the US President, Polish President A. Duda delayed sending congratulations to the newly elected American leader for a long time. The Polish side explained this by the expectation of the completion of the lawsuits of D. Trump's supporters (Zhelikhovskiy, 2021).

It should be mentioned that Law and Justice ("PiS") party did not rely on strategic relations with the United States, as did all previous Polish governments, but on cooperation with D. Trump.

Some misunderstandings with the Biden administration were caused by the ambiguous actions of the ruling political force on such sensitive issues as LGBT rights, re-privatization rules and the media law, and so on. And this can now be a relevant indicator for the United States in terms of correlating foreign policy with respect to its main Central European ally.

At the same time, the Biden administration does not close the "window of opportunity" for Poland. In particular, at the NATO summit in Brussels, US President J. Biden assured the alliance of its commitment to collective defense. During a conversation with NATO Secretary General E. Stoltenberg, J. Biden assured that NATO is a very useful organization for America. "NATO is critical to US interests. If it didn't exist, we would have to invent it", – he said. Separately, he noted that Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty is a "sacred duty" (Sheiko, 2021). This clause is known to state that an attack on one Alliance's country will be considered an attack on all members.

In addition, the summit adopted the "NATO 2030 agenda" proposed by E. Stoltenberg. Among other things, it envisages increasing the role of political consultations in the Alliance, strengthening the resilience of the organization's countries to various threats, as well as increasing investment in new technologies (Leaders agree NATO 2030 agenda..., 2021).

The above-mentioned "misunderstandings" and destabilizing factors in relations between the United States and Poland have lost their "sharpness" in connection with the Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

At the beginning of 2022, with full-scale Russian military action against Ukraine, Poland's role in ensuring Euro-Atlantic security and the format of US cooperation with European NATO partner countries increased sharply and intensified.

The critical statements and remarks of the United States on democracy and freedom in Poland, especially the activities of the Law and Justice (PiS) party, found some symbolism in J. Biden's visit to Warsaw on March 26, 2022 and his speech. The US President noted that Russia's aggressive military actions against Ukraine are a global struggle "between democracy and autocracy, between liberty and repression, between a rules-based order and one governed by brute force". In turn, the President of Poland A. Duda described the visit of the President of the United States in such way: "The presence of the leader of America in our country, at this difficult time, is an extremely important signal confirming strategic Polish-American relations" (Polish, US presidents discuss, 2022).

It should be noted that the role and influence of Poland in the struggle against Russian aggression, mentioned by J. Biden, for both the region of Central and Eastern Europe and the Euro-Atlantic community is quite strategic and important.

Firstly, Poland is becoming a key NATO ally and strategically important to the United States as a global power in the contraction to Russia.

On May 1, 2022, large-scale military exercises "Defender Europe-2022" and "Swift response-2022" began in Poland. "Defender Europe-2022" is an international joint and regular exercise organized by the US Armed Forces to ensure readiness and interoperability between US and NATO allies and partners (Polishchuk, 2022).

According to such defense and military activity among NATO's allies, Poland has stepped up its position on NATO's functioning in practice. A. Duda noted that NATO's new strategic concept should take into account the changes caused by Russia's aggression against Ukraine: "I believe that NATO's presence in our countries needs to change its profile. It must cease to be an advanced presence, but must become a defensive advanced

presence, so, defensive and permanent”, – the Polish leader stressed (Prezydent Polshchi zaiavyv, 2022). Poland would be pleased if the Americans increased their presence in Europe from the current 100,000 soldiers up to 150,000 in the future due to Russia’s increasing aggressiveness (Koper & Charlish, 2022).

Secondly, Poland demonstrates its readiness to take action and support Ukraine as a strategic ally by providing humanitarian assistance, opening its borders and providing shelter to Ukrainians. In April, 2022, Ukraine’s ambassador to Poland, A. Deshchytsia, said that more than 2.3 million Ukrainians had arrived in the neighboring country. In total, Poland has already provided more than \$1.6 billion in military assistance to Ukraine. In addition, the Polish government insists that the EU should develop a plan to rebuild Ukraine after the war for 100 billion euros at the expense of the European Union. It should be noted that there are some differences in the views of Warsaw and Washington on the provision of combat aircraft to Ukraine (“My rozdilymo peremohu”, 2022).

Poland’s position on the consequences of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine demonstrates the beginning of geopolitical changes in Europe. A. Duda’s statements that in fact there will be no border between Poland and Ukraine clearly demonstrates the full support of Kyiv from Warsaw (Kordonu mizh Polshcheiu ta Ukrainoiu, 2022). Therefore, the intensification of Poland’s policy, its strategic nature in NATO’s actions against Russia and the signing by the US President of a land lease on Ukraine allows us to argue for transformational changes in the system of Euro-Atlantic security. As a result, Western European RSC will be transformed under such movement in Euro-Atlantic security system.

Conclusion. At present, Poland plays a central role in the context of military alliances in the Central and Eastern Europe. It has close ties with France within the Weimar Triangle, has gained new strategic importance by participating in NATO exercises and becoming one of the key countries defending the Baltic States from threats from the authoritarian and unpredictable regimes of Putin and Lukashenko.

Thus, for Poland, as the main ally of the United States in the Central European region, with the beginning of J. Biden precedence, were sent clear signals about the prolongation of the principles of collective defense and systemic and functional principles of the alliance and the unconditional importance of allied relations in this process in both regional and global perspective. For Poland, given the growing expansionist tendencies in Russia’s foreign policy and the hybrid influence of the Lukashenko regime on the use of illegal migration to Europe across the Polish-Belarusian border, the steady growth of cooperation with both the United States and its allies is vital, especially, from a security point of view. Therefore, on the one hand, Poland’s domestic political efforts to mobilize a certain part of the electorate in the context of the upcoming 2023 parliamentary elections may be a negative determinant of both Polish-American relations and Poland’s relations with its European allies and Warsaw’s relations with NATO allies. On the other hand, building a strong network of alliances, Poland is becoming a leading military power in Eastern Europe and a guard on the border with Russia. Poland’s military power is growing, but its allied ties in Europe have yet to be built.

In turn, Russian invasion of Ukraine has become a catalyst for future transformational changes in the Euro-Atlantic security system. In particular, the practical “interpenetration” between regional security complexes on the European subcontinent is promising due to the future close cooperation between Poland and Ukraine and the growing role and importance of Poland in ensuring the security of the Euro-Atlantic community. In turn, Poland’s interaction with the United States will demonstrate the interdependence of regional European security and the functioning of transatlantic cooperation in the format of NATO’s activities.

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