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INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN THE ELECTION PROGRAMMES OF CIVIC PLATFORM BETWEEN 2001 AND 2015

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to present and attempt to assess the implementation of security policy of Civic Platform submitted in its election programs since the first start in the parliamentary elections of this formation until the general election in October of 2015. There will be analyzed primarily in this article the manifestos prepared for the parliamentary elections because they contain much more contents about the security than the programmes prepared before the voting to the European Parliament.

Keywords: Civic Platform; International security; the election programmes of Civic Platform; the cooperation within NATO.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present paper is to present and to attempt to evaluate the realization of security policy implemented by Civic Platform as contained in the party's election programmes from the moment of its first parliamentary elections¹ until the elections in October 2015. In this paper, what will be mainly scrutinized is the election programmes prepared for the time of parliamentary elections. The reason is that within these programmes much more

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¹ It should be recalled that some paradigms of Polish security policy will change in 2004 because then Poland joined European Union and that in turn influenced the general conceptions of Polish foreign policy – including the security one. Because the accession caused some part of viable Polish national interests to be realized not only through national policy but also through the actions in the Union institutions and in community policy.

attention is paid to the issue of security than in the programmes prepared before the onset of European parliamentary elections. The research problems raised in this paper mainly relate to the presentation and the evaluation of the ideas aimed at strengthening the international position of Poland, at cooperating with European Union, with NATO and with the United States. The research problems also encompass the programme related to the external energy policy of Poland and its approach to its Eastern policy. Of particular interest will be the Civic Platform programme dating back to 2007, with which the party started in the victorious elections as well as the one dating back to 2001, which was one of the elements of the next election victory of this party.

In this paper, two hypotheses are presented: the first assumes that in the external security policy Poland is banking on the neo-liberal paradigm of international security². The second hypothesis states that the programme assumptions were reflected in the policies implemented by the cabinet of Donald Tusk and Ewa Kopacz.

Methodologically speaking, the present paper is based upon discourse analysis. Civic Platform came into the political scene after the relative success of Andrzej Olechowski in 2000. First, it was an association and then it became a political party which first introduced its members into the parliament starting as citizens' committee under the slogan „Normalni ludzie, normalne państwo” [Normal People, Normal State], then obtaining 12,68% share of the votes. During the activity of Civic Platform, its leaders changed. Historically speaking, its first leaders were Andrzej Olechowski, Donald Tusk and Maciej Płażyński. As a political party, Civic Platform was registered 5 March, 2002 (Paszkievicz, 2004, p. 77.). Among the politicians belonging to Civic Platform, there were many activists of Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność [Solidarity Electoral Action] and Unia Wolności [Freedom Union]. In 2003, the most conservative politician of Civic Platform, Maciej Płażyński, left the party. After Płażyński resigned from being the party leader, Donald Tusk became one and he remained the head of the party until 2014, when Ewa Kopacz took over.

May, 2004 was the most important period for Civic Platform because the campaign for Euro Parliament started. Donald Tusk was trying to convince others that: “The United Europe makes sense only when it is a great design to promote peace. Today, the lofty dream about peace in Europe came true”. He believed that Poland will not only take but will also give. “Strong Poland in Europe means strong Europe”- he was stressing (*Historia PO*). His utterance proved convincing to Polish society, which was testified by the result of Euro parliamentary elections which took place 13 June, 2004, in which Civic Platform received 24% of votes.

In 2005, there were the parliamentary and presidential elections. Civic Platform obtained 133 seats (24,14%), Law and Justice received 155 seats (26,99% of votes). After the unsuccessful attempts to establish a great coalition between Civic Platform (occasionally referred to as PO in this paper) and Law and Justice (occasionally referred to as PiS in this paper), a relatively unstable cabinet of Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz emerged with the participations of the politicians of Samoobrona [Self-Defense] and Liga Polski Rodzin [League

² In the context of neo-liberal paradigm, state as the subject of international policy recognizes the following rules: soft power, international cooperation, the theory of democratic peace (both the monadic and dyadic model), collective security and collective defense humanitarian cooperation, creating effective international institutions. see. (Czaputowicz, 2012 p. 133-160); (Ciupiński, 2002).

of Polish Families]. In the second round of presidential elections, Donald Tusk received 45,96% of votes, thus losing to Lech Kaczyński.

Civic Platform then became the largest political opposition; however, after two years of ruling by PiS coupled with its coalition partners, there was a political crisis and pre-term elections. Civic Platform won them, having obtained 41,51% of votes. Then, Civic Platform went on to establish a coalition with Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe [Polish People's Party]. A major political event having a bearing on national politics, despite the fact it had strong international repercussions, was a plane catastrophe from 10 April, 2010, in which the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Kaczyński, died. The duties of the deceased president were taken over by the member of Civic Platform, then Marshall of the Sejm, Bronisław Komorowski – all in accordance with the record of the article 131 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland. In the second round of elections, which took place 4 July, 2010, Bronisław Komorowski won, having received 53,1% of all the votes and his opponent, Jarosław Kaczyński – 46,99% (*Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza*). 9 October, 2011, the next parliamentary elections took place and it was Civic Platform that won again, having obtained 39,18% of all the votes (*Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza*). When considering the issue of international security, one must pay heed of the fact that the security is not of permanent or absolute nature and it takes on the part of the state taking constant routine actions with the aim of its maintenance as well as the prevention of emergent challenges and dangers. The conviction of the danger should give the state a stimulus for action for the sake of strengthening its security (Zięba, 1989, p. 12). According to the interpretation of that concept worked out by Akademia Obrony Narodowej [Academy of National Defense], international security is construed as „the lack of objective dangers and subjective fears and the concurring striving and acting for the sake of protecting specific national and extra-national (social) values by dint of the norms, institutions and instruments ensuring the peaceful resolution of the conflicts as well as creating the economic, social and ecological and other premises of dynamic stability and the elimination of dangers” (*Słownik terminów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, 1996, p. 12). It is worth noting that the state, wanting to maintain its security, realizes that aim in the realm of foreign policy, which is understood as an activity, which is organized and directed towards other entities intertwined in international relations, aimed at exerting influence upon them and determining its position and thus the realization of essential goals reflecting the interest of the nation. It is then reducible to the constant strife for strengthening the position of the state because the actions of one state within the realm of foreign policy are accompanied by similar operations by its enemies. These operations force the state to permanently adjust itself to the ever-changing situation (Kuźmicz, 2008, p. 382).

One of the elements being the foundation of the foreign policy, and thus at the same of time of the policy of international security of a given country, is political will, which is in turn based upon the political concepts expressed in the political party's programme. The programmes, like the political movements giving rise to the former, are the practical emanation of an ideology (Heywood, 2007, p. 27).

2. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN THE ELECTION PROGRAMMES OF CIVIC PLATFORM

In the first programmes designed by Civic Platform, there were almost no reference to the foreign policy regardless of its context³. In the programme dating back to 2001, the most attention was paid to far-reaching economic changes such as the introduction of flat taxation and generally the decrease of them, the lowering of the number of licenses, the privatization of some services provided by the public sector and lowering non-wage cost of labour. Furthermore, the profile of policies in the village areas as well as the education policy occupied quite a lot of space in the programme (Śłodkowska, 2002, pp. 177-179, 181, 187, 195-197). One could learn about the assumptions in the foreign policy of Civic Platform in the early stages of its existence from rather general formulations contained in Deklaracja Ideowa [Manifesto] from 2001, in which we can read: „Civic Platform was conceived from the common dream of the united Europe. The presence of Poland in the process of building European Union we treat as the postulate stemming from the in-depth understanding of Polish national interest in the contemporary world. The presence of our country opens new perspectives of modernizing our state, of improving the quality of life of our citizens and also of deepening the sense of national identity and the shared responsibility for the fate of Europe”(). The lack of major references to the policy of international security probably resulted from the fact that Poland was not then a member state of EU and from the large share of Polish society taking interest in the internal affairs after the so-called „Afera Rywina” [Rywin’s Gate].

On the other hand, in the programme presented before being admitted to the European Parliament in 2004, its authors emphasized that EU is the best guarantor of peace, stability and development. They did not perceive in strengthening the integration any threats to the sovereignty of the country, unlike in the enunciations of the Euro-skeptical parties (Śłodkowska, Dołbakowska, 2005, p. 35). One also wrote about the support for Common Foreign and Security Policy. What was endorsed was the creation of the position of Union Minister of Foreign Affairs, of rapid reaction forces and common planning of European arms as well as the common armaments. What is interesting is that in the programme, attention was paid to supporting the democratic and market reforms in such post-Soviet countries as Ukraine, Belarus, Moldavia and in the countries having emerged after the collapse of Yugoslavia (Śłodkowska & Dołbakowska, 2005, p. 35).

Not much attention was paid to international security policy in the programme of Civic Platform in 2005. In this programme, what was emphasized was three dimensions of that issue:

- the collaboration with the European Union;
- the cooperation within NATO;
- the collaboration with the United States (Śłodkowska & Dołbakowska, 2005, p. 37).

Furthermore, in the context of „the war against terrorism” after 11 September, 2001, the programme made a mention of the threats of terrorism itself. What was suggested was focusing on three elements: “First, the integrated communication system, which combines

³ It was only indicated that the key element to be fulfilled for Poland to join EU will be the modernization of our agriculture to make it competitive in the community market.

the possibilities of communicating with all the National Services in the case of crisis, natural disasters or terrorist attacks. The lack thereof situates Poland among the countries most vulnerable to unexpected disasters and catastrophes. Second, the integrated emergency alert system based on the common system of communication combining into one unit the health service, civil defense, fire department, police and the army. It enables to minimize losses in the case of assassinations and increases the chance of survival of the injured. Third, we will enact the integrated system of anti-crisis management, which in case of any danger or assassination allows for readily making decisions, coordinating operations of national services and strictly specifies the responsibilities and competences. It will allow to avoid the situation which took place after the attacks 11 September in U.S.A., when in Poland four mutually independent anti-crisis staff were created” (Ślōdkowska, Dołbakowska, 2005, p. 37).

In 2007, there were new parliamentary elections and Civic Platform prepared the policy paper bearing the title: „Poland deserves the economic miracle. May all live better”. In this policy paper, much more attention was paid to the policy of international security. In the programme, references were made to social and economic security. The issue raised particularly often was the one of increasing the extraction of fuels. Another issue was centered around renewable Energy and in particular on aero energy, gas cogeneration, the infrastructure for hybrid cars, the infrastructure for land transport of LGN and CNG, that is liquified and compressed natural gas (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, 2007, p. 33).

It was also stressed that Poland should redefine the concept of sovereignty to be able to be simultaneously EU member state and pursue its own national interests. The programme had it: “We will suggest a new Polish doctrine of national sovereignty which will define and will allow to successfully realize Polish national interests under new conditions determined by processes of globalization, technological advancements and information civilization as well as by belonging to European Union. We will promote independent and brave Poland and not Poland being on its knees and neither Poland irritable due to the inferiority complex on the part of its ruling class” (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, 2007, p. 35). The said policy paper paid attention to strengthening the systems aimed at fighting terrorism.

The programme assumes the cooperation with EU with respect to energy as well as the homogenous energy policy within the union. Moreover, it assumed reorganizing foreign and security policy for the sake of strengthening European integration (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, 2007, p. 76).

To enhance foreign policy of EU, Civic Platform postulated appointing European External Action Service, that is the institution bearing resemblance to Union diplomatic service (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, 2007, p. 33). Much attention was paid to the reforms in the area of culture with the emphasis that the funds for culture might come from EU.

What is interesting is the authors of the programme’s approach to the issue of cooperation with USA. What is tacitly assumed while analyzing the policies advocated by PO and PiS is that it is the latter party that is pro-American. As professor Roman Kuźniar wrote about PiS and its coalition cabinet: “After the opportunistically pro-American ruling of the leftists until the autumn, 2005, there emerged the ideological pro-Americanism of the rightists” (Kuźniar, 2012, p. 316).

On the other hand, in the scrutinized policy paper issued by Civic Platform, it was stated: „An equally important task as acting towards strengthening Polish position in EU is keeping possibly close contacts and alliance with USA. It takes on our part a sensible approach and caring about real benefits. It should be in interest to maintain American presence in Europe and tending to the strategic partnership between Poland and America. The relevant policy of previous cabinets gave rise to the radical collapse of Polish pro-Americanism. Civic Platform is bound to adhere to more reasonable and congenial policy towards USA” (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, p. 78.). It is highly conspicuous then at least in terms of declarations, Civic Platform strongly emphasized its adherence to co-operating with USA. However, it should be mentioned that USA’s interest in Central Europe during the reign of Civic Platform considerably decreased. Furthermore, the programme made references to the partnership within Weimar Triangle and the policy of neighbourliness with Czechs, Slovaks and Lithuanians (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, p. 78.). The programme also referred to the relation with Russia, where it was agreed that only “the long march”, that is implementing the long-term policy might give rise to the improvement of mutual relations (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, p. 78.). The references to Ukraine, on the other hand, were as follows: “We will incessantly be an ally of Ukraine and support it in its pursuit aimed at entering NATO and EU even if this process will take more time than we earlier predicted” (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, p. 79.). What was noticed was the weakness of social, economic and military reforms harassing our Eastern neighbour. Civic Platform identified the key element of security policy with NATO. The authors of the said policy paper noticed the changing role of the Treaty and the emergence of new threats of asymmetrical nature. The programme had it: “Our presence in NATO is a guarantee of Polish security. We will see to it that the Treaty should be able not only to successfully defend the territories of its member states but also to launch peaceful operations and to fight asymmetrical threats, including the terrorist ones. NATO’s involvement in global security issues must be reasonable and selective in order not to threaten the credibility of the Treaty and not to weaken its unity or not to overburden its capacity to act. What is to be avoided is the diversification of security standards inside the Treaty. That is the reason – among others – why the project of American anti-missile shield should be consistent with NATO’s idea pertaining to establishing the co-operative defense against short- and medium-range missiles” (*Polska zastępuje na cud gospodarczy. By żyło się lepiej wszystkim*, pp. 82-83.).

In 2009, there were the second Euro Parliamentary elections. Then Civic Platform submitted no manifesto and *a fortiori* no election programme, even though Civic Platform was then ruling party (Kowalczyk, 2010, p. 167).

Still, in the elections in 2011, Civic Platform prepared the programme „Next step. Together”. This time, Civic Platform not only presented the programme for the future but it also pointed to the achievements of the government from the last tenure. With respect to international security, it still made a mention of the cooperation in energy-related issues within European Union as well as of the diversification of sources of energy and of financing the renewable sources of energy from European Union funds (*Następny krok razem*, p. 74, 80). What was maintained was the willingness to increase the defensive and rapid reaction forces. The programme had it: “Within European Union we will endorse the operations by the High Representative aimed at the Common Security and Defence

Policy. We want to especially stress the realization of the initiative embarked on by Poland and its partners from Weimar Triangle, the initiative pertaining to enhancing EU's ability with respect to anti-crisis response" (*Następny krok razem*. p. 86-87). Generally speaking, the political strategy of Civic Platform relating to foreign policy is well reflected in the following excerpt from the programme: „The majority of our operations in the realm of foreign policy is realized through the agency of European Union. Our national interest can be successfully realized only through skillfully subsuming our interest under the broader European interest. European Union is a system of permanent negotiations in which the power of arguments counts. It is insufficient to be right; one must also persuade one's partners to one's reasons" (*Następny krok razem*. p. 88).

It was still believed that the important factor in the overall defensive capabilities is the membership in NATO. Furthermore, the subject under discussion was still the endorsement of the Europe-oriented aspirations of Ukraine, Moldavia and the countries of Transcaucasia (*Następny krok razem*. p. 88).

In 2014, the next Euro elections took place. On this occasion, Civic Platform issued a document called: "The European manifesto of Civic Platform". The leitmotif of the document, and at the same of the whole campaign, was the slogan: "Strong Poland in safe Europe". The slogan was connected with the situation in Ukraine, which worried Poles and incited the politicians to make straightforward security-related declarations. One started to speak about the enhanced integration as the model of assuring security to Poles. The issue of common energy policy was raised (*Europejski manifest*, p. 7). One started to write about the common security policy and the defense of EU, about the expanding democratic processes over such countries as Ukraine, Moldavia or Georgia (*Europejski manifest*, pp. 7-8). The mention was made of European diplomacy as well as of supporting the cooperation between EU and USA.

Then, in the parliamentary elections in 2015, Civic Platform started with the programme called: "Poland of the future". The willingness to implement the following was particularly emphasized:

- supporting Ukraine on the international arena as well as assisting it in democratic and reformist processes;
- supporting pro-integration actions of Ukraine, Moldavia and Georgia;
- cooperation with EU;
- collaboration with other partners in the world;
- the extensive cooperation with France, Germany and Great Britain (*Polska Przyszłości. Program Platformy Obywatelskiej RP*, pp. 65, 68-69).

The table indicates which issues in the international security policy were particularly emphasized in the programmes by Civic Platform⁴.

⁴ My own work. The numbers of x's indicates the shift in emphasis. x – only scantily described; xx – is repeated many times or more attention is paid to; xxx – an issue extensively described, is a recurrent theme in the programmes by Civic Platform

Programme from the year	Energy sector	Fighting terrorism	Enhanced cooperation with UE	Cooperation with NATO	Cooperation with intragovernmental organizations	Cooperation with USA	The Eastern European countries
2001 – parliamentary	-	-	x	-	x	-	-
2004 – Euro parliamentary	-	x	xxx	xx	x	The lack of references resulted from the nature of the elections	x
2005 – parliamentary	-	xx	xxx	x	x	x	x
2007 – parliamentary	xx	x	xxx	x	x	xxx	x
2010 – Euro Parliament	The lack of the comprehensive programme						
2011 – parliamentary	xx	x	xxx	x	x	-	x
2014 – Euro Parliament	xxx	-	xxx	xxx	-	xx	x
2015 – parliamentary	x	-	xxx	x	xx	x	xx

3. POLITICAL PRACTICE

The programmes by Civic Platform with respect to the international security policy stressed a few elements of this policy; however, what stood out as the common denominator in all those elements are the pro-integration ideas and regarding as one of the most important factors the multilateral cooperation within EU. Generally speaking, one can safely say that Civic's Platform conception of security – despite certain evolution stemming from the below-stated conditions – assumed the neo-liberal model.

- the programme was subject to changes, which is understandable in the light of the fact that Poland was about to join EU;
- the change of the attitude to Eastern neighbours after adopting the programme of Eastern Partnership;
- a greater emphasis on the policy towards Ukraine in the programme from 2015, which was related to the events in the latter in 2014.

Let us pose the question whether Civic Platform's programme approximated the neo-liberal paradigms. In the programme of international security submitted by Civic Platform, one must note that one can find the neo-liberal elements not only due to the conceptions

of collective security mainly based on the extensive cooperation within EU but also due to soft diplomacy in the East in the form of Eastern Partnership.

Relatively little attention in Civic Platform's programmes is paid to the issues related to the foreign suppliers of fuels. The programme also pointed to the importance of diversification of the sources of energy. This very sector attracted more attention on the part of Civic Platform's politicians during Euro elections in 2014 when Europe faced the policy by Russian Federation towards Ukraine. That situation sparked the increased interest of the ruling party in the issues of economic security with respect to fuels. Although these issues were noted in the exposé by the prime minister Donald Tusk from 2007. It is in this very exposé that Tusk was saying: „My cabinet will support – in our Polish national interest – great infrastructure projects of European Union able to increase the level of energy security in the continent, believing that these projects might contribute to the solution of also our problems” (*Exposé Premiera Donalda Tuska*). In this exposé, in accordance with the election programme, he depicted the manner in which our relations to our partners are to be organized. On this subject, he went on as follows: „We share with USA, as with European Union, a certain set of values. It is these values, including the credible alliance and Polish presence in NATO and in European Union that create the multi-dimensionality of the relations between Poland and America. On the one hand, Poland having a strong position in the Union will remain the advocate of intensifying the interdependencies and cooperation of the whole Europe with USA. On the other hand, we will try to persuade our American partners to make our alliance manifest itself in the increased presence of Americans in Poland as well as in strengthening Polish defensive capabilities. We are aware of the political and military gravity pertaining to the initiative of missile defense. We will be able to enter into further negotiations on this issue and on this initiative after a round of consultations with NATO and some of our partners. The important political and economic partners are and obviously will be the countries of Visegrad Group and of Baltic states. Poland has a justified aspiration of co-shaping the Eastern rim of European Union. Our premise is that extending the safety areas, intensifying cooperation and strengthening democracy will positively influence our future and the fate of the whole Europe. That is why we will pay special attention to our relation with Ukraine and Russia and to the situation in Belarus. Even though we have our own opinions on the situation in Russia, we would like to enter into a dialogue with Russia – this Russia as it is today. The lack of such a dialogue does no good to Poland and neither to Russia” (*Exposé Premiera Donalda Tuska*). In 2001 in exposé, the focus was mainly on the issues related to the crisis and to economic safety. On the other hand, the speech delivered by then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Radosław Sikorski, in 2008 indicated that the important element of foreign policy will be to encourage „our partners and allies to creatively combine – in relation to Ukraine – the elements of stimulating reforms with executing from Ukraine some steps towards transformation. On the other hand, we are trying to convince our Ukrainian friends that it will be especially their readiness to adjust that will be a decisive factor determining whether Ukraine will be a member of the institutions of the Western world”. Sikorski also pointed to other priorities of foreign policy, the outline of which can be found in the programme from 2007 (*Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych Radosława Sikorskiego na temat polityki zagranicznej RP w 2008 roku*). One year later, Sikorski observed that in order to care about Polish interests, Poland should join the debate upon the issues important for the whole community, brining into the discussion its own ideas. He noticed that it is important to prepare for the event of Poland taking over the presidency in the Council

of European Union, and consequently determine the priorities of EU policy – that is the policy related to East and the common foreign and security policy (*Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych Radosława Sikorskiego na temat polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2009 roku*). He also mentioned the very important element which was the integration of Ukraine, solidarity with Georgia as well as the policy in relations to Belarus. He referred to Belarus in what follows: “We are hoping that also Belarus will opt for European perspective. Thus, Belarus would open the way to closer relations with its Western neighbours and the whole European Union. The scope of this cooperation depends on the readiness of Belarusian authorities for liberalizing their political regime. Poland will support the efforts aimed at developing democratic society in Belarus, in which all the citizens – including Poles – being members of independent organizations will have a right to freely express their opinions, needs and aspiration” (*Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych Radosława Sikorskiego na temat polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2009 roku*). He also mentioned the good relations with USA and the role Poland was to play within NATO and EU. He went on as follows: “Poland will participate in developing the European Policy of Security and Defence. We attach special meaning to developing Union skills in anti-crisis reaction. We are striving for the cooperation between European Union and NATO. It is to be underlined that in 2008, we became a member of European Corps” (*Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych Radosława Sikorskiego na temat polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2009 roku*). It is to be noted though that we were admitted there with a role of a passive observer.

A few years later in her exposé, the prime minister Ewa Kopacz noticed the threats emanating from the conflict in Ukraine, the reminiscences of which were noticeable in Euro Parliamentary campaign. Thus, she went on as follows: “Each foreign policy must be based on some system of values. Those values are only as strong as the will and determination to defend them. The events in Ukraine make us realize clearly how important the solidarity of democratic countries is when faced with authoritarianism and chaos – two plagues of the contemporary world. Simultaneously, Ukrainian crisis shows us how important it is that we do not have to stand up to this challenge alone because we are backed up with the European Union and NATO. The task of my cabinet will be striving for unity and solidarity of the democratic camp. It is in the most fundamental national interest not to dilute the Western stronghold, whose part we are. What is equally important is that we cannot allow for the alienation of Poland as a result of Poland trying to aim unrealistically high. That is why, the goal of my cabinet is to pursue pragmatic policies in relation to what is happening in Ukraine”. She also mentioned the increasing American role in Polish defences (*Exposé Pani Premier Ewy Kopacz*).

The document dating back to 2012 bearing the title: „The Priorities of Polish Foreign Policy” is a coherent document with the direction of the policy of international security of the Republic of Poland as sketched in the programmes by Civic Platform. In this document, it was noted that Poland should be an important trustworthy EuroAtlantic ally. In the document, it was – among others – written: “The development of one’s skills of intimidation and maintaining the credibility of NATO as a defensive alliance, developing EU’s abilities in the realm means and resources for developing security, the former two being independent and complementary to NATO; participating in developing the means of mutual trust between the West and Russia, a close cooperation with Ukraine and other countries of Eastern Europe and Transcaucasia; fighting terrorism and preventing the proliferation of weapon of mass destruction” (*Priorytety Polskiej Polityki Zagranicznej*, 2012, p. 6).

The document made a mention of the competitiveness of energy policy of EU. The document also hinted at the competitiveness of the energy policy of EU and especially of the solidarity in this sector. Furthermore, as in the programmes of Civic Platform, a very important component of the actions taken for the sake of the stability of the neighbourhood and for strengthening the external role of EU is the European Neighbourhood Policy. The process of European Union and its neighbours getting close together should be transparent and based upon readily noticeable rules valid for all the members. Union's actions being oriented at Mediterranean area cannot be implemented at the cost of the cooperation with Eastern Europe and Transcaucasia. What is crucial to EU is also the development of the Common Security and Defence Policy and Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, which will be, a long-term process though. The goal is that Common Security and Defence Policy should acquire civil and military skills which will complement TransAtlantic system of security" (*Priorytety Polskiej Polityki Zagranicznej*, 2012, p. 12). Judging the issues related to the international security as presented in the programmes by Civic Platform, they to a large degree coincided with the policies pursued by the coalition cabinet of PO and PSL.

4. CONCLUSION

Civic Platform based its policy of international security on the neo-liberal paradigm, that, apart from our own defense system, the most important guarantors of security embrace:

- the enhanced cooperation with European Union;
- the operations within NATO;
- bilateral cooperation with strong partners within EU – especially Germany and France;
- cooperation with USA but also being a bridge between EU and USA;
- acting for the sake of reforms – especially in Ukraine;
- anti-terrorists operations embarked on together with other countries;
- supporting the common energy policy of European Union.

It must be added that the emphases in the realm of security policy suggested in the programmes by Civic Platform were slightly altered. The modifications resulted from the changes which occurred mainly in the nearest surroundings of Poland as well in the changing policy pursued by USA from the moment of the economic crisis in 2008.

It is Sebastian Górk and Grzegorz Krzyżanowski that aptly describe the policies pursued by PO from the moment of their parliamentary victory in 2007: "After the victorious elections in 2007, the politicians of Civic Platform paid attention to three main assumptions of Polish policy, that is being a strong link in the Treaty, working out a new strategy aimed at including Georgia and Ukraine into NATA and the modernization of the very Treaty itself. In the issues directly connected with Polish security, one mainly wanted to locate on Polish territory some of the elements of the allied infrastructure. What is more, one wanted to promote Polish officers to top decision-making positions in NATO" (Górk & Krzyżanowski, 2012, p. 139).

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