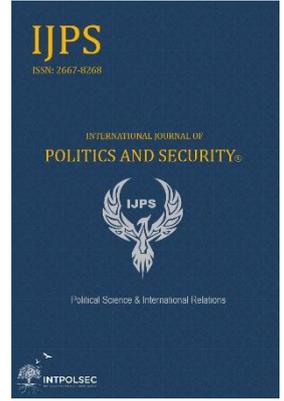


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Poland's Perspectives on NATO through the Speeches of President Andrzej Duda*

Yusuf AVAR**

Abstract

This study investigates Poland's viewpoints on NATO by examining President Andrzej Duda's statements. 41 of Duda's speeches have been subjected to critical discourse analysis. As a result, 7 discursive arguments are identified. (1) Duda concentrates on the idea of the geopolitical situation to discuss security and (2) focuses on transatlantic relations. (3) Duda considers NATO cooperation essential for Poland's security and (4) argues that NATO has been established on the tenets of freedom and security. (5) Duda states that Poland's membership in NATO is a way for it to demonstrate its sovereignty. (6) Duda thinks that NATO's infrastructure must be increased to offer more collective security and (7) NATO's new strategic concept must take into consideration the changes that have been brought about by Russia's assault on Ukraine.

Keywords: Andrzej Duda, Foreign Policy of Poland, NATO, Poland

1. Introduction

A few European countries have experienced a history as turbulent and tragic as Poland. Poland's incredibly volatile modern history has been characterized by its 123-year period of loss of independence (1795 to 1918), as well as by serious threats to its existence during the Second World War and, in a different way, during the communist era.¹ As a result of the importance of its security issue, which is impacted by its geographic placement between two more powerful neighbors in Germany and Russia, a particularly strong national identity has been established.²

Contemporary Polish foreign policy has faced a number of revolutionary difficulties following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and other changes in the global environment.³ Polish foreign policy's major aims since 1989 have been fostering alliances to prevent Poland from reentering the Soviet sphere of influence and

* This article is a derived from the author's ongoing thesis entitled "The EU's Normative Paradox: The Cases of Hungary and Poland."

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¹ George Sanford, "Overcoming the Burden of History in Polish Foreign Policy," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 19, no. 3 (2003): 178.

² Sanford, 178.

³ Joanna Kaminska, *Poland and EU Enlargement: Foreign Policy in Transformation* (Springer, 2014), 1.



enhancing relations with the West.⁴ The two cornerstones of the “return to Europe” idea - belonging to the EU and NATO- include accepting and institutionalizing “Western” norms in the social, political, and economic framework.⁵ Due to its economic and political independence, Poland is one of the few post-socialist success stories that, together with other Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs), transitioned to a capitalist democracy around the end of the 1990s. Like other CEECs, Poland succeeded in obtaining its objective of entering NATO and the EU.

This study aims to examine the importance of NATO for Poland and to assess the speeches and statements of Polish President Andrzej Duda on NATO and transatlantic relations. It is determined that Duda regularly discusses issues like peace, security and law, transatlantic cooperation, and the importance of NATO. Further, the study uses critical discourse analysis to present Poland’s viewpoints on NATO through President Duda’s speeches. The primary source material for the critical discourse analysis is primarily derived from the speeches offered by the President on subjects related to NATO and transatlantic relations which are accessible on the official website of the President. In this context, 41 Duda’s statements on NATO and transatlantic relations from the official website of the President of the Republic of Poland between 6 August 2015 and 29 March 2023 are obtained and 7 discursive arguments are identified: (1) Duda thinks that the security of Central and Eastern Europe region is challenging, thus while referring NATO and the US, he focuses on the concept of “geopolitical situation” to refer both the security of Poland and the security of Central and Eastern European Countries. (2) Duda mostly highlights the importance of NATO to explain the need for good relations between Europe and the USA, putting it differently to emphasize transatlantic bonds/relations. (3) Duda supports the idea of increasing NATO’s infrastructures for collective security. (4) Duda desires to increase the power of the Polish army and he also supports the idea that Polish security needs to cooperate with NATO. (5) Duda claims that NATO’s establishment is based on the principles of freedom and security, and it is a common good for each of its members. (6) According to Duda, the existence of NATO is a way for Poland to express her sovereignty. (7) NATO must consider Russian aggression actions towards Ukraine in its new strategic concept.

⁴ Piotr Koryś, *Poland from Partitions to EU Accession: A Modern Economic History, 1772–2004* (Springer, 2018), 322.

⁵ Franklin Steves, “Poland and the International System: External Influences on Democratic Consolidation,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001): 340.



2. Poland's Path to the NATO

Poland is believed to have been founded by the Prince of Polanie (the Plain Dwellers), who turned to Christianity in 966.⁶ By the end of the eighteenth century, the first Polish kingdom had played a substantial and occasionally crucial role in European politics before vanishing off the political map of Europe.⁷ Since the dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the seventeenth century, Poland's main security problem has been the country's geostrategic placement between Prussia/Germany and Russia, the two great European powers. Poland was divided among Prussia, Russia, and Austria in 1795; the Polish state didn't reemerge as an independent nation until 1918.⁸ Thus, despite several uprisings and other more peaceful attempts to establish national independence in the nineteenth century, the Polish state was not restored until 1918.⁹

The Republic of Poland was established as a parliamentary democracy following the First World War. But in 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union once more partitioned and occupied Poland. Following World War II, Poland regained its freedom. Its expanded borders included once-German land. Poland, which had a Communist constitution and government, was influenced and ruled by the Soviet Union.¹⁰ Poland has a strong security culture as a result of its location between Germany and Russia.¹¹

Poland's invasions from both the East and the West, as well as the fact that the Soviet Union abandoned it after the Second World War because its national interests were not taken into account, served as a historical lesson. This historical memory can also help explain the roots of Poland's Atlanticist worldview. Poland's place in the global political system is improved by its support for the US (ibid.). The origins of Poland's Atlanticist ideology can also be explained by this historical memory.¹² As a result, a majority of Polish foreign policy

⁶ European Commission, "Commission Opinion on Poland's Application for Membership of the European Union," Website, Publications Office of the EU (Publications Office of the European Union, 1997), 3, <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/90956152-57ee-49fb-86e3-135f0e2f4ff6>.

⁷ Karl Cordell and Andrzej Antoszewski, *Poland and the European Union* (Routledge London, 2000), 1.

⁸ Andrew Cottey, *East-Central Europe after the Cold War: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary in Search of Security* (Springer, 1995), 27.

⁹ Cordell and Antoszewski, *Poland and the European Union*, 1.

¹⁰ Commission, "Commission Opinion on Poland's Application for Membership of the European Union," 3.

¹¹ Begüm Özkaya, "Güç Bağlamında Polonya'nın Avrupa Birliği ve NATO Üyeliği" (Master's Thesis, Altınbaş Üniversitesi/Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü, 2021), 59.

¹² Özkaya, 59.



decision-makers traditionally preferred an Atlanticism “without attributes.”¹³ The PiS party, which presently governs Poland, originally entered politics in 2001 with the hope of developing strong connections with the US and NATO. Between 2005 and 2010, the PiS party’s leaders made care to be in frequent contact with the US. The main argument for this is that Poland’s security is guaranteed by the US and that Poland will firmly establish its position inside the EU on the security axis.¹⁴

Poland sought NATO membership for two separate reasons, each of which was motivated by a different set of domestic and international political goals. Firstly, involvement in NATO would ensure Poland’s independence and security between Germany and Russia from a geopolitical perspective. Poland might avoid being the ‘weak partner’ in the Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow triangle if it joined NATO by using the United States’ presence in the area as leverage against its powerful neighbors.¹⁵ Secondly, there was a notable normative return to European symbols connected to NATO participation.¹⁶

When the North Atlantic Cooperation Council invited nine countries from Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland membership in NATO officially began in December 1991. Eleven states participated in the Partnership for Peace (PfP) project from January 1994 through the end of 1995.¹⁷ NATO Secretary-General Manfred Wörner visited Poland in March 1992 and declared that “NATO’s door is open.”¹⁸ In September 1994, the US Congress passed a resolution offering Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic preferential conditions for acquiring US armaments. Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary were formally invited by NATO to apply for full membership during the Madrid Summit in July 1997.¹⁹ After the Alliance’s decisions at the Madrid summit in July 1997, the prospect of complete NATO membership at last appeared. Madrid opened the way for Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary to join the North Atlantic Alliance. The ratification process officially began at that

¹³ Kai-Olaf Lang, “The German-Polish Security Partnership within the Transatlantic Context-Convergence or Divergence?,” *Defence Studies* 2, no. 2 (2002): 107.

¹⁴ Özkaya, “Güç Bağlamında Polonya’nın Avrupa Birliği ve NATO Üyeliği,” 61.

¹⁵ Steves, “Poland and the International System,” 343.

¹⁶ Steves, 343.

¹⁷ Steves, 344.

¹⁸ Agnieszka Veronika İnan, “Member State Foreign Policy versus EU Foreign Policy: The Case of Polish Foreign Policy on Ukraine,” *Doktora Tezi, Ulusal Tez Merkezi*, 2022, 118.

¹⁹ Steves, “Poland and the International System,” 344.



point and was completed in December 1998. Poland joined NATO on March 12, 1999.²⁰ As a conclusion, Poland changed from being a crucial component of the Soviet Bloc to being a trustworthy NATO member and an important EU member.²¹

3. Examining the Speeches of President Andrzej Duda on NATO

The study utilizes critical discourse analysis as a method to reach its goals. In this context, the study benefited from the techniques of argumentation in critical discourse analysis. An introduction to analyzing, assessing, and delivering oral and written argumentation is referred to as argumentation. Argumentation is a speech act,²² and its main objective is to support a point of view.²³

Discursive Arguments

1. **Argument:** *Duda believes that the security of the Central and Eastern region is difficult, thus he concentrates on the idea of “geopolitical situation” to refer to both Poland’s security and the security of the Central and Eastern European countries while referring to NATO and the US.*

Central and Eastern European countries have had a hazardous path to becoming EU and NATO members. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, only if they could turn their path to the West. Due to their geostrategic position, the security of their region is fragile and challenging. As a result, while referring to NATO, Duda focuses on the concept of “geopolitical situation” to express both the security of Poland and the security of Central and Eastern European Countries. It is observed that Duda mostly based his statements and speeches on the geopolitical situation of Central and Eastern Europe. Duda prioritizes the position of Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries as challenging. Thus, he defends the notion of stronger guarantees from NATO and greater NATO presence in their region.²⁴ Furthermore, Duda argues that the presence of NATO is a safeguard for their countries since imperial impulses are

²⁰ Elzbieta Stadtmüller, “Polish Perceptions of the European Union in the 1990s,” in *Poland and the European Union* (Routledge, 2002), 25.

²¹ Kaminska, *Poland and EU Enlargement*, 1.

²² Frans H. Van Eemeren et al., “Argumentation,” *Reasonableness and Effectiveness in Argumentative Discourse: Fifty Contributions to the Development of Pragma-Dialectics*, 2015, 53.

²³ Van Eemeren et al., 38.

²⁴ Andrzej Duda, “Address by the President of the Republic of Poland Mr Andrzej Duda before the National Assembly,” Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/address-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-poland-mr-andrzej-duda-before-the-national-assembly,35979>.



resurging²⁵. The context of how Duda insists on their region's fragility and the necessity for an increased NATO presence in their region can be observed in excerpts 1 through 9.

Excerpt 1	"We need stronger guarantees from NATO. Not we as Poland but the whole of Central and Eastern Europe whose current geopolitical situation is challenging, as you well know, Ladies and Gentlemen. We need greater NATO presence in this part of Europe and our own country". ²⁶
Excerpt 2	"In today's geopolitical situation, the presence of the Alliance, which collectively, together, with certainty is the world's largest military power, is very important not only for Poland but for all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe". ²⁷
Excerpt 3	"Everyone knows the situation: imperial tendencies are resurging and the presence of NATO forces is a guarantee for our countries". ²⁸
Excerpt 4	"We share a firm opinion with the president of Romania that NATO's presence in our part of Europe should be increased, that this is something natural. It is a matter of NATO's balanced development". ²⁹
Excerpt 5	"We need a strengthened NATO military presence in our part of Europe, to show that it is not worth confronting or attacking NATO countries, that any military operations aggressive towards NATO member countries will meet with a firm and efficient response from all the member states". ³⁰
Excerpt 6	"I believe that NATO should strengthen its defensive potential in this part of Europe to such a degree as to make it clear that it does not pay off to launch an attack against any member state. Only the increased presence of NATO in Central and Eastern Europe can ensure real deterrence". ³¹
Excerpt 7	"Finally, due to our geographic location, European policy's Eastern dimension is of priority importance to our security. The wars in Georgia and Afghanistan and the annexation of Crimea, but also the frozen conflicts of Transnistria have all reminded us how fragile peace can be". ³²
Excerpt 8	"We are committed to the continued military presence of allied troops in the Eastern flank as a real and tangible increase in our deterrence and defense potential. Here, I wish to stress with satisfaction that last year we welcomed Poland's allied troops as part of the bilateral cooperation and as a result of the decisions taken at the Warsaw NATO Summit". ³³

²⁵ Andrzej Duda, "World Peace Impossible without Respect for International Law," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/world-peace-impossible-without-respect-for-international-law,35990>.

²⁶ Duda, "Address by the President of the Republic of Poland Mr Andrzej Duda before the National Assembly."

²⁷ Andrzej Duda, "President to Strive for Larger Presence of NATO Forces in Poland," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, August 13, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-to-strive-for-larger-presence-of-nato-forces-in-poland,35983>.

²⁸ Duda, "World Peace Impossible without Respect for International Law."

²⁹ Andrzej Duda, "Polish President Favours Bigger NATO Presence in CEE," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/polish-president-favours-bigger-nato-presence-in-cee,36028>.

³⁰ Andrzej Duda, "NATO Decisions Should Make Attack Not Worthwhile," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, March 2, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/nato-decisions-should-make-attack-not-worthwhile,36086>.

³¹ Andrzej Duda, "President Duda for Greater US Military Presence in Poland," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-duda-for-greater-us-military-presence-in-poland,36106>.

³² Andrzej Duda, "President: True Unification of Europe Still before Us," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2017, <https://www.president.pl/news/presidenttrue-unification-of-europe-still-before-us,36554>.

³³ Andrzej Duda, "Address by the President of the Republic of Poland on the Occasion of the New Year's Meeting with the Diplomatic Corps," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2018, <https://www.president.pl/news/address-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-poland-on-the-occasion-of-the-new-years-meeting-with-the-diplomatic-corps,36608>.



Excerpt 9	“In response to Russia’s aggression, NATO demonstrated that its commitment to Article 5 of the Washington Treaty is ironclad and that unity, solidarity, and cohesion remain fundamental Allied values. In this spirit, NATO activated defense plans, reinforced its deterrence and defense posture on land, air, and at sea, including by increasing its presence across the entire Eastern Flank, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, established four new battlegroups in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia, and strengthened NATO’s existing battlegroups in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland”. ³⁴
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2. Argument: *To emphasize transatlantic relations, Duda primarily emphasizes the significance of NATO to convey the necessity of strong relations between Europe and the USA. Poland is an active supporting player to increase the transatlantic bond.*

The European Coal and Steel Community was founded with aid from the USA. This implies that both the ECSC and the current European Union have been established with significant assistance from the USA. No other region in the globe has the strong ties that the EU and the US have in terms of economy, politics, and security.³⁵ These two Western powers have the world’s largest economies and the strongest militaries. In light of this, they can be viewed as two types of Western modernity.³⁶ They were both Western actors in the Cold War’s divisive struggle with the Soviet Union. Between 1945 and 1990, the USA needed the assistance of the European nations to counter the Soviet Union’s threats. They still exist as two blocs today, dependent on one another for the sake of regional stability and their greatest shared interests. Poland is one of the countries in Europe which strictly support the good relations between the EU and the USA. Therefore, secondly, Duda mostly highlights the importance of NATO to explain the need for good relations between Europe and the USA and he mostly emphasizes transatlantic bonds/relations in his statements and speeches. According to Duda, Poland benefits from a stronger transatlantic relationship with the US.³⁷ According to Duda, the world needs robust American leadership in the face of danger. We are aware of the significance of American involvement and presence in Europe. America must play a larger role in

³⁴ Andrzej Duda, “Declaration of the Heads of State Bucharest 9 Meeting,” Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/declaration-of-the-heads-of-state-bucharest-9-meeting-,55290>.

³⁵ Marianne Riddervold and Akasemi Newsome, “Transatlantic Relations in Times of Uncertainty: Crises and EU-US Relations,” *Journal of European Integration* (Taylor & Francis, 2018), 505.

³⁶ Alberto Martinelli, *Transatlantic Divide: Comparing American and European Society* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2007), 1.

³⁷ Andrzej Duda, “We Want a Union of Free Nations and Equal States,” Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/we-want-a-union-of-free-nations-and-equal-states,36061>.



maintaining the security of Poland and the rest of Europe, both militarily and economically.³⁸ The underpinnings for the study's second argument -about the necessity of transatlantic bonds- are presented in excerpts 10 through 16.

Excerpt 10	"This is an enormous task. So far it has not been possible to fully perform it. I think that in the future we need new solutions and these solutions will need to be discussed within the European Union but also within NATO". ³⁹
Excerpt 11	"It is in Poland's interest to strengthen the transatlantic bond between Europe and the United States, which remains to be our most important ally". ⁴⁰
Excerpt 12	"We will do our utmost to make relations between Poland and the US, as well as transatlantic relations between the US and the EU the best possible". ⁴¹
Excerpt 13	"Poland wants to co-build the Euro-Atlantic community through the regional community. For Poland, Central Europe is a natural political environment. Thus we want it to be secure, coherent, and economically dynamic. At the same time, Poland strongly wants NATO as well as the EU to remain a unity... Poland also wants the Euro-Atlantic community to remain, thanks to our region's contribution, a community open to new countries. Being an advocate of the EU's and NATO's „open door” policy is a very important task for Central Europe". ⁴²
Excerpt 14	"Moreover, we wish to strengthen solid transatlantic bonds. Now that foreign policies of some countries feature imperial undertones, articulated more confidently than ever, we appreciate that security of the Western world and the persistence of an order founded on international law call for solidarity on both sides of the Atlantic. That is why we advocate close partners-like cooperation, and an open dialogue, should there be any differences of opinions. Whenever we can preserve unity, we win, we lose when we get divided. That is why strong and dynamic transatlantic cooperation is our great achievement nowadays, something that cannot be squandered". ⁴³
Excerpt 15	"Poland is and will remain to be an advocate and champion of the transatlantic unity as our strength stems from the unity of our policies and civilizations... We will continue to treat Europe and the Euro-Atlantic Western world as our natural, closest political environment. We share common European values and the Euro-Atlantic vision of security for Western civilization. Therefore, as I have said, we want to be active participants in the discussions about the future of Europe and the trans-Atlantic world. We will act for the sake of their cohesion. At the same time, I believe that this should not exhaust the horizons of our policy". ⁴⁴
Excerpt 16	"We will continue to support all activities which promote the security of our part of Europe and promote transatlantic security". ⁴⁵

³⁸ Andrzej Duda, "Message by the President of the Republic of Poland," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/message-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-poland,51064>.

³⁹ Duda, "World Peace Impossible without Respect for International Law."

⁴⁰ Duda, "We Want a Union of Free Nations and Equal States."

⁴¹ Andrzej Duda, "President: Poland Stronger in Region and EU," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2017, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-poland-stronger-in-region-and-eu,36320>.

⁴² Andrzej Duda, "President Andrzej Duda: CE in Favour of EU, NATO Open-Door Policy," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2017, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-andrzej-duda-ce-in-favour-of-eu-nato-open-door-policy,36415>.

⁴³ Duda, "President," 2017.

⁴⁴ Andrzej Duda, "Address by the President at the New Year's Meeting with Heads of Diplomatic Missions," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2020, <https://www.president.pl/news/address-by-the-president-at-the-new-years-meeting-with-heads-of-diplomatic-missions,37096>.

⁴⁵ Andrzej Duda, "Address by the President at Meeting with the Diplomatic Corps," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/address-by-the-president-at-meeting-with-the-diplomatic-corps,63257>.



- 3. Argument:** *Duda favors strengthening the Polish army and believes that NATO cooperation is necessary for the security of Poland. Duda has emphasized the function that Poland plays in NATO.*

It is understood that Duda desires to increase the power of the Polish army and he also supports the idea that Poland's security needs to cooperate with NATO. The historical context of the country has been used to support this perspective. To put it another way, the notion of building a stronger Polish army and closer alliances was inspired by the loss of sovereignty in the past. Duda claims that working with NATO allies and expanding the Alliance's presence in our region of Europe will make Poles more secure today, especially given the current geopolitical environment, he also believes that it is also necessary in Poland to boost the potential of the Polish army⁴⁶. Excerpts between 17 and 20 focus on the need for bigger Polish military power and how NATO and American presence increase Poland's security.

Excerpt 17	"Within NATO structures we must take care of our security, to make sure it is guaranteed more strongly to our nations. The path to this is marked out, but we need to continue working all the time, consolidating the solutions that have been approved and are being implemented". ⁴⁷
Excerpt 18	"Poland's security guarantees must be strengthened, allied ties must grow stronger. We must be striving for these goals together with other nations that lost their independence at the beginning of WW2. This is a great challenge for the future - and I am convinced that we will succeed". ⁴⁸
Excerpt 19	"There is no doubt that the enduring and enhanced presence of US troops in Poland is going to strengthen the security of not just my country but that it also constitutes an important step towards increasing NATO defense potential". ⁴⁹
Excerpt 20	"I also thank the United States and our Allies for strengthening our security - NATO's eastern flank - so that nobody would even think of attacking our land. Thanks to the presence of the American army, thanks to the presence of the Allied armies, thanks to the wise policy of strengthening the Polish army in recent years, we are becoming increasingly secure, and we are becoming increasingly confident about our security. And we are making potential aggressors less and less confident". ⁵⁰

- 4. Argument:** *Duda states that NATO has been established on the tenets of freedom and security and serves the interests of all of its members.*

⁴⁶ Andrzej Duda, "President Andrzej Duda on EU and NATO," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-andrzej-duda-on-eu-and-nato,36122>.

⁴⁷ Duda, "World Peace Impossible without Respect for International Law."

⁴⁸ Andrzej Duda, "Poland Always Supported the Free World," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/poland-always-supported-the-free-world,35993>.

⁴⁹ Duda, "Address by the President at the New Year's Meeting with Heads of Diplomatic Missions."

⁵⁰ Andrzej Duda, "There Is No Freedom without Solidarity Says President," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, February 21, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/there-is-no-freedom-without-solidarity-says-president,65022>.



After the collapse of the Soviet Union, being a member of the EU and NATO is considered the most important success for Poland. Duda describes this situation as Poland's greatest international success of the last years.⁵¹ Duda claims that NATO's establishment is based on the principles of freedom and security, and it is a common good for each of its members. Protecting the independence and security of each member state via political and military action is NATO's core and ongoing mission. A sense of tandem and solidarity among the members of the Alliance is fostered by the principle of collective defense.⁵² Excerpts between 21 and 24 sign out that the establishment of NATO is based on the principles of peace, freedom, and democracy.

Excerpt 21	“This is how the idea of collective security emerged. In 1949 it led to the founding of NATO, the alliance of the free world for peace by collective security. And only after the Iron Curtain fell, could the nations of Central Europe freely express their will to join the democratic community of the Alliance. Thus they subscribed to its oldest motto coined by Lord Ismay, the first Secretary General of NATO: Peace first, peace last, peace all the time”. ⁵³
Excerpt 22	“The North Atlantic Alliance was established and founded on the principle of respect for freedom and democracy. Facing the challenges of the present time, this alliance should be strengthened to deter and defend us more effectively. In the light of dramatic changes in the security environment unfolding right now, all members of NATO should contribute to the common good, which is collective security”. ⁵⁴
Excerpt 23	“A free and sovereign Poland, which is an EU and NATO member, “will and continue as the defender not only of its freedom and borders, but also of peace and the stable architecture of security in Europe and all over the world”. ⁵⁵
Excerpt 24	“Vladimir Putin wants to enslave Ukraine, he wants to expand his regime across the Ukrainian territory, [to] take away Ukrainians' freedom. Why? Because Ukrainians decided they wanted to be part of the community of free nations. They want to be part of the European Union, they want to be part of NATO”. ⁵⁶

⁵¹ Andrzej Duda, “Andrzej Duda Sworn in as President,” Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2015, <https://www.president.pl/news/andrzej-duda-sworn-in-as-president,35973>.

⁵² NATO, “NATO's Purpose,” NATO, 2023, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_68144.htm.

⁵³ Andrzej Duda, “Peace and Justice through International Law and Collective Security,” Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/peace-and-justice-through-international-law-and-collective-security,36143>.

⁵⁴ Duda.

⁵⁵ Andrzej Duda, “President: Poland Will Continue as Peace Defender in Europe, Worldwide,” Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2017, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-poland-will-continue-as-peace-defender-in-europe-worldwide-,36508>.

⁵⁶ Andrzej Duda, “Andrzej Duda's Interview with CNCB,” Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2023, <https://www.president.pl/news/andrzej-dudas-interview-with-cncb,63421>.



5. Argument: According to Duda, Poland's participation in NATO is a means of expressing its sovereignty.

It should be noted that the concept of sovereignty plays a crucial role in Poland's international policy. Therefore, being a member of the EU and NATO presents a free and sovereign Poland and increases its importance in world policy. Influenced by these thoughts, fifthly, Duda asserts that Poland's membership in NATO is a means of expressing its national sovereignty. According to Duda, their participation in the Euro-Atlantic institutions is a means of exercising their sovereignty and a chance to advance their interests within a larger community.⁵⁷ Excerpts 25, 26, and 27 outline the years of lost sovereignty and show how the US and NATO are crucial for Poland's sovereignty, particularly in its struggle with Russia.

Excerpt 25	"I would like to make it very clear: today's Poland is 17 completely different from that in 1790-1791 - it is a free, sovereign, and democratic Poland where the nation elects its authorities in general elections. It is a Poland that has its own army, it is a Poland that belongs to NATO". ⁵⁸
Excerpt 26	"After 123 years of partitions, thanks to the courage of Polish soldiers, but also thanks to the prudence and far-sightedness of politicians and diplomats, having strong support from the nation united around one single goal - that of regaining independence, with allies of our cause both in Europe and over the Atlantic, a convenient historic moment was successfully used and Poland was free and sovereign again". ⁵⁹
Excerpt 27	"We have a clear conviction on that count, also derived from our historical experience - for more than 123 years we were occupied by Russia, back then Tsarist Russia. Then we found ourselves for more than 40 years behind the Iron Curtain, in Soviet Russia's sphere of influence. We absolutely defy any approval of Russia's superpower ambitions in the world, to any extent, anything that would involve enslaving other nations. We want to decide for ourselves. And we decide for ourselves also thanks to the alliance with the United States". ⁶⁰

6. Argument: Duda believes that NATO's infrastructure should be expanded for more collective security.

Duda supports the idea of increasing NATO's infrastructures to secure the growth of their collective allied defense capabilities. By doing this, the capacity of NATO's deterrence

⁵⁷ Andrzej Duda, "The Future of Europe: The Foundations of Unity of the States of Europe \ News \ Oficjalna Strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej," 2018, <https://www.president.pl/news/he-future-of-europe-the-foundations-of-unity--of-the-states-of-europe,36829>.

⁵⁸ Andrzej Duda, "President: Citizens Should Be Proud of Free Poland," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2017, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-citizens-should-be-proud-of-free-poland,36387>.

⁵⁹ Duda, "Address by the President of the Republic of Poland on the Occasion of the New Year's Meeting with the Diplomatic Corps."

⁶⁰ Andrzej Duda, "President's Interview with News Hour PBS," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/presidents-interview-with-news-hour-pbs,59115>.



will be increased, and NATO's eastern flank will be much more reinforced. Excerpts 28, 29, and 30 present bases for the need to increase NATO's infrastructures.

Excerpt 28	“Poland and other states in the region count on the Warsaw Summit to go beyond the Newport decisions by increasing NATO’s defense capabilities and ensuring their even distribution. Since the security of NATO allies is indivisible: this is a crucially important principle”. ⁶¹
Excerpt 29	“NATO’s eastern flank should be reinforced. The alliance has to rebuild its deterrent capabilities. Defence expenditures must be increased”. ⁶²
Excerpt 30	“We subscribe to the principle that everyone should make a relevant contribution to NATO to ensure the development of our common allied defense capabilities”. ⁶³

7. Argument: Duda argues that NATO’s new strategic concept must account for changes caused by Russia’s assault against Ukraine.

Poland has strongly backed the independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of Ukraine. Thus, last but not least, Duda argues that the Russian invasion of Ukraine will need adjustments to NATO’s new strategic concept. Because, according to Duda, Russia’s aggression against Ukraine poses the most danger to European and Atlantic security in decades.⁶⁴ Duda states that

*Russia’s war against Ukraine has shattered peace in Europe and is causing enormous human suffering and destruction. We reiterated our strong condemnation of Russia’s unprovoked and unjustified aggression against Ukraine, with the complicity of Belarus and using the Black Sea as a launch pad, which is a brutal assault on the rules-based international order, that caused one of the most serious security crisis in Europe in decades... NATO should draw the necessary conclusions regarding its relations with Russia. We reiterated our unwavering commitment to Ukraine’s independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, its democratically elected President, parliament and government, and its people, in their brave fight to defend their homes, their country, and their sovereign right to choose Ukraine’s security arrangements and foreign policy, free from outside interference*⁶⁵

⁶¹ Duda, “We Want a Union of Free Nations and Equal States.”

⁶² Andrzej Duda, “President for ‘Financial Times’: Poland Is Still pro-European,” Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2016, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-for-financial-times-poland-is-still-pro-european,36062>.

⁶³ Duda, “Address by the President of the Republic of Poland on the Occasion of the New Year’s Meeting with the Diplomatic Corps.”

⁶⁴ Duda, “Declaration of the Heads of State Bucharest 9 Meeting.”

⁶⁵ Duda.



The Russian attack against Ukraine and NATO's involvement in the conflict are mentioned in excerpts 31 to 35. They place a strong emphasis on Ukraine's independence and the necessity of viewing Russia as the greatest danger to the Euro-Atlantic region.

Excerpt 31	"Poland takes an unequivocal stance here: we do believe that the new strategic concept of NATO must take into account the changes resulting from the Russian aggression on Ukraine". ⁶⁶
Excerpt 32	"We expressed our confidence that the next Strategic Concept will reflect, among other developments, the new security reality created by Russia's war on Ukraine, highlight the Russian Federation as the most significant and direct threat to the Euro-Atlantic security, and renew focus on the key purpose and greatest responsibility of the Alliance - collective defense - while underscoring that NATO will continue to fulfill all three core tasks". ⁶⁷
Excerpt 33	"Today Russia is the biggest threat to NATO countries, most of all for those on the alliance's eastern flank". ⁶⁸
Excerpt 34	"We firmly stand behind the 2008 Bucharest NATO Summit decision concerning Ukraine's future membership. We support Ukraine in its defense against Russia's invasion, demand Russia to immediately withdraw from all the occupied territories, and encourage all Allies to substantially increase their military aid to Ukraine. All those who commit crimes of aggression must be held accountable and brought to justice". ⁶⁹
Excerpt 35	"I thank the authorities of the United States, the Congress for all the donations to Ukraine, for the great support for Ukraine. For the fact that thanks to this immense military aid from the United States, Ukraine is fighting, and others are supporting it. Because that is the role of NATO - to defend the free world, to support the free world. We are and will stand in solidarity with Ukraine. Without solidarity, there is no freedom! Long live a free Ukraine! Long live the Alliance of the Republic of Poland with the United States of America! Long live NATO! Long live the free world! Long live Poland! There is no freedom without solidarity!". ⁷⁰

Lastly, the aforementioned seven discursive arguments are interconnected. Each argument explains how Poland views NATO. These arguments also emphasize the importance of NATO in order to demonstrate the necessity of having close relations between Europe and the US and the creation of NATO is associated with the ideas of peace, freedom, democracy, and sovereignty, all of which are very important to Poland.

4. Conclusion

Poland regularly and strongly supports transatlantic relations and the origins of Poland's Atlanticist perspective come from the historical memory of the country which is that Poland's 123-year period of losing its independence has been a defining feature of the country's

⁶⁶ Duda, "Message by the President of the Republic of Poland."

⁶⁷ Duda, "Declaration of the Heads of State Bucharest 9 Meeting."

⁶⁸ Andrzej Duda, "President: Russia Biggest Threat to Nato States," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/president-russia-biggest-threat-to-nato-states,56117>.

⁶⁹ Andrzej Duda, "Joint Statement of Presidents of Central and Eastern Europe," Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2022, <https://www.president.pl/news/joint-statement-of-presidents-of-central-and-eastern-europe,59400>.

⁷⁰ Duda, "There Is No Freedom without Solidarity Says President."



extremely turbulent contemporary history.⁷¹ This study intends to evaluate Polish President Andrzej Duda's speeches and statements on NATO and transatlantic ties as well as the significance of NATO for Poland. 41 Duda's statements on NATO and transatlantic relations were subjected to critical discourse analysis to understand Poland's perspectives on NATO. Duda frequently speaks on themes such as world peace, security, and law, transatlantic cooperation, the significance of NATO, and the idea of sovereignty.

As a result of analyzing Duda's speeches and statements, 7 discursive arguments were deduced. Firstly, due to geopolitical reasons, the security of the Central and European region gained importance in Duda's speeches. The region is considered fragile and challenging especially due to the Russian threat. Therefore, Duda mostly emphasized the importance of NATO for the region. Secondly, Duda regularly mentions the importance of transatlantic relations and the lead of the US in world policy. He strongly supports the increase of the transatlantic bond while referring to the US's assistance to European countries. Thirdly, Duda underlines the important position of Poland in NATO and supports the notion of increasing Polish military power and the necessity of it with NATO. Fourthly, Duda stresses that NATO was established for collective security and its foundation principles are freedom, security, peace, and democracy. Fifthly, Duda strongly mentions the sovereignty of Poland, and he argues that Poland's membership in NATO is a demonstration of the country's sovereignty. Sixthly, Duda claims that NATO's infrastructure should be increased for collective security and peace. Lastly, Duda recently alleges that NATO's new strategic concept must account for changes caused by Russia's assault against Ukraine.

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⁷¹ Sanford, "Overcoming the Burden of History in Polish Foreign Policy," 178.



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