

# The Influence of Military Characteristics on Polish Foreign Policy

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**Abstract:** Though the world, social and political concepts that prioritize or exclusive to the state to become human, in fact the military is still interesting among social and political science studies. One of the countries that is very visible in the use of military power in global relations is Poland. Poland has never left its country's military power in foreign relations or in other words in its foreign policy. This research analyzes the relationship between military power and Polish foreign policy strategy. Using descriptive qualitative-secondary data with analysis of determinants of foreign policy A.S Bojang.

**Keywords:** Foreign policy; military; determinant; Poland.

## 1. Introduction

The impact of globalization that occurred after the Cold War ended, brought about a change in the character of relations between countries and the international agenda. This of course has an impact on the direction of foreign policy policies of each country and even the other actors involved. The rapidly changing and evolving international system provides room for new actors, including international organizations, transnational corporations, and other interest groups. Thus, after the end of the World War the role of the military also changed, adjusting to the global environment which had new actors in shaping relations between countries.

Bipolar, multilateral or unilateral proponents hold that the military cannot be separated or ruled out. Scientific developments related to relations between countries in the context of diplomacy are also developing, where we are introduced to bipolar, multilateral and unipolar systems. Bipolar itself is often said to be a model that is described by a "balance of power" relationship pattern and is very closely related to military power. Meanwhile, the multilateral system prioritizes collective efforts and international cooperation in which military cooperation is still one of the things of prestige in it. And the unilateral system which is often said to be a unilateral action of a state/supra state institution against one thing or another, is also closely related to its military strength.

One of the most complete examples of the changing military situation of a country is, Poland. Poland was the biggest supporter of the Warsaw Pact, whose power was dominated by the Soviet Union. Under communist rule, the armed forces were

highly politicized. The military command is controlled by the main political party of the ruling administration, which also carries out political indoctrination and oversight of all sectors. Most of the officers/officers are party members. After the Warsaw Pact was dissolved in 1991, the Polish armed forces were depoliticized to join another security alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Poland's contribution to NATO is very large, one of which is by being part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) coalition for Afghanistan from 2002 to 2014. In addition, from 2003 to 2008, Poland also took part in the Iraq War by leading the Multinational Division (Domisiewicz, 2005; Jasiewicz, et.al, 2021).

Almost simultaneously with the celebration of Indonesian independence, every year on August 15, Poland celebrates the Polish Armed Forces Day. This opportunity is used to reflect on the greatness, sacrifice and glory of the Polish military and its soldiers during the time of Polish unity. The Polish military proved during the Renaissance Era capable of fighting against aggressors from the neighborhood. Poland also had an elite cavalry unit which in defending Polish unity and independence was able to wreak "catastrophe" on the battlefields of Central and Eastern Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Poland demonstrated its prowess by winning the Battle of Warsaw in 1920 and this victory saved Europe from a Communist invasion. Bolshevik. The Polish Armed Forces also fought against Nazi Germany during the Warsaw Insurgency, 1944 (Inforial TJP, 2021).

Based on this history the Polish Armed Forces continue to be an integral part of Polish history and identity. The poll also shows that more than 75% of Poles trust the Polish Army which means that the Armed Forces is one of the most trusted organizations in Poland (Inforial TJP, 2021).

From a global perspective, rising tensions between the world's major powers have an impact on the overall security situation. At the same time, the Polish Armed Forces, together with NATO allies, are actively engaged to enhance security in Europe from current threats. Including border revisionism in Eastern Europe, which was also followed by military power. Today's challenges require strengthening resilience, as well as new military strategic approaches in many domains, including

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cyberspace and outer space. Thus, it can be seen that Poland is indeed determined to actively participate in strengthening its position in the global rules-based international order and global security (Inforial TJP, 2021).

## 2. Ease of Use

### 1) *Determinant of Foreign Policy by A.S Bojang*

Bojang A.S in his article *The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations* has also explained about the determinants of foreign policy taken by a country. Where Bojang explained that the factors that influence foreign policy making there are at least thirteen indicators which are separated into two, namely external determinants and domestic determinants and in both there is a military element in it. There are indicators of alliances and military strategies in external determinants where alliances or alliances formed are considered as strategies used by countries in formulating and implementing foreign policy. However, it is also influential in setting policies where the provisions of the alliance can bind the domestic and foreign regulations of member countries, including security and/or military alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Meanwhile, military strategy or military strategy and or weapons contestation. This includes domestic military capabilities, such as military strategy, defense budget, number or quality of military force instruments, as well as military development, both strategic and independent military industry.

Meanwhile, the domestic determinant is military capability, which includes the state's ability to defend territorial lines or power from armed aggression. Countries with good military capabilities have greater independence from external pressures in the formulation of their foreign policies. Along with this military capability, the state may change the form of its political policy from peaceful or peaceful to aggressive. Therefore, theoretically and practically the military is always present in foreign relations and in making its policies.

## 3. Discussion

### 1) *Polish Military Characteristics*

The Polish armed forces are called the *Wojsko Polskie* (WP) in Poland, or in general the Polish Military (Polish Military). Consisting of five units, namely: *Wojska Lądowe* which is the Army, *Marynarka Wojenna* or the Navy, *Sily Powietrzne* is the Air Force, and *Wojska Specjalne* is the Special Forces and *Wojska Obrony Terytorialnej* which is the Territorial Defense Force. They are under the *Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* or the Polish Ministry of National Defense which is currently headed by Antoni Macierewicz. They are divided into the four military districts of Warsaw, Pomerania, Cracow and Silesia (Jasiewicz, et.al, 2021).

### 2) *Polish Military Structure*

Consists of six bodies;

1. General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces; Generally responsible for the activities of preparation, planning, development, supervision of operational activities, military representation in politico-military activities in

international organizations, as advisor and maintenance regarding military, defense and security (Ministry of National Defense, 2021a).

2. Armed Forces Operational Command; Is the main command body responsible for the operational command of the Armed Forces which is submitted under its subordination based on the decision of the Minister of National Defense. The Armed Forces Operations Command plans, organizes and conducts exercises, makes assessments of troops and resources to conduct operations. Maintain standby troop capabilities, resources and members assigned overseas. In addition, to command and supervise special operations. Prepare the necessary planning and organizational data related to ensuring the functioning of the Air Defense System of the Republic of Poland and fulfilling the duties of the Minister of National Defense in border protection in the airspace of the Republic of Poland (Ministry of National Defense, 2021a).
3. Military Police; Also known as Military Gendarmerie (MG) is a specialized and independent service within the Polish Armed Forces that cooperates with non-military structures. MG is responsible for national security during times of peace, war and crisis. It has three main functions, namely: maintaining law and order in the armed forces; maintain the security of forces involved in operations; and engage in tasks related to crisis management (Ministry of National Defense, 2021a; NATO Military Police, 2021).
4. Armed Forces General Command; It is a joint command responsible for leading the branch military units of the Armed Forces and other units in times of peace and crisis. His responsibilities include conducting training for commanders and staff, troops, reserve personnel as well as professional education. In addition, he is also in charge of the equipment (weapons) that will be needed for certain groups of soldiers in order to achieve the indicated operational capabilities. The structure within this agency includes command, staff and inspectorates: Army, Navy, Air Force, Special Forces and other Armed Forces and Training units (Ministry of National Defense, 2021a).
5. Territorial Defence Forces; Also known as *Wojska Obrony Terytorialnej* (TDF) alongside the Army, Air and Navy. The TDF was created to increase national capabilities in defending the country from threats and attacks by aggressor countries, which is in line with NATO standards for building self-defense capabilities (NATO Treaty Art. 3). The TDF has a social responsibility, consisting of professional soldiers and part-time or volunteer soldiers, who join the military service to enhance national defense capabilities and protect local communities. The existence of the TDF complements the capabilities of the Polish Armed Forces, not replaces it (Ministry of National Defense, 2021a).

6. Warsaw Garrison Command; This agency is designed to comprehensively ensure the functioning of the Office of the Minister of National Defense and as well as carry out representative functions during military and national celebrations. The main tasks of this agency are to carry out: firstly the planning, organization and realization of all enterprises related to the provision for institutions of the Ministry of National Defense as well as units of the Warsaw garrison; secondly ensure the efficient functioning of the communication system; thirdly providing institutions and military units with other technical resources; fourthly military protection in Warsaw and national territory; the five protection facilities; the sixth provides oversight of military obedience, discipline and order, in collaboration with the Military Police (Ministry of National Defense, 2021a).

### 3) *Military Size*

According to data held by the Taylor & Francis Group and The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) for 2020, the Polish armed forces consist of 114,050 active on duty personnel with the Army 61,200 personnel, the Air Force 16,500 personnel, the Navy as many as 7,000 personnel and the Special Forces. 3,500 personnel, and 21,700 Territorial Defense troops. In addition, they are also supported by 13,500 personnel to fill Military Infrastructure units, such as the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Poland (Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej) or the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Poland, central support or central support, military command or military orders, and supplies. and military logistics or military supply and logistics unit (Taylor & Francis Group & The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), 2021). Meanwhile, based on data held by Global Fire Power, the total personnel owned for 2021, increased to 193,500 with 120,000 active personnel, and 73,500 paramilitary personnel (Global Fire Power, 2021).

The Air Force has 469 fighter aircraft, 91 fighters, 49 carriers, 113 trainers, 9 special missions, 207 helicopters, and 30 attack helicopters. Meanwhile, the Army has 863 tanks, 5125 armored fighting vehicles, self-propelled artillery motion 529, rocket projector 200. Meanwhile, a Navy force with total assets of 87, frigates 2, corvettes 2, submarines 3, patrol boats 3, and mine warfare (mine warfare) 21 (Global Fire Power, 2021).

### 4) *Military Budget*

Based on data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Poland's military budget includes the financing of peacekeepers; ministries of defense and other government agencies involved in defense projects; with regard to paramilitary forces; and space military activities. Also includes expenses for pension funds and social services for personnel; operation and maintenance; procurement; military research and development; as well as military aid, the Polish budget increased. Poland's 2020 budget is USD 12,815 million from 2019 which was only USD 11,786 million.

This figure will continue to increase in line with the

modernization plans of the Polish defense and military sectors for the 2030 target. In accordance with the Armed Forces Reconstruction, Modernization and Financing Act, at least 13.07 billion USD has been allocated to the Polish defense system. At least 20% of the budget or approximately 3.51 billion USD is allocated for modernization. This modernization includes air defense systems; counteract the threat of the Navy; communication system (Integrated IC4ISR); modernization of armored and mechanical units; satellite reconnaissance system; personal weapons of each army personnel; modernization of rocket, missile and other artillery components; simulators and training; and so forth. In addition, these funds are also used for the acquisition of fighter aircraft and other defense equipment (Szopa, 2020).

### 5) *Military Strategy*

In general, the highest strategic objective of the Polish military forces is to ensure favorable and safe conditions for realizing national interests by eliminating external and internal threats, reducing risks, assessing challenges properly and taking advantage of existing opportunities. The main strategic objectives of Poland in the field of defense include: ensuring the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Poland, as well as the integrality and inviolability of its borders; defense and protection of all citizens of the Republic of Poland; create conditions for ensuring the continued performance of functions by public administrative authorities and other competent entities in the field of national security, including those responsible for running the economy and for other areas important to the life and security of its citizens; creating conditions for increasing the country's national defense capabilities and ensuring defense readiness within allied structures; develop military cooperation partnerships with other countries, especially neighbors; implement existing commitments between the membership of Poland, NATO and the European Union; involved in international crisis response operations led by NATO, the European Union, the United Nations, and as part of the emergency coalition.

However, it should be underlined that the NATO alliance is the pillar, the center of Poland's defense policy. The main focus of the Polish defense concept until 2032 is to prepare the armed forces to deter Russian aggression. The defensive concept of this period envisioned the restoration of the division as a tactical combat unit, rather than an administrative unit. Recruitment is carried out for the Territorial Defense Force, with a view to reaching a final strength of 53,000 personnel by 2026. In addition, Poland continues to plan to strengthen its domestic defense industrial base, which is consolidated in the state-owned holding company Polska Grupa Zbrojeniowa (PGZ) or Polish Armaments Group, using technology transfer and international partners (Taylor & Francis Group & The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), 2021, p.132).

### 6) *Polish Foreign Policy*

In such a situation, the new Polish government tried to take certain steps so that the country could get out of the crisis that befell it, namely out of the instability of economic and political life. The corrective measures are carried out through the use of reformative policies, both at the economic level and at the

political level, and one of these policies is carried out through foreign policy instruments. The foreign policy choice taken by the new Polish government in the context of improving the country's domestic political economy is with a 'Western-oriented' attitude and view. The choice of a foreign policy that is oriented to the West is an attitude and view of Poland that is very different from the foreign attitude and views of the previous government, when the country was still under communist leadership. We can see the new attitude and outlook of the new Polish government in its foreign policy orientation. The policy orientation is the strong desire of the new Polish government to join NATO and the EU. This orientation of choice is carried out with the aim of accelerating the achievement of these domestic desires, which are basically national interests at the same time. Then for this purpose, the new Polish government has made various preparations, namely preparations adapted to the wishes of the West itself (NATO and the EU). Poland's foreign policy, which places the West as its preferred orientation, is of course subject to various considerations. The main consideration of taking this attitude and outlook to the West is for economic and political reasons and to obtain security guarantees. Thus, in Poland's view, the West is the only party capable of restoring its domestic instability.

As an illustration, it was recently that the Polish president, Andrew Duda approved the deployment of a military contingent, 100 personnel to Afghanistan to help secure and evacuate Poles and other nationals. President Duda signed this order on Wednesday, August 18, 2021 and will last until September 16, 2021. The first plane carrying a group of people who had been evacuated from Afghanistan landed at the Warsaw military airport on Wednesday evening, from Kabul and by military aircraft to Uzbekistan only after being transported to Warsaw. Since the day before, Polish troops have been carrying out operations to evacuate Polish and Afghan citizens who had previously collaborated with the Polish military or diplomatic missions or with Western alliance groups (Las Vegas Sun, 2021).

Basically, Polish foreign policy is based on four main commitments namely: to Atlantic cooperation (NATO), European integration, to international development and international law. If analyzed based on Bojang's external determinants, the four foundations of Poland's foreign policy making meet Bojang's external determinants. Namely alliances, power structures, international law and international organizations. For the alliance it is clear that Poland is one of NATO's most loyal partners. If you look at how close Poland is to NATO, Poland has a power structure that is in the middle or middle power, which is currently pursuing military modernization in its various units. As for international organizations, Poland has also joined the United Nations whose provisions will bind directly or indirectly to its member states. Likewise with international law, where Poland consciously includes international law as one of the 'foundations' of its foreign policy.

However, when viewed from the side of domestic determinants, the most influential are military capabilities,

Polish history, and the character of the leader. In the first place, it is certain that Poland is very capable of assisting the evacuation process for both its citizens and non-citizens. Coupled with the great history of the Polish armed forces and is still the pride of its citizens. If the government doesn't take immediate action to save the situation in Afghanistan, it will affect public opinion towards the government in power. This will reduce the legitimacy of society to the government. The last is the leader character where Duda has a close relationship with the law and the military. Duda attended law school which made him firm in implementing and making laws. One example is, recently Duda passed the Property Claims Limitation Act which infuriated Israel (the Jews). This policy is considered anti-Semitic, which in fact is not the first. This law will prevent Israelis/Jews from reclaiming properties taken over by the Nazis. Poland did this with some considerations that Poland had been the place of a large "history" of the Jewish nation during World War II. This resulted in many areas being 'used' by the Jews. So if it is now being claimed it will cause other problems for Poland. In addition, Duda's close relationship with the military stems from his grandfather who is a military veteran and served during the World War. Therefore, Duda seriously modernized the Polish military with the ambition of wanting to have more influence in the Atlantic alliance.

Even so, we cannot let go of other determinants such as culture and history factors where culture or culture influences humans or society in the way they think, see and interpret things in their environment. Historical and cultural heritage to a large extent influence the affairs of the state. A nation's approach to foreign affairs is determined by its traditional values and beliefs that have emerged or existed over the past years. So that historical experiences, such as the culture and traditions of the country, influence its foreign policy. In general, countries with the same culture and history find it easier to formulate effective and consistent foreign policies. Then the next factor relates to geography, size, and location which affects the implementation of a country's foreign policy. Geographically a country with sea or not, mountainous areas, and others, the policies will be different and adjust the advantages and disadvantages from the geographical side. It is generally believed that the leaders and people of a country with a small territory with a small population, do not carry a heavy burden in international relations.

However, it should also be understood that this is not directly proportional to the activeness of small countries in the global contest. In addition, there are also factors of economic development and national resources that influence the policies of a country. Many industrialized countries (in other words, countries with good economies) dominate in world politics and form foreign policies that maintain their "power". This is also in line with the natural wealth owned by the state.

In general, natural resources such as minerals, natural gas, petroleum, oil, and so on will greatly affect the bargaining position of a country in the global contest, which will definitely affect the foreign policy that is made. The political system is also another domestic determinant, which is related to the form of government. In general, an authoritarian or totalitarian form

of government is quicker and easier to determine policies. On the other hand, countries with democratic systems of making and implementing foreign policies are more difficult and slower. In addition, the personality and character of the leader also has a big role in formulating foreign policy. This point includes a cognitive process and assumes that policy making is a product of "human agency" which is purely an individual, not a state.

Bojang then also groups the types of leaders into two, those who are like "hawks" or "eagles" or what is meant are leaders with an aggressive foreign policy, based on a capable military force. While others are "doves" or "pigeons" who are better known as conciliators and seek to resolve international conflicts or problems without threats and pressure.

Political parties and interest groups are other determinants that are no less important. Political parties and interest groups have an important role in modern politics. These parties have an important role in forming a representative democracy in a country. In the context of foreign policy, these parties can voice their interests directly or through other interest groups. Unfortunately, under multi-party systems and government coalitions, parties often have conflicting views and interests, and this affects the formation and implementation of policies themselves. Press and public opinion, Bojang cites several experts who state that the mass media can shape public opinion, and public opinion can shape policy outcomes, through selection and public responsiveness. This tends to be especially influential in democracies where country leaders usually consider opinion polls before deciding on crucial or important policies.

Likewise with other external determinants such as the international system or power structure or power structure in the world, which means the grouping of countries into big power, middle and small power where this state system has existed since the Westphalia Treaty of 1648. Interaction between countries with power or Certain powers play an important role in shaping the foreign policies of the interacting countries. Factors of international law or applicable international law. International law is generally a rule that regulates relations between countries where international law and norms will limit the freedom of a country to tactics in the context of international relations. International law not only regulates a country in determining its foreign policy, but also binds foreign policy because it is the legal framework of interacting countries.

However, along with the development and dynamics of relations between countries and their scientific knowledge, many new views have emerged and have influenced the position of international law in terms of relations between countries. Also, with the factor of international organizations or international organizations that are followed. Membership of countries in international organizations, both regional and sub-regional, because there is a "partial surrender" of the country's sovereignty to these organizations. So, this will affect how the operation or running of the country. They or the country concerned will be guided by the constitution of the organization so that the policies of member countries are not definitely

influenced by the institution or organization.

#### 7) *Ends, Means, Ways in Polish Foreign Policy*

In its development, social sciences go hand in hand or even much based on the scientific development of anthropology, psychology, economics, and sociology in which these sciences influence each other. Many sciences then underwent changes when Western countries, such as Germany, the Netherlands, the United States, and Britain made expeditions and then invaded in the context of imperialism (Budiarjo, 2008).

Imperialism is always attached to the 'formula' of the science of war which is nothing but end/goal = ways/strategy + means/strength. Where by Clausewitz means / strength is mentioned as moral, physical, computational, geographical, and statistical. But we cannot let go of actors, because actors also have an important role in a war, both individual and institutional actors. This can be seen from the historical review that has been written by several experts such as Sun Tzu, Maurice De Saxe, Napoleon which emphasizes strategy, deception, surprise, effective organization, strong discipline, proper command (which can be interpreted as the right commander/leader).

Even more modern ones such as Addington, Hirst, Lorge explain the importance of strategy evolution, by following the times both in terms of weapons and communication technology, and this will continue to evolve with the times. Ways and means need to be fulfilled in order to achieve the expected end or in other words, victory itself (in wartime). Broadly speaking, the formula for ends, means, ways is still the formula for a country to achieve its national goals, both for internal and external affairs (Clausewitz & Graham, 2020).

As ends, national interest has been defined by various experts. By David Clinton national interest is said to be a state's goal to maintain and increase power over other countries. While Oppenheim said that national interest refers to the goals and ideals of the state to achieve prosperity from the economy and state security. Broadly speaking, the national interest can be defined as the goals and ideals to be achieved by the state in relations between countries. Therefore, national interest is the most important point in global interaction. There are two types of national interests, namely vital interests or top priorities, which are very important for a country, such as sovereignty, territory, and national pride. Then there are also secondary national interests that originate from the community or the interests of the community, which of course can have very different interests between the people of one country and another (Clausewitz & Graham, 2020; Clinton, 1986; Lake, 1981; Nincic, 1999; Oppenheim, 1987).

Because the national interest is abstract and difficult to ascertain, the national interest will not be achieved or implemented if the state does not have adequate policies and powers. Therefore, the ways of defense science become a policy which is a way, method or tool to carry out and achieve the national interest itself. Meanwhile, the state will not be able to carry out a policy if it does not have the power or capital to achieve and realize the national interest of the country itself. This strength or capital comes from the wealth of a country which can become the bargaining power of a country and is then often assumed to be a means.

Of course, in carrying out national interests, rationality is needed, which means decisions, actions, or behavior that are in accordance with the targets to be achieved in certain contexts and situations. In addition, morality or values are also needed, values that remain valid in society. Both are interconnected and should not be separated from each other because it will lead to inequality if not done in tandem (Oppenheim, 1987). Of course, for a country to achieve its national interest, the government or those in power of that country need to have a national interest dimension. Where these dimensions will be interrelated with one another. The dimensions of national interest in question include economic interests, security interests, international interests, and ideological interests. These dimensions will make it easier and focus the state or government actors in power to make the necessary regulations and decisions.

Global dynamics that occur in such a way, of course, also increasingly affect the foreign policy of a country, so that it is impossible not to experience significant shifts or even changes. Both domestic and foreign policies made by the state, from the political, economic, security, and social sectors determine how countries relate. In the formulation of foreign policy, of course, there are things that influence the formulation.

This influence can certainly come from within (internal determinants) in the form of historical influence, the geographical condition of the country including location, natural wealth, population, development and growth of the country, quality of government, the role of non-governmental institutions and think-tanks. As well as influences from outside (external determinants) which can be in the form of power structures, participation with certain international organizations, world public opinion or public opinion (global), as well as alliances formed (Bojang, 2018).

Therefore, by seeing how Poland utilizes its military power, we can see that this is Poland's strategy in articulating its country's interests in the global world contestation. Poland uses its military power as a means or tool to achieve its national interests. That way the ways used are to get closer related to the military, as NATO.

#### 4. Conclusion

From the explanation above, it is found that military power still has an important role in relations between nations even though the relationship pattern has changed. If in the period before and until the World War, the military was used only for fighting and destruction. In the contemporary era, the existence of the military can be viewed more positively in terms of trade, technology exchange, and joint patrols to increase cooperation and joint territorial defense. In theory, military foreign policy is still an important item in its formulation.

Poland, for example, shows that its military power can influence its foreign policy. The Polish military has an important role in determining policy by looking at the military capabilities of its elements or its increasing strength and its increasing military budget. Even now Poland is on a mission to modernize all of its defense and security units or in other words its military. However, even so, military policies both at home and abroad are inseparable from the history that surrounds it, as

well as the character of the Polish leader himself. Which from a historical point of view, Poland has triumphed for its armed forces by winning several wars and being able to dispel the Nazis from 'occupying' Poland. In addition, this is supported by the leader who also has close ties to the military since his family circle. Of course, all this cannot be separated from the formulation of Polish foreign policy.

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