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POLISH FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES 2012-2016

Warsaw, March 2012

Introduction

The Council of Ministers has adopted the priorities of Polish foreign policy, including Poland's strategy for the European Union, for the years 2012-2016. Pursuant to the *Government Administration Branches Act of 4 September 1997*, the minister competent for foreign affairs was tasked with drafting and submitting multi-annual foreign affairs strategies to the Council of Ministers. Provisions of the same act mandate the minister competent for Poland's membership of the European Union to develop the strategy of Poland's EU policy. This document implements those two requirements, which transpire from this Act.

The goal of the Council of Ministers is to present to citizens the vision, priorities and overall foreign policy tasks in the perspective of 2016. Indeed, support from the people is necessary for the effective implementation of this strategy.

This document will also be used to coordinate the work of government agencies in the area of Poland's foreign policy and to serve as a basis for the MFA's operating *Polish Foreign Policy Assumptions* and foreign cooperation plans developed by other ministries and agencies.

Some of these tasks fall under the competencies of other bodies and local authorities. Their activities are closely associated with the implementation of Polish economic or education policy, with the promotion of Polish culture, art, science and technical developments, and the promotion of tourism in Poland. The adoption of this document is an important element in the coordination of foreign policy – including European policy – on the part of central government agencies, local authorities and other bodies. The implementation of this comprehensive project will result in the creation of an efficient system of cooperation of these institutions in the international arena, thereby strengthening the cohesion of Polish foreign policy.

An important role in the implementation of the vision and tasks set out in this document lies with the Sejm and Senate of the Republic of Poland, due to – among other reasons – their involvement in the implementation of policies relating to Poland's membership of the European Union. The fulfilment of foreign policy tasks by government agencies also takes place in consultation and cooperation with the President of the Republic of Poland.

The global context

The second decade of the 21st century will have an abundance of new economic, political and social trends. With its primacy increasingly being called into question, the West must significantly adapt its role, image and the instruments at its disposal to meet these challenges. Europe in particular faces a tough dilemma: it must choose between deeper integration of the European Union or being downplayed, and as a result downgraded, in the international arena.

Together with its partners, Poland will face a number of challenges. These challenges will not be taken up if the EU and its Member States continue the worrying trend of postponing major decisions. This applies to strategic issues, which include the future of the internal market, energy security, the pace of EU enlargement, resolving demographic problems, migration pressures, citizens' security, or the right to exercise once granted freedoms.

Also, the EU must continue its close internal cooperation in order to strengthen the single currency – the euro - overcome the effects of the economic and financial crisis and create effective mechanisms aimed at protecting the EU against similar events in the future. The speed and efficiency of the decision-making process is a key issue with regard to these factors.

The economy. The crisis and its consequences will continue to top the international agenda. A key issue for the West is to return to the path of lasting and sustainable development and to restore proper dynamics to EU trade exchange (to the EU trade exchange trend existing before the crisis, i.e. before 2009), as a factor ensuring EU competitiveness on the global map. Taking into account the fact that social consequences emerge with a certain delay, the crisis will continue to be felt in many countries. In the perspective of 2016, Europe and the United States will be forced to continue implementing relief programmes, reduce public spending and modify their development strategies. It is necessary to ensure effective forms of economic governance and to rebuild competitiveness. As a result, economic interests will play an increasing role when determining foreign policy.

The position held by emerging economies – which are not always willing to comply with human rights standards, employee and welfare rights or environmental principles – will continue to grow stronger. In 2010 China became the world's second largest economy and the world's biggest exporter. Furthermore, it is also gradually overtaking the United States and European countries in terms of investments in Latin America and Africa. China, India and many countries in Asia successfully compete with their goods and services produced with very low labour costs by highly skilled workers. Innovation rankings see China rapidly catching up with the EU, which in turn is far behind Japan and the United States. The development gap between the Western world and the emerging economic powers will continue to shrink. For the first time in centuries, Asia now spends more on defence than Europe (i.e. NATO's European members).

Meanwhile, the societies of some developed countries have found themselves at a crossroads: how to find new sources of growth, without compromising welfare, social security and a high level of consumption.

Multi-polar world. The primacy of the United States is being called into question, while the assertiveness of emerging economies is rising. Most Asian countries, as well as Russia, are

dramatically increasing their defence spending – in spite of the crisis. Europe is going in the other direction. European defence spending equals 40% of the US defence budget, but does not translate into proportional military capabilities.

The decline of the mono-polar world leads to questions about the stability of the global order. War and peace will increasingly be determined by fragile regional distribution of power, ad hoc coalitions of states and internal frictions. The possible acquisition of nuclear weapons by some Middle Eastern and South-East Asian countries would lead to even greater disruptions in the regional balance of power. The current non-proliferation system – which remains porous – would be undermined, thus increasing the risk of a conflict involving the use weapons of mass destruction.

In the years ahead discussions will also focus on improving the European security system. At present, it is a combination of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) new Strategic Concept, the EU debate on the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the discussion within the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in the framework of the so-called Corfu Process. Still, the fact that some emerging economies regard military strength as a key determinant of power and prestige remains a challenge. This situation will require democratic countries to clearly identify their vision of security and its parameters and to choose an appropriate language in their global dialogue. Western values are no longer the sole reference point for the rest of the world. An authoritarian model coupled with the promise of prosperity has become – in the eyes of some people – a real alternative for Western universalism.

In the coming years the European Union should redefine its role and place on the global stage and thus determine the quality of transatlantic relations and its relations with strategic partners, first and foremost in the economic sphere. Since no EU Member State can single-handedly shape global events and make a significant impact on their development, it is in the interest of all EU Member States to ensure that their actions are cohesive.

Institutional weaknesses of the global order. The social, political and economic processes that have taken place in the world during the last two decades have significantly weakened the representative nature of international institutions. The population of the developing countries is growing dramatically (e.g. during the last two decades, the population of Nigeria increased by over 60 percent, while that of India by 40 percent, and of Brazil by 30 percent), while the population of the developed countries is stagnant (Germany's population grew by 4 percent and is declining). Demographic changes are accompanied by a "political awakening" of many developing countries and areas that until now have been stagnant, as manifested by the "Arab Spring". In addition, the economic crisis has affected the developing countries to the greatest extent by relatively weakening the power of their economies. As a result, the emerging economic powers are becoming increasingly vocal in asserting their share in global governance proportional to the number of their inhabitants and economic potential.

The crisis, which started in 2008, could have served as a catalyst for an overhaul of international institutions to better reflect the current global situation. While it has led to the strengthening of the G20, the reforms of the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are – in the opinion of many emerging economies – insufficient. Binding decisions regarding the reform of the United Nations Security Council are yet to be taken. Without having more say about the decisions taken by international institutions, the emerging powers are not prepared to assume greater responsibility for the direction in which the world is moving.

Amendments provided for in the Lisbon Treaty were intended to make the decision-making process more effective. In practice, the crisis has weakened decision-making at Community level, while particular interests increasingly take precedence over thinking in terms of the European Union's common good. Certain EU policies risk becoming renationalised. Opinions are also voiced about the need to create a directorate of EU countries that have the greatest potential or to intensify cooperation within the Eurogroup. Were this idea to materialise, it would pose a serious threat to the functioning of the integration project and the interests of those EU member States, among them Poland, that are ignored in the decision-making process. This would lead to the creation of a two-speed or multispeed European Union and further weaken Europe vis-à-vis the emerging economic powers.

New factors influencing Poland's civilizational development. The last few years were a period of gradual growth for Poland, which saw the strengthening of its role in European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Poland's GDP per capita rose to over 60% of the EU average (upon Poland's accession to the EU, it amounted to 50%). This indicator shows that improvements have been made, but also underscores the catching up that remains to be done. According to some statistics, Poland ranks as the world's 20th economy. At the same time, it is still struggling with civilizational underdevelopment. For example, Poland ranks only 47th in the Global Innovation Index 2009-2010. Indexes covering other domains – the unemployment rate, Internet infrastructure density, and the level of social capital – depict the scale of the challenges faced. The key to overcoming this underdevelopment is modernization based on proven recipes for building a knowledge-based economy.

Polish foreign policy will become more closely involved in the implementation of the country's modernisation goals. Achieving development standards similar to those of Western and Northern Europe will contribute to Poland's stronger international standing and greater role within the EU and among Central and Eastern European countries. Migration policy should help resolve demographic problems while avoiding potential social and cultural problems in the future; relations with raw material exporting countries based on a multilateral cooperation in the framework of EU external energy security, among others, should serve the goal of ensuring Poland's long-term energy security, while fiscal policy should grant Poland its rightful status in the discussion on the future of the euro zone. Only then will Poland be capable of effectively influencing the orientation of European integration. This process faces difficult challenges – be they demographic, energy, climate-related and others – as well as the need to reconcile fiscal stability with intensive development, all the while gaining new competitive advantages. A new quality of intellectual capital is also needed: it must seek out talent, provide equal opportunities, boost cooperation and be founded on trust. All of these factors play a role in creating a competitive, technologically advanced and highly innovative economy.

Foreign policy goals. Poland's actions in the international arena are a reflection of the values that are the foundation of its statehood: democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and solidarity. Foreign policy is meant to guard the state's independence and territorial integrity. It should act to ensure national security, to preserve its heritage, to protect its natural environment and to augment its prosperity and high level of civilizational and economic development. The road to achieving this objective leads through the development of a friendly environment of countries and non-State entities, among others, through fostering people-to-people and cultural contacts. Poland will achieve its foreign policy objectives by carrying out the following priorities:

- **Strong Poland in a strong political union:**

Building a competitive, open and secure Union of solidarity, bearing joint responsibility for the future of European integration, while ensuring Poland's interests shall be respected by its other members; constructive participation in the EU decision-making process for the success of both Poland on the European scene, and the EU on the global scene.

- **Poland as a reliable ally in a stable transatlantic order:**

Developing one's own deterrence capabilities and maintaining NATO's reliability as a defence alliance; developing EU capabilities with respect to resources and security building measures, independent and complementary to NATO's; participation in mutual confidence building measures between the West and Russia; close cooperation with Ukraine and other countries in Eastern Europe and South Caucasus; combating terrorism and counteracting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

- **Poland open to different dimensions of regional cooperation:**

Cooperation with the West for the sake of security and a strong economy; openness and solidarity with the East; reliance on models from the North in the interests of the quality of life of citizens; partnership with the South in pursuing common objectives of civilization; and enhancement of cooperation among the Visegrád Group of countries.

- **Strategy for Poland's 'development cooperation', promoting democracy and human rights:**

Increasing the role of 'development cooperation' in Poland's foreign policy so that this international activity could also contribute to Poland's security and the stability of its neighbours and partners in development cooperation; supporting measures for the dissemination of human rights, the rule of law and democracy, in particular, in order to create a friendly international environment and to prevent conflicts.

- **Promoting Poland abroad:**

Developing a promotion campaign aimed at enhancing Poland's position in Europe and the world and making it more competitive and more attractive for investors and tourists. Development of the Polish economy, in particular export promotion.

- **A new quality in relations with the Polish diaspora and Poles living abroad:**

Implementation of a new Polish diaspora strategy: partnership and cooperation with the Polish diaspora and Poles living abroad, leading to an understanding of and effective support for Poland's *raison d'état* and Polish foreign policy, and also tapping into the potential of the Polish diaspora and Poles living abroad to promote and build a positive image of Poland in the world.

- **Effective foreign service:**

Continued modernisation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: professional diplomacy, based on the right selection of personnel and the operation of foreign service structures; improving coherence and coordination of international initiatives undertaken by the MFA, other government agencies, institutions and non-governmental organisations; modern infrastructure building an image of the state.

Key orientations of foreign policy

Poland's European policy

Poland's vision of a united Europe can be described by three catchwords: **competitiveness, solidarity, and openness**.

Pursuing deeper European integration, both economic and political, is important. European institutions should also be strengthened so that they can effectively implement their tasks. Hopefully, the European Union will eventually become a political union. This vision should not be regarded as a super state that wipes out economic or identity interests of individual Member States. From Poland's point of view the following elements are needed: an efficient and effective single market, including a single digital market and a single energy market; an effectively operating labour market, without barriers to the free movement of workers when it comes to recognising their professional qualifications or the transfer of their pension rights; creating a European research space; an ambitious EU budget, with an adequate share for the Cohesion Policy and Common Agricultural Policy.

Competitiveness

The EU will face many dilemmas in 2012-2016. Poland should play an important role in resolving them. The economic and financial crisis has exposed the weakness of the construction of the monetary union with a common monetary policy and insufficient coordination of its fiscal policy.

The after-effects of the crisis will be felt for many years to come. The period of mounting public expenditures will be followed by years of fiscal stability. The process of economic reform in EU Member States does not involve just looking for savings, but also making retirement age equal and raising it and extending the tax base. It could also lead to a possible escalation of negative public opinion resulting in rising populism and changes on national and European political scenes.

The euro zone needs to improve the way it operates. In view of the potential damage for the entire European integration project, the creation of such an architecture of cooperation, including economic governance to prevent a deepening of divisions between the euro-zone countries and other EU Member States, is crucial. Poland will join the euro zone once the prevailing conditions in the euro zone have been stabilised and Poland is ready to do so from a macroeconomic and legal point of view. Completion of the single market would contribute to greater competitiveness of the EU in global markets. For this reason it is very important that the European Commission's role as a guardian of the Treaties, also in relation to the policy of protection of competition, be strengthened. It is necessary to eliminate protectionist practices, which are often disguised under welfare or environmental slogans. It is also necessary to restructure unprofitable enterprises, remove administrative barriers for companies and consistently liberalise services.

The European Union can and should continue to play an active role in the global economy. It is important to ensure that the EU speaks in a coherent voice at the G20 and in international organisations, and in its relations with strategic partners, including in the first place, with the largest global economies (US and China) and the so-called emerging economies.

Many European countries are grappling with obsolete industries, lack of innovation, low investments in R&D. The overriding goal – in many countries as yet unfulfilled – of the "Europe 2020" strategy is to ensure that private and public spending on R&D amounts to at least 3% of GDP.

Solidarity

The word "solidarity" is dear to many Poles. It has become a household word in the international stock of ideas due to the great social and political movement, which arose in Poland in the 1980s. Unfortunately the call for solidarity in Europe sometimes remains unanswered.

The scale of disproportion in the development of different EU Member States is still very large: differences in per capita GDP between the richest and the poorest EU countries are sevenfold. This magnifies the difference in challenges facing Member States. In the case of Poland, development priorities concern not only those challenges that are identified in the "Europe 2020" strategy - attracting technologies of the future, but also developing modern "hard" infrastructure: highways, railways and energy transmission infrastructure, or municipal investments in environmental protection and water management, as well as social infrastructure. Trans-European Transportation Network (TEN-T) and the European energy infrastructure, an element of energy corridors that ensure internal cohesion of the EU and advance Member States social and economic development, are very important.

European solidarity is also expressed through efforts to eliminate disproportions in development levels. The fact that in the EU's Financial Perspective for 2007-2013, the chapter "Cohesion for Growth and Employment" represents a large part of the EU budget (36%) is a good thing. It is not only the most important instrument that implements the principle of solidarity, but also a measure that improves the European economy's competitiveness. In the period leading up to the finalisation of the new financial perspective, Poland will stand as guardian of this fundamental European principle. The next EU budget should be an ambitious one, especially in view of the fact that in recent years new competencies have been added to those that the EU already exercises.

In an era of growing global demand for food, diversified and highly specialised agriculture is Europe's asset. Advances in agriculture can also advance the development of modern technologies. A Common Agricultural Policy, appropriately created, should contribute to greater production efficiency, guaranteeing food supplies security and internal market stability and infuse more dynamism into many industrial sectors. It is equally important to ensure the sustainable development of rural areas, which is essential for raising the standards of living and the work of its inhabitants, prudential management of environmental resources and care for a region's cultural values that determine the European identity. Poland will systematically strive for the levelling of direct payments for farmers working in different EU countries.

European solidarity also includes the intergenerational contract. On average, Europeans live longer and have fewer children. Family-oriented policy programmes need to be developed so that these negative demographic trends would be reversed. The foundations of European social security systems also need to change. Systems of care for the elderly and children should be more developed, and fuller participation of women in the labour market should be ensured. It will also be necessary to find solutions with respect to the raising and levelling the retirement age, as well as those that improve people's health and mitigate the effects of an ageing population. Poland will support pension system reforms (also at Community level), especially because after the 1999 changes, it may serve as an example to others.

The EU also needs a common energy policy, based on the solidarity of the countries that create it. It is a natural consequence of the fact that in 2030, energy demand will be greater than today's, while over 60% of fossil fuels will come from regions outside Europe, often from unstable countries or those governed by authoritarian regimes. To avoid excessive dependence on supplies from such countries, action is needed that would lead to a diversification of the structure of imports of energy and energy carriers. This should be done primarily by diversifying the sources and routes of importing hydrocarbons at the level of individual Member States, energy efficiency measures and ensuring a balanced energy mix comprising renewable energy on a larger scale than before, taking into account the specific local situation, climate and natural conditions. This goal will also be furthered by Poland's efforts aimed at the EU pursuing a policy, at the legislative level and in the daily work of EU bodies, to develop its own raw materials base, especially of gas and oil from unconventional deposits. The EU also needs to support its own raw resources base. Such resources include, in addition to renewable sources of energy, fossil fuel, both conventional, such as hard coal and lignite and unconventional ones, while preserving environmental protection. Using deposits existing in the European Union is an important guarantee of EU's energy independence. The choice of a Member State's energy mix should be viewed in the spirit of solidarity. Often the choice of one's energy mix is dictated by historical and natural (existence of resources) reasons. Hence, it is in Poland's interest that the EU does not relinquish its fossil fuels for the sake of reduction of emissions, which will be maintained at a significant level in other regions of the world, in any event.

Energy security affects not only the economy, but also Poland's place on Europe's geopolitical map. The development of a single energy market, enhancing security and increasing efficient use of raw materials is of crucial importance. Implementation of gas supply security legislation and the so-called third liberalisation package will be crucial.

Energy security also involves the diversification of sources of supply and transmission routes. Systemic changes at EU level are indispensable: greater openness to raw materials from the Caspian Sea basin, the construction of competitive transmission routes and building connections between grids (interconnections). The development of modern technologies, especially in LNG processing, low-emission coal burning and building new types of reactors in the nuclear energy sector require support. Within the EU-level policy framework, Poland should demonstrate differences in energy security levels existing among individual Member States.

Equally important is the availability of other raw materials, including rare earth metals. An increasing number of countries possessing raw materials pursue a policy of protecting them for the sake of gaining an economic advantage. Access to mineral resources and their price affordability determine how well the EU economy operates and how competitive it can be.

In combating climate change, the EU should continue its mission on a global level and stimulate the development of environmentally friendly technologies. The long-term goal – which Poland consistently pursues – is a low-emission Europe (energy efficient and using renewable sources of

energy on a significant scale). At the same time, the policy of combating climate change entails large capital investments and the accommodation of the interests of all Member States. Dependence on hard coal and lignite as sources of energy in an age of CO_2 emission reduction, involves high adjustment costs, especially for Poland. Poland has successfully reduced its overall CO_2 emission by 30% relative to 1988. Compared to the well-off Netherlands, Poland's reduction is much greater, also in comparison with some other countries in the EU (e.g. Belgium and Spain). Specific CO_2 reduction measures should be taken not only by the EU, but also at a global level. Limiting the growth of temperature to 2 degrees Celsius requires legally binding reduction commitments on the part of all developing countries and countries with dynamically expanding economies: major emitters of greenhouse gases. One-sided actions of the European Union will not be effective on a global scale, and may have a negative impact on the competitive edge of the individual EU Member States' economies, or perhaps lead to trade disputes with developing world countries. We should bear in mind that Poland's objectives in the European Union may be different from the objectives launched by other Member States. What is important is that Poland participates in developing the EU position on environmental protection (including combating climate change).

Openness

The EU should learn how to combine its approach to migration with high standards of public security and an effective integration policy. In this context, an effective system of administering the Schengen zone should also be ensured in order to provide an adequate level of security, without detriment to the creation by Member States of their own migration policies.

The enlargement policy, which in the 21st century alone has resulted in almost doubling the number of Member States, is one of the EU's unquestioned successes. Poland's civilized progress during the last twenty years is strong evidence of this policy's success. Benefits from enlargement were not one-sided – they have contributed to the development and prosperity of the entire united Europe. Trade between the "old" and "new" Member States, political and social stability on both sides of the old "Iron Curtain" benefit all the participants of this process.

The EU should continue the process of enlargement. Such an approach is the logical consequence of the EU's image built over the decades as an open, democratic and legally governed community. Neither economic crisis nor nearsighted protectionism should become a pretext for freezing this process. In the eyes of many citizens of those states aspiring to membership, a united Europe is a stimulus for introducing tough and unpopular reforms. The process of European integration also contributes to enlarging the area of stability in Europe and its surroundings and in so doing enhances European security. By supporting accession aspirations, especially those of Ukraine, Moldova, Western Balkan states, the South Caucasus states and Turkey, Poland will assist them in political and economic transformation processes.

Increasing Poland's security also entails making its neighbours part of the political, economic and social modernisation processes promoted by the European Union. In the long run, the Eastern Partnership countries, including Belarus – once it returns to the path of democratisation - should also

have the perspective of integration. It should be borne in mind that the enlargement process would continue to be conditional upon the candidate countries' fulfilment of accession criteria.

Openness also means relations with developing countries, which are based on partnership. The EU now has an appropriate instrument at its disposal: the European External Action Service (EEAS). It also serves the purpose of ensuring more effective coordination of the EU's external actions. It is in the EU's – and Poland's – interest to ensure that Member States' participation in the EEAS is proportional to the size of their populations. Only then will the new diplomatic corps have the indispensable legitimacy of representing both citizens and EU Member States.

The way in which the EU is perceived around the world depends, to a large extent, on its ability to respond to the developments in its region: whether it is capable of ensuring the stable development of its neighbourhood and to positively influence the process of conflict resolution. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) is an important component of actions that stabilise its neighbourhood and enhance the EU's external role. The process of bringing the European Union and its neighbours closer together should be transparent and based on clear rules binding for all of its participants. The Mediterranean orientation of EU activities cannot be pursued at the cost of cooperation with Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus. For the EU, the development of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice – which will be a prolonged process - are also crucial. Eventually, the CSDP should acquire military and civil capabilities that will beneficially complement the transatlantic security system.

EU-US relations have special importance. The United States plays a significant role both in economic and political relations (relations with Russia, the Middle East conflict, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sudan, etc.) as well as in security matters. Poland would like to see these relations develop harmoniously and to produce tangible results. However, the economic dimension of transatlantic relations calls for new ways of enhancing this cooperation. This applies to both the regulatory dialogue and to the removal of administrative barriers. The possible conclusion of a future EU-US free trade agreement would contribute to further tightening of economic and trade relations between the world's two large economic centres.

Openness – although in other dimensions – also characterises EU relations with strategic partners (Brazil, China, India, Japan, etc.). Pursuing a common and active foreign policy lies in the EU's and Member States' interests. Strategic agreements often lack substance and dynamics, while EU actions undertaken to forge a common position (e.g. at the G20) become hostage to national positions. In the long run, the interests of the EU as a whole are jeopardized.

Poland is open to an EU dialogue with Russia and intends to support the program of its modernisation, understood as the rule of law, political pluralism, freedom of speech and society treated subjectively. However, here Russia's determination will be vital. The possible success of this process will also be the EU's success.

Tasks:
● gradual implementation of the "Europe 2020" Strategy;
● progress on the path to membership of the euro zone in line with developments;
● preserving the EU's ambitious budget in the 2014-2020 financial perspective with adequate share allocated to the Cohesion Policy and the Common Agricultural Policy; levelling direct payments

for farmers;
● completion of the EU's single market and support for measures boosting EU's competitiveness, including developing a common trade policy, which adequately realises the EU's economic interests in the world; by pursuing the principle of reciprocity as the external dimension of a deeper single market;
● creation of an effective common EU energy policy: development of a single energy market, improving security of supplies, increasing energy efficiency, shifting emphasis from "low-coal economy" to a "low-emission economy", supporting the exploration of natural gas and crude oil from unconventional deposits;
● actions aimed at the full implementation of 2008 decisions that the European Union will reduce its emissions by 20% by the year 2020. Their adjustment lacks basis. Actions to formulate EU climate policy until 2030 should respect Member States' sovereign right to decide about the structure of their energy mix and will be adjusted to the level of development and the structure of Member States' economies so that emission reductions are also coupled with supporting economic development in the entire EU, while not hampering measures stabilising public finances;
● enhancing one's say on the implementation of the Eastern policy and on the future of the ENP;
● ensuring that the EU speaks with one voice at G20 meetings, in international organisations, as well as in relations with strategic partners; ● active participation in the EU's actions aimed at creating an effective system of migration control, guaranteeing security and preventing terrorist threats.

Security

Maintaining and developing our own defence capabilities - which should be regarded, as a contribution to the security of the North Atlantic Alliance and of the European Union - is essential for ensuring Poland's security. The ability to keep our influence on the evolution of NATO and the EU and the preservation of the potential of these structures is a condition of the effective implementation of the Polish security policy. Also important for Poland is preserving close relations with the US, which despite being weakened by the economic crisis and costly involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq, in the next few years will remain a crucial actor in the area of international security. Maintaining good relations with neighbours and cooperation with NATO's and the EU's major partners will continue to hold significance. Hence, in practice, Polish security policy does not require a redefinition of assumptions, only strengthening efforts in the areas mentioned and an effective realisation of adopted objectives.

Although in the next few years there is little risk of an armed conflict erupting in the immediate neighbourhood or on the territory of Poland, in the longer perspective, the emergence of threats, also of a conventional nature, cannot be ruled out. Ensuring lasting security will require adequate defence potential, enhanced by Allied support, but also political cooperation and effective diplomacy. In order to achieve this, it will be indispensable to preserve an adequate pace of economic development, first and foremost shortening the technological distance from the most developed countries.

Ensuring adequate level of defence spending will be a challenge to an effective security policy. The significant cost-cutting trend visible during the time of crisis in this area is partially understandable. However, it should not lead to a *quasi* demilitarisation of Europe, especially in the light of the mounting defence spending in other parts of the world. Poland, which will maintain its spending at the level of 1.95% of GDP for the next few years, should advocate preserving Europe's defence potential. It will also be important to participate in and promote international initiatives for the development of defence capabilities (in both organisations and in bilateral relations) whose implementation at the national level is currently financially unprofitable or politically unwise.

In the perspective of the next few years, the so-called new threats such as: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, cyber attacks, including on military IT systems, manipulation of energy supplies or tensions over access to them will emerge, pose an ever greater security challenge. The risk of destabilisation, resulting from unresolved local and regional conflicts, especially in the EU's neighbourhood will also come from countries recognised as failed or fragile.

The North Atlantic Alliance and transatlantic relations

NATO will continue to be the chief multilateral instrument of Poland's security policy in the political and military dimension. For the future of the Alliance, it will be important to maintain its defensive character and to preserve a balance between NATO's common defence capabilities and its involvement in out-of-area operations. The Alliance's new Strategic Concept, adopted at the Lisbon Summit in November 2010, contains several important elements for Poland's, Europe's and the transatlantic community's security. Apart from a strong reaffirmation of the validity of Article 5, the preservation of the "open door" policy to NATO has particular significance for all European countries that will fulfil its membership criteria; as well as the Alliance's readiness to form a strategic

partnership with Russia, based on the principle of reciprocity. The development of the Alliance's capabilities in the area of missile defence and serious treatment in the agenda of this organisation of the so-called new challenges should be emphasized.

Poland will continue to advocate NATO enlargement to include countries aspiring to its membership that fulfil its criteria. By supporting accession aspirations, especially of Moldova and Western Balkan and South Caucasus countries, Poland is ready to provide them with assistance in their political and economic transformation.

Transatlantic relations are the cornerstone of the West's security policy. In this context, the continued US engagement in European security is important. Closer ties between the EU and the United States also contribute to a harmonisation of transatlantic relations. From the Polish perspective, benefiting to the fullest extent from the potential created by institutionalised, bilateral forms of consultations with the US in the area of security (Strategic Dialogue, Consultative Group for Strategic Cooperation, High-Level Group for Defence Cooperation) and full implementation of the 2008 Polish-US Declaration on Strategic Cooperation will be important. The aim of this cooperation is to locate Allied defence infrastructure, particularly its missile defence elements, in the territory of Poland.

Looking towards 2014 and Afghanistan, it will be a challenge for the Alliance and for Poland to bring about an effective transfer of responsibility for security, from the Alliance to the authorities in Kabul, and in accordance with the agreed timetable. The manner in which operations in this country are concluded will affect the credibility of the Alliance and the effectiveness of transatlantic cooperation, which will also have serious consequences for Poland.

Development of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)

Poland will support the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, including the Common Security and Defence Policy.

Enhancing command structures and instruments (including EU Battle groups), the organisation's engagement in crisis management operations, as well as the development of military and civilian capabilities of EU Member States will be vital. It will be important to come up with solutions that would improve the process of preparation for EU missions and NATO-EU cooperation at political, operational and capability-building levels. The goal is to build a CSDP that will complement the Alliance's actions.

In the medium- and long-term perspective, Poland will vie for greater use of EU instruments, including CSDP, for the transformation of its national armed forces and integration of the Polish defence sector with the European defence sector, while protecting the former and consciously raising its level of competitiveness.

Engagement in disarmament process and stabilisation in the region and the world

Poland will engage in the process of enhancing European security by stressing the need to improve mechanisms that exist in the EU, NATO and the Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE forum is the best platform for deepened debate on European security. We intend

to make our contribution to this discussion. The OSCE should focus particularly on resolving the so-called frozen conflicts.

The future of the conventional arms control regime will be an important issue in Europe. The existing system, based on the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), the Treaty on Open Skies and several political agreements has been questioned by some states. In the next few years, proposals for its modification may be expected. In taking part in the debate, Poland will ensure that no measures discriminating against part of European countries are adopted in the course of negotiations.

The United Nations play an important role in solving global problems, including those related to combating terrorism, disarmament, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, or other security issues. Stepping up efforts in these areas is indispensable. With regard to tactical nuclear weapons, it is necessary to include them in arms control regimes and to discuss this issue in a multilateral context.

Tasks:
● development of one's own defence capabilities as a contribution to the security of the North Atlantic Alliance;
● preservation of NATO's core function and identity as the Euro-Atlantic defence Alliance and ensuring adequate level of NATO investments in defence infrastructure in Poland
● enhancement of command and crisis response structures in the framework of CSDP to complement the resources of NATO;
● co-creation of EU and NATO security policy toward Russia and Eastern European countries;
● participation in NATO and EU missions and having a say regarding the orientation of discussions within the two organisations concerning operational involvement, especially in Afghanistan and the Balkans;
● supporting work on the creation of NATO's comprehensive missile defence system;
● engaging in efforts to improve the system of conventional arms reduction and control in Europe whilst endeavouring to include tactical nuclear weapons in the arms control regime.

Poland open to different orientations and dimensions of regional cooperation

Maintaining good relations with our neighbours is one of Poland's security pillars. Consequently, the policy of building bilateral cooperation and strengthening regional structures (e.g. the Visegrád Group, the Council of the Baltic Sea States) or European initiatives, such as the Eastern Partnership, should be continued.

The West

Poland regards Germany and France as its key political and economic partners in Europe and intends to maintain the level of dynamics in bilateral relations that has been attained. Maintaining a high level of economic and investment cooperation with these countries is one of the principal objectives for 2012-2016.

The Weimar Triangle (WT) plays an important role in Poland's political relations with Germany and France. As one of the important fora for agreeing European interests, the WT is intended to add substance to the CSDP, among others, and to formulate a cohesive EU eastern policy.

Germany is Poland's most important partner in bilateral relations, a recipient of more than one-fourth of Polish exports and the biggest net payer to the EU budget. In the perspective of 2012-16, the development of economic cooperation, academic, research, cultural and tourist contacts and partner transborder and regional cooperation are a guarantee of good Polish-German relations and the cornerstone of mutual understanding. However, problems that still remain need to be eliminated and issues concerning the past should be finally closed. The next few years will be a period of enhanced cooperation with France, one of the main foreign investors in Poland and a partner in many political and economic projects. Great Britain continues to be a country which Poland feels close to and which has similar views on the scope of the single market and an important ally in NATO.

The East

Poland can make available its experience of uneasy systemic transformation and offers its support to its eastern neighbours. Reform-oriented measures in Eastern Europe and in South Caucasus are necessary not only as a goal in itself. Bringing stability and the rule of law across the Eastern border, they provide security and implement Poland's and the EU's interests. They are an element of building a peaceful European order. For this reason, liberalisation of visa regimes and the creation of free trade areas with countries of this region should be supported; the same applies to the finalisation of the EU's infrastructural and energy programmes. On its own and through EU initiatives, Poland will also support the development of economic relations and the growth of trade exchange between the EU and Eastern Partnership countries. In civilisation terms, it is worthwhile to have partners who espouse the same values on both sides of the Polish border. Therefore, Belarusian society should be supported in its actions in pursuit of freedom and political pluralism, while opposing all types of repression whose victims are also Poles in Belarus.

Development of relations with Ukraine, our strategic partner, has special importance for Poland. Consistent support of EU aspirations of the people of Ukraine and deepening NATO-Ukraine relations is a Polish foreign policy priority. Good bilateral cooperation and consistent implementation of domestic reforms, as well as compliance by Ukraine with European democratic standards is the road that leads to achieving these aspirations. The organisation by Poland and Ukraine of UEFA EURO 2012 European Championship should provide an additional impetus for deepening bilateral cooperation. This and other projects foster people-to-people contacts – in the social, cultural and economic dimensions.

Poland intends to maintain good, pragmatic relations with Russia on the basis of reciprocity. Political dialogue and economic contacts can be intensified due to positive dynamics in these relations. Russia also strives for a rapprochement with Europe. This is now prompted mainly by the country's official modernisation programme, which is focused on research and technology. For this reason Poland supports Russia's efforts aimed at fulfilment of conditions for OECD membership. Poland's support for Russia's reforms should also involve, among other support, Warsaw's stressing its vision of EU Partnership for Modernisation. This vision will not only be founded on technology transfer, but also on support for the process of building the rule of law and political pluralism. The Agreement on the Rules of Local Border Traffic with the Kaliningrad Region can become a litmus test of its practical implementation. Poland is also in favour of a speedy conclusion of negotiations leading to the signing of a New EU-Russia Agreement, a comprehensive agreement that also covers the issue of mutual protection of investments, and opts for the start of negotiations on an EU-Russia free trade agreement. Systematic efforts to liberalise visa regimes are essential to bringing Russia and the whole eastern neighbourhood closer to the European Union. However, this should be done on the basis of reciprocity and parallelism for Eastern Partnership countries and Russia, at very least.

The North

Mindful that cooperation of the Baltic Sea countries has clearly shifted from issues concerning environmental protection toward the development of modern technologies, building education systems corresponding to modern standards, as well as creating ever stronger economic links, Poland wishes to continue participating in these processes. The Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) is particularly important with respect to such matters. It is a forum whose strictly environmental profile is being changed into a more general one – concerning an effective economy. The Nordic countries have shown that knowledge about an efficient economy, modern educational system or, in general, caring for the quality of life are fundamental for any development. Opportunities for development relating to linking modern economy with "green" technologies are not without significance. These are elements of a larger process in the framework of which the Polish-Swedish strategic alliance of civilisations plays an important role. It represents a way of thinking about Eastern Europe in broader terms than just East and West.

In the sphere of politics, Poland and its northern neighbours face similar challenges. Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia share many common views and interests, especially with respect to Eastern issues, Euro-Atlantic security and the EU's development.

In relations with Lithuania, the goal for the next few years is to build partnership on the basis of pragmatism, mutual respect and respecting international agreements, including also in the area of treatment of national minorities.

Estonia's experiences in e-administration and cyber security are an inspiration for Poland. In 2011, Poland became a member of the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence. Active participation in the Centre's work will enable to meeting the challenges in new areas of defence.

The South

Poland and its southern neighbours are still in the process of "catching up" with Western and Northern Europe in terms of the standard of living of their citizens and their economic development.

The most important goals common to Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary have been achieved: all of them are now EU and NATO members. A common perspective of this part of Europe does not only have the opportunity to materialise, but its reconstruction is possible, based on new goals and projects.

In the light of growing external competition and the long-term effects of the economic crisis, efforts should be made for the **Visegrád** Group countries to speak with one voice, to propagate the feeling of a community of interests and to take measures to consolidate positions on political issues. The Polish Presidency of the Visegrád Group, commencing in the second half of 2012, will provide an occasion for instilling new dynamics into Central European cooperation.

Economic, trade and investment cooperation plays an important role in this process. Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary need common solutions not only for their own individual gains. They also need them in order to pursue an effective European policy. For this reason, the idea first launched in 2009 of the Visegrád Group (V4) holding its meetings before the European Council meetings is noteworthy. It should be continued also in the context of the EU multi-annual financial framework. Great dependence of the Visegrád Group countries on one supplier of oil and natural gas is the reason why energy security is becoming an area of V4 cooperation. This issue is being dealt with by the High-Level Energy Group, established by decision of the Visegrád Group countries' prime ministers in 2009. There is a big demand for joint energy projects, e.g. improvement of the incentive system for investors applying innovative energy solutions, etc. Increasing the integration of the Central European energy market coupled with higher and more effective R&D expenditures will provide a good solution in this regard.

It is also important for the Visegrád Group of countries not to limit cooperation in this structure to themselves only. Due to the openness of the V4+ model, cooperation with other European partners is also possible. Such a model of contacts has already been developed for the Baltic States, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Ukraine. VG cooperation with developing countries in the V4+ format, although it applies first and foremost to countries in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, is not limited to just the immediate neighbourhood. VG contacts with the Nordic Council and the Benelux countries are also important.

Benefiting from Poland's geographical location

Solutions enhancing the integration of the Polish transportation and communication system with the European transport and communications networks, both vertically and horizontally, will be vital to Poland's full social and economic development, accessibility of its cities, sea ports and areas located further from the main centres of the country's social and economic life. The North-South system, which uses the potential existing in the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean Sea basin, has great importance. Many years of efforts of competent entities with the support of an active diplomacy will be needed. It is important to act coherently and unanimously in pursuing directions that are identified in strategic documents about the country's development.

Global activity

Concentration on the region, the European Union and its neighbourhood does not mean that Poland is without global ambitions, even if they are selective. For Poland's intensive development to continue and for the standard of living in Poland to attain the level of the Nordic countries, and its economy that of Western Europe's, cooperation with non-European countries, international and global organisations should be developed. The presence of Poland's representatives in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, or the World Trade Organization and having a real impact on their decision-making processes will be important for Poland.

Regions outside Europe, especially those lying closest, are also important. Poland is active in the wake of the transformations taking place in the Middle East and North Africa. In willing to share its transformation model, Poland supports modernisation and democratisation efforts in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. Poland will continue to support the international community in its actions aimed at a comprehensive solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict based on the two-state solution that has been accepted by both sides to the conflict and backed by members of the Middle East Quartet.

The importance of the Asia-Pacific region is growing in the world. For this reason it is important for Poland to build a positive image as an important EU Member, capable of affecting its external policy in the countries of this region. The importance of bilateral cooperation with China, our biggest economic partner in Asia, India, Japan and South Korea, amongst others, has been growing. These countries are interested in increasing their investments in Poland. Development of trade and economic contacts in different sectors: from infrastructure, the financial sector, through tourism and creative industries, is also important. Cooperation needs also to be developed with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the most important regional centre of integration in this area.

Latin America is also an important area for Poland to engage in. Climate and energy policy projects are first and foremost on the agenda, followed by the development of economic relations, primarily with Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Chile, and Peru.

Tasks:
● continuation of cooperation in the framework of the Weimar Triangle (first and foremost the future of the EU, the CSDP, Eastern policy, political and economic governance in the EU,

enhancement of the social and cultural dimension);
● making the Eastern Partnership offer more attractive and enhancing the impact of this programme on the transformation processes in Eastern European and South Caucasus countries, by liberalising or lifting of visa regimes, among others; support for the process of building an area of democracy and stability east of Poland and the development of cultural exchange;
● development of a strategic partnership with Ukraine: support for the process of adoption of the association agreement with the EU and negotiations on liberalisation of the EU-Ukraine visa regime and implementation of domestic reforms;
● looking to Sweden's and other Nordic countries' models for modernisation and innovation of the economy;
● identifying new platforms of cooperation in the Visegrád Group and beyond (joint energy projects, adding substance to the V4+ format, etc.) – attempting to build a common Central European perspective, including close cooperation in the area of security and stability in the region, with Romania and Bulgaria, among others;
● promoting and supporting growth of mutual trade exchange and investments, including in non-European countries, particularly in Asia;
● pursuing pragmatic political and economic relations with Russia;
● drafting an action plan for enhancing Poland's standing in international organisations with growing influence on economic and financial decisions, competitiveness and economic security of the different regions in the world and preparing a mechanism to coordinate such actions;

Development cooperation, promoting democracy and human rights

Poland considers development cooperation as crucial to building prosperity and stability in the world. The 2001 *Development Cooperation Act* was enacted to enable a more effective implementation of development aid tasks.

Polish authorities and NGOs declare their willingness to engage in development cooperation and to provide humanitarian aid on a much greater scale. Several political commitments have been made in this regard, for instance to provide a more active support for the implementation of the UN Millennium Development Goals[1]. Poland wants to modernise its approach to development aid, on the one hand, and to become an important European actor in this area, on the other. It will be important to draft medium-term objectives of the Polish system of development cooperation meant to identify geographic and thematic areas of public funding support. Over 60 percent of Polish development aid funds for Eastern Partnership countries will be allocated to projects implemented in Eastern Partnership countries after 2013. At the same time, Polish aid will mainly be focused on carrying out activities that support democratisation and transformation in individual countries (over 60 percent of funds).

Poland is proud of its many non-governmental organisations, which are very actively engaged in development cooperation. On the other hand, the state should shoulder the burden of coordination and contacts with the government of aid recipients. Only by acting together can one hope to achieve tangible results, which for Poland would represent the embodiment of the idea of solidarity – this time on a global scale.

Only democratic systems can fully guarantee respect for human rights and civil liberties by substantiating the rule of law and empowering their citizens. Democracies based on civil societies also provide the most credible guarantee of peace and stability in the international environment. Poland will participate in shaping such an environment and support bilateral and multilateral actions promoting democracy and respect for human rights and international mechanisms of control in this area.

Poland regards the area of its eastern neighbourhood, where these programmes can complement actions taken in the EU Eastern Partnership framework, as being especially significant. Consequently, we will support operations of the European Endowment for Democracy whose establishment Poland has initiated.

Also important are activities for stability implemented by the OSCE. They are inseparably linked with concern for a transparent and fair election process in member states. Warsaw is the seat of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) whose monitoring and support for democratic elections are hard to overestimate.

Tasks:
● developing the operations of the Polish Foundation of International Cooperation for Development "Knowing How" whose main task is supporting democratic transformations in the world and the promotion of the Polish transformation experience;
● conclusion of a social and political consensus concerning Polish development aid (PFA) by 2015;

[1] Poland is also a signatory of the 2005 *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* and the 2005 *European Consensus on Development.*

• redefining priority countries and regions that Poland will engage in with clearly defined reasons for the choices made;
• developing long-term rules for cooperation between government administration and non-governmental organisations involved in development aid;
• co-developing democratisation and human rights promotion programmes, among others, in eastern neighbourhood, through active engagement in the UN, Communities of Democracy, the Council of Europe and the OSCE;
• promoting institutions and international control mechanisms for the protection of human rights and fundamental civil liberties.

Promotion of Poland abroad

Effective promotion of Poland is one of the most important tasks of modern Polish diplomacy. The goal is to create both a national brand and good sector brands abroad. "Poland" should bring to mind associations with a country that is worth visiting and investing in, a country with interesting people, culture and tradition. Poland should be perceived as a partner that guarantees the highest quality of services and goods.

However, image is something that requires constant care. This will be ensured by a consistent campaign promoting Poland, using different tools: academic conferences, cultural festivals and participation in international economic ventures. In order to reach a wide audience: entrepreneurs, students, academics, journalists, culture operators and politicians, the campaign will be realised through different media (major TV networks, radio stations, niche, profiled and industry media, often present only in the Internet).

Education and science play an important role in building the right country image. To this end, initiatives involving the organisation of university chairs and studies about Poland and Polish language courses in other countries will receive continued support. Equally important will be activities meant to encourage foreigners to study and do academic research in Poland (research scholarships, grants, etc.).

Culture and its recognition are determining factors in the context of Poland's promotion. Here, institutions supporting Polish culture abroad – Polish Institutes and the Adam Mickiewicz Institute, among many others – are expected to be ever more active and innovative, and will play an indispensable role.

In spite of the economic crisis, direct foreign investments (DFI) are rising. Poland continues to be among the top ten European countries receiving a flow of direct foreign investments. The steadily rising level of Poland's intellectual and creative capital is a major factor here and the national "brand" should be built upon it.

Poland's convenient situation in the centre of Europe, at the crossroads of its main transportation routes, means that goods can be exported from the country all over Europe and thus reach over half a billion consumers. Poland's and the entire Central and Eastern Europe's investment potential continues to grow, which is important. Needless to say, economic competition between countries is strong and will continue to grow. Hence, enterprises and local governments should enjoy the support of Polish government administration. A constructive cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Economy and other state agencies is necessary to achieve synergy in this regard.

The promotion of the capital market will play an important role in Poland's economic expansion. The growing number of companies listed on the Warsaw Stock Exchange is evidence of increased interest in our market on the part of issuers, with growing demand from both domestic and foreign investors for successive public offers.

Polish missions will focus more intensely on the promotion of Polish economic interests abroad. Each one of them will be tasked with drafting and regularly updating an economic "map" of the host

country. In addition, through cooperation with business organisations, effective methods should be worked out of sharing information acquired by missions with companies. Support for companies with large technological and innovative potential is recommended.

Poland, which has increasingly more to offer, is an attractive country for tourists. Unique sites connected with national history and heritage and Poland's civilisation achievements should be promoted. A variety of events that will be taking place in Poland, like the UEFA EURO 2012 European Football Championship and the 2016 European Culture Capital Wrocław should help attract many tourists.

Tasks:
● creating a slogan and a campaign promoting Poland abroad through a variety of tools, media and target groups;
● pursuing a uniform communication policy and keeping promotion activities coherent, whilst retaining the many actors engaged in the promotion of Poland abroad;
● creating an effective system (economy, culture, education, tourism, etc.) of the promotion of Poland abroad and putting in place rules for its coordination by, among other things, enhancing interministerial cooperation in this area;
● actions to systematically raise the level of direct foreign investments;
● actions to enhance the role of Warsaw as Central and Eastern Europe's regional financial centre ;

Polish diaspora and Poles abroad

The Polish diaspora and related issues are high on the agenda of Poland's bilateral relations with countries with large communities of emigrants from Poland and people of Polish descent or Polish minorities. Respect for the rights of Polish national minorities or Polish ethnic groups and how they are treated, significantly impacts upon relations with such countries. In order to ensure respect for these rights, Poland will use all legal and diplomatic means.

The main task of the Polish diaspora policy is to build mutually beneficial cooperation between Poland and its diaspora.

The Polish state supports the Polish diaspora and Poles living abroad in many ways, thereby engaging them in the process of implementing and promoting Poland's interests. The more powerful their position, the more effective they are in this process. On the other hand, supporting the Polish state is in the interest of the Polish diaspora, because with each success, its position in the countries of their residence grows.

The most important elements of effective cooperation consist of collecting the relevant knowledge, expanding the circle of recipients of our messages and modernising the methods of reaching them. An analysis of the existing situation has shown that a great deal of messages addressed to the Polish diaspora are prepared in the Polish language. Meanwhile, at least 70% of the Polish diaspora in the world - most of the people who are conscious of their Polish roots, are interested in Poland and its culture and open to contacts and cooperation - no longer have a command of the Polish tounge.

We do not intend to give up on cooperation with any generation that represents the Polish diaspora today; neither the most recent migrants, nor emigrants who settled abroad dozens of years ago, or with their children who often regard themselves as Americans, Canadians or Frenchmen of Polish descent. Establishing cooperation with a dispersed Polish diaspora, often strongly integrated with the societies of their countries of residence and therefore better and more permanently settled there will be a new element of the conducted policy. The situation of Poles living in the East is specific and necessitates a separate approach. They still need mostly support (political, organisational, as well as financial) both in their attempts to assert their full minority rights and in satisfying their needs born out of their Polish origin.

Three areas of cooperation can play a vital role in broadening the knowledge about Poland among the Polish diaspora and, through them, among societies of the countries of their residence: culture – through possibly the most extensive promotion and access to Polish culture, science – including turning to outstanding academics working abroad, the economy – through a modern promotion of Poland's economic potential and offer of cooperation extended to Polish diaspora members in different countries.

Tasks:
• ensuring that Poles and the Polish diaspora can operate in a legal framework that allows them to cultivate their Polishness and guarantees their host countries' respect for

adequate norms and standards;
• identifying Polish foreign policy objectives that converge with the interests of the Polish diaspora and Poles abroad and offering cooperation in the realisation of these objectives for the sake of Poland and its positive image abroad;
• enhancing social integration of the Polish diaspora and Poles living abroad and their political activism: including them in local communities on a political (local elections, participation in political parties), cultural, linguistic and employee level in the countries of their residence;
• encouraging civic activity and new forms of pursuing social activity among Poles in the East;
• making more attractive and expanding the external message of the Polish public media and support for Polish diaspora media from state institutions;
• improving the existing and creating new forms of popularisation of the Polish language and knowledge about Poland, including creating and sponsoring Polish study centres at leading universities;
• making a full use of the changed system of financing Polish diaspora policy so that financial resources are better allocated to support Poland's interests while also supporting better the Polish diaspora and Poles abroad;
• supporting the preservation of cultural heritage abroad.

Foreign service

The challenges that will have to be faced in the coming years make the continued modernisation of the Polish foreign service particularly important. Effective implementation of long-term priorities of Polish foreign policy and the Ministry of Foreign Affair's mission – serving Poland, creating Europe and understanding the World - will depend on the efficacy and success of this process.

Polish foreign policy stepped out of the confines of narrowly understood diplomacy a long time ago. An increasing number of actors are engaged in its conduct and implementation. The role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a guardian of cohesive Polish foreign policy that coordinates the work of other ministries, offices and institutions is hard to overestimate. Therefore, the next few years will see an improvement in coordinating mechanisms for the sake of the best possible implementation of Poland's security and development interests.

Modern-day diplomacy has to combine skilful information management with the ability to compete in a complex global environment. One of the first serious tests for the Polish foreign service is working together with the European External Action Service. It will be important to ensure an adequate participation of Poles in EU structures and external representations and to increase their presence in key international organisations (the UN, the OECD, NATO, etc.)

For diplomacy to be more effective, new solutions should be put in place. The joint use – together with other countries – of diplomatic missions, which cuts costs and enables exchanges of experiences and best practice with partners, is becoming more widespread. The first joint consular office of the **Visegrád** Group countries in Cape Town, operating since 2010, provided an impulse for other initiatives of this type. Bilateral Polish-Czech, Polish-Swedish, and Polish-Hungarian cooperation in this area has been developing strongly. Such solutions will be applied wherever justified on grounds of policy and economy.

The MFA has been in the process of restructuring the material base of foreign service, thanks to which it will cut expenses and working environments will be better adjusted to local conditions and needs. Missions and residences are being built or refurbished in Washington DC, Berlin, London, and Stockholm. Investments are also being carried out in Vilnius, Tbilisi and Baghdad.

To a large extent, it will depend on the competencies of the diplomatic corps whether Polish diplomacy can be effective and have a positive impact on the implementation of national interests and the state's developmental goals. The process of training requires a systemic and flexible approach, greater international involvement and cooperation with partner countries. In the process of acquiring skills, emphasis should be placed on increasing economic knowledge, modern management techniques and strengthening soft skills, including: the ability to negotiate, the abiility to persuade effectively and the ability to select information, etc.

It is necessary for knowledge and skills to be applied well using modern means of communication. The increased use of IT within the foreign service will be consistently pursued, whilst increasing reliance on geographical IT techniques.

The process of modernisation should lead to a creative and well-organised diplomacy, based on the proper selection of staff, modern organisation and an adequate level of financing.

Tasks:
● completion of the first stage of mission infrastructure modernisation;
● continued improvement and development of IT
● enhancing mechanisms coordinating the international cooperation of ministries, offices, and institutions;
● ensuring that Polish diplomats are present in the EEAS at a level that corresponds to our country's potential;
● basing modern diplomacy on new and effective regulations;
● rationalisation of employment;
● continued digitalisation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including acquisition of satellite capabilities;
● regionalisation of accounting and administrative capabilities.