

ŁUKASZ JUREŃCZYK ▶▶Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, Poland
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1149-925X>

The importance of the United States in Poland's military security policy in the context of the war in Ukraine

Abstract

The subject of the article is the importance of the United States in Poland's military security policy in relation to the war in Ukraine. The article begins with an introduction discussing its main assumptions and a synthetic historical background of the importance of the US for Poland and its security. The main part of the article is divided into two parts, the first one discussing the importance of the US in Poland's military security policy after the Cold War. The second part is devoted to the change in the importance of the US in this policy in connection with the outbreak of the war in Ukraine and the main factors that determine this change. The aim of the article is to identify and analyze the changes in the importance of the United States in the Polish military security policy as a result of the outbreak of the war in Ukraine in 2022. The main research problem is whether the importance of the US in Poland's military security policy increased as a result of the war, and if so, because of what main factors? The thesis of the article states that the war in Ukraine increased the importance of the US as the main external guarantor of Poland's security and defense. This is due to the leading role played by the United States in military support for Ukraine and strengthening NATO's eastern flank, including Poland, in the absence of leadership from Western European powers. The research included interviews with scientists and analysts from research centers in Washington and New York.

Keywords: Polish-American relations, war in Ukraine, Russian aggression, security and defense policy

Значение США в политике военной безопасности Польши в контексте войны на Украине

Аннотация

Предметом статьи является значение США в политике военной безопасности Польши в связи с войной на Украине. Статья начинается с введения, в котором обсуждаются ее основные положения и в синтетической форме представлена историческая подоплека важности США для Польши и ее безопасности. Основная часть статьи разделена на две части, в первой из которых обсуждается значение США в политике военной безопасности Польши после холодной войны. Вторая часть посвящена изменению значения США в этой политике в связи с началом войны на Украине и основным факторам, определяющим это изменение. Цель статьи – выявить и проанализировать изменение значения США в польской политике военной безопасности в результате начала войны на Украине в 2022 году. Основная проблема исследования заключается в том, возросло ли в результате войны значение США в политике военной безопасности Польши, и если да, то за счет каких основных факторов? Тезис статьи заключается в том, что война на Украине повысила значение США как основного внешнего гаранта безопасности и обороны Польши. Это связано с ведущей ролью США в оказании военной поддержки Украине и укреплении восточного фланга НАТО, включая Польшу, в отсутствие лидерства со стороны западноевропейских держав. В рамках исследования были проведены интервью с учеными и аналитиками исследовательских центров Вашингтона и Нью-Йорка.

Ключевые слова: Польско-американские отношения, война в Украине, российская агрессия, политика безопасности и обороны

Introduction

The United States significantly contributed to the revival of Polish statehood, as President Woodrow Wilson called for in early 1918 in his historic fourteen-point address to the U.S. Congress. The United States is also seen in Poland as the liberator of Europe from the hell of Nazism. Despite the fact that the West had handed over Central and Eastern Europe to Soviet domination, Poland had hopes for American support in regaining sovereignty. During the Cold War, the myth of the United States as a country

with model values persisted in the collective consciousness of Poles. The vision of America was for Poles, oppressed by the burden of communism, the realization of a better, richer, even dreamed world (Kiwerska, 2014, p. 60). The United States was identified with freedom, tolerance and a broad catalog of human rights. This was despite the fact that it has a massive history of structural slavery, racism and intolerance (George, 2022). In the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan's administration significantly supported the independence movement "Solidarity" (Domber, 2008, p. 199), including during the martial law, which deepened faith in the US as a promoter of freedom (Applebaum, 2005, p. 35). Challenging the Soviet Union, called the "evil empire", led to its final collapse, and thus the liberation of the CEE countries. At the same time, the Warsaw Pact broke up, and Poland officially ceased to be in the political and military bloc hostile to the US and the West. Gaining full sovereignty enabled Poland to start efforts to join NATO and to tighten military relations with the United States.

The aim of the article is to identify and analyze the changes in the importance of the United States in the Polish military security policy as a result of the outbreak of the war in Ukraine in 2022. The main research problem is whether the importance of the US in Poland's military security policy increased as a result of the war, and if so, because of what main factors? The author is aware that little time has passed since the Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2022, which is why the conclusions are preliminary. Given the importance of the issue, it is necessary to continue the analysis. So far, the war in Ukraine increased the importance of the US as the main external guarantor of Poland's security and defense. One of the main reasons is the US leadership in military support for Ukraine, whose sovereignty and stability are of key geopolitical importance to Poland. The second main factor is the growing importance of US security guarantees, both conventional and nuclear, for the countries of NATO's eastern flank, including Poland, directly exposed to Russia's escalating actions. Another factor is the lack of a real strategic vision and decisive leadership of Western European powers in the face of the war in Ukraine. During the research, scientists and analysts from research centers in Washington and New York were interviewed.

The United States in Poland's military security policy after the Cold War

Poland's difficult historical experiences, resulting from its neighborhood with Russia and Germany, directed Poland towards the United States in search of a guarantor of security (Lieber, 2006, p. 275). After the Cold War, the US achieved the position of a global hegemon, and the political elite in Poland began to perceive it as the only state capable and ready to defend their country (Reeves, 2019, p. 1150). Already in the 1990s, Poland, in order to show its support to the US, engaged in peace missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. In terms of Kosovo, Poland showed closer to the US approach than many traditional Western European allies. Poland gained the trust of its partner from across the Atlantic also by sharing intelligence on Serbia, Iraq and Iran (Bouchet, 2015, p. 88). Pursuing its own strategic interests, Poland became "one of the most vociferous and consistent supporters of American foreign policy and of solidarity between the US and Europe" (Zaborowski, Longhurst, 2003, pp. 1009–1010). The Polish authorities wanted the consolidation of "Pax Americana" and the domination of the West in the world. They also wanted Poland to become a full-fledged part of the Western world, including as a NATO member. Its accession to NATO in 1999 further deepened the country's confidence in the US, which is dominant in the Alliance.

Since joining NATO, the United States has have a strategic importance for Poland as a guarantor of external security, which is emphasized in Poland's national security strategies (SBN, 2003, p. 6; SBN, 2020, p. 10). The situation is different in the case of economic security and development opportunities, where cooperation with partners from the European Union is of greater importance for Poland. In the 21st century, Polish authorities, both left and right, strove for the closest possible relationship with the US. As noted by James Lebovic, in the military dimension, Poland has been trying to build a bilateral alliance with the US and to obtain additional security guarantees that go beyond those of NATO. Washington is generally not interested in this, as Poland alone is not able to offer it something unique and particularly important. However, it is able to do so by being part of the broader security community like NATO (Lebovic, 2022). The main way to tighten the alliance

with the United States was to support the achievement of the goals of American international security policy and to engage in US-led military missions (Zdravkovski, 2019, p. 28). Poland significantly supported the Americans in Afghanistan and Iraq, even though it had no obvious interests in those countries. There was a lot of international opposition to the war in Iraq, including from Germany, France, Russia and China (Hansen, Toft, Wivel, 2009, p. 85). Despite this, the Polish authorities were determined to show the Americans solidarity and readiness to help even in such controversial undertakings (Haglund, 2009, p. 71). American political elites were aware that Poland, by sending troops to Iraq, sought a US military presence in Poland and credible guarantees of defense from the superpower (Doyle, 2022). Polish authorities also decided to locate a secret Central Intelligence Agency prison on Polish territory, which resulted in international criticism. This was because in such facilities people suspected of terrorism were illegally detained and interrogated, including with the use of torture (Mccrisken, Phythian, 2009, p. 188). Poland's restraint regarding involvement in the US-led military mission appeared only in the case of Libya. However, that mission did not directly translate into support for a unipolar world system (Reeves, 2019, p. 1154). Joining the activities of the international coalition against ISIS, in turn, went hand in hand with the US and NATO protecting Poland against the growing threat from Russia (Doeser, 2018, pp. 462–465).

The Polish authorities enthusiastically and submissively accepted President George W. Bush's proposal to deploy elements of the American anti-missile defense system in Poland, even though the public was much less sympathetic to this idea (Shor, 2010, pp. 70-71). Given the international controversy surrounding this endeavor, including Russia's staunch opposition and Germany's reluctance, they risked substantial political capital (Renshon, 2010, p. 8). President Barack Obama's proposal to reset US-Russian relations in 2009 and questioning the legitimacy of building European elements of the US anti-missile defense system periodically raised concerns in Poland about the credibility of the US as a guarantor external security. These concerns were deepened by the strategic "pivot to Asia" initiated in 2012 by the US administration, aimed at slowing down the unprecedented growth of China's power and at limiting its position in the Western Pacific (Wang, 2015, p. 28). The reduced US interest in Central and Eastern Europe triggered a reaction

from the leaders of the region's states, calling on the US administration to redefine its policy, including its attitude towards Russia (Ganga, 2022). Fortunately, concerns about the withdrawal of the United States from Europe have not materialized. After Russia's annexation of Crimea and aggression in Donbas, the US met Poland's expectations in terms of strengthening its defense and security. The Americans increased the military contingent in Poland to around 4.5 thousand soldiers, transferred a significant amount of weapons and military equipment to the country, and intensified military exercises in the region. It happened as part of the American European Reassurance Initiative (ERI), renamed the European Deterrence Initiative (EDI) in 2017. According to Cynthia Roberts, after 2014, the United States, instead of focusing on Asia, again focused on defending Europe, and Poland had been a big beneficiary of that (Roberts, 2022). In the following years, the Polish authorities made efforts to locate in Poland a permanent base of the U.S. Armed Forces in the number of divisions, as part of the "Fort Trump" concept (Ministry of National Defence, 2018). Washington, however, did not fulfill these expectations of Poland, declaring only an increase in the number of soldiers stationed on the basis of the so-called permanent rotation to 5.5 thousand.

In the XXI century the Polish Armed Forces was modernized mainly with the use of American military equipment. At the beginning of the century, the purchase of the F-16 multirole fighter aircraft was dubbed in Poland the "contract of the century" (Gardner, 2005, pp. 29, 130). In the following years, however, further contracts worth billions of dollars were signed, including the purchase of the F-35 multirole combat aircraft and the "Patriot" surface-to-air missile system. According to Pierre Morcos, Poland's focus on purchasing American weapons makes it more reliant on the US. It is contradictory with overall goal of more European strategic autonomy and sovereignty (Morcos, 2022). Poland's acquisition of such a large amount of weapons in the US was a confirmation of its importance in Polish security and defense policy. It was aimed at strengthening military relations with the US, including increasing the level of interoperability with the U.S. Armed Forces.

The growing importance of the US in Poland's military security policy after the Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2022

Russia's full-scale aggression against Ukraine, launched on 24 February 2022, further increased the importance of the United States in Poland's military security policy, which is due to several factors. The war is fought in the immediate vicinity of Poland, and if it turns into an open armed conflict between Russia and NATO or Russia defeats Ukraine, the threat to the countries of the Alliance's eastern flank, including Poland, will increase significantly (Polyakova, et al., 2022). Sovereign Ukraine is of key importance to Poland's security and defense. The United States took the lead in supporting Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity, deciding to make significant supplies of weapons and military equipment to the Ukrainian army. By mid-September 2022, the US had allocated more than \$15.1 billion since Russia's launched the war against Ukraine (U.S. Department of State, 2022). The delivered military equipment included very modern weapons like High Mobility Artillery Rocket Systems (HIMARS). The dominant powers in the European Union – Germany and France – showed much less readiness for military aid. Moreover, the war in Ukraine revealed the short-sightedness and flaws in their policy of rapprochement with Russia. This showed the weakness of the leadership of Western European powers in the planned strategic autonomy of the European Union. Without the help of the US, Ukraine would rely just on the support of the countries of NATO's eastern flank, including Poland, and possibly the United Kingdom. However, this aid would not be sufficient for the Ukrainian army to stop the Russian aggression.

Poland plays a particularly important role both in helping Ukrainian refugees and in supplying Ukraine with Western, mainly American, military equipment. Such a significant involvement in helping Ukraine carries a high risk, but it would be incomparably greater if there were no American security guarantees within NATO. Nevertheless, both in Poland and in the United States, there is concern that due to Poland's role in this conflict, it may become a target of retaliation by Russia. As Stephen Biddle argues, if the Russian army suffers serious disasters on the Ukrainian front, then the survival of Vladimir Putin may be at risk. Consequently, he will resort to further escalation measures, the main purpose of which will be to intimidate

the West and force it to withdraw from supporting Ukraine. One of such actions would be, for example, the bombing of an air base or a railway station in Poland, used for the transfer of weapons to Ukraine (Biddle, 2022). This sense of threat to Poland and other countries in the region both revitalizes NATO and increases the importance of American security guarantees, both conventional and nuclear (Morgan, 2022). As James Lebovic notes: “the United States has committed to its allies that if necessary it would use nuclear weapons to thwart the Russian advance, despite the fact that the Russians used to claim there can’t be a limited nuclear war” (Lebovic, 2022). President Putin counts only on the argument of force, and only the US’s determined readiness to defend its allies using all available means can stop him from escalating the war on NATO countries. Given the increasing unpredictability of the Russian regime, even Poland’s survival would be seriously endangered without the American nuclear umbrella.

In the context of Russia’s aggression against Ukraine in 2022, the United States confirmed in practice its readiness to fulfill allied obligations under NATO. During the first half of 2022, the US deployed over 20,000 additional forces to Europe, increasing the total number to more than 100,000 service members. These were both air, land, maritime, cyber, and space capabilities (U.S. Department of Defense, 2022). At that time, the American military presence in Poland was doubled, reaching 10,500 soldiers (Pifer, 2022). At the NATO summit in Madrid on 29–30 June 2022, the US announced plans to send additional forces to the region (Graham, 2022). President Biden did not specify the number of soldiers who are to strengthen the American contingent in Poland. The US ambassador to Poland, Mark Brzezinski, said the number would depend on the threat to NATO’s eastern flank, adding that the threat was very serious (Kostrzewa, 2022). The US will seek to enhance its rotational force presence in Poland, including an Armored Brigade Combat Team, Combat Aviation Brigade element, and Division Headquarters element (U.S. Department of Defense, 2022). The NATO battalion battle group stationed in Poland, which consists mainly of American soldiers, will be increased to a brigade-size unit (NATO, 2022). While the current battlegroup in Poland stands at about 1,000 soldiers, a typical ground-force brigades range between 3,000 and 5,000 troops. At the same time, additional American soldiers are to be directed on a rotating basis to the Baltic states

and Romania. To maintain forces in Europe under the EDI, U.S. Department of Defense allocated \$ 3.8 billion in Fiscal Year (FY) 2022, and requested \$4.2 billion for FY 2023 (U.S. Department of Defense, 2022).

With the ongoing war in Ukraine and the deepening threats and crimes of Russia, the need and thus the possibility of transferring to Poland elements of NATO's permanent infrastructure is increasing (Goldgeier, 2022). At the NATO Summit in Madrid, the US decided to locate in Poland a permanent headquarters for U.S. Army V Corps, which will be accompanied by a field support battalion. This is a breakthrough decision as it will be the first relatively large US military contingent stationed on a permanent basis on NATO's eastern flank (Shalaland, Landauro, 2022). According to Celeste Wallander, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, an American permanent military presence in Poland "will be key to helping NATO navigate the changed security environment in Europe caused by Russia's invasion". In turn, Poland's Deputy Foreign Minister Paweł Jabłoński said: "this is a manifestation of the ever closer cooperation between the U.S. and Poland" (Superville, Miller, 2022). The permanent transfer of the American command with the garrison shows that the US ceases to recognize as binding the NATO-Russia Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security of 1997, which limited this possibility (NATO, 1997). This potentially opens the way to permanently locating larger military formations of the U.S. Armed Forces in Poland.

The war in Ukraine confirmed the special importance of the quality of weapons and military equipment used in contemporary armed conflicts. Without US supplies of artillery rocket systems, anti-aircraft systems, anti-armor systems, unmanned aerial systems and other modern weapon systems, the Ukrainian army, even with the highest motivation to fight, would not have a chance to stop the much more powerful Russian army. An additional factor is American intelligence and reconnaissance, which enables precise destruction of Russian forces and military facilities. Lessons learned from the war in Ukraine will undoubtedly direct the modernization processes of the Polish army. Poland plans to significantly increase defense spending, to reach 3% of GDP in 2023, while its ultimate target is as much as 5% (Krzysztożek, 2022). The highest level of technological advancement in the world of the US defense industry invariably makes it an attractive partner in the field

of military-technical cooperation. Therefore, it can be assumed that most of the amounts allocated for technical modernization will be directed to American defense companies. The process of modernizing the equipment of the Polish Army creates an opportunity to tighten technical cooperation with American partners and to develop the capabilities of the Polish defense industry based on this cooperation (Rusak, 2016). In addition to the transfer of modern technologies, it will also be necessary to provide the armaments industry with access to energy resources. Along with cutting off Russian energy sources, also the importance of American LNG imports to Poland has increased (Andžāns, 2022).

Conclusion

Already in the 20th century, the United States played an important role in Poland's military security policy, including supporting its independence efforts during two world wars. After the World War II, these countries found themselves in hostile political and military blocs, but the United States supported the efforts of Polish society to free itself from Soviet dependence. After the Cold War, the US achieved world hegemonic status and reaffirmed its leadership role in the West. Poland aspired to be fully incorporated into Western alliance structures, which was crowned with its formal accession to NATO in 1999. The US support has played a special role in achieving this goal. Covering Poland with allies, including in particular the American security guarantees, constituted a qualitative change in Polish security policy, enabling it to permanently exit from the security vacuum. Poland has been treating the US as the most important external guarantor of security and has been striving for the closest possible allied relations with the superpower.

Solving the research problem and verifying the hypothesis was possible thanks to the analysis of the security policy of the United States towards the eastern flank of NATO and Ukraine, in the context of the threat posed by Russia and the perception of this threat by Poland. The war in Ukraine has further increased the importance of the United States in the Polish military security policy, which is due to several fundamental factors. First, Ukraine has a special geopolitical significance for Poland. The deprivation of sovereignty or destabilization of this country would directly translate into a decrease in

of Poland's security, especially in the context of the increased threat from Russia. For this reason, it is in Poland's interest to provide military support to Ukraine so that it is able to defend itself against Russian aggression. The leading role in this support is played by the US, without which the chances of the Ukrainian army at the front would be incomparably smaller. The conflict in Ukraine, in turn, exposed the short-sightedness of the policy of rapprochement between the Western European powers, Germany and France, and Russia, as well as the lack of leadership skills of the leaders of the European Union. Second, the war in Ukraine may escalate, and given the role Poland plays in supporting its neighbor, it may become the target of an attack by Russia. Consequently, the US security guarantees, both conventional and nuclear, are extremely important today. They are intended to prevent Russia from undertaking escalation actions against NATO countries, and if they do occur, to respond effectively. Therefore, after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, the military involvement of the U.S. Armed Forces on NATO's eastern flank, mainly in Poland, increased. Poland, on the other hand, is dynamically increasing defense spending, and thus purchases of modern weapons, mainly from American defense companies, which additionally increases the importance of the US in Poland's military security policy.

DR HAB. ŁUKASZ JUREŃCZYK, PROF. UKW

Katedra Polityki Bezpieczeństwa
Wydział Nauk o Polityce i Administracji
Uniwersytet Kazimierza Wielkiego w Bydgoszczy
ul. ks. J. Poniatowskiego 12, 85-671 Bydgoszcz
lukaszjurenczyk@ukw.edu.pl

References

- Andžāns, M. (2022, May 25). *The Baltic Road to Energy Independence from Russia Is Nearing Completion*. Retrieved from: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2022/05/the-baltic-road-to-energy-independence-from-russia-is-nearing-completion/>.
- Applebaum, A. (2005). In Search of PRO Americanism. *Foreign Policy*, 149, 32–41.
- Biddle, S. (2022, May 5). *Interview given to the author*. New York: Columbia University.
- Bouchet, N. (2015). *Democracy Promotion as US Foreign Policy. Bill Clinton and democratic enlargement*. New York: Routledge.

- Doeser, F. (2018). Historical experiences, strategic culture, and strategic behavior: Poland in the anti-ISIS coalition. *Defence Studies*, 18(4), 454–473.
- Domber, G.F. (2008). *Supporting the Revolution: America, Democracy, and the End of the Cold War in Poland, 1981–1989*. Ann Arbor: ProQuest.
- Doyle, M. (2022, April 27). *Interview given to the author*. New York: Columbia University.
- Ganga, P. (2022, May 24). *Interview given to the author*. New York: Columbia University.
- Gardner, H. (2005). *American Global Strategy and the “War on Terrorism”*. New York: Routledge.
- George, J. (2022, May 23). *Interview given to the author*. New York: Columbia University.
- Goldgeier, J. (2022, May 16). *Interview given to the author*. Washington D.C.: American University.
- Graham, T. (2022, June 30). *NATO Countries Signal Resolve at Summit: What Does It Mean for Russia?* Retrieved from: <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/nato-countries-signal-resolve-summit-what-does-it-mean-russia>.
- Haglund, D.G. (2009). The US–Canada relationship: How ‘special’ is America’s oldest unbroken alliance? In: J. Dumbrell, A.R. Schäfer (eds.). *America’s ‘Special Relationships’ Foreign and domestic aspects of the politics of Alliance* (60–75). New York: Routledge.
- Hansen, B., Toft, P., Wivel, A. (2009). *Security Strategies and American World Order. Lost power*. New York: Routledge.
- Kiwierska, J. (2014). Kwestie bezpieczeństwa w stosunkach polsko–amerykańskich. Trendy i perspektywy. In: S. Wojciechowski, A. Potyrała (eds.). *Bezpieczeństwo Polski. Współczesne wyzwania* (60–80). Warszawa: Difin.
- Kostrzewa, K. (2022, August 1). *Brzezinski dla PAP: liczba Amerykańskich żołnierzy w Polsce będzie stosowna do zagrożenia*. Retrieved from: <https://www.pap.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C1272371%2Cbrzezinski-dla-pap-liczba-amerykanskich-zolnierzy-w-polsce-bedzie-stosowna>.
- Krzysztożek, A. (2022, July 18). *Poland to spend 5% of GDP on defence*. Retrieved from: https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/short_news/poland-to-spend-5-of-gdp-on-defence/.
- Lebovic, J.H. (2022, May 11). *Interview given to the author*. Washington D.C.: George Washington University.
- Lieber, R.J. (2006). The United States and Europe: Explaining the Transatlantic Bonds. In: D. P. Forsythe, P.C. McMahon, A. Wedeman (eds.). *American Foreign Policy in a Globalized World* (261–286). New York: Routledge.
- Mccrisken, T., Phythian, M. (2009). The offensive turn: US intelligence and the ‘war on terror’. In: I. Parmar, L.B. Miller, M. Ledwidge (eds.). *Obama and the World. New directions in US foreign policy. Second edition* (185–196). New York: Routledge.
- Ministry of National Defence. (2018, May). *Proposal for a U.S. Permanent Presence in Poland*. Retrieved from: <https://www.politico.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Proposal-for-a-U.S.-Permanent-Presence-in-Poland-2018.pdf>.
- Morcos, P. (2022, May 11). *Interview given to the author*. Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Morgan, K. (2022, May 5). *Interview given to the author*. Washington D.C.: George Washington University.

- NATO. (1997, May 27). *Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation signed in Paris, France*. Retrieved from: https://www.nato.int/cps/su/natohq/official_texts_25468.htm.
- NATO. (2022, June 29). *Madrid Summit Declaration Issued by NATO Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Madrid 29 June 2022*. Retrieved from: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_196951.htm.
- Pifer, S. (2022, April 29). *Interview given to the author*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Polyakova, A., Lucas, E., Lo, B., Lamond, J., Speranza, L. (2022, May 24). *What Does Europe Look Like 3-7 Years After Russia's War in Ukraine?* Retrieved from: <https://cepa.org/what-does-europe-look-like-3-7-years-after-russias-war-in-ukraine/>.
- Reeves, Ch. (2019). From Intervention to Retrenchment: Poland's Strategic Culture and the 2011 Libyan Campaign. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 71(7), 1140–1161.
- Renshon, S.A. (2010). *National Security in the Obama Administration. Reassessing the Bush Doctrine*. Routledge: New York.
- Roberts, C. (2022, May 13). *Interview given to the author*. New York: Columbia University.
- Rusak, R. (2016). Współpraca wojskowo-techniczna Polski z USA. In: T. Kubaczyk, S. Piotrowski, M. Żyła (eds.). *Polska w międzynarodowej współpracy wojskowej* (307–324). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademii Sztuki Wojennej.
- Shalaland, A., Landauro, I. (2022, June 29). *Biden bolsters long-term U.S. military presence in Europe*. Retrieved from: <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/biden-says-us-changing-force-posture-europe-based-threat-2022-06-29/>.
- Shor, F. (2010). *Dying Empire. U.S. imperialism and global resistance*. New York: Routledge.
- Strategia Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego 2003*. (2003, September). Warszawa.
- Strategia Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2020*. (2020, May). Warszawa.
- Superville, D., Miller Z. (2022, June 29). *Biden says U.S. will increase long term military presence in Europe*. Retrieved from: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/biden-says-u-s-will-increase-long-term-military-presence-in-europe>.
- U.S. Department of Defense. (2022, June 29). *FACT SHEET – U.S. Defense Contributions to Europe*. Retrieved from: <https://www.defense.gov/News/Releases/Release/Article/3078056/fact-sheet-us-defense-contributions-to-europe/>.
- U.S. Department of State. (2022, July 22). *U.S. Security Cooperation with Ukraine*. Retrieved from: <https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-ukraine/>.
- Vandiver, J. (2022, June 28). *US military presence in Poland and Spain reportedly headed for increase, Stars and Stripes*. Retrieved from: <https://www.stripes.com/theaters/europe/2022-06-28/poland-biden-troops-nato-6482116.html>.
- Wang, Ch. (2015). *Obama's Challenge to China. The Pivot to Asia*. New York: Routledge.
- Zaborowski, M., Longhurst, K. (2003). America's Protégé in the East? The Emergence of Poland as a Regional Leader. *International Affairs*, 79(5), 1009–1028.
- Zdravkovski, A. (2019). Polish Politics, April 1989–October 2015. In: S.P. Ramet, K. Ringdal, K. Dośpiał-Borysiak (eds.). *Civic and Uncivic Values in Poland. Value Transformation, Education, and Culture* (15–40). Budapest: Central European University Press.