

# **Outline of the doctoral dissertation: In search of the Polish raison d'etat. The dispute over Polish foreign policy in the parliamentary debate in the years 2004-2014**

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The main aim of the paper is to present **the essence of the dispute and the dynamics of the parliamentary debate conducted in the forum of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland by relevant political parties on Polish foreign policy towards key countries and international organizations for the Polish raison d'etat during the first decade of Polish's membership in the EU.** The thesis aims to answer two main questions. First of all, how big is the area of agreement and divergence on Polish foreign policy in the Polish parliamentary debate and what issues does it cover? The answer to the question posed is to determine whether we can talk about the Polish raison d'état after 2004, i.e. the implied agreement of the main political forces in the matter of foreign policy. This issue is particularly interesting given the key political context of growing political polarization since 2005. The second main research question relates to the question : what are the main factors influencing the party's positions in the area of Polish foreign policy and their change over time?

*Other research questions that refine and complement the main questions are as follows:*

- What are the directions and problems of agreement and divergence between the parties on foreign policy issues?
- What are the fundamental goals, directions, threats and challenges of Polish foreign policy according to the main political parties?
- What is the significance of foreign policy for the political identity of individual parties and in the overall major political disputes in Poland?
- What are the positions of the main political parties and their argumentative paths on particular issues, and how have they changed over time?
- How do political parties perceive the positions and actions of their political competitors?
- On which issues did the opposition support the government?
- What are the differences in the perception of the international environment between the various parties and how have they influenced the party's positions on foreign policy?

- Which parties have been the most active in the debate on Polish foreign policy and what issues are most important to them?
- What is the degree of differentiation of the parliamentary discourse on Polish foreign policy between political parties?
- Can the difference between the parties be inscribed in the difference in the theory of international relations, and if so, which theories best explain them?
- What events in the international environment have sparked a public debate on foreign policy?
- Which international events were a factor in strengthening the consensus, and which deepened the inter-party dispute on foreign issues?
- What was the cooperation between the parliament and the government in the field of foreign policy? On what issues were there disagreements?

The author proposed the following structure of the chapters of the work:

#### Introduction

1. Justification of research issues
  2. Aim of the study and research field
  3. Work Structure
  4. Methodology
  5. Origin
- I. The main disputes in the parliamentary debate on Polish foreign policy
    1. Policy towards the European Union
    2. Policy towards NATO
    3. Policy towards the United States
    4. Policy towards Germany
    5. Policy towards Russia
    6. Policy towards Ukraine
    7. Policy towards Belarus
    8. Policy towards the Central European region
  - II. Polish foreign policy from the perspective of political parties
    1. Law and Justice
    2. Civic Platform
    3. Democratic Left Alliance
    4. Polish People's Party

5. Samoobrona RP
6. League of Polish Families
7. Palikot's Movement/Your Movement

### III. Summary

1. The extent of inter-party agreement and dispute and the dynamics in the period 2004-2014
2. Metapolitical Causes of the Dispute

The author considers it of key value to make a comprehensive analysis of one of the most interesting sources on Polish politics, not only foreign policy, and still very little used for academic work, i.e. the transcripts of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, including plenary sessions. The second key source is the meetings of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The subject of particular interest were "seminar" meetings, during which selected directions of foreign policy were discussed. An insight into the political thought of individual parties was provided by meetings devoted to treaty policy, if the matter concerned important political aspects, not technical, and "legislative" meetings, i.e. those considering draft resolutions of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland or desiderata.

The author also makes use of party programmes, as well as other documents, including party resolutions, where the position on international issues is presented.

It should be emphasized that the scientific literature used in the field of Polish foreign policy and political thought served as a supplementary source. It mainly served as an inspiration in drawing conclusions from individual analyses of the debates. The author compared his own findings with those of other authors, where they signaled their own assessment. At the same time, the author pointed out the extent to which the author's conclusions coincide with the findings of other authors.