

Contents

INTRODUCTION (Józef M. Fiszer)	23
PART ONE	
The Euro-Atlantic system and international security in a multipolar world	
CHAPTER 1. The Euro-Atlantic system and its place and role in a multipolar international order – <i>Józef M. Fiszer</i>	
1.1. Introduction	29
1.2. The contemporary international system and its premises	36
1.2.1. Contemporary world in the light of various research theories and paradigms	36
1.2.2. Polarization of the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) and the European Union member states	41
1.2.3. Russia and the new international order, and its security	43
1.2.4. Germany and Poland facing the Euro-Atlantic international security issues	49
1.3. The Euro-Atlantic system today and its prospects in a multipolar world ...	54
1.3.1. The place of the United States of America and the European Union in the Euro-Atlantic system – economic and political dimensions	54
1.3.2. Cooperation between the European Union and the NATO	58
1.3.3. The future of the Euro-Atlantic system: Opportunities and threats	65
1.4. Conclusions	69
CHAPTER 2. Development prospects for Euro-Atlanticism under the geopolitical paradigm – <i>Franciszek Gołembski</i>	
2.1. Introduction	71

2.2. The geopolitical premises of Euro-Atlanticism	71
2.3. Globalisation and the plane of Euro-Atlanticism	73
2.4. Euro-Atlanticism in the civilisational dimension	80
2.5. Euro-Atlanticism under the conditions of a global multipolar system	85
2.6. Conclusions	89
CHAPTER 3. Balanced socio-economic development and its significance to ensuring order in the local, regional and world space – <i>Bogusław Jagusiak</i>	
3.1. Introduction	90
3.2. Local space; the state	92
3.3. Regional space; the European Union	95
3.4. World space; the global world	98
3.5. Conclusions	105
CHAPTER 4. The revitalisation of the transatlantic partnership? The prospects of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership – <i>Jakub Wódka</i>	
4.1. Introduction	107
4.2. The economic potential of the transatlantic tandem	110
4.3. A brief history of the transatlantic free trade talks	113
4.4. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership	115
4.4.1. The <i>modus operandi</i> of the TTIP negotiations	115
4.4.2. The scope of the future agreement	117
4.4.3. Economic benefits	120
4.4.4. Geopolitical implications	122
4.5. Conclusions	125
CHAPTER 5. International security and the Euro-Atlantic system in German politics prior to the 2013 Bundestag elections – <i>Krzysztof Garczewski</i>	
5.1. Introduction	126
5.2. The Christian Democratic Union / Christian Social Union	127
5.3. The Free Democratic Party	131
5.4. The Social Democratic Party of Germany	135
5.5. Alliance '90 / The Greens	139
5.6. The Left	146
5.7. Other selected German political parties	147
5.8. Conclusions	149
CHAPTER 6. From Kosovo to Afghanistan: The Chinese perception of the NATO – <i>Jan Rowiński, Dominik Mierzejewski</i>	
6.1. Introduction	150
6.2. The attitude of China towards the NATO	151
6.3. China's interests in Afghanistan: Investments and the development of the western provinces	161

6.4. The international background to the Chinese policy towards the NATO	165
6.5. Conclusions	170

PART TWO

The position and role of the European Union in the Euro-Atlantic system and the new international order

CHAPTER 7. The European Union as an actor in the new global, multipolar security order? – <i>Krzysztof Miszczak</i>	
7.1. Introduction	175
7.2. The European Union and the new deal in the globalisation of power ...	177
7.3. The European Union's future role in the international system of global security	185
7.4. Conclusions	189

CHAPTER 8. The internal determinants of the European Union's external policy in the context of the economic crisis – <i>Agnieszka K. Cianciara</i>	
8.1. Introduction	191
8.2. The internal transformations in the European Union during the era of the economic crisis	192
8.2.1. The eurozone crisis	192
8.2.2. The institutional crisis	194
8.2.3. The political and legitimacy crisis	197
8.2.4. Differentiated integration and changes in the distribution of power on the continent	200
8.3. The impact of internal processes on the European Union's external policy	202
8.3.1. The impact on enlargement and neighbourhood policies	202
8.3.2. The impact on the European Union's international position in a multipolar world	204
8.4. Conclusions	206

CHAPTER 9. The reform of the European Union's security strategy as a new opening in transatlantic relations. The concept and prospects – <i>Paweł Olszewski</i>	
9.1. Introduction	208
9.2. The premises of the European Union's security strategy and their appraisal	210
9.3. The international situation from 2003 to 2013 and the European Union's security strategy	216
9.4. The concepts and prospects for the reform of the European Union's security strategy	222
9.5. The impact of the reform on transatlantic relations	226
9.6. Conclusions	228

13.3. The main differences between the Civic Platform and Law and Justice with regard to the Euro-Atlantic security system	293
13.4. Conclusions	299
CHAPTER 14. Poland's external security in the political thinking of Law and Justice. An analysis in the context of the 2007 national security strategy – <i>Adrian Chojan</i>	
14.1. Introduction	301
14.2. The external security of a state. A theoretical approach	303
14.3. The 2007 National Security Strategy. The premises and an appraisal ...	307
14.4. Poland's external security	313
14.4.1. Military security	313
14.4.2. Energy security	315
14.4.3. Economic security	316
14.5. The role of the Transatlantic Community	317
14.6. Conclusions	319
CHAPTER 15. Poland's position on the changes in the Euro-Atlantic security system – <i>Tomasz Paszewski</i>	
15.1. Introduction	321
15.2. The United States and the security of Europe	322
15.3. European defence capabilities	326
15.4. The planes of military cooperation in Europe	329
15.5. Russia and Poland's regional security	332
15.6. Poland's defence policy	334
15.7. Conclusions	338
CONCLUSIONS. The role of the Euro-Atlantic system in the multipolar world, in the light of the emerging new, global order. A report on an empirical study – <i>Józef M. Fiszer</i>	
	339
Bibliography	353
Summary	375
Summary in Russian	379
Index of surnames	383
Authors' profiles	387

CHAPTER 10. The opportunities, challenges, risk and threats resulting from the evolution of NATO's identity – <i>Karolina Libront</i>	
10.1. Introduction	230
10.2. Theoretical and methodological premises	231
10.3. Maintaining the significance of NATO in view of the growing scope of the Alliance's tasks	232
10.4. Weakened cohesiveness	235
10.5. The re-definition of Article 5 of the Washington Treaty	237
10.6. The globalisation of the Alliance's tasks	240
10.7. Overstretched resources	242
10.8. Conclusions	245

CHAPTER 11. Islam's strength or the West's weakness? Directions of the social and economic transformations of the European Union Member States – *Daria Orzechowska-Słowikowska*

11.1. Introduction	247
11.2. Migrations in the shadow of the Arab Spring. A challenge not only for Europe	249
11.3. Lampedusa. Europe's unwanted child	251
11.4. Muslims and Europe's economic development	253
11.5. Problems with Muslim integration. An issue for the European Union ...	256
11.6. A good European and a loyal citizen of Europe. Is it possible at all? ...	258
11.7. Conclusions	261

PART THREE

Poland's place in the Euro-Atlantic international security system today and within the multipolar order perspective

CHAPTER 12. Poland's place in the world and in Europe – *Longin Pastusiak*

12.1. Introduction	265
12.2. Poland's place in the world	266
12.3. Poland's place in Europe	276
12.4. Conclusions	280

CHAPTER 13. Poland's role in the Euro-Atlantic security system as perceived by her main political forces – *Agnieszka Orzelska-Stączek*

13.1. Introduction	281
13.2. The Euro-Atlantic security system in the light of the programmes of selected parties	283
13.2.1. The Civic Platform	283
13.2.2. The Polish People's Party	286
13.2.3. Law and Justice	286
13.2.4. Palikot's movement	290
13.2.5. The Democratic Left Alliance	291