

Poland:The Second Ukraine

Polonya: İkinci Ukrayna

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ÖZET

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Çalışmada Rusya'nın Ukrayna ya karşı başlattığı saldırının Ukrayna dışındaki devletlere ve bölgelere sıçrayıp sıçramayacağı konusu incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda Rusya'nın bir sonraki potansiyel hedefinin Polonya olup olmayacağı analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı Rus tehdidinin bir sonraki hedefinin büyük olasılıkla Polonya olacağını göstermektir. Şimdilik Polonya'yı koruyan en önemli faktörün NATO üyesi olması olduğu düşünülmektedir. Ancak Rusya ve Putin NATO'yu karşısına almak gibi bir hata yaptığında ilk hedefin Polonya olacağı öngörülmektedir. Çalışma kapsamında temel olarak Ukrayna-Rusya savaşı sonrası zaman dilimi incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Makalenin temel argümanı Rusya'nın savaşı yayma girişimlerinin bir sonraki hedefinin Polonya olacağı şeklindedir. Çalışmaya ilişkin bulguların elde edilmesinde Batılı ve Rus liderlerin söylemlerine ilişkin dokümanlar incelenmiştir. Savaşın gidişatına yönelik ipuçlarının elde edilmesinde liderler ve yöneticilerin söylemlerinin önemli olduğu düşüncesinden hareketle bu yol izlenmiştir. Bu nedenle Konuya ilişkin bilgi ve verileri elde etmek için doküman incelemesi yapılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, nitel araştırma desenlerinden vaka çalışması türlerinden açıklayıcı/tanımlayıcı durum yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Konu uluslararası ilişkiler kuramlarından Realizm çerçevesinde ele alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırma konusunun kapsamını bir yandan Avrupa' da güç dengelerini bozmaya çalışan Rusya'nın girişimleri öte yandan ise dengeyi korumaya çalışan devletlerin Polonya üzerinde yoğunlaşan çabaları oluşturmaktadır. Bu durum çalışma için en uygun teorik yaklaşımın realist kuram olacağı kanaatini uyandırmıştır. Araştırma sonucunda pek çok nedenden dolayı Polonya'nın Rusya için Ukrayna'dan sonraki hedef olacağı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

ABSTRACT

Keywords:

Poland,
Russia,
Target,
Europe,
Security

The study analyses whether Russia's aggression against Ukraine will spread to states and regions other than Ukraine. In this context, it is analysed whether Poland will be the next potential target of Russia. The aim of the study is to show that the next target of the Russian threat will most likely be Poland. For now, it is thought that the most important factor protecting Poland is that it is a member of NATO. However, when Russia and Putin make the mistake of confronting NATO, Poland will be the first target. The study mainly analyses the time period after the Ukraine-Russia war. The main argument of the article is that Poland will be the next target of Russia's attempts to spread the war. In order to obtain the findings of the study, documents related to the discourses of Western and Russian leaders were analysed. This method was followed based on the idea that the discourses of leaders and administrators were important in obtaining clues about the course of the war. For this reason, document analysis was conducted on the data collected. In this framework, explanatory/descriptive case method, one of the case study types of qualitative research designs, was used. The subject was tried to be handled within the framework of realism in international relations theory. On the one hand, the scope of the research subject consists of Russia's attempts to disrupt the balance of power in Europe. On the other hand, the efforts of the states trying to maintain the balance are concentrated on Poland. This situation has led to the conclusion that the most appropriate theoretical approach for the study would be the realist theory.

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the issues that started to be discussed with the outbreak of the war in Ukraine was the issue of where the Russian aggression would stop. One of the dimensions of the discussions in this context is the issue of which country will be Russia's next target after Ukraine. Morgenthau argues that states tend to pursue their own interests. In this sense, states want to reach the most resources possible. From this point of view, it seems logical for Russia to turn to Estonia, which was the centre of information Technologies during the Soviet period. In addition, solving the problem of connection with Kaliningrad by capturing Lithuania can be seen as reasonable goals for Russia. However, at the current point, it can be thought that Russia has postponed achieving these goals. We can say that the main reason for this is the reactions of the West to the Ukrainian war. It is possible to characterise Russia's strategy, which started with the invasion attempt against Crimea, as 'silent occupation'. The basis of this strategy is the reactions of the West to the Crimean War. In this strategy, it can be thought that Russia aims to turn towards Crimea, Ukraine and then the Baltic countries without attracting too much reaction from the USA and European countries. It is possible to say that this strategy is also compatible with Russia's close near abroad doctrine. However, the harsh reactions of European countries to the Russian invasion of Ukraine have eliminated the possibility of implementing these strategies. It can be said that Europe's harsh reactions and intensive support to Ukraine have changed Russia's short-term goals. In this framework, Poland can be seen as the most important frontline country between Europe and Russia after Ukraine.

Since the issue is still very hot, it is possible to say that there are not many academic studies on the subject. One of the noteworthy studies on the subject is Andrew Higgins' article titled *A break away region of Moldova asks Russia for protection* (Higgins, 2024). In his study, Higgins analyses how Russia pursued a strategy to spread the war. Higgins establishes a connection between the calls for help of the Transnistria region and the calls of the separatists in Ukraine. This approach is noteworthy as it shows that Higgins looks at the issue from a holistic perspective. This perspective of Higgins makes his work different.

There are many reasons to think that Poland could be the next possible target of the Russians. The first of these is the missiles that have entered Polish territory. Secondly, the Russian initiatives in the Transnistria region have signal led that the war may extend beyond Ukraine. Thirdly, European logistic support reaches Ukraine through Poland to a great extent. In a sense, Poland is an important logistics centre for the distribution of military and humanitarian aid to Ukraine. In a way, the European support reaching Ukraine through Poland is reminiscent of World War II. Hitler declared war on America because he saw the US as the main source of European resistance. It would not be a big claim to suggest that a similar approach may be taken by Russian rulers and Putin. Putin may see Western support coming through Poland as the most important factor preventing the outcome of the Ukrainian war.

Russia's aggressive initiatives in the region have caused the author's attention to focus on Russia's initiatives. Russia's actions, especially in Syria, have caused the author's attention to shift to this field, like many Turkish academics. Especially the attack in the city of Idlib, which resulted in the martyrdom of 33 Turkish soldiers, deeply affected many people. Although no official statement has been made, the general opinion in the academic community is that Russia carried out this attack. Especially this event has pushed many Turkish academics to think about Russia. In this context, the author of this article has directed all his attention to Russia's aggressive initiatives in Europe and around the world.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It should be noted that there are not many answers to the question of which International Relations theory can analyze the developments following Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Realist theory is considered to be the most appropriate theoretical framework for analyzing the issue. It should be noted that there are not many examples in the field of international relations where theory and reality on the ground overlap so perfectly.

The realist theory of international relations is used for the analysis of the case. In the case that constitutes the subject of the study, there is an attempt by an aggressive state to disrupt the balances to the detriment of other states. This situation leads to the idea that it would be appropriate to use the Realist theory of international relations on the subject. Russia has made an attempt to disrupt the security balances in Europe by attacking Ukraine. This situation has caused Poland, the Baltic countries and Germany to be uneasy.

With these aggressive initiatives, Russia is, in a sense, acting in a way that confirms Morgenthau's thesis that states are structures that aim to gain interests. Hans Morgenthau sees the cause of conflicts as the attempts of

states to maximize their interests. Morgenthau also lists controlling territories and creating regional change among the goals of foreign policy (Morgenthau and Thompson, 1985). Russia's initiatives towards Ukraine fit precisely into these definitions. From this perspective, we can say that Russia aims to create regional changes and take new regions under its control. Ukraine can be considered as the victim of Russia's first step towards increasing its regional control.

3. FINDINGS

It is possible to point to the developments in Transnistria as the first signs of Russia taking the war beyond Ukraine. Transnistria has been a region of tension since the 1990s. Transnistria is a self-declared but internationally unrecognised microstate. Declared by Putin as part of Russia, Transnistria is located hundreds of kilometres away from Russia. Transnistria is also surrounded by Ukraine and Moldova, both of which are hostile to Russia. It is worth mentioning that Russia has a military base here. Since 1992, around 1500 Russian troops have been stationed at this base under the name of peace keeping force. The Transnistria Congress appealed *'to protect Transnistria in the face of increasing pressure'* and asked for Russia's help to protect Transnistria from Moldova's pressure. The appeal emphasised that more than 220.000 Russian citizens reside in this region. This appeal for help is reminiscent of the appeals for help of the eastern Ukrainian regions of Donetsk and Luhansk. These regions declared their independence in 2014 and asked for help from Russia. In a sense, they created a pretext for Russia's invasion with their calls for help (Higgins, 2024).

It can be said that the calls for help from the separatists of Transnistria have unsettled European leaders. Prime Minister of Poland, Donald Tusk, can be shown as one of the leaders who are concerned about the developments. Tusk described the events in Transnistria as a *'dangerous'* development for the whole region (Villagra, 2024). Traces of this concern can be seen in the statements of Western leaders regarding the recent war in Ukraine. U.S. Defence Secretary Lloyd Austin drew attention to this issue in a statement he gave in February 2024. Austin said in his statement: *'We know that if Putin is successful here, he will not stop, he will continue to take more aggressive action in the region'*. Austin stated that Russia's attempts to spread the war to the region, especially to the Baltic countries, would lead to a war between NATO and Russia. Austin's statement *'if Ukraine falls, I really believe that NATO will be in a fight with Russia.'* Shows the gravity of the situation (Slisco, 2024). It should be noted that the danger of Russian aggression extending beyond the territory of Ukraine was also discussed in the UK. The head of the UK armed forces Admiral Tony Radakin expressed his views on the issue at a defence conference at the Chatham House. *'We are not on the cusp of war with Russia. We are not about to be invaded,'* he said. Radakin also stated that *'Britain is safe. We are safe because we are part of Nato, the world's largest and strongest alliance and also because we are a responsible nuclear power,'* (Haynes, 2024). One of the leaders who emphasised that the war should be limited to Ukraine and that this war should be won was Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni. Meloni made a press statement during her visit to Kyiv: *'This land is part of our home and we are here today to say that we will do our best to defend it.'* (Seckin, 2024). These statements are also noteworthy in terms of showing that the importance of the Ukrainian war was understood by European leaders. It is possible to read Meloni's words as Ukraine is preventing the war from spreading to other European countries with its struggle.

It is conceivable that the spread of the war to Europe will probably be realised by Russia's attack on Poland. There are many reasons to think that Poland could be the next target, not least its logistical contributions. European leaders recognise the importance of aid in the victory of the Ukrainian war. Poland acts as a bridge for this aid to reach Ukraine. The logistics centres in Poland are of vital importance in this sense. One of the leaders who emphasised the importance of the aid is Margarita Robles, Minister of Defence of Spain.

The Spanish Minister for Defence, Margarita Robles, visited the main Polish centre from which military and humanitarian aid material destined for Ukraine. This air base, which Robles visited, serves as an important logistical centre. Spain has carried out more than 30 logistical transportations of armaments and materiel through this base. During his visit, Robles made statements about the importance of the work carried out by the personnel in charge at the base. Robles stated that without which it would not be possible to effectively and safely channel the aid that donor countries send to Ukraine (Moncloa, 2022).

It is seen that the Russians are trying to create a public opinion in their favour regarding the support of European countries towards Ukraine. Russia's expectation is that the European countries will silently watch everything that is going on. However, it should be stated that this expectation of Russia is irrational. Russia's reactions can be seen as a part of Russia's communication strategy to prevent Western support. One of the examples of this is

the publication by the Russians of the audio recordings of the discussions between German Air Force officers on aid to Ukraine.

In these recordings, German Air Force Chief Ingo Gerhartz discusses with three high-ranking Luftwaffe officials. Upon the publication of these recordings, German Defence Minister Boris Pistorius made statements on the subject. Pistorius does not see this incident as an ordinary wiretapping incident. Pistorius described the incident as a part of Putin's information war (Wieder, 2024). It should be noted that Russia's aggressive initiatives are not limited to information wars. It should also be noted that in countries such as Georgia, pro-Russian parties continue their activities to enslave free nations. The '*foreign agents*' law, which caused debates in the Georgian parliament, can be seen as one of the most concrete examples of this (Ebel, 2024).

France is one of the countries that have raised its voice against Russia's attempts against Ukraine, especially in recent times. The French president has declared that all options are possible in Ukraine. However, he also emphasised that the current situation does not require this. Emmanuel Macron warned the Western powers not to show any sign of weakness to Russia. He reiterated his position that the deployment of Western troops to Ukraine should not be ruled out. Macron described the Russia-Ukraine war as '*existential*' to France and Europe. It seems that Macron has still not given up on the option of sending troops directly (Euronews, 2024). After Macron's previous statements on the possibility of sending French troops to Ukraine, it is seen that the Russian side also made statements on this issue. Director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service Sergey Naryshkin made statements on behalf of the Russian side. Sergey Naryshkin stated that the Russian side has information that France is preparing a military contingent of 2,000 troops to be sent to Ukraine. Naryshkin's statements that '*It will thus become a legitimate priority target for attacks by the Russian armed forces.*' Are noteworthy (Metzel, 2024).

One of the developments showing the importance of Poland in the process is that Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz and French President Emmanuel Macron are set to meet in Berlin. The agenda of the meeting, which took place in March 2024, was the support given to Ukraine. It should be noted that before these meetings, Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk also held talks in Washington. Poland has always seen Russia as an imperialist power. Looking at Tusk's statements, it is seen that he expressed the need to help Ukraine in every possible way. Tusk thinks that every means should be used, especially spending money. Tusk's desire is that the situation in Ukraine should get better with each passing day and week (Wintour, 2024).

The rhetoric of the leader of Poland, the country closest to the firing line, is noteworthy. In his speech in March 2024, Tusk said that war was '*no longer a concept from the past*', adding: '*It's real and it started over two years ago.*' Tusk underlined that Europe is in a '*pre-war era*' and that Ukraine should not be defeated for the good of the European continent. Tusk also warned Europe to be ready for war. Tusk also emphasised that the younger generations should be mentally prepared for war. It should be noted that Poland allocates 4% of its GDP to military expenditures, a figure that is meaningful considering that many other NATO members are struggling to reach the 2% target (Rainsford and Kirby, 2024).

One of the leaders who share Tusk's point of view is Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen. Frederiksen made statements on the subject during the Munich Security Conference. Frederiksen's statement that '*we decided to donate our entire artillery,*' is quite important (Brzozowski, 2024). Like Tusk, one of the names drawing attention to the imminent danger of war for Europe is former MI6 boss Richard Dearlove. In his statements reflected in the press, Richard Dearlove draws attention to the danger of an imminent war with Russia. '*If you stopped anyone in the street here in the UK and asked them whether they thought Britain is at war, they'd look at you as if you were mad. But we are at war - we're engaged in a grey war with Russia, and I am trying to remind people of that.*'. Dearlove urged the Government to commit to spending at least 2.5 percent of national income on defence (King, 2024).

It is also stated by the Russians themselves that NATO and Russia may enter into a conflict, especially in Eastern Europe. Russian ambassador to the US Anatoly Antonov made statements on the subject. *'In fact, we are facing the danger of a direct clash between the armed forces of Russia and the North Atlantic Alliance in Eastern Europe,'* Antonov said (Tass, 2024).

The interview given by Polish Defence Minister Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz to Super Express is also noteworthy. Polish Defence Minister Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz answered questions about possible scenarios of how Russia's war against Ukraine would develop. In this context, Kosiniak-Kamysz was asked whether the worst-case scenario for the end of the war in Ukraine (Ukraine's defeat and Russia's attack on the countries on NATO's eastern flank, including Poland) was possible. Kosiniak-Kamysz replied that all scenarios are possible and that the worst case scenario should be taken very seriously. Kosiniak-Kamysz also stressed that this is the role of a defence minister in the current circumstances (Pravda, 2024).

On the Polish side, Poland's foreign minister, Radek Sikorski, also made statements on the issue. Radek Sikorski stated that Russian President Vladimir Putin should fear a war with NATO because it would inevitably result in Russia's defeat. According to Sikorski, it is Russia, not the West, that should fear a conflict. As the war in Ukraine continues, Western allies are concerned that Russia will turn its attention to NATO countries after Ukraine. Former US Vice President Mike Pence has also warned that if Putin wins his war with Kiev, he will target a NATO country (Irwin, 2024).

The most important event suggesting that Poland could be the next target of the Russians is the missiles entering Polish territory. One of these incidents of missile entry into Polish territory occurred in December 2023. A Russian missile entered Poland for almost three minutes. This event coincided with what Ukraine called the day of the largest air strike against it. Poland's armed forces chief Gen Wiesław Kukula commented on the incident. Kukula said the missile travelled about 40km (25 miles) into Polish airspace. Polish authorities organised an emergency security meeting after the object was detected on radar. Approximately 200 police officers searched the area where the object was detected in case the missile fell on Polish territory. After the incident, Krzysztof Komorski, the head of Lublin Voivodeship, called on the public to remain calm and patient on social media. Executives from the Polish Ministry of Defence also made statements on the incident. In their statements, it was stated that it was necessary to check whether this was a provocation or a test of the reaction of the Polish side. It was emphasised that both scenarios should be checked carefully. Since Russia's invasion and war against Ukraine three missiles have entered Poland (Easton, 2023).

4. DISCUSSION

Austin emphasises that if the war spreads to the Baltics, this will bring NATO into the war. For the first period of the process that started with the occupation of Crimea, this might have been a correct analysis. However, it must be said that Russia's attempt to invade the whole of Ukraine has changed this situation. It can be said that the harsh reaction of European countries to the war in Ukraine and the support given to Ukraine led Russia to change its target. The target of Russia is now Europe, which blocked it in Ukraine and prevented it from advancing towards the Baltics. It can be thought that the Russians see Germany and the UK as the countries that are doing this blocking in Europe. The UK has been in a supportive attitude towards Ukraine since the beginning of the Ukrainian war. However, it should be said that Russia's aggressive attempts that could target the whole of Europe have also made them uneasy.

When the views of the head of the UK armed forces Admiral Tony Radakin are analysed, three points come to the fore. Firstly, he emphasised that NATO is much, much stronger than Russia. Secondly, he emphasised that the UK is a responsible nuclear power and that this provides protection for the UK. The third is the emphasis on the fact that Britain will not be subjected to any occupation. The most striking point here is the statement that Britain will not be invaded. Radakin's *'We are not on the cusp of war with Russia. We are not about to be invaded,'* is quite thought-provoking.

German Defence Minister Boris Pistorius' characterisation of the wiretapping of German Air Force officers reflects the truth. It is safe to say that this incident is part of Putin's information war. Russia's attempts to enslave free nations are not limited to information warfare. It is possible to categorise the tools used by Russia to achieve its goals. The first of these is information warfare and propaganda supported by lies. The second is

direct brutal military operations. The third is the use of pro-Russian parties in countries such as Georgia. The fourth is intelligence warfare, which has led to the expulsion of Russian diplomats from many European countries. The most concrete example of Russia's information warfare was seen before the attack on Ukraine, when Russia declared that it was only conducting exercises and then attacked Ukraine. At the same time, it can be said that it finances so-called journalists, writers and academics in many countries. It can be said that a pro-Russian public opinion has been formed in many countries with the influence of these people on television. Russian propaganda has been so effective that many people have started to express opinions that justify Russia. The opinions of these people about the war in Ukraine are that Ukraine and Russia are actually a family, that Ukraine is the younger brother of the family, and that Russia, the older brother, warned his brother who went the wrong way. These people consider Ukraine's rapprochement with Europe and the West as going the wrong way. According to them, Russia started this war in order not to harm both itself and Ukraine. However, none of these statements can explain the Russian attempts to subjugate free nations, especially Ukraine. One of the tools of Russia's attempts to subjugate free nations is the pro-Russian parties in other countries. The most concrete example of this is the '*foreign agents*' law, which has caused controversy in the Georgian parliament. Those who tried to pass this law are said to be Russian agents by other parliamentarians.

Tusk's statements that Europe is in a '*pre-war era*' are quite correct. It can be seen as a positive situation that the prime minister of the country closest to the line of fire is aware of the seriousness of the issue. In this context, it is seen that the seriousness of the issue is also understood by countries such as France. Apart from Germany, it is seen that France and Macron have recently made exits towards the Ukrainian war. Especially when the process is taken into consideration, it is possible to evaluate France's exits as late moves compared to the UK. Macron's statements that troops can be sent directly to Ukraine are important, but it can also be said that these statements have caused a certain degree of discomfort among other European leaders. It is perhaps possible to characterise the strategy of the West as silent help, but Macron's discourses can be evaluated as noisy statements. It is seen that Macron has softened his discourse on the option of sending troops directly as there is no need for this for now. However, in any case, it is valuable that France has come to the same line with the UK, Germany and especially Poland. The Russian side threatens European countries through its leaders such as Sergey Naryshkin. Sergey Naryshkin's statements show that the Russians are not only waging an information war to prevent their European counterparts from helping Ukraine. These statements are noteworthy as they show that Russia has resorted to all means, including threats.

Russian Ambassador to the US Anatoly Antonov's statements on the subject support the argument of the article. Antonov talks about the danger of a direct military confrontation with NATO in Eastern Europe. It can be easily stated that Poland will be the first country to come to mind when it comes to Eastern Europe. The interview with Polish Defence Minister Władysław Kosiniak-Kamysz can be seen as important in this sense. Kosiniak-Kamysz's statements that we have to be ready for anything that might happen, to some extent, reflect the point of view of the Polish side. In a sense, Kosiniak-Kamysz's statements show that a possible Russian attack is also expected by Poland.

Poland's foreign minister, Radek Sikorski, is another person who made statements on the issue on the Polish side. Looking at Sikorski's statements, it is understood that he sees NATO as the most important assurance for Poland. However, leaders such as Mike Pence also draw attention to what might happen after a possible Russian success in Ukraine. Pence believes that Russia will target another NATO member after a victory in Ukraine. It is possible to say that this country could be Poland, even though many people do not openly express it.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Especially when the statements of Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk are taken into consideration, it is seen that war is a reality for Europe. In a sense, Europe is moving step by step towards a war that will cover the whole European continent. It can be thought that Poland will be the next target for Russia, especially because Poland is a logistics base for Ukraine, for geographical reasons, and because it is located on the route of Germany, France and England, which it sees as its main enemies. In a sense, it can be said that what keeps Ukraine alive is the support coming from Poland. It would not be a big claim to say that this situation is also seen by the Russians. The most important event that suggests that Poland may be the next target is the missiles entering Polish territory. Since Russia's war against Ukraine three missiles have entered Poland. In a sense, this can be read as a matter of time for Poland to enter the war. A missile that will fall on one of the Polish cities on

the Ukrainian border and cause serious loss of life will change the course of history, and Poland will suddenly be drawn into the war by the Russians, even though it is undesirable.

At the moment, the most important element protecting Poland is NATO. Poland's membership in NATO provides it with protection against Russian aggression. However, it is conceivable that Poland will be one of the first targets in the event of Russian aggression against NATO. It can be said that both European and American leaders are seriously concerned about what might happen after Russia's success in Ukraine. Western leaders are predicting that the Russians will target another NATO member in Europe after Ukraine. In a sense, the realisation of such an event would mean that the European continent, most of which are NATO members, would find itself in a war with Russia.

EU security decision-makers and practitioners need a holistic strategy. It is not possible to say that all countries show the same sensitivity to the threat of war that would cover the EU continent. This is a problem that needs to be addressed. During the war in Ukraine, there was a shortage of personnel, especially for the use of aircraft. Necessary measures should be taken to prevent a similar situation in a possible Polish invasion attempt. It maybe considered useful to provide all types of aircraft, including the F-35, to Poland in advance. In a sense, it would be appropriate to take all necessary measures to prevent the problems experienced in Ukraine. Russian attempts against the EU are not limited to Ukraine. Russian attempts to threaten Poland and cut the ties of countries such as Georgia with the EU should be carefully monitored and neutralised. In a country that lost a large number of soldiers in the 2008 disaster, it should also be questioned how pro-Russian parties can be successful. It is clear that the mechanism of massive Russian electoral manipulation must be neutralised. This is equally important for Ukraine and the Baltic states. Serious suspicions are expressed by many that Russia has been able to manipulate elections in many countries, notably Belarus.

For scholars interested in EU security, how Poland can ensure its security is a research topic. Another issue that can be investigated is what measures the EU and NATO can take for Poland's security. To say a single sentence about Poland, *'The western countries should not allow a new Katyn massacre to take place in Poland'*.

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