


The Importance of Changes in the Field of Socio-Economic Cooperation in Polish-American Relations in the Era of Donald Trump's Presidency

Znaczenie zmian w obszarze współpracy społeczno-gospodarczej w stosunkach polsko-amerykańskich w dobie prezydentury Donalda Trumpa

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Abstract: What did Polish-American cooperation in the socio-economic area look like during Donald Trump's presidency, and what was its significance? This article describes and analyzes the actions and decisions taken by a politician who favored the development and security of Poland and the Eastern European region, who, during his presidency in 2017–2021, concluded numerous agreements with Poland, deepened trade exchange, and abolished the visa requirement for Polish citizens, opening their country to a freer influx of Poles who have a definitely positive attitude towards the United States and its interests in the world. Based on the data from the XXI century regarding certain areas of trade between Poland and the United States, there was an increase in trade and the deepening of economic ties between both entities. The President of the United States responsible for these changes was Donald Trump. Comparing the decisions made by his office and the decisions of his predecessors, there can be seen intense activity to strengthen Polish-American relations and implement long-awaited visions of the past. Unfortunately for the then president, the abolishment of visas for Poles was not enough to sway the Polish diaspora in the United States to vote for Donald Trump and secure his victory in the 2020 elections.

Keywords: The United States, Poland, Donald Trump, Andrzej Duda, socio-economic relations

Streszczenie: Jak wyglądała współpraca polsko-amerykańska w obszarze społeczno-gospodarczym za prezydentury Donalda Trumpa i jakie miała znaczenie? W artykule opisano i przeanalizowano działania i decyzje podjęte przez polityka sprzyjającego rozwojowi i bezpieczeństwu Polski i regionu Europy Wschodniej, który podczas swojej prezydentury w latach 2017–2021 zawarł z Polską liczne umowy, pogłębił wymianę handlową oraz zniósł obowiązek wizowy dla obywateli Polski, otwierając swój kraj na swobodniejszy napływ Polaków, którzy mają zdecydowanie pozytywne nastawienie do Stanów Zjednoczonych i ich interesów na świecie. Na podstawie danych z XXI w. dotyczących niektórych dziedzin handlu pomiędzy Polską a Stanami Zjednoczonymi można zaobserwować wzrost wymiany handlowej i pogłębienie powiązań gospodarczych obu podmiotów. Prezydentem Stanów Zjednoczonych odpowiedzialnym za te zmiany był Donald Trump.

Porównując decyzje podejmowane przez jego urząd z decyzjami poprzedników, widać intensywne działania na rzecz wzmocnienia relacji polsko-amerykańskich i realizacji długo oczekiwanych wizji z przeszłości. Niestety, zniesienie wiz dla Polaków nie wystarczyło, aby przekonać Polonię w Stanach Zjednoczonych do głosowania na D. Trumpa i zapewnić mu zwycięstwo w wyborach w 2020 r.

Słowa kluczowe: Stany Zjednoczone, Polska, Donald Trump, Andrzej Duda, stosunki społeczno-gospodarcze

Due to the upcoming presidential elections in the United States in 2024, Donald Trump started his election campaign, running for president again. This is an introduction to a future analysis regarding the possibility of mutual economic and financial gains for Poland and the United States if D. Trump is allowed to participate in the elections and wins. The end of Joe Biden's presidency is a good start to recall D. Trump's achievements for Poland, which may help him gain the necessary support from Poles in the United States this year. It is also an opportunity to look at cooperation in the economic sphere from the 1990s to the end of D. Trump's presidency, comparing them to the previous presidents' achievements.

The article uses methods of comparative analysis and existing data analysis to assess the significance of Polish-American cooperation on a socio-economic level during D. Trump's presidency. These analysis methods will help answer a couple of questions, such as: how economic relations between Poland and the United States have changed, what were the most important socio-economic decisions made during D. Trump's term, and whether there is a correlation between the increase in interactions between the governments of both countries during the presidency of D. Trump and the increase in trade between Poland and the USA? The answers to these questions will allow us to confirm the thesis that during D. Trump's presidency, there were significant changes in the socio-economic cooperation in Polish-American relations. The first part of the article presents the decisions of important Polish and American politicians on the way to opening Poland to the global market through cooperation with the United States, in the next parts, data from trade exchanges during the presidency of Barack Obama and D. Trump are described and compared, and the importance for Polish-American cooperation is determined.

1. Polish-American socio-economic cooperation after the Cold War

After the fall of communism in Poland and the establishment of the first independent government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz traveled to the US capital to familiarize the US President with the economic reform project in Poland. An important step on the path to transformation was the initiation by the American side of the Stabilization Fund, to which the United States contributed 200 million US dollars. The convertibility of the Polish currency was implemented using the entire amount of the Fund. It was thanks to the USA that Poland's economic relations with the West were resumed, and the then head of state, George W.H. Bush, in a letter to the Polish Prime Minister announced the cancellation of the state debt of over \$2 billion. In March 1990, the Treaty Concerning Business and Economic Relations between the Republic of Poland and the United States of America was drawn up and ratified in May of the same year. As a result of signing this agreement and deepening cooperation, Polish elites sought to repay the United States. During the conflict in Iraq, Poland showed support for the American coalition and stopped trade with the Republic of Iraq as a sign of solidarity. Another sign of an attempt to repay the help was the abolition of visas for US citizens, only by the Polish side (Jakimowicz 2009: 46–47). The issue of abolishing visas for Polish citizens during the next terms of office of US presidents will become problematic and incomprehensible to the Republic of Poland.

Observing the decisions of Polish elites, the United States noticed the efforts of the vast majority of Polish governments in striving for a free market (Mix 2016: 2). For this reason, in the following years, it granted non-repayable loans and continued activities to deepen economic cooperation, mainly through investments.

This is reflected in the investment data from 1993, which shows that American investments accounted for approximately 2/5 of all foreign direct investments in Poland, while a year later this ratio increased to 1/3 of investments. The amount of invested capital in 1994 amounted to 1.5 billion US dollars. The corporations that invested the most include Pepsi, Coca-Cola, Boeing, City Bank, and the automotive company General Motors (Jakimowicz 2009: 47–48).

The above-mentioned companies are mainly entities from the food, banking, and automotive industries. Their investments in Poland improved

the availability of American products in the Polish market, which also became a sign of Poland's Westernization.

In 1997, trade between the Republic of Poland and the USA increased by almost a billion dollars compared to 1996 and reached over 2.5 billion dollars. During these years, Poland imported complex industrial goods from the United States, e.g., aircraft and other technologically advanced devices, and exported food products, wood processing products, and metal industry products (Jakimowicz 2009: 50–51).

Over the years, there has been a trend of increasing interest in trade between the United States and Poland. Exports of goods and services to Poland in 2004 amounted to almost one billion dollars (\$929 million), while imports from the Republic of Poland exceeded one billion dollars (\$1.8 billion), making them almost twice as large as exports. Eleven years later, exports to the US were more than four times higher than in 2004, and imports had more than tripled (Mix 2016: 11).

Table 1. Trade in food and live animals between Poland and the United States in 2006–2016

Years	Import (in thousands USD)	Export (in thousands USD)
2006	74171	125052
2007	101315	148112
2008	187001	155372
2009	144524	170881
2010	241429	217250
2011	161497	196031
2012	188232	229947
2013	365576	231842
2014	198299	310908
2015	218042	322821
2016	198449	337942

Source: GUS [2007–2017].

The table above illustrates the constantly growing trade exchange between Poland and the United States. Analyzing exports, we notice that only in 2011 we observed a slight decline, which could have been a late consequence of the financial crisis of 2008. However, the value of imported goods from the USA fluctuated every year, and only in the years 2006–2008 was a constant upward trend. In the following years, it fluctuated, increasing and decreasing. The mentioned trend continued until 2016.

Table 2. Trade exchange of machines, devices, and transport equipment in 2006–2016

Years	Import (in thousands USD)	Export (in thousands USD)
2006	1343781	888911
2007	1561583	844128
2008	1950536	1062582
2009	1400608	1340212
2010	1855321	1373216
2011	1975123	1619408
2012	2506161	1904722
2013	2725522	2522538
2014	2739695	2407364
2015	2577501	2128022
2016	2935222	2512154

Source: GUS [2007–2017].

It can be noted that trade in machinery, equipment, and transport equipment maintained an upward trend in the analyzed period. An important element of economic relations between Poland and the United States is trade in these goods because Poland imported the most products related to technology and mechanics, including planes and cars. Each year mentioned, Poland imported more and more goods in this category from the United States. During B. Obama's second term, trade exchange exceeded 2,000,000 thousand American dollars.

Polish-American relations also developed in the area of research and scientific cooperation. The Agreement on Scientific Cooperation signed by both parties in 2006 was a legal confirmation of the will of both countries to cooperate in this area. Another agreement on the scientific exchange of students was the agreement on the Polish-American Fulbright Commission, ratified in 2008. In 2007, a program for the exchange of Polish and American youth began to operate. In 2011, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Radosław Sikorski, visited the capital of the United States, where he signed a Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Poland on Cooperation in Clean and Efficient Energy, concerning the development of cooperation in the field of scientific, technical and political aspects of clean and efficient energy technologies (Czornik, Lakomy 2014: 423).

Poland acquired innovative patents and weapons as a result of military and economic cooperation with the United States. The cooperation resulted

in 2007 with the American decision to invest in Sikorsky Aircraft Corporation in PZL Mielec. The above-mentioned factory initiated the production of Black Hawk and S-70 helicopters (Grodzki 2012). The above-mentioned decision was made by the Republican administration of George W. Bush, with which the Republic of Poland had the best relations, mainly on the military level.

An important aspect of Polish-American relations is the social factor and the related presence of a large diaspora of Poles living in the United States, called the Polish diaspora. Based on various sources from 2009, there were between 9–10 million citizens of Polish origin living in the USA, which influenced relations between these two countries (Jakimowicz 2009: 45).

People of Polish descent in the United States work actively to support relations between these two entities. However, the very presence of many citizens with a common national heritage affects various issues in Polish-American relations.

After Poland became independent of the influence of the Russian Federation, the topic of Poland's accession to NATO was discussed by the Polish diaspora in the United States. One of the organizations working to turn Poland towards the West, especially the USA, was PAC (Polish American Congress). The vast majority of the Polish diaspora supported the development of cooperation and strengthening relations between their home country and the USA (Malendowicz 2013: 179). Among the supporters was Zbigniew Brzeziński, who joined the plan to expand the structures of the North Atlantic Alliance to countries in Central Europe (including Poland). Zbigniew Brzeziński also initiated the creation of the Polish-American Freedom Foundation in order to deepen the relations of both entities (Uchwała 2017/539). There were different opinions on the issue of Poland's inclusion in the EU, both opponents and supporters of accession to the group of member states. The opponents included Edward Moskal (president of the Polish American Congress). The EU market was found to be too competitive compared to the US market (Malendowicz 2013: 179). A conflict of interests has been noticed at the economic level in the case of Poland's membership in the EU.

Relations between the Republic of Poland and the USA cooled down after President B. Obama's decision in 2009. Then Poland organized a ceremony marking the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, to which the American president was invited. As a representative of his administration, B. Obama sent James Jones, his national security adviser, which was perceived by Polish political scientists and the public as downplaying the seriousness of the celebrations (Czornik, Lakomy 2014: 427).

According to Anna Czornik and Mirosław Lakomy, the foreign policy of G.W. Bush enjoyed greater trust among Poles compared to his successor. Based on a WPO survey conducted in 2011, the difference in the perception of the B. Obama administration by citizens of Western European countries and Poland was revealed. The vast majority of residents of Western countries sympathized and supported B. Obama, while only about half of the Poles surveyed trusted the foreign policy of the Democrat president (Czornik, Lakomy 2014: 425).

It can definitely be said that the attitude of Polish society towards the United States was caused by a shift in US policy during B. Obama's presidency towards the Pacific region at the expense of Europe, disregard for Eastern Europe, and too lenient policy towards the Russian Federation. During his term, Poles began to fear that the United States would gradually leave the Eastern European region, which would put Poland back under the influence of Russia pursuing imperial policy.

Polish-American relations in the post-Cold War period were mainly good and friendly. However, among the issues negatively affecting these relations was the issue of excluding Poland and its citizens from the American visa program. Some congressmen spoke in favor of Poland's inclusion in the above-mentioned program, but during the term of office of presidents before D. Trump, this was not possible (Mix 2016: 2).

According to the report of the Congressional Research Service from 2016, the Polish economy is described as one of the best functioning in this part of Europe (Mix 2016: 2), which is a distinction for Poland and a signal of the willingness of foreign investors to invest capital. There are many factors influencing the attractiveness of Poland for investors, including population potential, historical connections, strategic location of Poland in the center of Europe, and qualified staff. Poles also speak English at a high level among the non-Germanic population in Europe. Due to all the above-mentioned factors, further development of economic and social cooperation between Poland and the United States can be expected.

2. Main changes in socio-economic cooperation during the presidency of Donald Trump

In the current international order, the United States is among the countries that conduct the most trade on a global scale. These include, among others: countries

such as Brazil, India, Germany, and China, with which President D. Trump started a “trade war” and negatively influenced the image of the People’s Republic of China. In addition to trade, mass culture and leading American film productions influence the perception of US citizens, and social life and promote standard American values. The image of the United States is influenced primarily by the actions taken by the president and politicians who are responsible for conflicts, wars, and negative effects affecting the country.

This part will include information on how Poles perceive the United States and the President, and a short analysis of investments and trade between the Republic of Poland and the USA.

The way Polish society perceives the United States is influenced by various factors. Historical and family ties, widespread American mass culture, common political decisions, and military and economic cooperation influenced Poles’ sympathy towards the USA. The table shows data about the positive image of the United States among the vast majority of respondents.

Table 3. Perception of the USA in 2018

Poles’ perception of the USA in March 2018	Percentage of respondents
Very positive	46.21%
Positive	27.26%
Neutral	15.66%
Negative	4.45%
Very negative	6.42%

Source: Selectivv 2018.

According to a survey conducted by Selective Europe Sp. z o. o. in 2018, NATO was chosen as the greatest security guarantor for the Republic of Poland, while the United States came in second place. The respondents considered the European Union and the Polish army to be other guarantors of security. In March, there was an almost 8% increase in surveyed Poles considering the alliance as the main guarantor of security, while other entities, including the United States, recorded a slight decrease. The data presented in the table show that Polish citizens have greater confidence in the multilateral political-military alliance than in bilateral military relations. The relatively low level of confidence in the US in ensuring Poland’s security may have been caused by President D. Trump’s political unpredictability in making decisions.

Table 4. Public opinion on the most important guarantor of Poland's security in 2018

Entities	In January 2018	In March 2018
North Atlantic Alliance	29.70%	37.40%
United States	23.80%	22.50%
European Union	22.20%	18.40%
Polish Armed Forces	24.10%	21.60%

Source: Selectivv 2018.

Based on the same source, Polish citizens considered the United States to be the most important partner in the international arena. The next countries mentioned in the survey were Germany, Hungary, Great Britain, Lithuania, Ukraine, and France. Percentage points vary widely, and various factors influence the U.S.'s high ranking among the public. The most important of them are the geopolitical location of the United States, the assistance received in reforming the Republic of Poland, and the military and technological potential of the United States. Even though the United States is the only non-European country among the countries mentioned, it ranks first in the ranking, which shows that Poles perceive it as a guarantor of the balance of power in Europe and the world.

Table 5. Public opinion about Poland's most important ally in 2018

Entities	In March 2018
United States	35.30%
Germany	22.26%
Hungary	10.95%
Great Britain	7.30%
Ukraine	4.76%
Lithuania	4.19%
France	3.04%

Source: Selectivv 2018.

In the CBOS survey on the foreign politician who deserved to be named politician of the year, in 2017–2020, Poles chose the incumbent US President D. Trump. Angela Merkel, Donald Tusk, and J. Biden were indicated as other politicians deserving this name. In the first three years of D. Trump's presidency, there was an increase in the percentage of Poles surveyed who

indicated him as the most deserving of such a title. This is closely related to the tables described above, indicating the great sympathy of the Polish nation for the United States and its president. However, in 2020, there was a decrease in the percentage of respondents naming D. Trump as the “politician of the year.” This is due to the pandemic situation, the US withdrawal from international organizations, China being accused by the United States of deliberately spreading the virus, and the upcoming elections in the US. In the same year, respondents began to indicate J. Biden, who was to run for president from the Democratic Party.

Table 6. Which foreign politician active on the world stage deserves the title of politician of the year?

Years	Foreign politician of the year	There is no such politician	It's hard to say, I'm not interested in it
2017	Donald Trump – 12.00%; Angela Merkel – 7.00%; Donald Tusk – 3.00%	17.00%	51.00%
2018	Donald Trump – 14.00%; Angela Merkel – 5.00%; Donald Tusk – 3.00%	18.00%	49.00%
2019	Donald Trump – 15.00%; Donald Tusk – 6.00%; Angela Merkel – 4.00%	16.00%	54.00%
2020	Donald Trump – 10.00%; Angela Merkel – 6.00%; Joe Biden – 3.00%	18.00%	53.1700%

Source: CBOS 2021.

Based on Tables 3–6, it can be seen that the United States is in the spotlight of the Polish public opinion as are the international organizations of which it is a member. According to Polish public opinion, the United States is perceived by Polish citizens as an important ally and partner and constitutes an important and inseparable element of the international relations of Poland.

Trade between Poland and the United States is a very important issue, especially for Poland. Through signed contracts and the exchange of goods, Poland gains money from an external source, which is much wealthier and is among the largest economic entities. Through both military and political cooperation, the Republic of Poland signed more favorable trade agreements with the USA.

An example of this is the U.S.-Poland Joint Declaration on 5G signed on September 2, 2019, in Warsaw by Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki and Vice President of the United States Michael Pence. Strengthening cooperation in this area is an important aspect for both countries, due to the enormous importance of new technologies in the current conditions (Kancelaria Prezesa Rady Ministrów 2.09.2019). The development of the 5G network is seen as development at the civil level, strengthening Poland's national security, economic ties, and enrichment of both entities (U.S.-Poland Joint Declaration on 5G 2019).

Another important event was the visit of the President of Poland to the White House on June 24, 2020. President Andrzej Duda raised the issue of cooperation with the United States, starting from the economic level. The scope of this cooperation concerned the energy sector and the development of its security not only in Poland but also throughout Central Europe. The President of the Republic of Poland emphasized that, for this purpose, both entities strive to implement and expand current investments, including a gas port in Świnoujście, and discuss future plans. The public statement specified the end date of the concluded agreement regarding the supply of liquefied gas to Poland – 2023. It is also planned to sign an agreement on conventional and nuclear energy for the production of electricity in Poland. In his statement, A. Duda presented the interest and participation of the United States in the Three Seas Initiative, including the provision of financial resources for this project. To sum up, the satisfaction with economic cooperation and the certainty of joint development of Poland and the USA after the end of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic were emphasized (Oficjalna strona Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 24.06.2020). Both presidents mentioned the declaration on 5G signed in 2019, which excludes Chinese companies from the group of trusted suppliers who, according to the American authorities, do not comply with basic IT security standards. In return, the United States promotes its corporations operating in this area, including Microsoft and Google (Kacprzyk, Piotrowski 25.06.2020).

The decisions and agreements described above constitute an opportunity to deepen cooperation between Poland and Europe with the United States, to make Central Europe independent of energy supplies from Russia and to catch up with the level of the western part of the European Union. However, the exclusion of companies from China is related to the confrontational policy of the United States towards China, with which D. Trump conducted the so-called "trade war." The Republic of Poland, wanting to show good intentions and a jointly directed foreign policy with the USA, signed the above agreement.

An important issue for the Polish energy industry is the signing of the Agreement on the development of the Polish nuclear energy program by the American side on October 19, 2020, and the Polish side three days later. An indirect effect of joint cooperation in this area is to be the construction of the first nuclear power plant in Poland, but also the training of specialized staff in this field. The work on this matter would be supervised by a Steering Committee consisting of Polish and American officials and experts (Ministerstwo Klimatu i Środowiska Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2017). The above-mentioned agreement was signed for 30 years and is a sign of the United States' solidarity with Poland in the field of energy. The agreement is a step in the implementation of the declaration of D. Trump, who, at the beginning of his presidency and during his first visit abroad, assured the readiness of the United States to diversify sources of energy supplies for European countries, including Poland (Ministerstwo Klimatu i Środowiska Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2017).

In foreign trade, the basic goods imported and exported are animals and food. The tables below show an upward trend in both imports and exports of selected goods. Trade exchange between the Republic of Poland and the USA in the field of trade in food and live animals brings much greater profits for Poland. However, trade in machines, devices, and transport equipment was equal.

Table 7. Trade between Poland and the United States in 2017–2020

Trade in food and live animals	Import (in thousands USD)	Export (in thousands USD)
2017	207195	497693
2018	269491	521190
2019	313652	522279
2020	269414	503111

Source: GUS [2018–2021].

Table 8. Trade exchange of machines, devices, and transport equipment in the years 2017–2020

Years	Import (in thousands USD)	Export (in thousands USD)
2017	3264237	3247899
2018	3638099	4032963
2019	4345927	4171356
2020	3720115	4057242

Source: GUS [2018–2021].

To summarize the above data on the socio-economic level, the Republic of Poland and the United States have positive economic relations that have been developing each year. The scope of concluded agreements related to the development of this sector of relations is promising and deepening of economic relations can be expected. It is worth noting and emphasizing that the United States is still well-perceived by Polish society. This is evidenced by Poles selecting the American president and the USA in surveys regarding the guarantor of security, Poland's most important ally, and the politician of the year.

3. The importance of changes in the field of socio-economic cooperation in Polish-American relations during the presidency of Donald Trump

Socio-economic cooperation between the United States and the Republic of Poland was also an important area, similar to political and military cooperation, but of the least importance for Polish-American relations. During the presidencies preceding D. Trump's, economic cooperation was limited only to the exchange of goods and services, whereas during the D. Trump administration, an intensified nature of investments in various areas could be observed, including gas supplies, development of the 5G network, etc. In many speeches, D. Trump emphasized the need for American investments in the Eastern European region, arguing that they would strengthen their allies. They led to mutual benefits, primarily financial ones for the United States, and to making the energy security of the countries stronger in the region, etc.

The tables below contain information on trade between Poland and the United States during the B. Obama and D. Trump administrations. The totals for B. Obama's rule collectively cover his two terms, while for D. Trump they are limited to only four years of one term.

Table 9. Trade exchange of food products and live animals between Poland and the United States in 2009–2016 and 2017–2020

Time frame	The sitting President of the United States	Total Imports (in thousands of USD)	Total Exports (in thousands of USD)
2009–2016	Barack Obama	1716048	2017622
2017–2020	Donald Trump	1059752	2044273
Difference	-	656296	-26651

Source: GUS [2007–2021].

Table 10. Trade exchange of machines, devices, and transport equipment in the years 2009–2016 and 2017–2020

Time frame	The sitting President of the United States	Import (in thousands of USD)	Export (in thousands of USD)
2009–2016	Barack Obama	18715153	15807636
2017–2020	Donald Trump	14968378	15509460
Difference	–	3746775	298176

Source: GUS [2007–2021].

Tables 9 and 10 show general information from which, if several factors were not taken into account, incorrect conclusions could be drawn. To show more reliable data, the amounts for B. Obama’s first term should be summed separately and the same for the second term, and only at the very end compared to the turnover during D. Trump’s presidency.

Comparing the data obtained from the calculations, taking into account the difference in the number of terms in office and the lack of available data on trade turnover for the first 20 days of January of the last days of the term, it can be concluded that trade in selected goods during the four years of D. Trump’s term was much greater than during the first and B. Obama’s second term. It can also be noted in Table 9 that during one term of D. Trump’s presidency, the export of food products and live animals was greater than after adding up the amounts from both terms of office of B. Obama. The combination of these data leads to predictions and assumptions that if D. Trump were elected for another term, trade in this area would be twice as large as trade during both B. Obama terms. In the years 2017–2020, the amount of import of food and live animals to Poland was lower than after the re-election of B. Obama.

Table 11. Trade exchange of food and live animals between Poland and the United States in the years 2009–2016 and 2017–2020

Time frame	The sitting President of the United States	Import (in thousands of USD)	Export (in thousands of USD)
2009–2012	Barack Obama	735682	814109
2013–2016	Barack Obama	980366	1203513
2017–2020	Donald Trump	1059752	2044273

Source: GUS [2007–2021].

Table 12. Trade exchange of machines, devices, and transport equipment in 2009–2016 and 2017–2020

Time frame	The sitting President of the United States	Import (in thousands of USD)	Export (in thousands of USD)
2009–2012	Barack Obama	7737213	6237558
2013–2016	Barack Obama	10977940	9570078
2017–2020	Donald Trump	14968378	15509460

Source: GUS [2007–2021].

In the foreign policy of the USA and Poland, one can notice asymmetrical relations between the entities, due to the decisive position of the United States in the world and the marginal position of the Republic of Poland. Relations between countries are also determined by the economic situation of given countries, which in a given case is completely different. The influence of the American economy in the international arena is much greater, which results in weaker economic entities, such as Poland, being subordinated to stronger entities, such as the United States. The Polish and American authorities strive to jointly strengthen economic cooperation and show the links between Poland's foreign policy and the United States, leading to increased purchases of weapons and raw materials from the United States, especially energy resources (Krettek 2019).

In the second part of this article on socio-economic cooperation, you can see a positive image of the United States, which most often ranks first among the most positively perceived countries. President D. Trump also finished first in a poll of foreign politicians worthy of being named politician of the year. All data contained in the above-mentioned fragment create an outline of trust and positive relations between Poland and the United States. The reasons for this position of the majority of Polish citizens can be seen in the similar attitude of Americans and Poles towards the past and patriotic duties, the large Polish community in the USA, the brotherhood in arms of US and Polish citizens, common threats, etc. The policy towards Poland conducted during the D. Trump administration, which is reflected in numerous signed agreements important for Poland, proved the sensitivity of the American administration in this aspect.

One of the most important issues for ordinary Polish citizens was the criterion of having a visa to travel to the United States. After many years of efforts by the Polish authorities and verbal assurances from US presidents, on November 11, 2019, visa requirements for Polish citizens were abolished. The final decision to include Poland in the Visa Waiver Program was made

by D. Trump, who announced the abolition of visas during his election campaign preceding his presidency (Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Washington, DC 11.11.2019).

The date of the above event was not accidental, because November 11 is Poland's Independence Day. The American side, taking into account the importance of this day for the Polish nation, decided to choose this date symbolically. This decision was of a strategic and political nature due to the approaching end of D. Trump's term of office, and due to the upcoming election campaign and elections. In this way, the then president hoped to win the majority of votes from the electorate of Polish origin, which constitutes a large percentage of voters and the US society.

This was D. Trump's most important decision in terms of public cooperation, and the topic of visa waiver was discussed during the terms of presidents preceding D. Trump. However, it was not until many years later, with his decision, that the requirement was abolished.

Table 13. Assessment of the impact of Donald Trump's presidency on Polish-American relations of Poles in August 2021

The opinion of Polish respondents in August 2021	Percentage of respondents
Definitely favorable	18%
Rather favorable	29%
Neutral	23%
Rather unfavorable	18%
Definitely unfavorable	7%
I don't know, it's hard to say	5%

Source: PISM styczeń 2022.

The 2022 report of the Polish Institute of International Affairs contains information confirming the positive image of cooperation between Poland and the United States during the presidency of D. Trump, a year after his term ended. When Polish respondents were asked how they assessed the impact of Republican President D. Trump's presidency on Polish-American relations, 47% of respondents answered "definitely favorable" (18%) and "rather favorable" (29%), while 23% of respondents chose "neutral," "rather unfavorable" 18%, and "definitely unfavorable" 7% (PISM 2022: 22). This concludes that almost a half of Polish respondents saw the impact of Polish-American relations as positive, while only a quarter of respondent saw the impact as negative and almost a quarter of respondent perceived the impact as neutral.

Conclusion

To sum up, it is fair to say that it was during D. Trump's presidency that socio-economic cooperation developed very quickly. Trade exchange also increased and scientific and technical cooperation developed. Trade turnover increased compared to previous periods. Donald Trump was able to skillfully use the deep-seated sympathy of Poles for the American nation to achieve his goals. However, the decision to abolish the visa requirement for Poles was not convincing enough to win the vast majority of the Polish electorate in the autumn 2020 US presidential elections.

Based on the data collected and presented in all the tables in this article, the conclusion is that the Polish-American trade has intensified bringing profit to both international actors and there is a correlation between the increase in interactions between the governments of both countries during the presidency of D. Trump and the increase in trade between Poland and the USA. The prediction for 2021–2025 would be that if D. Trump won the elections in 2020, the outcome of trade would be double the amount of both terms of office of B. Obama. This is the result of a common interest shared between the two presidents, which led to deepening and strengthening cooperation.

As a result of many declarations, agreements, and contracts, such as the U.S.-Poland Joint Declaration on 5G and the Agreement on the Development of the Polish Nuclear Energy Program, the ties between Poland and the United States have tightened. In many surveys, Poles have indicated the importance of Polish-American relations, identifying the US as the biggest guarantor of Poland's security and the most important ally of Poland, and choosing President D. Trump as the foreign politician of the year. It seems that Polish-American cooperation in the socio-economic area under D. Trump's presidency was of great importance.

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