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Treaty relations between Poland and Georgia: A comparative analysis in the regional context

Introduction. International treaties as a tool of the foreign policy of a state

Under contemporary international law, the right to establish international relations and conduct foreign policy is one of the key powers of any sovereign state. The conclusion of international agreements is one of the primary manifestations of a state's international activity, and treaties, alongside customary law, constitute a primary source of international law. The conclusion of international agreements is governed by the principles of voluntariness, equality and sovereignty of its parties. As such, international agreements enable a state to shape its position in international relations democratically and autonomously, consistent with its national interests.

An international treaty is an agreement between two or more parties (subjects of international law) that defines their reciprocal rights and obligations and establishes rules of conduct that are binding on them. The function of an international agreement is to cause legal effects in the sphere of international law. A necessary condition for the effectiveness of an international agreement is the subjectivity of all its parties. To be binding, an international

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agreement must contain specific conduct, enforceable under international law sanctions (Antonowicz 1998, p. 187). The international legal regime governing the operation of treaties is outlined in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, adopted in 1969¹.

The position of international agreements within the hierarchy of national law sources is determined independently by each state. The general principle is the primacy of ratified international agreements over domestic laws. The principle *pacta sunt servanda* requires parties to an international agreement to amend domestic regulations that would be incompatible with the agreement.

In the case of Poland, the introductory provisions in this regard are set out in the Constitution of 2 April 1997². It stipulates that Poland respects international law binding upon it (Article 9) and defines the catalogue of sources of law (Chapter III of the Constitution, Articles 87–94). It declares that a ratified international agreement is part of the domestic legal order and is directly applicable, unless its application depends on the passing of a law. An international agreement ratified with the prior consent of a law takes precedence over a law if the law cannot be reconciled with the international agreement (Article 91). Concerning the authority empowered to conclude agreements on behalf of Poland, a distinction is made between state agreements (signed by the President of the Republic), governmental agreements, and departmental agreements. Governmental agreements are concluded by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Council of Ministers and subsequently ratified by the President. Departmental agreements are signed by the relevant minister and approved by the Council of Ministers or by the Prime Minister.

The procedures for the conclusion of international agreements by Poland are specified in detail in the Act of 14 April 2000 'On international agreements'³. The place of international agreements in the Polish legal order results from the openness of the state's constitutional principles to international law (Czapliński, Wyrozumska

¹ "United Nations Treaty Series" 1987, vol. 1155.

² Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 roku, Dz.U. [Journal of Law] 1997, nr [no.] 78, poz. [item] 483.

³ Ustawa z dnia 14 kwietnia 2000 r. o umowach międzynarodowych, Dz.U. 2000, nr 39, poz. 443.

2014, pp. 650–651). Ratified international agreements are explicitly recognised by the Constitution as part of the national legal order, and their provisions may be directly applicable and self-executing (Kwiecień 2000). Researchers argue that the legal provisions applied by Poland when concluding, ratifying and denouncing international agreements form a coherent and harmonious system that allows for effective action. This makes international agreements an effective means for Poland to implement its foreign policy (Banaszkiewicz 2007, p. 32).

Directions of Poland's treaty policy since the 1990s

State authorities, consciously guided by their foreign policy priorities, conclude international agreements. They reflect the purpose, scope and intensity of states' international cooperation. Thus, a state's treaty policy is an essential component of its foreign policy. In the case of Poland, the modern era of international relations and treaty policy began at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, with the democratisation of the Socialist political system and the liquidation of the international organisations of the Eastern bloc: the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Following the political change, Poland adopted a policy of rapprochement with Western European states, consistently declaring its willingness to integrate with the European Union and NATO. For this reason, Poland's treaty relations with countries such as Germany, France, and Italy developed most intensively.

At the same time, Eastern European countries remained an essential component of Poland's diplomatic activity. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs developed the theoretical foundations of Eastern policy at the turn of 1993 and 1994, and these have informally remained in force to date. The pillars of Poland's so-called 'eastern policy' became: 1) the development of partnership relations with the former republics of the Soviet Union, in particular with the Baltic States, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus; 2) the strengthening of stability, security and mutual trust in the region of Central and Eastern Europe; 3) the intensification of economic cooperation and trade with the states mentioned above (Janusz-Ćałka

1995, p. 50). Significantly, Poland's eastern policy was burdened with ideological ballast, which led Polish diplomacy to balance between two radically different visions: prometheism, i.e. active support for Eastern European countries in their democratic transformation and limiting Russia's influence in this part of the world, and pragmatism, i.e. the concept of calibrating the scope of Poland's Eastern European activities to its actual potential, while avoiding antagonising Russia (Kućniar 2009, pp. 179–186; Stolarczyk 2016).

After Poland acceded to the European Union in 2004, Polish authorities engaged in the issue of aligning and associating post-Soviet states with this organisation. In 2008, it initiated the Eastern Partnership programme, which was implemented as part of the European Neighbourhood Policy. This initiative can be regarded as the pinnacle achievement of Polish diplomacy in the field of Eastern policy. The general failure of the programme, particularly concerning Belarus, Poland's immediate neighbour, and the post-2014 political developments in Eastern Europe led to a regression in Poland's eastern policy (Czachor 2019). To be more precise, different countries were assigned varying levels of importance within the Eastern policy. Priority was given to Poland's immediate neighbours, followed by non-neighbouring states with which Poland shared political and economic interests and the prospect of close cooperation with the European Union, including Moldova and Georgia. Georgia's elevated status within Poland's eastern policy results from a convergence of political and strategic factors: its pro-Western orientation, democratic reforms, aspirations to join NATO and the EU, and its role as a frontline state in resisting Russian influence in the post-Soviet space (Burkadze 2022). The 2008 Russo-Georgian conflict served as a turning point that deepened Polish-Georgian political solidarity and lent added urgency to the Eastern Partnership programme. Poland's least interest in Eastern Policy was directed towards such Central Asian states as Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan.

Without going into the details of the effectiveness of the treaties concluded with Georgia, it is worth noting that, by focusing on treaty relations with the post-Soviet states, Poland failed to take into account the need to develop its relations with these countries in many other spheres (Banaszkiewicz 2007, p. 209).

Legal basis of Poland's bilateral relations with Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan

Researchers agree that within the framework of Poland's conception of eastern policy, the countries of the South Caucasus have so far not played a significant role. The view pointing to the need to systematise relations with Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, and to develop a coherent strategy, remains valid to this day (Baluk 2009; Czachor 2015). As will be demonstrated below, the treaty base linking Poland with these republics is not fully comprehensive.

While the Polish authorities recognised the independence of the Caucasian republics relatively quickly, at the turn of 1991 and 1992, the treaty base between Poland and these countries did not truly develop until the end of the 1990s. Georgia was the forerunner in this respect, as an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the field of trade and economy was concluded as early as April 1992 (it expired in October 2005)⁴. It declared, above all, to foster the development of trade relations in all areas of the economy and to mutually apply the most favoured nation clause. In 1993, during a visit by a delegation from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Tbilisi, three agreements were signed: the bilateral Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (which did not enter into force until November 1999), the intergovernmental agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation⁵, and the agreement on interregional cooperation⁶. In 1999, an agreement was concluded on the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of tax evasion concerning tax

⁴ Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Gruzji o współpracy w dziedzinie handlu i gospodarki, <https://traktaty.msz.gov.pl/getFile.php?action=getfile;0&iddok=7046> [accessed: 1.03.2026].

⁵ Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Gruzji o współpracy kulturalnej i naukowej, sporządzona w Tbilisi dnia 20 kwietnia 1993 r., Dz.U. 1993, nr 117, poz. 525.

⁶ Porozumienie między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Gruzji o współpracy międzyregionalnej, <https://traktaty.msz.gov.pl/getFile.php?action=getfile;0&iddok=7049> [accessed: 1.03.2026].

on income and wealth⁷. Further Polish-Georgian bilateral agreements were concluded only in 2007 and beyond. In 2007, a new agreement on economic cooperation⁸ and an agreement on combating organised and other crime⁹ were signed. In 2010, an agreement on civil air transport was signed. In 2013, agreements were reached on cooperation in the field of tourism, international road transport, and maritime transport, along with an Executive Protocol¹⁰. The most recent bilateral treaty, concluded in 2015, concerns the exchange and mutual protection of classified information¹¹.

Mention should also be made of bilateral acts that are now no longer in force. In addition to the first bilateral agreement, discussed above, which concerned economic and trade cooperation, two executive protocols were adopted in the fields of science, education, culture, youth, and sport in 2004 (in force from 2004 to 2006)¹² and 2011 (in force from 2011 to 2013)¹³.

In total, Poland and Georgia have concluded 11 currently binding bilateral agreements. With Armenia, Poland currently has 10 agreements, while with Azerbaijan, it has 15. As can be seen from the data presented in Table 1, Polish-Georgian relations are notably lacking in the documents concluded by Poland with Armenia and Azerbaijan, on defence cooperation, and on the protection and

⁷ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Gruzji w sprawie unikania podwójnego opodatkowania i zapobiegania uchylaniu się od opodatkowania w zakresie podatków od dochodu i majątku, Dz.U. 2006, nr 248, poz. 1820.

⁸ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Gruzji o współpracy gospodarczej, Dz.U. 2008, nr 79, poz. 695.

⁹ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Gruzji o współpracy w zwalczaniu przestępczości zorganizowanej i innego rodzaju przestępczości, Dz.U. 2008, nr 146, poz. 925.

¹⁰ Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Gruzji o transporcie morskim, M.P. 2014, poz. 1010.

¹¹ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Gruzji o wymianie i wzajemnej ochronie informacji niejawnych, Dz.U. 2016, poz. 1587.

¹² Program wykonawczy między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Gruzji w dziedzinie kultury, nauki, edukacji oraz młodzieży i sportu na lata 2004–2006, Dz.U. 2005, nr 66, poz. 578.

¹³ Program współpracy między Rządem RP a Rządem Gruzji w dziedzinie nauki, edukacji, kultury oraz młodzieży i sportu na lata 2011–2013, Dz.U. 2011, nr 200, poz. 1178.

mutual support of investments (concluded only with Azerbaijan), on readmission of persons residing without authorisation (signed only with Armenia). Poland's treaty relations with the Caucasus states also lack agreements in several other important areas, including consular conventions and treaties on legal assistance in civil, family, and criminal matters.

Table 1. Bilateral agreements in force between Poland and the South Caucasus republics (date of agreement is given)

	Georgia	Armenia	Azerbaijan
Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation	1993	–	–
Agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation	1993	1998	1997
Interregional cooperation agreement	1993	–	–
Agreement on avoidance of double taxation	1999	1999	1997
Agreement on cooperation in combating organised crime	2007	2004	2008
Economic cooperation agreement	2007	2010	2005
Agreement on civil air transport	2010	1999	1997
Agreement on international road transport	2013	2013	2013
Agreement on maritime transport	2013	–	2015
Agreement on cooperation in the field of tourism	2013	1999	1997
Agreement on the exchange and mutual protection of classified information	2015	–	2019
Agreement on the reciprocal abolition of visas for holders of diplomatic passports	–	1998	2011
Agreement on cooperation in the field of defence	–	2004	2005 (agreement), 2017 (protocol)
Executive protocol on the readmission of persons residing without authorisation	–	2021	–
Agreement on the reciprocal promotion and protection of investments	–	–	1997
Agreement on customs cooperation and mutual assistance in customs matters	–	–	2005
Memorandum of cooperation in the field of veterinary	–	–	2011

Source: own study on the basis: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych n.d.

Polish-Georgian Treaty of friendship and cooperation

Georgia belongs to a relatively small group of states with which Poland has concluded a state treaty of friendship and cooperation. The conclusion of such an act is not a common practice among states, and its existence underscores the special nature of bilateral relations. Such treaties are usually generic, outlining priority areas of cooperation, including political consultations, enhanced trade, protection of national minorities, and defence cooperation, which are then detailed in separate intergovernmental agreements.

After the democratic transformation in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Poland concluded such treaties with France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy in 1991, with Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Latvia, Estonia, Spain in 1992, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Turkey in 1993, Lithuania, Moldova in 1994, Uzbekistan in 1995 and Greece in 1996. In May 2025, a new treaty was concluded with France, which entered into force in January 2026. These acts have different titles: most often they contain the words 'friendship and cooperation' (in the case of the 1991 treaty with France: 'friendship and solidarity', the 2025 treaty 'enhanced cooperation and friendship'), but also 'friendly and good neighbourly cooperation', 'good neighbourliness and friendly cooperation', 'friendly relations and cooperation', 'good neighbourliness, solidarity and friendly cooperation' (Czachor 2025).

The Polish-Georgian treaty of 20 April 1993 has a structure and content that corresponds with other friendship treaties concluded by Poland at that time. The preamble of the treaty emphasises the will to collaborate for peace and cooperation in Europe, mainly based on the institutional framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the aspiration to restore and develop Polish-Georgian relations and the traditional friendship linking both nations. In the central part of the treaty, the following groups of provisions can be distinguished:

- a) to respect international law, strengthen security and protect human rights. The parties declared that they would respect the principles of international law, including sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality (Article 1.1), and resolve any disputes only

by peaceful means (Article 2.1). They declared to cooperate for the strengthening of peace in Europe and the South Caucasus, to support the process of disarmament, concerning both conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction (Articles 3–4). The parties declared the fulfilment of human rights obligations and the rights of national minorities *vis-à-vis* persons of ethnic origin on the other side, as well as the possibility of expressing one's ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity (Article 15).

- b) political cooperation. The Parties declared that in the event of a situation threatening international peace, they would hold immediate bilateral political consultations. In the event of an attack on one of the treaty parties, the obligation to refrain from assisting the aggressor was declared (Articles 5.1–5.2). They expressed a willingness to develop contacts between state organs, particularly parliaments, and to organise meetings of Heads of State, Heads of Government, and Foreign Ministers when the parties deem it necessary (Article 6). The parties expressed support for the development of contacts between regions, cities and other territorial units of the two countries (Article 8.1).
- c) economic cooperation. The parties declared their intention to foster the development of mutually beneficial economic cooperation, including trade, particularly the development of investment and capital cooperation, the introduction of necessary legal regulations, and the exchange of experience in building a market economy (Articles 7.1–7.3).
- d) scientific and technological cooperation. The parties declared the development and facilitation of scientific and technical cooperation for peaceful purposes on a mutually beneficial basis (Article 7.4).
- e) cooperation on infrastructure. The parties declared their intention to cooperate in developing mutual and transit transport links of all kinds, modernising telecommunications networks, and fostering collaboration in the fields of transport and communications (Article 9).
- f) environmental cooperation. The parties declared their commitment to bilateral and multilateral cooperation on the use of

natural resources, ensuring environmental security, and participating in the development of a regional and global environmental strategy (Article 10).

- g) cooperation on culture, science and education. The parties declared their support for comprehensive collaboration in this field, particularly based on the mechanisms of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and bilateral agreements. They declared to support exchanges of artists, scientific institutions, schools and young people, to enable the learning of the other's language, the development of linguistic studies, to support the dissemination of the other's literature and the dissemination of the other's press, books and audiovisual material. To promote cultural, scientific, and educational achievements, the establishment of cultural and information centres in Warsaw and Tbilisi was declared (Articles 11–14).
- h) other cooperation, including in the fields of health, sanitary hygiene, labour, insurance and welfare, the fight against organised crime, terrorism and other crime (Articles 16–17).

The treaty was concluded for 10 years, with automatic renewal for five-year periods, unless either party terminated it at least one year before the expiry of that period (Article 19.2).

Agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation

Simultaneously with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, on 20 April 1993, an additional agreement was concluded in which Poland and Georgia declared to strengthen their friendly relations and to strive to facilitate and develop cooperation in the fields of science, education, culture, arts, sports, tourism, youth exchange and mass communications (preamble). The parties declared that scientific and cultural relations will be developed on the principles of respect for rights, freedoms, openness, tolerance and the supremacy of law (Article 1). Scientific cooperation should include exchanges of researchers, joint research, exchange of information and publications, access to archives and organisation of scientific events (Article 2). Cooperation in the field of education should encompass

schools at all levels, the exchange of experiences and information, including on national education systems, the mutual recognition of diplomas, and the promotion and dissemination of the Polish and Georgian languages and literature (Articles 3–6). In addition, support was declared for cooperation in the fields of health and medicine (Article 7), culture and the arts (Article 8), archives (Article 12), broadcasting, television and cinematography (Article 13), cooperation between press agencies (Article 14), cooperation in the field of sport (Article 15) and tourism (Article 16). The promotion of an interest in cultural heritage should be fostered through the exchange of exhibitions, presentations of works, exchanges of artists, translations, and publications, as well as support for individual initiatives (Article 9). It was declared to ensure the protection of the copyrights of each other's citizens (Article 10), to 'make efforts' to protect the integrity of the national cultural heritage of both parties (Article 11), 'to foster' youth exchanges and to be ready to establish contacts in this regard (Article 17). The agreement was concluded for a period of five years, with automatic renewal for successive five-year periods if either party does not terminate the agreement at least six months before the end of this period (Article 21).

Poland's cultural and scientific cooperation with the other Caucasian republics, Armenia and Azerbaijan, has been regulated by separate agreements. The agreement with Armenia, signed on 27 January 1998¹⁴, in addition to the provisions contained in the agreement with Georgia, expresses a declaration of support for activities in this field undertaken by Polish-Armenian associations and foundations (Article 1). Among the areas of activity, the organisation of film festivals, gala premieres and the translation and publication of literary works were additionally indicated (Article 4). The agreement does not contain provisions on the mutual recognition of diplomas. It refers to the provisions of the Paris Convention of June 7, 1972, on the Mutual Recognition of the Equivalence of Documents (Article 11)¹⁵.

¹⁴ Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Armenii o współpracy kulturalnej i naukowej, Dz.U. 2000, nr 2, poz. 9.

¹⁵ Convention on the Mutual Recognition of the Equivalence of Documents, "United Nations Treaty Series" 1978, vol. 1090.

The Polish-Azerbaijani agreement was signed on 26 August 1997¹⁶. Unlike previous agreements, cooperation in the field of museology and national cultural institutions was further emphasised among the supported areas of activity (Article 4). The provisions on support for mutual language teaching were replaced by a declaration on 'the dissemination of knowledge and teaching of the language, literature, history and geography of both countries' (Article 10). Separately, support for cooperation in the fields of health and medical sciences (Article 13), the activities of charitable organisations and the exchange of experience in humanitarian aid (Article 14) and support for cooperation in the field of sport, implemented by sports federations, clubs and other sports organisations (Article 15) were mentioned. The parties also pledged to exchange experience and deepen cooperation on copyright protection (Article 21).

Economic cooperation agreement

The agreement, concluded on 5 November 2007, contains a declaration of strengthening and development of Polish-Georgian economic relations. The following were identified as its objectives: to utilise the economic potential to strengthen bilateral ties, to intensify economic cooperation, particularly in trade, investment, and innovation, and to enhance relations in the fields of transport and energy (Article 1). This cooperation should be implemented through: cooperation between enterprises of the two countries, design, construction and technological upgrading of facilities by enterprises of the other party, cooperation in finance and insurance, certification and standardisation, mutual support of services and investments, exchange of experience, promotion of participation in trade fairs and economic missions, cooperation in tourism (Article 2). The competent authorities of both parties are obligated to exchange information on the laws governing

¹⁶ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżańskiej o współpracy kulturalnej i naukowej, M.P. 2022, poz. 75.

business activity and on projects aimed at deepening economic contacts (Article 4). The Polish-Georgian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation was established, whose task is to review the state of economic cooperation, identify problems in this area, prepare proposals, and discuss contentious issues. Meetings of the commission should be convened as necessary, but at least once a year (Article 5).

A relevant agreement with Armenia was signed on 12 March 2010¹⁷. Unlike the agreement with Georgia, the agreement with Armenia includes a differently framed catalogue of cooperation areas, listing the development of relations in the fields of energy, construction, transport and agriculture (Article 1.2). The ways of implementing the agreement also include fostering the implementation of projects in the oil, gas, and electricity sectors (Article 2.3), as well as promoting the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, and supporting the development of consulting, legal, banking, and technical services (Article 2.6). However, cooperation in the financial and insurance sectors, included in the agreement with Georgia, is not mentioned. As in the agreement with Georgia, the establishment of a Polish-Armenian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation was envisaged (Article 5.1).

Poland's economic agreement with Azerbaijan was concluded on 20 March 2005¹⁸. Unlike the agreements with Georgia and Armenia, it is aimed, *inter alia*, at the development of interregional economic cooperation and the financing of economic ventures (Article 1.2). The tools for implementing the agreement include mechanisms related to funding, insurance, and guarantees for economic ventures (Article 2). In addition to the Polish-Azerbaijani Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation, the possibility of establishing mixed chambers of commerce is also provided (Articles 3, 5).

¹⁷ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Republiki Armenii o współpracy gospodarczej, M.P. 2010, nr 56, poz. 761.

¹⁸ Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżanu o współpracy gospodarczej, M.P. 2006, nr 10, poz. 128.

Double taxation agreement

The Polish-Georgian agreement on the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion concerning taxes on income and wealth was signed on November 5, 1999. It outlines the principles of taxation to prevent double taxation (Articles 6–23) and the methods to avoid double taxation (Articles 24–25).

A document concerning the same area in Polish-Armenian relations was named 'Convention' and was adopted in July 1999¹⁹. The corresponding agreement with Azerbaijan, also known as the 'Convention', was signed in August 1997²⁰. On the most important issues, the provisions of these agreements are almost identical.

Interregional cooperation agreement

Georgia is the only country in the South Caucasus with which Poland has concluded an agreement of this kind. It was signed on 20 April 1993, simultaneously with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which provided for this type of cooperation in Article 8. In it, the parties agreed to create conditions and to inform regional and local authorities about opportunities for interregional cooperation (Article 2). Cooperation should be implemented in accordance with the European Framework Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities and Authorities, signed on 21 May 1980 (Article 9)²¹. This may include industry, agriculture, food processing, trade, services, transport, communications, spatial

¹⁹ Konwencja między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Armenii w sprawie unikania podwójnego opodatkowania i zapobiegania uchylaniu się od opodatkowania w zakresie podatków od dochodu i majątku, Dz.U. 2005, nr 55, poz. 576.

²⁰ Konwencja między Rządem RP a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżańskiej w sprawie unikania podwójnego opodatkowania i zapobiegania uchylaniu się od opodatkowania w zakresie podatków od dochodu i majątku, Dz.U. 2008, nr 9, poz. 52.

²¹ European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, "European Treaty Series" no. 106, <https://rm.coe.int/1680078b0c> [accessed: 1.03.2026].

planning, construction, environmental protection and the use of natural resources, finance, banking, tourism, sports, culture, education, and science (Article 4). Cooperation between the regional and local authorities of the two countries may be carried out within the limits of their respective competences by concluding civil-law agreements, and its implementation may be entrusted to other entities (Article 5). To determine and coordinate directions, programs, and forms of interregional cooperation, the parties decided to establish the Polish-Georgian Intergovernmental Coordination Commission for International Cooperation, whose meetings should be convened at least once a year (Articles 7.1–7.3). Provision was also made for coordination bodies at regional and local levels (Article 8.1). The Agreement was concluded for 10 years, with automatic renewal for five-year periods if neither party terminated it at least six months before the end of that period (Article 10.2).

Agreements of this kind have been concluded by Poland with several European countries, including Russia in October 1992, for cooperation between the Polish regions and the Saint Petersburg region²², and Ukraine in May 1993²³. The agreement with Ukraine has similar provisions to the Polish-Georgian agreement. However, it additionally addresses some important issues from the perspective of the two countries' neighbourhood, including the teaching of the Polish and Ukrainian languages in the border area, mutual information about disasters and ecological disasters, and combating pollution.

Cooperation agreement on tourism

The agreement, concluded on June 3, 2013, includes a declaration to foster the development of cooperation in the field of tourism based

²² Porozumienie między Rządem RP a Rządem Federacji Rosyjskiej o współpracy regionów RP z Regionem Sankt Petersburga, <https://traktaty.msz.gov.pl/getFile.php?action=getfile;0&iddok=7412> [accessed: 1.03.2026].

²³ Porozumienie między Rządem RP a Rządem Ukrainy o współpracy międzyregionalnej, <https://traktaty.msz.gov.pl/getFile.php?action=getfile;0&iddok=7961> [accessed: 1.03.2026].

on equality and mutual benefit (Article 1) and to support the establishment and development of cooperation between Polish and Georgian tourism entities (Article 2). The parties obliged themselves to encourage the exchange of information and promotional materials, participation in tourism fairs, exhibitions, and conferences, the organisation of study tours for members of the tourism administration, and the organisation of promotional events (Article 3). They declared their intention to promote the exchange of information on legislation regulating tourism, statistical data, to foster the exchange of experts and experiences, to organise training, to support investment in the tourism sector, and to establish tourist information centres on their territory (Articles 4 to 8). The agreement provides for the establishment of a Joint Committee, which will ensure its proper implementation and meet whenever necessary at the request of either party (Article 9). The agreement was concluded for a five-year term with automatic renewal for successive periods of five years if it is not denounced (Article 11).

The Polish-Armenian agreement on cooperation in tourism was signed on July 14, 1999²⁴. It stresses that this cooperation should enable 'better mutual knowledge of the life, history and culture of both nations' (Article 1). Unlike the agreement with Georgia, it declared the simplification of border, customs, and other formalities related to tourism (Article 4) and the settlement of payments for tourism activities in convertible currencies (Article 5). There is no provision for the establishment of a Joint Commission, but for consultations and the creation of working groups when necessary for the implementation of this agreement (Article 9).

The Agreement between Poland and Azerbaijan on cooperation in the tourism sector was concluded on 26 August 1997²⁵. Its objective was generally described as 'to foster the development of tourism contacts through close cooperation between the tourism

²⁴ Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Armenii o współpracy w dziedzinie turystyki, <https://traktaty.msz.gov.pl/getFile.php?action=getfile;0&iddok=5543> [accessed: 1.03.2026].

²⁵ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżańskiej o współpracy w dziedzinie turystyki, <https://traktaty.msz.gov.pl/getFile.php?action=getfile;0&iddok=6180> [accessed: 1.03.2026].

organisations of the two countries' (Article 2). Cooperation was declared in the organisation of international tourism meetings, exhibitions, sports and other events (Article 7). Both parties were to establish national tourist information centres in the territory of the other country (Article 4.1). The Joint Committee was tasked with reviewing the implementation of the agreement and meeting regularly before the start of the tourist season to discuss joint projects (Article 6). Unlike the agreements mentioned above, it also declared cooperation in the forum of international tourism organisations (Article 9).

Transport agreements

The Polish-Georgian Civil Air Transport Agreement was signed on November 26, 2010; its provisions are in line with the 1944 Convention on International Civil Aviation²⁶. The purpose of the agreement was to grant both parties traffic rights for the establishment and operation of air services, including overflight of the territory of a party without landing, landing for non-commercial purposes, and the operation of international, passenger, and cargo services (Article 2.1). The airlines of both parties are guaranteed equal and fair conditions of competition in the operation of the routes (Article 5.1). The agreement is concluded for an indefinite period and may be terminated by either party, which shall notify the International Civil Aviation Organisation (Article 18).

The Maritime Transport Agreement was concluded on 12 November 2013. In it, the parties agreed to promote the development of maritime transport between them, to collaborate in eliminating any barriers, and to encourage the participation of shipping companies in the carriage of goods between them (Article 2.1). To this end, freedom of entry into ports for the carriage of persons and goods is established (Articles 2.2–2.4). Non-discrimination and free competition in international shipping are ensured, and the same treatment in its territorial waters and other jurisdictional waters is provided for the ships of the most favoured nation (Article 4.7).

²⁶ "United Nations Treaty Series" 1948, vol. 15.

The bilateral agreement on international road transport was concluded on 12 November 2013. It outlines the rules governing the international carriage of goods and passengers by road. First and foremost, it stipulates that the regular carriage of passengers by bus and the carriage of goods between the contracting parties shall be carried out based on authorisations defined by the acts of their national law (Articles 3.1 and 5.1). The implementation of the Agreement and the settlement of any disputes are entrusted to a Joint Committee, which is to meet as required (Article 12). The Agreement is concluded for an indefinite period, expiring six months after termination by either party (Article 17).

Civil air transport agreements between Poland and Armenia as well as Poland and Azerbaijan²⁷, were concluded much earlier than with Georgia: in 1999 and 1997, respectively. The Polish-Azerbaijani maritime transport agreement was concluded in May 2015²⁸. Poland concluded road transport agreements with Armenia in June 2013 and with Azerbaijan in November 2013²⁹. Their provisions align with the provisions of the agreements concluded by Poland and Georgia, implementing the international standard in this regard.

Agreement on cooperation in the fight against organised crime

In the bilateral agreement 'on cooperation in combating organised and other types of crime' concluded on 31 May 2007, Poland and Georgia agreed to cooperate between their security and public order authorities in combating organised crimes and other types of crime by preventing and detecting the perpetrators of crimes, in particular: against life and health, against public order, including terrorism, theft of and trafficking in nuclear materials, against the environment, sexual freedom and personal integrity, human traffic,

²⁷ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżańskiej o cywilnej komunikacji lotniczej, M.P. 2002, nr 17, poz. 278.

²⁸ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżanu o transporcie morskim, M.P. 2016, poz. 551.

²⁹ Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżanu o międzynarodowych przewozach drogowych, M.P. 2015, poz. 339.

theft of and trafficking in weapons and other dangerous materials, illegal trafficking in strategic goods, illegal border crossing and organising illegal migration, theft of all goods, including cultural goods and means of transport, counterfeiting of money and securities, forgery of documents, economic, financial and banking offences, production of and trade in plants for the production of narcotic drugs, infringement of intellectual property rights, offences committed electronically, including using the Internet (Article 1.1). The parties also declared to cooperate in the search for suspected criminals, missing persons and the identification of persons, the search for criminal objects (Article 1.2). To implement the agreement, the parties may appoint liaison officers and consult, as well as provide classified information (Articles 2–3). They may also provide personal data of offenders and undertake operational activities at the request of the other party (Article 5). In order to combat the most serious organised crime, the competent authorities of both parties will exchange information on criminal groups, their links, and methods of operation (Article 7). The agreement also provides for scientific and technical cooperation in this area (Article 10). It is concluded for an indefinite period with the possibility of termination (Article 16).

The agreement with Armenia, signed on 6 September 2004, is entitled 'On cooperation in combating crime'³⁰. The agreement with Azerbaijan, concluded on 4 June 2008, has a different title: 'on cooperation in combating international terrorism, organised crime and other types of crime'³¹. In general, they establish the same areas of cooperation, although there are some differences. The agreements with Armenia and Azerbaijan do not contain a commitment to cooperate on crimes against public order. The agreement with Armenia additionally does not include references to the illegal circulation of strategic resources, the illegal cultivation

³⁰ Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Armenii o współpracy w zwalczaniu przestępczości, Dz.U. 2005, nr 125, poz. 1046.

³¹ Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżanu o współpracy w zwalczaniu międzynarodowego terroryzmu, przestępczości zorganizowanej oraz innego rodzaju przestępczości, Dz.U. 2015, poz. 1598.

of plants for the production of narcotic drugs, or the production, reproduction, and dissemination of copyright-protected material. At the same time, Poland's agreements with Armenia and Azerbaijan establish cooperation in combating terrorism, fighting human trafficking, and organ trade. The agreement with Azerbaijan stipulates collaboration in combating the dissemination of pornography, the agreement with Armenia – sexual abuses, exploitation of minors, production and dissemination of pornography involving children. The agreement with Armenia additionally addresses the legalisation of proceeds of crime.

Agreement on the Exchange and Mutual Protection of Classified Information

The latest Polish-Georgian agreement, signed on 8 October 2016, established cooperation and uniform legal regulations between the two countries regarding the protection of classified information, including the specification of security classification clauses, mutual recognition of security clearances, and the manner of maintaining contact and transferring classified information. Poland concluded a similar agreement with Azerbaijan on 31 May 2019³².

Conclusions

The above paper scrutinises Poland's treaty policy towards Georgia in the broader context of the South Caucasus states. As indicated, the conclusion of treaties is not only a sovereign right of each state but also a manifestation of its national interests and foreign policy priorities.

In Polish foreign policy, the countries of the South Caucasus are situated within the framework of the so-called 'Eastern Policy'. Among the countries of the region, relations with Georgia are a priority for Poland. Georgia is the only Caucasian country with which a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has been concluded. This

³² Umowa między Rządem RP a Rządem Republiki Azerbejdżanu o wymianie i wzajemnej ochronie informacji niejawnych, Dz.U. 2020, poz. 447.

act, adopted in 1993, outlines the main directions of bilateral cooperation, encompassing political, social, economic, and other areas of contact. Detailed provisions arising from the treaty's disposition are contained in intergovernmental agreements. Surprisingly, the priority nature of relations with Georgia for Poland does not translate into the most significant number of bilateral agreements.

Poland's bilateral agreements with the countries of the South Caucasus concerning economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation, as well as tourism, despite their general similarity, reveal some individual provisions. This indicates that their creators tailored their content to the specific conditions of mutual relations.

Agreements of a technical nature, which include the double taxation agreement, the agreements on road, air and maritime transport and the agreement on the exchange and mutual protection of classified information, have almost identical content.

Finally, to supplement the legal framework governing relations between Poland and Georgia, the conclusion of a consular convention and a readmission agreement should be considered. Such a need arises from the intensification of bilateral social contacts, increased immigration of Georgians to Poland and the stable development of economic cooperation.

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Abstract

Treaty relations between Poland and Georgia: A comparative analysis in the regional context

It has been 35 years since diplomatic relations between Poland and Georgia were renewed. Despite the considerable geographical distance, Georgia remains an important international partner of Poland, particularly within the framework of its 'Eastern Policy'. The following article aims to analyse the treaties currently in force that regulate bilateral relations between Poland and Georgia. The text analyses bilateral treaties signed since 1991 and compares these documents with the agreements that Poland has concluded with other South Caucasus states – Armenia and Azerbaijan. The standard features and unique characteristics of these acts are highlighted. In particular, the article examines the content of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Poland and Georgia signed in 1993, one of the few such acts concluded by Poland with its foreign partners and the only one with a South Caucasus state.

Key words: international treaties of Poland, treaty policy of Poland towards South Caucasus, Polish-Georgian relations, legal aspects of Poland's foreign policy

