NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

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Abstract

Issues related to national security problems have long been of interest to many research centres. National security, due to its role and importance for the functioning of both the state and society, has become an important research area not only for military specialists, but also civilian experts. However, despite the unquestioned principle of the need to study the problems of national security, dispute issues are increasingly appearing that require new solutions based on scientific foundations or a fuller interpretation of the applicable rules of conduct. Security as a research area is multidimensional, it is analysed primarily in terms of organisation and subject. Therefore, there is no doubt the thesis that ensuring security is a fundamental duty of the state, because it really determines the sense of its existence. The security of the state is of course also the security of its citizens. Since the dawn of human history, the security of the individual has been associated with state-forming processes. Unfortunately, security, like many other common phenomena of everyday life of individuals and societies is intuitively made aware and does not succumb to unambiguous definitions, which is why a number of discussions arise and not only in the scientific community. The national security of the Republic of Poland is a specific range of challenges generated for the state. The article looks at the conditions of external and internal national security of the Republic of Poland, which is the starting point for research on national security. National security was defined and its typology made.

Key words: national security of the Republic of Poland, security determinants, external security and internal security.

Introduction

Security is one of the most valued values in the social and individual dimension; it is the primary need of man and social groups. It is also the basic need of international states and systems, and the absence of security causes anxiety and a sense of threat. Safety is a state that gives a sense of confidence and guarantees its behaviour as well as opportunities for improvement. This is one of the basic human needs. It can be characterised as the lack of risk of losing something especially valuable e.g. life, health, work, respect, feelings, material goods and intangible goods. It is also a state of harmlessness, peace and certainty. In other terms, security is a mental or legal
state in which an individual has a sense of confidence and the support of an efficient legal system. Security is also freedom from threats, fear or attack. The subject of security can be any entity that aims for freedom to pursue their own interests in specific conditions. Ensuring security is a basic condition for the development of the individual, social groups and the state. These subjects try to influence their external and internal environment in order to remove or at least dismiss the threat. Security problems were and are an inseparable part of human life because they mainly concern existence and the possibility of functioning in a specific world. Regardless of whether security problems were perceived and defined or not noticed, they determined the level of civilisation’s development. Security is an interdisciplinary term. Many aspects of science are involved in the study of its aspects. These include social and legal sciences, history, psychology, sociology, political science and many others. Considering the wealth of sciences dealing with this problem, it can be concluded that the concept of “security” is very rich in terms of meanings and definitions. The disadvantage of this situation is the lack of specificity of the term because every researcher, every field of science deals with various aspects of security. At this point, it is difficult to disagree with the thesis of Bogdan Szulc, who claims that “in relation to the issue of security, excess definition affects a significant blur of theory”\(^1\). The above circumstances constituted the origin of the problem situation. Therefore, the solution to the situation may be the answer to the research problem expressed in the form of a question - how should contemporary national security be considered? The decomposition of the main research problem has enabled the generation of constituent issues, which are included in the following questions:

1. What are the conditions of the national security of the Republic of Poland?
2. How is the term national security identified?
3. What is modern security typology?

Security is considered in many dimensions today. The purpose of this article is not a detailed, theoretical consideration of this subject, but merely a review of the most important aspects of this subject. The article presents the results of comparative research and an analysis of information taken from the literature on the subject, as well as the results of the author’s own research conducted since 2015 in connection with the commencement of III degree studies at the War Studies University.

**Determinants of national security of the Republic of Poland**

The history of Poland should make people aware that matters related to state security are obvious to citizens and governments. We do not have to reach far into the past; it is enough to mention the last century and the huge human and material losses resulting from World War II. Poles must accept as a paradigm that security can be

\(^1\) B. Szulc, Security and Defence as a Subject of Science, Bellona 2015, No. 4, p. 39.
ensured by a strong state capable of effectively protecting its sovereignty and the security of its citizens. The government must remember that its main task is to ensure Poland’s security and should use its instruments, such as a strong economy, stable social and political system, trained and properly equipped armed forces and rational foreign policy. As a nation, we cannot forget about our security for a moment. In this respect, Roman Dmowski formulated a paradigm for Poland’s security a century ago, which indicates the direction of action: “between Germany and Russia there is no place for a small, weak state”\(^2\). This should be the paradigm of the state of Poland and the shaping of defence policy. In the field of international security, which has a direct impact on external and internal security, government policy should include:
- potential and real alliances - political, military and economic;
- cooperation with international organisations;
- the concept of foreign policy in relation to the closest neighbours;
- the concept of foreign policy in relation to the European Union;
- attitude to NATO and participation in the military and political structures of the Alliance.

The appearance of new threats in Central and Eastern Europe, caused by the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, requires constant and creative adaptation of Poland’s security policy, especially in the conditions of a dynamically changing situation. These circumstances mean that Poland must make necessary modifications to its security policy, especially improving the National Security System.

The response to the eastern stalemate, taking into account the conclusions of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and the current security crisis related to it, was approved on November 5, 2014 by the President of the Republic of Poland - National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland. Maintaining and demonstrating the readiness of the integrated national security system and reducing risk and counteracting threats have become the main strategic goals in the field of security. On the other hand: improving the national security system and providing it with the necessary resources and capabilities, as well as ensuring universal security, cyber security, financial, energy, climate, food security, up to social security issues, i.e. effective family policy or public awareness in the sphere of security were included in the objectives detailed\(^3\).

The strategy is not only a clear declaration of the state’s intentions in the sphere of national security policy, but also a kind of action plan. A record of the strategy is developed and specified in the Political and Strategic Defence Directive of the Republic of Poland and the Strategy for the Development of the National Security System of the Republic of Poland, which implements the country’s long and medium-term development strategy.

From the point of view of the analysed issues, another important document is relevant: the White Paper on National Security of the Republic of Poland. It is

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\(^2\) R. Dmowski, Germany, Russia and the Polish issue, PAX, Warsaw 1991, p. 255.

\(^3\) National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, NSB, Warsaw 2014, p. 11.
a kind of programme and conceptual offer for institutions and bodies responsible for security. This is the first document of this type in the history of the Republic of Poland. For the first time in one document, the entire state security system, including the defence, protection, economic and social sphere, has been consistently presented and evaluated. It also shows the mutual relations and dependencies between these elements. Over the next twenty years, forecasts of the developing situation were made along with variants of actions (strategic directions) that Poland should take, taking into account various options for the development of the organisation and the principles of functioning of the national security management system. Variants of systemic changes at the highest level of state security management (presidential and governmental) were also taken into account. The White Paper has goals set for both Poland and international institutions. In the case of Poland, they are: inspiring institutions implementing the state security policy to implement recommendations in this area and contributing to deepening knowledge and social awareness in the field of Poland’s and Poles’ security. In relation to international organisations and institutions, this enables better understanding of Poland’s approach to security.

When peaking about the conditions of national security, we must not forget about Poland’s geostrategic position, which is often overlooked when considering security. One of the important conditions for Poland’s national security is its location in the narrow Baltic-Carpathian gap, which is the most important land route between Western Europe and Eastern Europe, and more broadly between Europe and Asia. When speaking about the geostrategic position of Poland as one of the security challenges in considerations related to the national security of the Republic of Poland, the following theses should be noted:

1. Poland is under pressure from larger neighbours in all areas of social life and the functioning of the state and the threat of them expanding.
2. The greatest threat to Poland is the combination of efforts of both powers (Russia and Germany) in weakening Poland’s position.
3. The foundation of Poland’s national security must be an efficiently operating National Security System.
4. Active membership in international structures will be a guarantee of stability for Poland in the field of security.

**Term identification - national security**

Reflections on national security should start with solving terminological problems. This applies to the following concepts: national security and state security as well as external security and international security. For a better understanding of the above-mentioned problem, we will define the concepts: nation, state, external and international. We define a nation as the general population of a certain territory speaking one language, connected by a common past and culture, having common political and economic interests, and the state as a political and sovereign organisation.
that performs specific functions, covering the whole of society inhabiting a given territory. Therefore, we should consider the nation in the ethnic category and the state in the political category. External is being outside of that but also concerns other countries, foreign affairs, connections with foreign countries, while the international category concerning many nations occurs between nations, between states. By analysing the above definitions, one can come to the conclusion that the areas of security considered are not identical. This thesis is clearly confirmed by Jarosław Gryz and Witold Pokruszyński. The first (Figure 1) presents national security as the superior element, which (as a subordinate entity) includes state security. In place of external security, international security was highlighted. You can agree with this distinction, but when considering the dictionary definitions, it is difficult to accept the thesis that external security is synonymous with international security.

![Security Model](image)

**Figure 1. Security model**

Witold Pokruszyński developed a proposal for a model of Poland’s national security (Figure 2). The presented structure assumes the separation of two independent categories of security as part of security: national and international security. The separation of external security and international security as an independent discipline deserves to be emphasised.

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5 J. Gryz, Outline of the basics of security theory, National Defence University, Warsaw 2010, p. 74.
In the literature you can find, in place of national security, the term security of the state, which is “part of its being and the development of a specific ratio of defence potential to scale threats”\(^7\) or the “state of causing a sense of the possibilities of development of the nation due to the absence of an external or internal threat as well as the possibilities of defence against these threats”\(^8\) as well as “the real state of internal stability and sovereignty of the state, which reflects the lack of or the occurrence of any threats (in the sense of meeting the basic existential needs and behavioural society and the treatment of the state as a sovereign entity in international relations)”\(^9\).

The same position is taken by Prońko Jarosław, who claims that “the state is a broader concept in relation to the nation, because national security is an essential part of national security”\(^10\). At the same time, he proposes to equate national security with national security.

The need to separate the two areas of security is also supported by Mieczysław Malec, who claims that: “national security may refer to needs or values other than state security, hence their distinction is justified, national security protects the internal

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\(^6\) W. Pokruszyński, Contemporary national security, College of Europe, Warsaw 2009, p. 183.


\(^9\) Dictionary of Terms ..., op. cit., p. 19.

values of the state, i.e. those that have a nature existential. This means that national security can also be understood as a kind of national security. National security is taking on new features because in the era of globalization it goes beyond national borders, but it still does not enter the subjectivity of international security.  

An analysis of the literature on the subject might lead to the conclusion that disconnection of the national security state security is the result of imprecise translations (English “national security”). The Anglo-Saxon understanding of the nation is identical with that of the state, including all its citizens, regardless of their ethnic or cultural affiliation. The English terms “national security” and “state security” should, therefore, be understood not only as the security of the state, but also the nation. The English-language term “nation” refers both to the territory, political systems and people living in them. Considering the above, it can be concluded that the separation of both concepts, where national security concerns the protection of an ethnic group against foreign influences and the security of the state, the defence of the territory and the political system, is unjustified.

Jerzy Stańczyk claims that: “national security can be defined (...) as an objective state of certainty of physical survival and development of freedoms, a state which is also a vital need, and therefore also a goal and the main national interest (raison d’etat) assuming the safeguarding and strengthening of vital values (expressed precisely in the form of objective certainty of survival and development freedoms), implemented in the internal and external sphere and from the time factor that modifies security priorities.”  

Waldemar Kitler defines national security as: “the most important value, national need and priority objective of the state, individuals and social groups, and at the same time a process involving various measures that guarantee lasting, interference-free existence and national (state) development, including protection and defence of the state as a political institution and the protection of individuals and the whole of society, their goods and the natural environment against threats that significantly limit its functioning or threaten goods which are subject to special protection.” The above considerations allow the concept of national security to be taken for further consideration as a required state of security for the Republic of Poland.

Another problem mentioned earlier is the definition of Poland’s external and internal security. Analysing the two concepts, we can conclude that one concerns security within the borders of the state, and the other - beyond its borders. Conceptual analysis of internal security gives us a clear and easy to understand area of operation, but the problem begins when we try to define external security. The need to organise individual security segments has already been noted by Marian Cieślarczyk: “the extensive approach to security issues, the expansion of subjective and subject ranges

13 W. Kitler, National Security of the Republic of Poland. Basic categories, conditions, system, AON, Warsaw 2011, p. 31.
forces the need to further organise individual security segments. One of the basic classifications, which primarily refers to the category of state, distinguishes between internal and external security”14.

Internal security is a state of political, social and economic structures that meets the needs and aspirations of the state and its citizens. It is emphasised that this is a state that concerns the internal structure of the state, guaranteeing its existence and development15. An internal word is therefore a closed, limited space. Therefore, if we assume a centric approach, then the internal word will refer to attributes of the state that are expressed in relation to a specific territory and its inhabitants. Internal security does not have one universally accepted definition and has many terms. In English, these are “internal security, domestic security, civil defence, homeland security, societal security, and civil emergencies.” Internal security can be seen as the stability and harmoniousness of a particular entity or system16. Therefore, internal security should include everything that is associated with balance and order in the territory. While external security is defined by the same author as: “no threats from other organisms.” This explanation indicates that external security is determined by the source of threats to the country, which are the origin of its surroundings.

When examining the conceptual scope of both areas of security, it is impossible to disagree with the statement that: “although isolation of external and internal security facilitates their learning, both dimensions are closely interdependent, and the processes taking place in them extend to both”17. Of particular importance in this area is progressive conceptual development of civilisation and the process of globalisation, in which there are security threats, difficult to clearly grade as external or internal.

External security is often equated with international security. However, taking into account the Polish Language Dictionary definitions, such an approach to the problem begins to be questionable. When speaking about the conceptual framework of external and international security, the size and scope of both conceptual issues should be borne in mind.

Modern security typology

When analysing the literature on the subject, one can accept the thesis that the national security of the Republic of Poland is influenced by all its areas. These include: internal security, external security and international security. Their potential depends solely on the geopolitical situation of the moment.

15 B. Wiśniewski, S. Zalewski, Internal security of the Republic of Poland in terms of system and tasks of public administration, Higher School of Administration, Bielsko-Biała 2006, p. 32.
16 R. Zieba, Concept and essence of state security in international relations, International Affairs 1989, No. 2, p. 49.
17 L. Chojnowski, Security - an outline of the theory, Pomeranian University, Słupsk 2015, p. 25.
Each of the above-mentioned areas (Figure 3) has an impact on the national security of the Republic of Poland. In society, the vital interests of security facilities are subject to the impact of various threats, which is why the sub-divisions of types of security regarding specific areas of human activity in which these threats are manifest are of particular practical importance. According to this principle, we classify vital interests, threats and directions for ensuring security. Although this typology is ancillary to the subjective division, its importance is growing, because it allows for a more precise analysis of the security situation in a specific field, and to determine the optimal directions for strengthening it. In the bibliography, you can find various types of security (this list does not seem closed), which are shown in Figure 4.

External security is one of the areas related to threats (and their prevention) occurring outside the state. It is a state achieved as a result of the actions of state aimed at creating the most favourable international environment of the country and strengthening its international position, image and prestige. In the global dimension, the main task of strengthening external security is to develop friendly relations with partners and counteract the negative effects of conflicts, development disparities and violations of the international legal order\(^\text{18}\).

\(^{18}\) Dictionary of Terms ..., op. cit., p. 20.
External security can also be considered as an aspect of state security, meaning the state of affairs, a set of various types of circumstances occurring in its environment (in an international environment), distinguished by a lack of negative impacts of other entities, allowing its stable and harmonious development (functioning); it is the state and process of securing the values and interests of the state against negative external factors.\(^{19}\)

At the same time, external security can be located in an international environment. External security is closely related to the international security system, the essence of which boils down to lasting links between the elements that make it up. On the other hand, international security, apart from the sum of the security of individual states, also includes international conditions, norms and mechanisms. It also includes goals and values common to the entire international system, i.e. stability, peace, balance and cooperation.\(^{20}\)

The area of modern-day security does not end at its borders and is associated with its location in the international community. That is why many researchers equate external security with international security. Leading the discussion on issues of external security, we must be aware of the risks stemming from the external environment.

\(^{19}\) W. Kitler, National Security ..., op. cit., p. 62.
When analysing the areas of external and international security, it can be seen that international security occurs quite often in a narrow sense and has no major impact on the national security of the Republic of Poland. It is expressed in the sense of a lack of threat or aggression when it takes place, and then this state can count on help from other participants in the international system.

The internal security of the state is a concept widely used both in everyday language, as well as in scientific terminology, and by political officials. They can be considered in the area of national security aspects, meaning the state of affairs, sets of various types of circumstances, occurring in all areas of internal activity, notable for the stability and harmoniousness of its functioning. This, in other words, the state and the process of securing the values and interests of women before marriage-specific factors in the negative.

When examining the area of national security, it should be remembered that when the subject of considerations is the state, the term internal security refers to the area limited to the territory and society inhabiting that territory and institutions operating in the state. This approach to internal security makes it easier to define legal criteria, implement legal provisions and determine the effects of this implementation. Security based on such a criterion covers all categories defined in the legal order of the state.

Bernard Wiśniewski claims that: internal security is a broad concept, often appearing in various types of documents. However, it does not have one consistent definition. From a scientific point of view, it should be considered in a broad and narrow perspective. In the Polish bibliography of the subject - in a narrow approach - three components are distinguished: constitutional order, public security and universal security. On the other hand, additional protection of the life and health of citizens, national assets from illegal actions, as well as measures to prevent the effects of natural disasters and technological catastrophes are mentioned in broad terms. So defined internal security is restricted to limited areas. Sławomir Zalewski does not specify areas of interest, but also does not limit them, which gives researchers freedom in research. He identifies internal security with: “stable and harmonious functioning of state structures, pointing to power structures, decision-making procedures within these structures and relations between the authorities and the citizens”.

Stanisław Sulowski defined internal security as “certain social conditions, which in principle cannot be achieved one hundred percent”.

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22 S. Zalewski, Polish Security Policy, University of Podlasie, Siedlce 2010, p. 70.
Another issue to be resolved is the recent suggestion in the bibliography of the subject that in further research on national security it should not be separated into external and internal. Among other things, representatives of the Copenhagen School say that: “the end of the Cold War has unambiguously ended the separation between external and internal security, and these problems should only be considered as a whole”\textsuperscript{24}. Barry Buzan supports this thesis, pointing to the internationalisation of many threats and the efforts of many countries and international structures, and combating them is proof of the unification of the security category\textsuperscript{25}. Zbigniew Skwarek described the modern security environment as the times for which it became characteristic: “blurring the differences between what is military and what is civil, between what is internal and what is external, what is armed and unarmed, economic and political”\textsuperscript{26}. It is impossible not to agree with this position.

The opposite of such a position is the state-centric approach to internal security, which links the security of the individual with the effectiveness of state institutions and authorities serving human security, and the state is treated as a social organisation that protects and embodies the values that guarantee the stability and development of social groups. It can therefore be concluded that the division into internal and external security will continue to function in terminology and become outdated due to globalisation and integration processes. Of course, states can see common threats and join forces to counteract them. They can also establish institutions whose task is to limit internal threats, but, at the same time, they still maintain and develop domestic entities responsible for internal affairs.

Regardless of the positions taken by the problem researchers, it should be recognised that internal security is gaining importance as an important security component. We can precisely list the institutions and regulations that make up the internal security subsystem, and define the features, objectives and results of the internal security policy. Unquestionably, internal security in the twenty-first century has gained in importance, linking actors and security sectors in a new, separate category theoretically. In turn, the breakdown of the internal security for large segments such as: constitutional, economic, universal, public, and defence will get autonomy, which can lead to the isolation of a new and independent state policy in this area.

While conducting research on the national security of the Republic of Poland, research on external and internal security should not be separated, because they are dependent on each other and together they affect the security of the state.

\textsuperscript{24} K. Marczuk, Internal security in the expanded agenda of security studies (Copenhagen school and human securit) [in:] S. Sulowski, M. Brzeziński (ed.), Internal security of the state: selected issues, Elipsa, Warsaw 2009, p. 67  
\textsuperscript{25} J. Gryz, Outline..., op. cit., p. 26.  
\textsuperscript{26} Z. Skwarek, Internal security of the state [in:] J. Pawłowski (ed.), Fundamentals of security ..., op. cit., p. 204.
Conclusion

Relations between state security, national security, external security and international security still require conceptual order. The division of internal security elements into large segments (political, economic, ecological, public, defensive) will allow for autonomy, which may lead to the emergence of a new and independent state policy in this respect. At the same time, the proposed division will make it possible to specify tasks for the subsystems of the National Security System.

Particular areas of national security are not separate collections. The close relationships between them mean that they can be considered separately for cognitive purposes only, but if one considers the basic subject of this security - the state, then a specific phenomenon of connected vessels occurs. National security is thus the whole complex of various phenomena, situations, states of affairs, mutually dependent and demanding holistic thinking (approach). In such an approach, a specific situation (political, military, economic, ecological, other) must be considered through the prism of national security interests, and also seen as a source (cause) causing consequences in various areas of state activity. This model is shown in Figure 5.

![Figure 5. Horizontal relations between various types of security due to the security entity, which is the state](image)

In the twenty-first century, national security should be shaped in a dynamic process of threat analysis, taking challenges, defining goals and ways of achieving them. The new quality of security should manifest itself in such features as: information (information universality), asymmetry (in the selection of forces and means), network-centricity (network of international and national institutions responsible for security), and integration (progressive integration of efforts civil and military). The complexity and multifaceted security of Poland requires close integration of its core areas as well as the growing links it has with the development of the economy and social system.

The basic factors shaping Poland’s national security should be: security policy, external and internal conditions, contemporary challenges and threats, and the development of an integrated national security system. In shaping the internal security policy, the elements of the management subsystem of the National Security System must be aware of the conditions of the modern world and create appropriate legal acts, on the basis of which appropriate institutions and systems are created, and then try to improve them and adapt to the current situation.

In addition, taking into account the assumptions of the so-called of the Gerasimov doctrine, it is difficult to define security areas that have a decisive impact on the destabilisation of the national security of the Republic of Poland. The above doctrine assumes disturbing the functioning of virtually all elements of national security; therefore, the first to assess the weakest elements that are most susceptible to interference. Only then can such areas be defined. This assessment should be an ongoing process. However, taking into account the results of research\textsuperscript{28}, we can include such areas as:

- economics in a broad sense, including the area of economy, finance and energy;
- the political and constitutional area;
- state defence potential;
- IT systems supporting institutions responsible for state defence.

In the field of external security these are:

- the dependence of the Polish economy on the supply of energy resources from one source;
- cyber threats from the Russian Federation;
- weakening the political coherence of NATO and the EU.

In the field of internal security, the areas of security having a decisive impact on the destabilisation of the national security of the Republic of Poland include:

- paralysis of central and local power centres;
- reducing the efficiency of the institutions responsible for the defence of the Republic of Poland;
- economic crisis (impoverishment of the society causing strikes and social unrest).

\textsuperscript{28} A. Tuz, Polish security threats in the second decade of the twenty-first century, ASzWoj, Warsaw 2019 doctoral dissertation.
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