Poland’s Security Policy.
Experiences and Recommendations*

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The processes of development and functioning of the State in the context of its security certainly have to be considered not only in a multisectoral perspective, but also in the perspective of the so-called “longevity,” the effects of which are perceived in a broader sense. Capturing the essence of the described phenomena, the regularities of which have a universal dimension, is crucial for research. It is impossible to envisage a future, also in terms of security, without dialogue with the past. The history of Poland does not coincide with a simple series of events substantiating contemporary conditions or confirming confidence in the victory of historical justice. In this context, the question of historical conclusions regarding the “nature” of the Polish state and its future remains relevant. The assessment of strategic directions of the Polish security policy, seen through the prism of rich (over a thousand) years of experience proves that the creation of new assumptions of the national security system without considering the conclusions drawn from history may constitute a deficient concept, comprising incomplete or even erroneous recommendations.

The paradigm of state security, which is synonymous with stability and development, is the resultant of many variables, the capture of which is a prerequisite for its construction. The essence of these actions is determined by their nature, which consists in eliminating and neutralizing phenomena regarded to be adverse to the State. This aspect of the security policy points to two complementary elements. The first one is reactive in relation to the events taking place, while the second one is creative and involves preparation for absorption of detrimental effects for the State and creation of appropriate potential for that purpose.

When drawing up different scenarios for ‘crisis response’, we must be aware that each state has its own specific originality and identity.

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Diagnosing to what extent this “difference” is a sign of uniqueness remains an ongoing concern. This peculiarity is geopolitics and experience, which exhibit certain regularities. The processes of development and functioning of the State in the context of its security must certainly be considered in a multisectoral framework, and importantly, in the perspective of the so-called longue durée. This is particularly true of the creative aspect referred to above. In this respect, it is possible to grasp differences and similarities, also with regard to other states.

This regularity has been articulated in the current National Security Strategy. It states that the Republic of Poland is an independent security entity which sovereignly defines its own national interests and strategic goals that result from historical experience, existing political and political conditions and the potential of the State.¹

We cannot imagine building a future without dialogue with the past, in which we should look for “keys” that open up prospects for survival and development. The question concerning the historical conclusions referring to the “nature” of the Polish state and its future remains important, and these indicate that the geostrategic situation requires building a deterrent defensive power of the State, taking into account the equipment of the defensive space, building the credibility of the armed forces, supporting the society, and taking actions aimed at arranging proper external relations allowing for the establishment of the desired security space. This issue cannot be solved definitively without looking at it in a broader context, taking into account the rich experience and regularity occurring in a time and space perspective. This approach provides greater certainty as regards the diagnosis of universal rules in the area of security.

The continuation of activities aimed at deepening the view of the functioning of the Polish state over the last thousand years and the attempts made to provide it with a basis for security is still of importance. Note that sovereignty, independence, survival, and the guarantee and prospect of development are all up-to-date categories regardless of time and latitude.²

The definition of the nature, function or level of security alone evolves according to changing political, economic, social or cultural factors. With such a methodological approach, the focus cannot be put only on selected factors, e.g. political or military ones, which, according to the prevailing belief, form the basis of hard power but analyse the problem in a complementary way, perceiving various mutually interacting elements, occurring in different systems, and changing over time. Capturing the essence of the depicted phenomena, the regularities of which are universal, is an indispensable element of research. Their identification and definition is extremely valuable in terms of the national security strategy, which, drawing on general principles, should propose concrete solutions.

When analysing past experiences, we ought not to stop at the reconstruction of historically and processually closed processes alone, but rather focus on the creative interpretation of history in the context of building the contemporary potential of national security. The research subject matter necessitates the need to go beyond a one-sided view of national history to a comparative-oriented consideration. The accurate reading of the cultural and civiliza-

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tion heritage may be a creative inspiration both in the effort of understanding, diagnosing and shaping the paths of resolving contradictions, conflicts and posing developmental questions to the challenges of the modern world. In many instances, methods of solving problems, including those related to the security sphere, may be found in the past; however, they have often been forgotten or have been interpreted in a stereotyped fashion.

The history of the State built by Poles, who demonstrate great nation-building and state-building capabilities, is evidenced by the constant clash of interests of important “players” in the region, which results in the complexity of the political and strategic situation in the immediate vicinity of the Polish state. The complicated geopolitical situation of the Polish state, functioning in a relatively sensitive – because “transitive” – area of Europe, on the isthmus between the Baltic Sea and the Carpathian Mountains, compels the necessity to prioritise safety issues. The disregard for it led to the marginalization of Poland’s status on the international arena, or its fall at the end of the 18th century, after over eight centuries of existence. Yet, the tough times that often troubled the Republic of Poland, especially during the last three to four centuries, did not result in social depression and did not bring about a breakdown in the national spirit; instead, they mobilised Poles to take decisive action for the benefit of their homeland. The initiatives undertaken, which should not be forgotten, encountered a number of difficulties related to the strengthening of the standing of the Polish state, whose territorial shape has changed many times throughout history. Few nations have experienced such frequent and far-reaching spatial shifts. This location, constituting a fundamental factor influencing the formation of Polish statehood and national identity, makes the unpredictability of changes taking place in the strategic environment inevitably force systematic and comprehensive in conducting defence preparations.

This task will certainly not be accomplished by a weak state and, in Roman Dmowski’s opinion, such a state has no place between Germany and Russia. Building a state’s status is achieved both by strengthening its potential and by developing a desirable security area, which is a result of activity on the international arena, thus encouraging allies to develop, for instance, regional cooperation projects.

The objective of the Polish state is to undertake actions aimed at ensuring its security, as well as its diversification, with the naturally dominant activity pursued under NATO and involvement in the concepts undertaken by the European community, while the matter of Europe’s ability to formulate a universal security message in a world characterised by multilateral architecture with unknown threats remains fairly pertinent. Many analysts, identifying the problems and challenges that the Old Continent has to face, have grave concerns regarding that. No matter which angle we look at this problem, we can hardly help noticing that the formation of a new international order in Europe, which has led to the formal elimination of the division of the continent, has fostered a favourable climate for the expansion of European communities.

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3 Jagiellonian ideas towards challenges of modern times, edited by L. Korporowicz et al., Kraków 2017, p. 421.
In this context, the development of the idea of regional cooperation, enabling the integration of the space occupied by the States functioning, for instance, within the framework of the concept of the Three Seas Initiative – a reference to the principles of the Jagiellonian idea implemented a few centuries ago – would be of interest. It is not that simple for the Republic of Poland, acting independently, to establish proper relations with Russia, who is a difficult player in the region with considerable potential not be underestimated. According to popular belief, Russia is nowhere near as strong as it seems to be, but it is also not as weak as it is looking. From the standpoint of the Polish state’s interests, the issue of establishing subjective relations with Russia is always an issue, and it has been quite difficult to define these relations in such a way for 300 years. When analysing relations with the eastern neighbour, it should be noted that the Battle of Poltava, which took place in 1709 during the Great Northern War (1700-1721), was of some symbolic significance. Having defeated Sweden, Russia was gradually strengthening its dominant regional position, and Poland, once a large state, was slowly transforming into a Russian protectorate. Building proper relations with the Kremlin, rejecting all the asymmetry we experienced during the communist era, remains a kind of *signum temporis*, although there is no doubt that the solution to this problem is not an ordinary matter and requires various actions, such as regional and pan-European initiatives or the establishment of a special buffer zone from post-Soviet states. This type of activity is not a novelty in Polish history; it emerges in the early Piast period. Limiting enemy influence in the direct security space of the Polish state is an important factor in countering threats. The question remains to what extent this objective may be achieved by developing, for instance, the Eastern Partnership. It must be borne in mind that Poland, as a border state between NATO and the European Union, is particularly sensitive to threats from the East. This imposes the necessity of a thorough analysis of the situation behind the eastern border by Polish decision-making factors and the construction of a proper “eastern policy” allowing for the protection of national interests.

In the history of the Polish state, we have experienced a number of challenging and sometimes dramatic events. The means of overcoming problems remain a source of interest for security issues, especially when the State did not have the necessary resources and means to tackle them autonomously. Then, it was imperative to seek external support. Major achievements in this area were accomplished by Casimir I the Restorer, Władysław I the Elbow-high and Casimir III the Great. Casimir IV Jagiellonian was certainly a fine political player carrying out a well-thought-out dynastic policy, which led to the Jagiellons taking over large areas of Central and Eastern Europe. The success was based on the ability to employ various methods and tools of political influence marked by realism. Noteworthy, over-ambitious targets may be counterproductive in terms of depleting state resources and, concurrently, increasing the number of enemies waiting for the right moment to “settle scores,” such as, for instance, during the reign of Mieszko II, bringing the early Piast dynasty state nearly to its demise.

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Certainly, the 16th-century Polish foreign policy, featuring a high level of practicality and inclinations to rational solutions, was devoid of any specific adventurism in line with the principle of prioritising reasons of state over the previously dominant religious and creed concepts. Therefore, we are faced with a fairly accurate assessment of the changes underway in the political and strategic environment, combined with the ability to apply appropriate tools of political influence, which allow not only to eliminate the threat, but also to generate conditions for the development of the State. When there was a lack of such imagination, its status and significance deteriorated rapidly. This does not mean that all the omissions are the result of malice and mistakes made; some of them were due to the turbulent situation in the region, which was also the case during the so-called Golden Age period. The Moscow Rus’, which began to form its Great-Russian identity in the 16th century, was then no longer visible from the perspective of the Jagiellonian authorities. This is certainly one of the examples illustrating the variability of the political and strategic situation in this part of Europe, which requires constant analysis and counteracting of threats. In this context, as Kazimierz Dadak points out, the political strategy, based on proper discernment of international conditions continues to be of great importance; otherwise, an effective and smooth reaction to changes becomes impossible. Building an appropriate state position on the international forum requires the “political development” of decision-making factors that may actively participate in the difficult “diplomatic game.”

Undoubtedly, the securing of state interests in the international environment necessitates the need to take action to establish appropriate bilateral and multilateral relations. Sustaining the balance between the potential of internal powers and the conjuncture and composition of powers existing externally to the State, including the application of appropriate relations between diplomatic and military means, is nevertheless an urgent issue. This is related to the skillful promotion of the Polish state and its importance for the functioning of regional or pan-European political and strategic projects in the international environment. As a reminder, Casimir the Great already enjoyed considerable success by means of his political influence and managed to transform the Piast Dynasty from a secondary state into a significant one in the Regnum Poloniae region.

The Polish state boasts considerable achievements in the field of designing various projects related to the establishment of security space – both in the European and regional scale. The interwar period provides a wealth of useful examples; that being, for instance, an intriguing initiative put forward at the meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Permanent Conference on Disarmament by the Polish delegate Franciszek Sokal, concerning the establishment of a system of regional security organisation, at the beginning of the 1930s extended to include moral disarmament issues. Despite limited sovereignty, the People’s Republic of Poland was also active on the international forum, advocating, inter alia, for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This initiative merits notice primarily due to its constituting a starting point for a long-term process of dialogue and

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8 J. Kłoczowski, Młodsza Europa. Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w kręgu cywilizacji chrześcijańskiej średniowiecza, Warszawa 2003, p. 88.
pan-European détente, as well as due to the principle of inviolability of the borders of European states – the Helsinki Accords confirmed the border on the Oder and Nysa Rivers, which was a major strategic dilemma of post-war Poland. There were also plenty of engaging projects in the pre-partition period, such as the anti-Turkish coalition formed in the 16th century, an example of a European defence community, bringing up some parallels to NATO – appealing to European consciousness. The aim of all the concepts was to strengthen and diversify the State’s security, although, of course, we must bear in mind the impermanence of all political and strategic constructs, as confirmed by Polish history, which is largely the result of complicated geopolitics.

The favourable external political-military system, not to be overlooked, is an important factor not only in the development of the State, but often even in its survival. The history of interwar Poland is an exemplification of this regularity. The unfavourable conditions prevailing in post-Versailles Europe, or perhaps even post-Locarno Europe, enabled it to function for merely two decades, ending an era of Polish history with the military confrontation that it failed to overcome in September 1939. Notice that in more favourable external conditions, the Piast Dynasty survived the period of “fragmentation,” although it did not possess more internal strength than it did in the interwar period.

International relations, particularly with its neighbours, notably Russia and Germany, are of key importance for the functioning of the Polish state and its development efforts. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that by using political influence measures, it was possible to introduce some “corrections” to the geopolitical code. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, relations with Germany were modified under the altered conditions. Cooperation prevailed over confrontation. Together with its western neighbour, Poland implements many regional and pan-European projects for security and development, such as cooperation under the Weimar Triangle and NATO. This is a major achievement; nevertheless, the German threat was still perceived in the interwar period as the basic axiom of Polish war planning, also in the variant of the two-front threat, which became reality in September 1939. Furthermore, the consequences of the two-front threat in Polish history can be found at the beginning of the 11th century, during the reign of Mieszko II; albeit the German-Russian alliance was established as early as in the year 1017.

In this context, more consideration should be given to actions where soft power measures are applicable, while their effective impact requires the assistance of hard power in the form of military or economic power. The deployment of soft tools of influence does not exclude military power from the tools of politics in the 21st century, the age of the information society, all the more so as there is no certainty about the future shape of forms of cooperation and areas of confrontation. The relations between hard power and soft power are pre-

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10 This influence may be of an active dimension where political response instruments predominate (which largely determine the power classification) or of a passive dimension, with dominance of resources (values, culture, foreign policy, public diplomacy – covering aspects of international relations, going beyond traditional diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and national branding, related to state image building and media).


sented in a rather picturesque fashion by Niall Ferguson, according to whom soft power is merely the velvet glove concealing an iron hand.  

This category of influence includes, for instance, the November 1965 letter of the Polish bishops to the German bishops, which influenced the building of bridges of understanding between the nations of quite difficult history. Unfortunately, so far, there have been no visible results of the Common Message to the Peoples of Poland and Russia signed in Warsaw on August 17, 2012 by the Chairman of the Polish Episcopal Conference, Archbishop Józef Michalik, and the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Cyril; however, in both cases we can observe the distrust of many circles for the idea assumed by the representatives of the Church. According to Tomasz Dębowski, the lesser interest of the Russian media in the Catholic Orthodox document reflects not only the place of Warsaw in the Kremlin’s foreign policy, but also the State of historical consciousness of many Russians who do not know what past events burden Polish-Russian relations, as a result of which they do not see the need for reconciliation. This ascertainment reveals that the Polish state faces a serious challenge in promoting its interests abroad.

Forging the right image of the State is also linked to the issue of building its international status, and thus securing support for its projects, including winning allies, and let them be reliable ones. This is particularly critical in the circumstances of complex political and strategic conditions, which often, especially in the last three centuries, required external backing, especially from allies, something that Poland had hoped for in September 1939. Note that the problem of winning reliable allies is invariably a matter of urgency, even today, when we assume that Polish security is based on the support of the North Atlantic Alliance under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty.

The challenge of finding the right political means of impact and identifying priorities to be pursued both externally and internally remains central. It is essential to take into account the effectiveness of diplomatic and military actions, the cohesion of socio-economic solutions on a national scale, as well as the formation of national identity and own statehood, which has been severely influenced by the adoption of “Western” values. This was accomplished by the baptism of Mieszko I in 966 from Rome, and not from Byzantium. The entry into the community of Christian states should be assessed as an extremely successful political and civilizational move. We were given access to European socio-economic and cultural achievements. When analysing the processes of occidentalization, we must not overlook the issue of rights for individual social groups, leading to the birth of civil society.

The strategic objective of the Polish state, whose territorial shape has been subject to fairly frequent changes throughout history, was to build strategic independence, which also requires strong national leadership. The issue is a matter of importance, irrespective of time and latitude, although it seems that nowadays, in a situation of growing crisis of values, the problem of authorities, or more widely, of elites capable of mobilising and motivating socie-

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15 Jagiellonian ideas..., op.cit., p. 422.
ty to take pro-state actions, has been becoming particularly prominent. When browsing through the pages of Polish history, we often come across such figures. These certainly include Stefan Czarnecki, Tadeusz Kościuszko, and Józef Poniatowski, and this list is complemented by renowned rulers, chiefs (it is noteworthy that great kings were also capable leaders), political and spiritual leaders. The exerting of influence on other persons and the formation of effective teams are substantial in terms of actions undertaken for the benefit of building communities and preserving their integrity, as well as, and perhaps first of all, in the national and state scale. This is in line with Socrates’ conviction that there is no greater happiness for the State than wise authority, connected, as Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski emphasises, with honesty of customs, justice of courts and knowledge of the rules of martial art.

Note that the role and importance of leadership in the historical process cannot be overestimated. There is no doubt that the geostrategic situation imposes the need to build a deterrent defence power of the State (equipment of defence space, building a military strategy based on the universal duty of defence, not disregarding irregular actions, support for society), whereas the design of the security measures of the State, whose role and position as an entity of international relations is evolving, must take into account the most likely scenarios for the development of security conditions. It is hard not to agree with Stanisław Pstrokoński’s statement expressed over 70 years ago that Poland exists thanks to its own power, and not thanks to the grace of its neighbours, the mercy of its enemies, or the sentiments of its friends.

The basis for effective defence must be credible and national forces and measures.

Ignoring these principles and the growing crisis of statehood and national leadership led to the marginalisation of the significance of the Polish state on the international arena or to its fall, which took place at the end of the 18th century. When efforts were made to observe these principles, as was the case during the reign of Bolesław I the Brave, Casimir III the Great – who managed to build the foundations of a modern monarchy and rebuild human consciousness – in the Jagiellonian era, or even at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, the State grew stronger, applying original social, political and cultural solutions. This is particularly true in the 16th century, when the Republic of Poland was a key element of the Central and Eastern European system. The idea of antemurale christianitatis was also a major one in the national tradition, expressed in the defence of Europe and Christianity against the Tatars, Turks and Orthodox Muscovites, and, in a special way, against the Bolsheviks in the 20th century.

The national security system cannot be ensured unless the issues related to national identity and cultural heritage are addressed – these are the values that distinct every nation (the role of ideas and values in the emergence of social and political communities). They constitute the basis for the belief in its uniqueness and, in parallel, the sense of belonging to a community with a common consciousness and historical experience. Historical tradition, reli-

19 S. Pstrokoński, Podstawy bezpieczeństwa Polski, Jeruzalem 1944, p. 96.
gion, customs, literature and art, as well as national symbols play an important role in this process, alongside the goods of material culture. Notably, these values were strongly influenced by patterns stemming mainly from Western Europe (intellectual trends, art styles, educational models, philosophical and ethical ideas, legal concepts). The tradition of fighting for independence was of exceptional importance in the formation of the national identity of Poles. The period of partitions is of particular interest in view of the formation of a modern nation. A nation was being born in the crumbling state, and this concept began to go beyond the noble community, traditionally identified with the nation. The sense of connection with the homeland grew above all among the people, especially where there were no extra linguistic or religious barriers. The oppression of the invaders was responded to by assurances about the vitality or even moral indestructibility of the nation. A way of thinking specific to Poles emerged, where the attachment to freedom and individualism were intensified. We can gamble with the claim that failures and problems often harden the personalities not only of individuals but also of entire nations. The increase in national consciousness in the “age of steam” is therefore not accidental, just as in the times of the Swedish Deluge, when the basic notions of national identity were articulated (“Lviv Oath” made by King John II Casimir).

The study of identity processes taking place in the history of Poland allows us to recognise the continuity of phenomena, the stability of their functions in relation to communities, as well as to determine the changes taking place in different epochs. The role of the value system in the formation and development of national and political communities is invaluable. It is impossible, as Richard Malcolm Weaver points out, to concentrate on the development of civilisation with a plea of moral impotence. The collective consciousness is constituted in the process of broadly understood upbringing based on important places and events marked by history, shaping the “national character” of Poles. It should be noted that the features of a citizen-patriot propagated in a given environment are a variable structure and include different patterns of human activity. The ideal of a citizen-soldier prevails during the war; the ideal of a citizen-worker prevails during the rebuilding. The Second Republic of Poland, reborn after years of the partitions, provides innovative solutions for building patriotic attitudes and motivating citizens to act for the public good.

The promotion of pro-social and pro-state attitudes influencing the emergence of community, which is a necessary condition for the efficient functioning of the State, may not proceed without axiology and accepted behavioural patterns. Without this, it is difficult to consider citizens’ involvement in solving public affairs and important social issues, which is a prerequisite for the efficient functioning of the national security system. These activities involve: family, school, non-governmental organisations, with particular emphasis on pro-defense organisations, the Church and institutions playing an important role in building the spirit of the nation, i.e. the army.

It is difficult not to notice trends leading to the reduction of the axiological dimension on European soil today. Such a state cannot remain without an impact on national security. The

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family plays an important role in this process, being the fundamental social space in which attitudes are shaped, values are set up and patriotic education takes place, which is of great importance for both the State and the nation, therefore it should have institutional support, as well as culture, which has a great merit in the field of promoting Polishness. Religion is connected with axiology, which is a powerful mobilising force, having an integrative impact on a social group (its destructive impact can occur e.g. in environments where religious divisions are more important than ethno-cultural solidarity). In the Polish conditions, this role is performed by Christianity, moderating not only morality, but also influencing patriotic attitudes. The coupling of the ideological triad, nation, religion and family, remains a phenomenon. The meaningful dimension of the parish community, which is an important cultural, national and integrative factor at the level of local communities, is often underestimated and may be taken into account in various situations even today, even if only in the perspective of the social capital built up.

A society aware of its rights and obligations towards its homeland lays the foundation for actions taken for the proper functioning of the State. Such an approach is not contrary to the idea of building a common European space, as the nation is an important component of European tradition and culture, distinguished by the diversity of values. Furthermore, our experience of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is part of this. Its multiculturalism imposes a broader view on the problems of national and religious minorities, creating community. This is all the more important because in today’s world the ability to conduct dialogue, also in the intercultural space, is becoming increasingly scarce. Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland, has cultural foundations for engaging in dialogue, building the future of the heterogeneous society of the continent, based on a strong open identity, responsible participation dynamizing the civil society, which justification for the principles of dialogue and tolerance can draw on the pragmatism of the experiences of past epochs.

Promoting the desired axiomatic normative model and preparing citizens for actions for the defence and development of the State is one of the main challenges of security policy, especially in the situation of building territorial formations (it would be worth undertaking actions for the construction of universal Territorial Defence, not limiting the initiatives only to the Territorial Defence Forces) and seeking solutions leading to the construction of a modern system of personnel reserves (the issue of their use within the mobilisation and war supplementation) operating for the needs of state defence. Language, tradition, culture, system of values, strengthening the national identity, are an important factor, binding the community of a country and guarantee the survival of the nation even during the period of non-existence of the State, which Poles experienced even during the partitions. These events did not lead to the collapse of the national spirit, but rather mobilised the people to take concrete action for the benefit of their homeland, as a result of which the Republic of Poland could be reborn like a proverbial phoenix arising from the ashes. This was the case, for example, in November


1918, when, after 123 years, it appeared again among the sovereign states. National heroism also contributed to the survival of the period of World War II, and then the communist era.

When assessing the social potential, attention should be paid to the issue of raising security awareness. It is a necessary condition for building an adequate level of awareness among citizens and social structures to carry out security tasks. A society that is properly motivated for state action is one of the fundamental resources on which the organisation of national security is based. This issue is directly related to the ability of institutions of political power to defend the State and protect its citizens (necessity to intensify efforts to build an integrated system of national security).

In conclusion, the design of the governance operations of the State, whose role and status as an international actor evolves, must take into account the most likely scenarios for the development of security conditions and stabilisation of security (promoting and developing cooperation, seizing opportunities, preventing risks and threats), crisis response (monitoring, identifying, communicating, deterring and dealing with crisis effects) and defence (deterrence, prevention, countering aggression, counter-attack), also taking into account hybrid threats. The entry into the structures of the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union must not result in the marginalisation of the importance of defence preparations, especially as a reduction in the number of armies, their professionalisation and modernisation require greater involvement of state structures in the implementation of defence tasks, including non-military ones. In any case, Article 3 of the Washington Treaty, which is as important as Article 5, points to the need to build up our own defence capabilities, although it is perhaps mentioned less frequently in public debate. Poland’s membership in the political-military international structures must not limit its activity in designing solutions and undertaking actions in the strategic dimension, and such an impression can sometimes be obtained by analysing the last two decades.

Building fundamental ties and pro-social and pro-state values remains as important as deterring, protecting and defending Poland against the defensive military system. This process requires strong cooperation with NGOs and other social partners. It should serve the purpose of stimulating the society in the field of defence and building a social base for the Polish Armed Forces. The society, ready to act and make sacrifices for its own country, remains an important source and element of the defence force of Poland, as a sovereign and democratic state, a member of NATO, without neglecting the “material dimension,” let alone modern technology; in many states, the process of transformation of armed forces towards saturating them with advanced technology allowing to achieve a high degree of interoperability is underway.25

Whichever way we look at security, it is essential to note that it must be seen as a value worth striving for. Admittedly, the contemporary security environment is characterised by “the blurring of the boundaries between its internal and external, military and non-military aspects. Globalisation and growing interdependence often result in unpredictable phenomena that are no longer limited by geographical barriers, political and economic systems”26.

25 M. Kozub, Strategiczne środowisko bezpieczeństwa w pierwszych dekadach XXI wieku, Warszawa 2012, p. 46.
Nevertheless, when creating the assumptions for the defence of the Polish state, they should be considered not only in multi-sectoral terms but also in a broader perspective. This makes it possible to capture differences and similarities, also in relation to other entities. Without taking into account the experience from its extremely rich history, in which we should look for the “keys” opening the prospects for survival and development, designing security management in the State is rather difficult.

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