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THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND AND THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER IN POLAND

СТРАТЕГІЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ РЕСПУБЛІКИ ПОЛЬЩА ТА ПОЛІТИЧНИЙ ХАРАКТЕР ВИКОНАВЧОЇ ВЛАДИ В ПОЛЬЩІ

The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland (NSS) is the basic document defining the issue of Poland's security. It is a declaration of the state directed externally as well as internally in the area of the country's position towards the ever-changing security environment. Its content indicates the areas of interest and activity of the state. This document is drafted by experts but approved by political actors. Each Prime Minister also defines the basic directions of security policy in his or her exposé.

The aim of this article is to find an answer to the question of whether there is a link between the political programme of the ruling party and the content and directions of activities indicated in the document National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland. Are the successive National Security Strategies adopted a reaction to the changing security environment of the country or are they rather dominated by changing government coalitions and their political programmes.

In practical, applied terms, the aim is to indicate ways of formulating and linking the country's security strategy with policy directions, especially in a situation where the state does not belong to any organisation within which it can participate in real collective defence. This was the situation Poland found itself in before joining NATO. The study used the comparative method in comparing individual documents of the National Security Strategy and the policy programmes of successive governments expressed in the prime ministers' expositions. It was assumed as a hypothesis that the main goals and values expressed in the NSS coincide with the political appeal of the ruling Parties (coalitions).

Key words: National Security Strategy, security, security policy

Стратегія Національної Безпеки Республіки Польща (СНБ) є базовим документом, що визначає питання безпеки Польщі. Це декларація держави, спрямована як на зовнішню, так на внутрішню політику щодо позиції країни у постійно мінливому безпековому середовищі. Її зміст вказує на сфері інтересів та діяльності держави. Цей документ розроблений експертами, але схвалений політичними гравцями. Кожен прем'єр-міністр також визначає основні напрямки безпекової політики у своїй першій промові.

Метою даної статті є пошук відповіді на питання, чи існує зв'язок між політичною програмою правлячої партії та змістом і напрямками діяльності, зазначеними в документі "Стратегія національної безпеки Республіки Польща"? Чи наступні Стратегії національної безпеки, що приймаються – це реакція на зміну безпекового середовища в країні, чи вони скоріше є реакцією на зміну урядових коаліцій та їхніх політичних програм.

У практичному, прикладному плані метою є визначення шляхів формулювання та зв'язку стратегії безпеки країни з політичними напрямками, особливо в ситуації, коли держава не належить до жодної організації, в рамках якої вона може брати участь у реальній колективній обороні. Саме в такій ситуації опинилася Польща перед вступом до НАТО. У дослідженні використано компаративний метод при порівнянні окремих документів Стратегії національної безпеки та політичних програм наступних урядів, викладених у промовах прем'єр-міністрів. В якості гіпотези було зроблено припущення, що основні цілі та цінності, виражені в СНБ, збігаються з політичними закликами правлячих партій (коаліцій).

Ключові слова: Стратегія національної безпеки, безпека, безпекова політика

Research problem. The main research problem concerns the relationship of the content and main theses on security indicated in the documents National Security Strategy of the Republic

of Poland with the programmes of governments. It is interesting to answer the question: is the main factor creating the content of this document the changing security situation (security envi-

ronment) or is it the nature of the political programme of the ruling party (coalition).

Analysis of recent research and publications. Publications that deal with the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland (NSS) have mainly appeared in Poland and mainly discuss the content of this document. The NSS is discussed more extensively in publications: Z. Polcikiewicz, *Teoretyczne i praktyczne aspekty strategii bezpieczeństwa*; S. Koziej, A. Brzozowski, *25 years of Polish security strategy*; *Strategia Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. The First 25 Years*, (ed.) R. Kupiecki. The presentation and discussion of the speeches (*Exposé*) of the Prime Ministers of the governments was published in the text by A. Hołub, *Defining Security and Basic Threats to Poland in the Light of the Exposé of the Prime Ministers of the Republic of Poland at the Turn of the 20th and 21st Centuries*. There is no publication linking the content of the NSS with the directions of Poland's security policy set out in the *exposé*.

Purpose of the article and research. The aim of the article is to find an answer to the question of whether there is a relationship between the political programme of the ruling party and the content and directions of actions indicated in the document National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland (NSS). Are the adopted successive National Security Strategies a reaction to the changing security environment of the country or are they rather dominated by changing government coalitions and their political programmes.

Research methods. The study used a comparative method in comparing individual National Security Strategy documents and the policy programmes of successive governments as expressed in the Prime Ministers' *exposés*. The indicated materials were subjected to a critical content analysis.

Conclusions and findings. National Security Strategies have been developed and adopted by Polish governments and presidents representing different political options, whether left, centre-left, centre-right or right. Apart from nuances and different emphases on the problems, the basic values are unchanged. It should be emphasised that, regardless of the current ruling system, the basic values are unchanged and include independence, constitutional principles, good relations with neighbours and orientation towards the West. Thus, it should be considered, answering the main research problem concerning the influence of current politics on the shape of the NSS, that the strategies are a response to changes in Poland's environment to a greater extent than

to current political alignments on the Polish political scene. The verification of the hypothesis indicated in the introduction showed that it is true only in the aspect concerning the insignificant elements indicated in the strategies. In terms of the fundamental framework and values, the political programmes of individual governments did not significantly alter the content of the NSS. The convergence of the main directions indicated in the NSS with the current state policy testifies to the coherence of the treatment of the problem of state security, which significantly strengthens the political defence potential of the state. Moreover, it should be pointed out that it is appropriate to treat state security and the *raison d'état* as superior values.

Security strategy is defined as "a theory and practice that defines general ways of behaviour aimed at preventing and countering all kinds of threats to a specific entity, especially the state" for which the National Security Strategy is a policy tool in this area [1, p. 69]. The National Security Strategy is a declaration and position of the state in the area of its security. It can be stated that it is a declaration directed outwards to other states. The document defines the basic directions and values in the field of state security. It provides the basis for the development of sectoral strategies, identifying opportunities, challenges and threats. It is assumed to be 'an expression of the will of the executive' with the proviso that it is immune to the influence of its day-to-day activities [2]. Security strategy in relation to the state includes, *inter alia*, security: political (in the diplomatic dimension), military, public, economic, social, cultural, environmental [1, pp. 74-75].

The changing nature of Poland's political system and the dynamic change of the external security environment, especially during the 'autumn of nations' of 1989, necessitated the development of a document of a strategic nature concerning state security. It was intended as a response to the current situation. In February 1990, the Defence Strategy of the Republic of Poland was adopted, stating that it set out "the general directions of defence policy, binding on state bodies, economic entities, social and professional organisations and every citizen"[3]. The Strategy was based on the assumptions of the *raison d'état* and was recognised as the official interpretation and function of national security policy. In particular, concerning the nature and scale of the possible threat to Poland's security and the actions necessary to effectively prevent and counter this threat. Already in this document, the close correlation between national and international security was indicated, pointing to the geopolitical importance of Central Europe.

It should be pointed out that at the time this document was written, the Warsaw Pact still (formally) existed, serving the USSR to bind other states of the socialist camp militarily to its policy. Hence, the provision of this document indicated that, in wartime conditions, the national armed forces of Poland were to act as part of the 'United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact States' [3]. It should be pointed out that this document was adopted in conditions when Poland had a parliament elected only partly through the procedure of full free elections, which was the result of an agreement concluded between the opposition and the communist authorities. The Prime Minister was Tadeusz Mazowiecki, representing the hitherto opposition, and the ministers included representatives of the hitherto authorities, who were in charge of the so-called 'power ministries' (Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Internal Affairs).

The documents *Assumptions of Polish Security Policy* and *Security Policy and Defence Strategy of the Republic of Poland* - were adopted in November 1992, already after the collapse of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. Poland found itself in a situation where it was not a member of any alliance of a political-military nature. It therefore had to assume, at this point, total defence independence, while at the same time seeking to find itself in the wider circle of allied states. The documents adopted had the character of a political declaration, and the assumptions they contained defined the main strategic objectives (linking up with the Euro-Atlantic security system) and the general principles of functioning and maintaining the elements of the defence system of the Republic of Poland. The political situation inside Poland also changed, with the centre-right government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka in place from July 1992, comprising the Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, the Christian National Union, the Christian Democratic Party, the Polish Party of Friends of Beer and the Polish People's Party - People's Agreement. Work on the new doctrine (*Assumptions of Polish Security Policy; Security Policy and Defence Strategy of the Republic of Poland*) began in 1991 when, by an order of the President of the Republic of Poland of 5 August 1991, an inter-ministerial team was appointed to develop the relevant documents [4]. This team operated within the Bureau of National Security (BBN). The documents were adopted by the National Defence Committee (Komitet Obrony Kraju, KOK, NDC) on 2 November 1992¹. The team that

drafted the documents indicated that the geopolitical situation of Poland had changed as a result of the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of new states in its place. Thus, Poland found itself between the countries of Western Europe and the states formed from the former republics of the USSR. Furthermore, the eastern strategic direction was indicated as the main threat to Poland's security [5]. In the Assumptions it was stated (the indicated direction did not change in the following years) that the basic importance for Poland is its future membership in the European Communities. It was recognised that "Voluntary isolation and failure to take advantage of the opportunity for rapid development would inevitably lead over time to the marginalisation of the Polish economy and the impoverishment of society, and this would risk a loss of freedom and sovereignty" [4]. In the aspect of the situation in the post-Soviet area, it was stated that a serious danger is the possibility of the outbreak of local conflicts. It was pointed out that armed conflicts could trigger "a great wave of refugees from the East, which would be dangerous to Poland's security, as well as the cutting off or significant reduction in the supply of strategic raw materials" [4].

The assumptions of Poland's security policy are developed and discussed in more detail in the document *Security Policy and Defence Strategy of the Republic of Poland*. In terms of security guarantees, the role of NATO and including the US was pointed out: "The North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) remains the main factor for stability and security in Europe. We consider the continued military presence of the US in Europe as essential, as it positively influences the political transition processes in our region and stabilises the situation across the continent". This position will invariably be a pillar of Polish security policy in the 21st century. Although it has also been pointed out in Polish politics, "Priorities in politics are not formulated once and for all, in an unchangeable way, as external and internal conditions change" [6].

After the start of Poland's accession process to NATO in 1997, new work on the defence doctrine began. A concept was adopted according to which Polish priorities should be aligned with the overall NATO strategy. As NATO was preparing a new strategic concept, conceptual work in Poland was stopped. As a result, the new and at the same time the first ever Polish

of the Republic of Poland; Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Minister of National Defence; Andrzej Milczanowski, Minister of Internal Affairs; Jerzy Osiatyński, Minister of Finance; Gen. Tadeusz Wilecki, Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army; Mieczysław Wachowski, Head of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Poland; Jerzy Milewski, Secretary of the NCC, Head of the BBN.

¹ The NCC consisted of: chairman - Lech Wałęsa, President of the Republic of Poland; members - Hanna Suchocka, Prime Minister; Wiesław Chrzanowski, Marshal of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland; August Chelkowski, Marshal of the Senate

National Security Strategy was adopted by the Council of Ministers on 4 January 2000 [7]. The new document replaced the documents adopted in November 1992. It was created in the changed security situation of Poland, as it was already after its accession to NATO. Hence the indication in the text of the new document, the necessity to join the Communities (European Union). It was acknowledged that "Membership in the European Union, which is a means of creating conditions for comprehensive social and economic development of the country, will bind Poland more strongly to European interests and security structures" [8].

The document identifies the basic, strategic objectives for Poland's security: "To guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of the state and the inviolability of its borders; To guarantee the protection of the democratic constitutional order, including in particular the fullness of rights and freedoms and the security of the citizens of the Republic of Poland; To create the best possible conditions for the comprehensive and stable social and economic development of the country, the prosperity of its citizens, as well as for the preservation of the national heritage and the development of the national identity; To contribute to the construction of a lasting, just peace order in Europe and in the world, based on the values of democracy, human rights, the rule of law and solidarity." These values, expressed explicitly in the document, have been a permanent feature of Polish security policy. It should be noted that the Strategy was adopted by the centre-right coalition government of Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek (*Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność*, Solidarity Electoral Action, *Unia Wolności*, Freedom Union). In his *exposé* delivered on 10 November 1997, Jerzy Buzek indicated that the most important goal was to "repair the state" [9]. For him, the basic guarantee of state security was Poland's accession to NATO. The issue of security was given quite a lot of space in this document, emphasising the need to reform the state precisely because of the priority of security. Social security was linked to state security, and internal issues were considered to be closely related to external ones.

The dynamics of changes in Poland's global security environment led to the adoption of a modernised *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland* as early as 2003, which took terrorist threats into account with particular attention. The concepts of the security strategy were influenced by events such as the attack on the WTC in September 2001, the commencement and continuation of operations in Afghanistan against the Taliban and military operations in

Iraq. It should be pointed out that the document was signed by Aleksander Kwasniewski, President of the Republic of Poland, and its preparation was led by the left-wing government of Prime Minister Leszek Miller (*Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej*, Democratic Left Alliance). Several theses from this document are worthy of note. In the perspective of the fight against international terrorism and the promotion of the concept of asymmetric warfare, it was stated that there is no longer any fear of full-scale armed conflict in Europe. Significantly, it was pointed out that NATO was being transformed with the simultaneous strengthening of cooperation with Poland's eastern neighbours Russia and Ukraine. It was invariably acknowledged that the main guarantor of Poland's security is NATO including the USA. At the same time, it was declared that 'Poland will support the fulfilment of the Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Ukraine, including the continuation of the "open door" policy to NATO'. The document emphasised the need to support democratic change externally and to protect it internally. Issues related to the tasks of state services in the sphere of international activity (NATO, UN, European Union) were emphasised. The role and significance of the Armed Forces and special services was emphasised. In the field of economic security, issues related to finance, the economy and infrastructure were highlighted. Environmental protection was considered important. An important element of the 2003 NSS was the emphasis on civic education and the role of society and its participation in democratic procedures. In a speech on 25 October 2001, Prime Minister Leszek Miller identified the main threats to Poland, which included "financial collapse", unemployment, poverty, economic stagnation, social pathologies and strong social stratification with a division into the rich and the poor [10]. L. Miller associated the problem of ensuring state security with Poland's membership of NATO and accession to the European Union. In the field of internal as well as external security, the Prime Minister focused primarily on the achievable potential and the necessary changes. He considered it most important to improve the functioning of the legal system and to create an effective anti-corruption system, which in his view posed a real threat to the state. In terms of economic security, he pointed to the need to tighten the fiscal system by improving the operation of customs and fiscal services and launching additional export incentives.

According to Leszek Miller, terrorism has become a significant threat, which he mentioned when presenting directions for changes in the sphere of national defence. The underinvested

army was to be subject to a series of measures aimed at eradicating this problem, as well as increasing its capabilities and mobility. He also acknowledged that his aim would be to conduct cross-party activities to restore due prominence to defence matters and gradually solve the soldiers' pressing social and living problems.

Important issues related to Poland's external security were raised in the foreign policy section, where the Prime Minister pointed to the change in the security environment of Poland and other countries after the 2001 WTC attack. In doing so, he recalled that "...security, individually and in general, is not given once and for all". In the context of the fight against international terrorism, he pointed to the need for NATO to adapt to the new situation. For Poland, the basis for security should be alliances with other countries, including above all ties with the USA. National security, according to L. Miller, depends on the appropriate use of the geographical location and actions aimed at creating the conviction that "in Poland and with Poland it is possible to do good business, here international lines of trade, communication and communication can cross. International investments serving all directions of the world should be located here" [10]. Representing the same political environment as Leszek Miller, Prime Minister Marek Belka focused mainly on social issues. He saw Poland's security from a regional and global perspective and therefore announced an active and 'constructive' influence on the shape of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy. Poland was to support further action on the situation in Iraq using pressure on NATO and the UN. When talking about global security, he did so in the perspective of the Iraqi operation and Poland's involvement in it [11].

With Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004, its international position was strengthened. In addition to NATO membership, EU accession was the primary vector for Polish security policy. Furthermore, 2005 saw a change in the Polish political scene as the Polish right wing took power following the elections. New work on the *National Security Strategy* was undertaken by the government associated with the Law and Justice Party (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, PiS). In 2007, the document was adopted by the government of Jarosław Kaczyński. Interestingly, after the 2007 parliamentary elections, the adopted *Strategy* was already being implemented by the new government associated with the Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska, PO) and Prime Minister Donald Tusk. The document declared a rather broad range of strategic objectives related to national security. These were considered to be:

"- to ensure the independence and territorial inviolability of the Republic of Poland and sovereignty in deciding the internal affairs of the life of the nation, its organisation and the system of government.

- the creation of conditions for civilisational and economic development, determining the capacity of the nation and the state to act;

- to ensure that citizens are able to exercise their constitutional freedoms, human and civil rights and to create secure conditions for the decent life of citizens and the development of the whole nation, materially and spiritually;

- ensuring the ability to actively shape relations in the international environment and to be able to act effectively by defending national interests and promoting the image of a credible participant in international relations, as well as fulfilling the obligations of the allies that constitute Poland's credibility;

- ensuring the safety, security and care of Polish citizens abroad;

- promotion of the Polish economy and support for Polish entrepreneurs as well as building Poland's prestige in the international environment;

- ensuring a sense of legal security for the citizens of the Republic of Poland;

- to protect the spiritual and material national heritage (natural wealth, individual assets of citizens and collective national assets) and to ensure that it can be safely developed in all spheres of national activity, especially economic, social and intellectual;

- protection of the environment and protection against the effects of natural and man-made disasters;

- ensuring wide access to information, raising the level of national education and creating a strong scientific and research base, combined with manufacturing potential, improving the competitiveness of the economy" [12].

Sectoral security was also identified, where special attention should be paid to ICT security, which is a serious problem related to the development of technology, use of and increasing access to cyberspace. In the area of external security, the pursuit of close cooperation within the UN, NATO and the EU, as well as regional international organisations (Weimar Triangle, Visegrad Group) was indicated. In the area of military security, the priority of collective defence and the role of NATO was indicated. Within the framework of 'civic security', it was acknowledged that the main objective of the activities of the Republic of Poland, as a democratic state under the rule of law, is to provide all citizens with a sense of security and justice.

The authors of the document also emphasised the issue of social security, within which they pointed to the issues of labour and social policy, science and education, and physical culture. An important problem addressed in the field of social policy was the identification of threats related to demography. The latter issue was one of the main elements of the electoral appeal and programme of the ruling party (PiS) especially in 2015 after it came to power again. Equally important was economic security, including finance, the defence industry, transport and communications infrastructure. Environmental security was also traditionally indicated. Some novelty was the particular emphasis on information and ICT security.

The 2007 NSS expressed in part the main political slogans of Law and Justice (PiS). After the parliamentary elections in 2005, Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz (Law and Justice, PiS) was appointed Prime Minister, and he delivered his *exposé* in October 2005 [13]. Prime Minister Marcinkiewicz covered the issue of security quite broadly and pointed to internal and external threats. In the social, economic, financial and military spheres. Among the most important problems of world politics, he mentioned above all globalisation and terrorism, as well as "misunderstandings and rifts on both sides of the Atlantic". In this situation, he saw the guarantee of Poland's external security in a close alliance with the USA within NATO. Like his predecessor, he pointed to the need to ensure Poland's energy security, speaking of the need to diversify the supply of energy resources to Poland. Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz's *exposé* was also devoted to the situation on the eastern borders, where, in his opinion, Poland should pursue an active policy. He stated that "Poland has a vital interest in stability beyond our eastern border. We know from our own experience that stability is provided above all by democracy and the free market". The situation on the political scene in Poland led to Jaroslaw Kaczynski taking office as Prime Minister in 2006. His speech of 19 July 2006 was quite extensive and addressed a number of issues related to the country's security, being, according to J. Kaczyński, a confirmation and continuation of the objectives and actions of the previous government [14]. The main prerequisite for growth was to be the country's external security, within which energy security and security against terrorism are of particular importance. He pointed to the lack of diversification of gas supplies to Poland, which should be changed as soon as possible.

The subsequent early parliamentary elections again changed the political system in power in

Poland. The new Prime Minister, Donald Tusk (Civic Platform, PO), delivered his *exposé* on 23. November 2007 [15]. Prime Minister D. Tusk focused primarily on economic issues, recognising the need for changes that would bring further development to the country. He stated that "There are areas of the economy on which the security of the country and all citizens depends. The most important element of economic security is energy security". Defining energy security, he acknowledged that it is above all a guarantee of "uninterrupted supplies of energy carriers at acceptable prices while taking care of the environment". Like his predecessors, Prime Minister D. Tusk noted external threats together with the possibility of neutralising them through an active external policy. Referring to this policy, he pointed to Poland's co-participation in operations in Iraq: "We regard our contribution to the NATO expeditionary mission as an investment, which the alliance will reciprocate with a greater commitment to security at NATO's external borders. Poland is keen to ensure that Europe's energy security is based on the solidarity of the entire European Union, and not influenced by ad hoc interests and benefits resulting from political or economic egoism". In the prism of participation in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operation in Afghanistan, he emphasised that "NATO is the main guarantor and pillar of Poland's security".

Between 2010 and 2012, the Strategic National Security Review (SPBN) was conducted under the leadership of the National Security Office. Its authors included representatives of academics specialising in the field of security, central and local government administration and non-governmental organisations [16]. In 2013, the effect of the commission's work was published in the form of the *White Book on National Security of the Republic of Poland*, which constituted the public part of the SPBN report [17]. Both the unclassified and classified parts formed the basis for the development of the new *National Security Strategy*. Significantly, since 2010, both the President of the Republic of Poland Bronislaw Komorowski and the government represented the same political environment associated with the Civic Platform (a coalition government of the Civic Platform and the Polish People's Party *Partia Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe*, PSL). The *National Security Strategy*, signed by President Bronislaw Komorowski on 5 November 2014, was described as a document that "Defines the national security potential and assesses Poland's security environment in the global, regional and national dimensions, and forecasts its development trends. It presents the state's actions

necessary to achieve the defined interests and goals and indicates the directions and ways to prepare the national security system" [18].

The document broadly defines Poland's basic strategic objectives in the field of security including: maintaining and demonstrating the readiness of the integrated national security system to seize opportunities, address challenges, reduce risks and counter threats; improving the integrated national security system, especially its leadership elements, including the provision of necessary resources and capabilities; developing a defence and protection potential adequate to the needs and capabilities of the state and increasing its interoperability within NATO and the EU; strengthening NATO's readiness and capacity for collective defence and the coherence of the EU's actions in the field of security; building a strong position for Poland in both organisations; developing close cooperation with all neighbours and building partnership relations with other states, including those serving to prevent and resolve international conflicts and crises; promoting in the international arena the principles of international law and universal values, such as: democracy, human rights and civic freedoms, as well as raising awareness of human and civic rights in Polish society; ensuring universal security by improving the national rescue and firefighting system and the system of monitoring, notification, warning of threats and elimination of effects of natural disasters and catastrophes, as well as implementing legal and organisational solutions in the field of civil protection system and civil defence; improvement and development of the national crisis management system in order to ensure its internal consistency and integrity and to enable uninterrupted co-operation within the crisis management systems of international organisations of which Poland is a member; protection of the borders of Poland, constituting the external border of the EU; counteracting organised crime, including economic crime; protection of public order; improvement of system solutions for counteracting and combating terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; Ensuring safe functioning of the Republic of Poland in cyberspace; Ensuring secure conditions for the development of human and social capital and innovativeness, effectiveness and competitiveness of the economy, as well as financial stability of the state; Ensuring energy security and climate security, as well as protection of the environment, biological diversity and natural resources, in particular water resources, and shaping the spatial development of the country in a manner increasing resistance to various threats, in particular military, natural and

technological threats; Ensuring food security; pursuing an effective family policy and adapting migration policy to new challenges; deepening public awareness of security issues and increasing citizens' competence to respond appropriately in crisis situations [18, pp. 11-12].

With regard to *the Strategy* prepared during the rule of Law and Justice, it should be noted that demographic issues were less emphasised in the document produced during the rule of Civic Platform and the Polish People's Party, although they are recognised in the document. The new *Strategy* was already approved in a changed reality regarding the policy of the Russian Federation, which in 2014 carried out an aggression on Ukrainian territory by occupying Crimea. It was noted that the attempt to rebuild Russian power and the conflict with Ukraine "negatively affects the security situation in the region". What was not anticipated at the time was that in Russia's actions, the seizure of Crimea was only the beginning of a wider aggression against Ukraine. Interestingly, in the document, the name of the state, Ukraine, appears once, only in a thread about Russia's aggression in 2014. In terms of alliance cooperation, NATO and the EU continued to be singled out, with the special role of the US, whose military presence in Europe and in Poland continued to be an invariable element of Polish security policy.

The *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland*, signed by the President of the *Republic of Poland* Andrzej Duda on 12 May 2020, was created in a dynamically changing global security environment (ISAF intervention in Afghanistan, fighting in Syria, migration crisis since 2015, COVID 19 pandemic) and in a different political situation in Poland since 2014. The new *Strategy* was created when the government (Mateusz Morawiecki Prime Minister of the coalition government - PiS, Porozumienie, Solidarna Polska) and the President came from the same political option - Law and Justice. From the perspective of assessing the security environment, the document shows a particular focus on the threat from Russia. It points out Russia's aggressive actions to date against other countries (Georgia, Ukraine, eastern Ukraine) and the intensive expansion of its offensive military potential. Attention was drawn to Russia's 'hybrid warfare' and the possibility of this leading to the outbreak of conflict [19, p. 6]. It is worth mentioning at this point that the political environment associated with the Law and Justice party is characterised by a negative assessment of possible democratic changes in Russia.

The basic catalogue of national interests in the area of security included: guarding independence,

territorial inviolability, sovereignty and ensuring security of the state and its citizens; Shaping the international order, based on solidarity cooperation and respect for international law, providing guarantees for the secure development of Poland; Strengthening national identity and guarding national heritage; Ensuring conditions for sustainable and balanced social and economic development and protecting the natural environment. The document declares that in its relations with other states bilaterally and globally, Poland will pursue an active eastern policy, whereby it will "Undertake actions to strengthen the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, Georgia and the Republic of Moldova, including supporting their aspirations for the realisation of European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations and engage in stabilisation activities in Poland's eastern neighbourhood, including within the framework of the Eastern Partnership"[19, p. 25]. It should be assumed that further changes on the international arena as well as on the political scene in Poland will be factors that will cause the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland* to be modernised once again in accordance with the principle of relevance of the strategy to the current situation of the security environment.

The political character of the *National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland* stems mainly from the nature of the entities that develop and approve the document. The *National Security Strategy* is a political document, as it is created by a *strictly* political body - the Council of Ministers - and signed by a political entity - the President. It is an expression of political will [20]. These documents were developed collegially by specially appointed teams, which mainly included representatives of political actors [16, p. 25]. In 2006, an order of the Prime Minister established the Inter-Ministerial Team for the Development of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, which included representatives of the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior and Administration. In addition, the Team included representatives indicated by: Minister of Education and Science, Minister of Finance, Minister of Economy, Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Minister of Transport and Construction, Minister of Culture and National Heritage, Minister of Regional Development, Minister of National Defence, Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, Minister of the Treasury, Minister of Sport, Minister of Justice, Minister of the Interior and Administration, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of the Environment, Minister of Health,

Head of the Chancellery of the Prime Minister, Head of the Office of the Committee for European Integration, Head of the Internal Security Agency, Head of the Intelligence Agency. The Team also included the Minister-Member of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Wassermann [21].

In addition to representatives of the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Team established in 2013 included: designated representatives (in the rank of directors of organisational units) of the Minister of Administration and Digitisation, Minister of National Education, Minister of Finance, Minister of Economy, Minister of Culture and National Heritage, Minister of Science and Higher Education, Minister of National Defence, Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, Minister of Regional Development, Minister of the Treasury, Minister of Sport and Tourism, Minister of Justice, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of the Environment, Minister of Transport, Construction and Maritime Economy, Minister of Health, Head of the Chancellery of the Prime Minister, Head of the Internal Security Agency, Head of the Intelligence Agency and a head of an organisational unit designated by the Director of the Government Security Centre (Rządowe Centrum Bezpieczeństwa (RCB) [22].

The Team for the Development of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, established in September 2019, consisted of: the chairman - designated by the Minister of National Defence - the Secretary of State or Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of National Defence; the vice-chairmen: the Secretary of State or Undersecretary of State designated by the Minister in charge of foreign affairs, the Secretary of State or Undersecretary of State designated by the Minister in charge of internal affairs. One representative each at the rank of directors of organisational units designated by: Minister in charge of internal affairs, Minister in charge of education and upbringing, Minister in charge of budget, Minister in charge of economy, Minister in charge of construction, planning and spatial development and housing, Minister in charge of energy, Minister in charge of maritime economy, Minister in charge of culture and national heritage protection, Minister in charge of information technology, Minister in charge of higher education and science, Minister of National Defence, minister in charge of labour, minister in charge of agriculture, minister in charge of physical culture, minister in charge of foreign affairs, Minister of Justice, minister in charge of the environment, minister in charge of communications, minister in charge of health, Head of the Internal Security

Agency, Head of the Intelligence Agency, Minister - Member of the Council of Ministers - Coordinator of the Special Services, Head of the Chancellery of the Prime Minister. In addition, the Team included the Director of the Government Security Centre and a secretary - appointed by the Team Chairman - an employee of the Ministry of National Defence [23].

Pursuant to the provision of the 1967 *Act on the Duty to Defend the People's Republic of Poland*, the President of the Republic of Poland, upholding the sovereignty and security of the state, the inviolability and indivisibility of its territory, approved, at the request of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the national security strategy [24]. The same act indicated that the tasks of the Council of Ministers performed in the framework of ensuring the external security of the state and exercising general leadership in the field of national defence included the development of draft national security strategies [24].

The *Homeland Defence Act of 2022*, which replaced the aforementioned 1967 act, indicates more broadly the powers of the President in matters related to the *National Security Strategy*. According to the new provision, the President of the Republic of Poland, upholding the sovereignty and security of the state, the inviolability and indivisibility of its territory: 1) provides the Council of Ministers with recommendations to the National Security Strategy prior to the commencement of work on its draft by the Council of Ministers; 2) approves, by way of a decision, at the request of the President of the Council of Ministers, the National Security Strategy; 3) provides the Council of Ministers with recommendations to the defence preparations of the Republic of Poland; 4) issues, at the request of the President of the Council of Ministers, by way of a decision, the Political and Strategic Defence Directive of the Republic of Poland and other executive documents to the National Security Strategy [25]. At the same time, it was indicated that ensuring the external security of the state and exercising general leadership in the field of national defence by the Council of Ministers consists, among other things, in: developing drafts of the national security strategy [25].

Moreover, the document has the character of a political declaration of the state addressed to the external environment both regionally and globally. In this sense, the actual recipients of this communication are think tanks of other states. The NSS defines the geopolitical codes of the state, indicating partners and relevant courses of action in relation to distant or nearer neighbours. From the analysis of the content of the NSS, it is also possible

to deduce the strategic directions of the state's policy in the international security dimension. In this aspect, the NSS has a political character at the international level. It is worth noting that foreign policy directions are derived from the political programme of the party in power.

In terms of the subject matter of national security, the document also covers issues in the area of political security, treated as a component of wider national security.

National Security Strategies have been developed and adopted by Polish governments and presidents representing different political options, whether left, centre-left, centre-right or right. Apart from nuances and different emphases on the issues, the core values remain the same. These include safeguarding independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and ensuring the security of the state and its citizens. Even the provision informing that a particular NSS "is an expression of a new approach to the issue of national security" [12] does not change the general definition of basic interests and values adopted by all Polish governments and treated as the Polish *raison d'état*.

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that regardless of the currently existing ruling system, the basic values are unchanged and include independence, constitutional principles, good relations with neighbours and orientation towards the West. Thus, it should be considered, answering the main research problem concerning the influence of current politics on the shape of the NSS, that the strategies are a response to changes in Poland's environment to a greater extent than to current political alignments on the Polish political scene. The verification of the hypothesis indicated in the introduction showed that it is true only in the aspect concerning the insignificant elements indicated in the strategies. In essential frameworks and values, the political programmes of individual governments did not significantly alter the content of the NSS.

Summary. With the decomposition of the Warsaw Pact, the collapse of the USSR and the geopolitical changes around Poland, the country had to adopt an appropriate national security strategy. The first document called the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland was drafted already after Poland's accession to NATO, in 2000. The dynamics of changes in the international security environment, including in particular the war against international terrorism, the intervention in Afghanistan, Iraq, the migration crisis and the aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine (Crimea), made it necessary to modify the Strategy in line with the changing situation. The document was

developed by a team of experts and approved by political actors. It is not only an adopted strategy, but also a declaration of Poland's position in the area of its security addressed externally to other entities (States). The analysis of the content

of the documents shows that the basic values of security resulting from the *raison d'état* constitute a constant element of the Strategy. Specific governments and parties only partially influence their shape.

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