Ewa Jakubiak

Internal Security of Poland in Cooperation with International Organizations

#### **Abstract**

The article lists general conditions conducive to Poland's security. Poland's accession to the North Atlantic Pact, the European Union and the UN created the basis for permanently anchoring the state in security structures. This strengthened the position of the state in international relations and opened new possibilities of influencing the European security zone. This process has an impact on forming the security environment in the immediate vicinity of Poland. It also clearly influences Poland's policy-making in the field of internal security.

**Keywords:** security, threat, cooperation.

## Introduction

Poland belongs to NATO, an alliance that tries to counteract threats with different results on a regular basis through various forms of cooperation. The participation of the Polish state in security organizations is a fundamental foundation affecting the national security as well as security within the state. Forms of strengthening state security arise from both from historical premises and contemporary conditions depending on the political and military position. NATO has been the most important pillar of security for above 70 years, providing the necessary link between Europe and North America in the political and defense sphere.

## Polish state security after World War II

Currently, defining national interests as well as strategic goals of the state in the area of national security should refer to historical experience (Biała Księga Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, 2013). They

show the remembrance, awareness and character of the Polish nation. From the beginning of the existence of the Polish state, there were external and internal threats.

The Polish state is a region of Central and Eastern Europe, an area in which fierce competition between great powers took place. The interests of the military, political and economic powers neighbouring Poland from east and west had been clashing. Unfavourable conditions for Poland's security appeared already at the beginning of the 18th century when Poland was erased from the world map.

War is one of the oldest ways to resolve disputes by force. World War II confirmed the tragic effects of Poland's insecurity and the importance of effective measures to strengthen it. After World War II, the traditional Polish scheme between Russia and Germany was strengthened by the location at the junction of two opposing political and military blocks: the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Pact.

The decisions of the leaders of great powers made at conferences in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam had a major impact on the post-war political fate of the world, including Poland. The Second War changed the balance of power in the world. The issue of Poland's security was sealed for many years at a conference in Yalta on 4-11 February 1945. At that time, the political division of Europe into its western and eastern parts became largely reflecting the reality of the balance of power from the mid-forties. Poland, together with other Central European countries, found itself in the zone of domination of the Soviet Union (Grochowski, Letkiewicz, Misiuk, 2011).

Therefore, apart from the will of Poles, their safety was decided for the entire period of the Cold War. The Soviet Union became the guarantor of Poland's security and the decision-maker in the field of Polish security.

This mechanism of Poland's dependence on Moscow in terms of security was based on two pillars closely related to each other. The first pillar was the ideological and political belief in the eternal Polish-German hostility.

The second pillar was the Warsaw Pact and the resulting presence of Soviet troops in Poland. One of the main tasks in 1945 was the communists gaining social support for the alliance with the Soviet Union as a guarantor of Poland's security.

During the Cold War<sup>1</sup> it brought important multilateral political and military alliances to security policy. First, alliances from the West and the East were based on an official international treaty, registered in the new universal international organization, the UN.

It was in the interest of Poland's security to change the western border, which was to be a condition for effective defence against the German threat. The new border was to weaken the German strategic system used against Poland, which had been so far favourable to Germany. Poland had no reason to exist. In addition to external factors, the communists also promoted the use of measures that would work to weaken German aggressiveness. At the end of the 1980s, Poland entered the path of democratic reforms. At the same time, a deep transformation of the entire international system began, especially in Europe, as a result of which the geopolitical position of Poland changed (Bieleń, 2007).

During the Polish People's Republic<sup>2</sup> among the national and state interests, the most important was the provision of: building ideological, socialist statehood in the absence of sovereignty; durability of the Polish-German border on the Oder and Nysa, and internal security (Biała Księga Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, 2013). This was associated with the strengthening of the people's government and the strengthening of political, social and economic changes in the state.

The goals mentioned above in the security field focused on maintaining order and internal security. There was the development of special services, militia as well as solving existing problems by use of force. It was in the interest of the Polish authorities to ease tensions and reduce the military threat. This was reflected in the plans of Rapacki (1957), Gomułka (1963) and Jaruzelski (1987); strengthening Poland's international position, i.a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Cold War lasted in the years 1947–1991. It was a state of tension and ideological and political rivalry between the communist-eastern bloc and non-communist countries concentrated in NATO – referred to as the western bloc. The war was accompanied by an arms race and political methods without the use of force, but involvement in numerous conflicts, including Asia and Africa. The Cold War also had its stages during which one side gained some advantage. However, this advantage has never been high enough to disrupt the military balance. This state consisted in the fact that in the event of a conflict, the potential of unconventional weapons is so great on both sides that it will lead to the destruction of the opponent regardless of the conventional military potential. As a result, the aforementioned arms race consisted not only in the expansion of conventional and unconventional offensive weapons but also in missile systems that could eliminate the enemy's missile weapons. It seems that if this military balance were disrupted, then the likelihood of an outbreak of armed conflict would be much higer (Piekarski, 2013, p. 43).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Polish People's Republic official name of the Polish state in the years 1952–1989.

through activity within the United Nations and the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (ibid., p. 32).

Events of 1989–1991, the fall of communism and the Yalta order, and bound with this, the collapse of the Warsaw Pact posed completely new challenges for Poland's security policy. The number of Polish neighbours increased from three to seven. Instead of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and East Germany these countries appeared: Lithuania, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Germany. With most of them, Poland had various problems: border and minority, related to the stationing of troops.

Many of them were embedded in difficult and unexplained events from the distant future. However, within a few years, it was possible to create a full tract basis for Poland's bilateral relations with its neighbours.

After the collapse of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon – International Organization of Eastern Bloc countries, it operated from 1949-1991), the Republic of Poland found itself in a difficult economic situation. Natural gas, oil and iron ore were obtained in the Soviet Union. As part of this exchange, sulfur and industrial products were supplied to the Soviet Union.

In the 1990s, Poland stood in the zone between the safe West and the unstable eastern area (Kiltler, 2011). In the opinion of R. Zięba (2008), Poland has made a significant contribution to the collapse of the Cold War division of Europe and opening the way for the expansion of democratic values to the east of Europe and the change of the power system in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

In February 1991 the Visegrad Declaration on cooperation between Poland, Chechoslovakia and Hungary was signed. The Visegrad Triangle was created, which aimed at forming cooperation with institutions in matters of security and coordinating actions in the economic, ecological and humanitarian sphere. After the collapse of Czechoslovakia in 1993. to the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the Visegrad Triangle continues as a Visegrad Group<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> After the collapse of Czechoslovakia, the Visegrad Group consists of four countries: Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. The aim of this group was to create a coalition of countries of the area in Central and Eastern Europe that would pursue their common political interest. The basis was the assumption that historical events showed that all the countries in this group have a very similar geopolitical situation. As a result, it is better to pursue geopolitical interest together as a larger and stronger entity, and therefore more effective (Nowak & Nowak, 2011).

Poland supported the formation of the structure of new countries in the East and was the first to recognize Ukraine's independent existence. Poland has been freed from conflict situations with border countries, open to the world and Europe, has become an element integrating this part of the continent (Kuźniar, 2012).

Poland has started implementing security measures:

- ♦ joined the Council of Europe (1991);
- ♦ signed the European Union Association Agreement (1991);
- ♦ joined the association with the Western European Union (1994);
- ♦ is a member of the World Trade Organization (1995),
- ♦ joined the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1996).
- ♦ admission to the North Atlantic Alliance NATO (1999).

Today, the territory of Poland covers about 322 719 km<sup>2</sup>. The shape of Polish territory is beneficial for defence due to its proximity to the shape of a circle (Wierzbicka, 1998).

The territory of Poland is in the very centre of Europe. Poland borders with seven countries. From the north, Poland borders with Russia (Kaliningrad Oblast) and Lithuania, from the south with the Czech Republic and Slovakia, from the west with Germany and from the east with Belarus and Ukraine. The northern border of Poland is marked by the Baltic coast with the main ports of Gdańsk, Gdynia and Szczecin. East-West and North-South transit routes cross in Poland. Poland has good geographical conditions that favour the development of the state, through the increase of trade exchange between world regions. Poland's membership in the United Nations, the Council of Europe or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe guarantees the maintenance of peace and security for the state.

# Poland's membership in NATO and cooperation with the UN

The concept of collective security is based primarily on international legal obligations of states in the field of maintaining peace and security. It requires a joint and several commitment of members of the international community to collectively counteract international security disruptions (Słomczyńska, 2007).

This concept derives from the conviction that a traditional international security system based on a balance of powers does not meet the needs of interdependence and a system with better security guarantees should be created. It also assumes recognition of the indivisibility of security, because it is easier to undermine existing solutions than to work out new ones. The starting point is the safety of all, and joint ventures are established that would counteract all security breaches. The adaptation of common principles of collective security to European conditions was included in the Helsinki Accords "Declaration of principles governing relations between participating countries" by formulating a principles decalogue of security and cooperation in Europe (Fehler, 2002):

- sovereign equality and respect for rights arising therefrom;
- ♦ refraining from or threatening to use force;
- ♦ inviolability of borders;
- ♦ territorial integrity of countries;
- ♦ peaceful settlement of disputes;
- ♦ non-interference in internal affairs;
- respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief;
- equality and the right of nations to self-determination:
- ♦ cooperation between countries:
- performance in good faith of obligations under international law.

International organizations appeared at the beginning of the 19th century. Initially, the term organization was not used. They were called unions, councils, committees and international associations. The term organization is derived of two words: Greek organon and Latin organum, the first of which meant a tool, an organ and the second is a tool (Dictionary of Foreign Terms, 1965).

Countries ensure security by establishing military alliances with other countries (Żurawski vel Grajewski, 2012). Alliances are formed to join the military capabilities of states to achieve common goals. An alliance is formed when states are dissatisfied with security and seek to strengthen it. Alliances include deterrence, stronger defence in the event of an attack.

NATO stands out from other alliances, i.a. high legitimacy, which results from the reciprocity of obligations and sanctions of international law, transparency of the goal, which is collective defence, as well as the institutionalized nature of cooperation (Kupiecki, 2005).

Poland's accession to the North Atlantic Pact has laid the foundations for the permanent anchoring of the state in Euro-Atlantic security structures. It strengthened the position of the state in international relations (Fehler & Tymanowski, 1999).

Poland's membership of the North Atlantic Treaty is an important factor in the internal stabilization of the state, and these factors, in turn, strengthen its international position. The North Atlantic Treaty was founded in 1949 on the initiative of the USA<sup>4</sup>. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has two divisions: political and military. The principle of the Organization is generally obliged to cooperate with the countries. It is based on ensuring the security of Organization members. This means that none of the Organization members must in the face of a safety threat, rely only on their own strength.

The problem of the significance of NATO membership is important both for all social relations occurring in the state, as well as for the image creation of the state's position outside. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a partner alliance of North American and European democracies that provides common security through political and military cooperation<sup>5</sup>.

The main tasks and principles are included in the NATO Strategic Concept from 2010:

- ♦ NATO's most important permanent goal is to guarantee freedom and security for all members through military and political means;
- ♦ NATO member states form a unique community of values, attached to the principles of individual freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. The Organization is unambiguously attached to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Wash-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The United States aimed to create allied connections with Canada and the ten Western European countries to obtain a tool to stop the further expansion of the Soviet Union on the European continent. The basis of its functioning is the North Atlantic Treaty, also known as the Washington Treaty which was made in Washington on 4 April 4 1949 and which came into force on August 24, 1949. It is also important that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed first, and six years later the Warsaw Pact, which was a response to this initiative. In this regard, it shows that Western countries alone felt weaker than the enormous Soviet Union. As a result, the sense of threat led to their consolidation in the military area (Kuźniar et al., 2012)

The Organization also enables cooperation in other areas such as science and environmental problems or civilian crisis management and disaster relief. On the other hand, however, cooperation even in civilian projects, such as natural disasters, nevertheless causes better integration of countries at the operational level, which in turn translates into better preparation of the coalition partners for cooperation in the event of military action. In addition, an important aspect is to strengthen the sense of community through cooperation and to help in various crisis situations (Fehler & Tymanowski, 1999).

- ington Treaty, which recognize the overarching responsibility of the Security Council for maintaining international peace and security;
- ♦ the modern security environment concerns challenges that have a wide range of undergoing dynamic change; these challenges relate to both the security of the territory and the population of NATO<sup>6</sup>.

Within 73 years of its existence, NATO has built a structure that enables the Organization to achieve its primary goal. It is an intergovernmental organization in which the Member States retain their full sovereignty and independence. This organization is a forum where mutual consultations can be held on virtually any topic of importance for security and peaceful coexistence (Czaputowicz, 2012).

It is an alliance where decisions on political and military matters affecting security are taken unanimously. The Organization guarantees its members security through collective defence, consisting of providing assistance in the event of an attack. NATO will actively help to control the emerging crises.

Institutions whose task is to protect constitutional order and public order play an important role in internal security. The proper functioning of these authorities in a democratic state consists above all in reconciling actions and social control. One of the conditions for Poland's accession to NATO was to ensure a minimum standard of political control over the state's forces. Poland's membership of the North Atlantic Treaty was influenced by the proper relations between institutions caring for constitutional order and internal order in the state. Poland, wanting to be an effective member of the Organization, must continue to maintain not only adequate political activity in international relations but also to raise the level of preparation and military efficiency. These factors have many anticipated effects on the structure of internal and external security.

Twenty-one years passed when Poland joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. By joining NATO, Poland received a security guarantee. Poland is a full member of NATO and occupies an important position in structures that results from such acts as:

- geographical location and conditions;
- ♦ the state's potential, its contribution to the Organization with the visibility of the military contribution (Parzymies & Popiuk-Rysińska, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> North Atlantic Treaty drawn up in Washington on 4 April 1949 (Journal of Laws of 19 October 2000). On behalf of the Republic of Poland (Journal of Laws 2000.87.970).

Poland lies on the main strategic direction of the Organization, in the vicinity of two of the most important strategic partners: Russia and Ukraine. Poland is a NATO border state, and this is the reason why NATO must focus its collective defence efforts on this area. According to Wojnarowski and Babula (2006), the border location of the state is neither convenient nor safe. Therefore, it should be understood that it is in Poland's interest to further expand and strengthen NATO. The Organization is treated in the category of the community to which each participant makes a specific contribution.

Poland's NATO accession resulted in the need to adapt the Polish Armed Forces<sup>7</sup> to NATO standards. Such changes occurred in all areas of activity and areas of the armed forces. This is evident in the growing number of women in the army, military equipment, and training system.

The participation of Polish soldiers in missions and trainings with soldiers of other countries has made Poland become a reliable partner, both for allies and other countries. Poland, thanks to its presence in NATO, may accept events in Ukraine with little concern.

In an expose of 13 February 2009, Minister of Foreign Affairs Radosław Sikorski said that Poland bases its security on three main pillars: "membership of the North Atlantic Treaty, which turned out to be the most effective alliance of collective defence in history, European Union membership" (Kwartalnik, 2014, p. 9). Joining NATO in 1999 was a great success for Poland, thanks to which the post-Yalta division of Europe was finally erased. In the final analysis, Poland managed to cope with its challenges, and on 12 March 1999 joined NATO (ibid., p. 15).

Over 20 years of presence in the Organization also significantly affected the internal processes serving the Republic of Poland. The participation of the Polish Army in international missions and peacekeeping operations implemented by NATO significantly influenced the level of equipment and

The Minister of National Defense is in control of the entire armed forces, exclusively with soldiers and organizational units. The strategic command authority is the Ministry of National Defense. The command of the armed forces during the war is exercised by the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, appointed by the President of the Republic of Poland at the request of the Prime Minister. This mechanism seems clear, precise and relatively easy to implement. However, during real conflict, especially on a large scale, difficulties may arise in implementing these provisions. The best example here was the situation of the Polish government during the September Campaign. Romanians intervened in their territory Polish authorities, which paralyzed the entire decision-making process. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that in war conditions it may be necessary to make other decisions (Turczyński, 2011).

training of Polish soldiers. NATO is distinguished by high legitimacy resulting from the reciprocity of obligations and sanctions of international law (Czaputowicz, 2012).

Recently, the issues of defense against hybrid threats, cybersecurity and energy security have gained particular importance. For Poland, the effective deterrence potential and military capabilities of the Alliance are of key importance. This guarantees the implementation of collective defense tasks in the face of destabilization coming from the south, but especially significant hybrid threats.

At the same time, Poland engages in allied activities outside the treaty area, aimed at prevention, crisis response and post-conflict reconstruction.

Poland belongs to the group of allies most strongly committed to promoting reforms in such partner countries as Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova, and is also an advocate of a continuous deepening of cooperation with Sweden and Finland.

For Poland, membership in NATO also means a constant strengthening of its own defense capabilities. As a country that meets the criterion of spending 2% of GDP on defense, Poland is constantly improving the quality of its armed forces and making a significant contribution to the implementation of allied tasks in the field of collective defense and crisis response, regardless of the direction and nature of the threats. This is also reflected in the location of the following NATO structures in Poland: Multinational Corps Northeast in Szczecin, NATO Joint Force Training Center in Bydgoszcz, The Command of the 3rd NATO Signal Battalion in Bydgoszcz, NATO Military Police Centre of Excellence (MP COE) in Bydgoszcz, NATO Counterintelligence Centre of Excellence in Krakow, Multinational Division North East (MND-NE) in Elblag. The membership in NATO increased the satisfaction of the Polish army and the improvement of the standard of living of the servicemen. After Poland joined NATO, changes took place in the following areas:

- ♦ modernization of equipment and weapons.
- command system and process.
- ♦ increase in professionalism (better training of soldiers),
- ♦ improving the standard of living of the servicemen,
- foreign contacts (joint exercises and activity in peacekeeping missions).

- ♦ skills improvement and language courses,
- ♦ increasing financial outlays for the army
- ♦ increase in Poles' sense of security,
- ♦ increasing the efficiency of the command and operation of the Polish Armed Forces.

The benefits of Poland's accession to NATO certainly include: increasing the sense of security, strengthening Poland's position in the international arena, transforming forces, infrastructure investments, bringing Poland closer to Western Europe. However, it also has its drawbacks: financing activities aimed at maintaining combat readiness, readiness to send Polish armed forces to distant countries in order to resolve a conflict, adherence to standards set by NATO.

The United Nations is an organization of common security. Its task is to prevent and stop the aggression of one or more countries. Only independent states can belong to the UN. The history of the UN is very long. It has been 75 years of its existence, and during this time the UN has changed significantly. Initially, it was an organization of the victorious anti-Hitler coalition, dominated by great powers (permanent members of the Security Council) and taking into account the realities created by the Soviet conquest of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Cold War that began in 1946–1948 determined the nature of the UN for the next two decades and defined its functions in a bipolar world, separated by a conflict between the West under the leadership of the United States and the East dominated by the USSR. It should be noted that the establishment of NATO and the Warsaw Pact was a consequence of the policy pursued by Western countries. First of all, we are talking about the Soviet Union, which operated on the basis of expansion ideology, i.e. the introduction of socialism and communism in other areas. It should be noted that both organizations were typically military. As a result, the threat of global conflict was very high. Therefore, a new organization was needed. The organization which functioning would go beyond this cold war system.

Poland joined the UN in 1946, and currently, 193 countries belong to this organization. The main tasks of the UN are: ensuring international security and peace, protecting human rights and dignity, political, economic and cultural cooperation, supporting economic and technological progress.

## Strengthening Poland's security

The contemporary security system of the Republic of Poland is the result of a long evolution crowned by an organizational connection with the organizational structures of Western Europe (Piskozub, 1995). The socalled defense doctrine of the Republic of Poland is contained in the Polish Security Policy Assumptions, developed on 2 November 1992. it was signed by the President of the Republic of Poland and the National Defense Committee. The assumptions indicated that the Polish contribution to strengthening international security is and will remain the participation of Polish armed forces in peacekeeping missions established by the UN, and in the future also by European international institutions.

In order to update the political assumptions, on 4 January 2000, the Council of Ministers adopted the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland (Chmiel, 2002).

It indicated that Poland treats security in a comprehensive manner, and implements its security policy in accordance with the United Nations Charter and OSCE documents, as well as the print and letter of international treaties and conventions to which it is a party. It intends to pursue national interests in the area of security within NATO.

Poland's membership of the UN, OSCE and NATO structures means that the main goals of foreign (security) policy must take into account the commitments and objectives contained in the documents and main acts of these organizations. Poland has been participating in maintaining and restoring security within international organizations since 1953. Polish soldiers, policemen and civilian personnel participated in over thirty missions (Baniecka, 2007).

Poland, as a member of the collective security system, is obliged to adopt the following priorities of proceedings:

- peacekeeping:
- ♦ limiting the use of armed forces;
- ♦ settlement of disputes by peaceful means:
- joint opposition to a possible aggressor, primarily through political, diplomatic and economic sanctions (Tymanowski, 2001).

Robert Schuman emphasized that we would never renounce our homeland and we will not forget about our duties towards it. But we understand more and more clearly that there is a common good above our homeland (Marszałek, 2000). The experience of recent years shows that Poles attach great importance to the problem of security. This problem seems to be important, as the level of threats to people, and consequently, the state is increasing. Poles see a successful strategy for the development of international relations, but most of the population experiences a deteriorating standard of living, social and living restrictions. Social problems such as: social security, street safety, work safety, and safety of pathological consequences are being felt in the increasing number of society. Safety is desirable and valued good by people.

### **Conclusion**

Membership in NATO is a key platform for Poland for multilateral and bilateral international cooperation. It is the main pillar of military and political stability on the European continent. Thanks to accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United Nations, Poland obtained the status of a democratic state.

Forms of strengthening the state security result from both historical premises and contemporary conditions depending on the political and military position.

#### **Abstrakt**

W artykule wymieniono ogólne warunki sprzyjające bezpieczeństwu Polski. Przystąpienie Polski do Paktu Północnoatlantyckiego, Unii Europejskiej i ONZ stworzyło podstawy do trwałego zakotwiczenia państwa w strukturach bezpieczeństwa. Wzmocniło to pozycję państwa w stosunkach międzynarodowych i otworzyło nowe możliwości oddziaływania na europejską strefę bezpieczeństwa. Proces ten ma wpływ na tworzenie się środowiska bezpieczeństwa w bezpośrednim sąsiedztwie Polski. Wyraźnie wpływa również na kształtowanie przez Polskę polityki w dziedzinie bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego.

Słowa kluczowe: bezpieczeństwo, zagrożenie, współpraca.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Baniecka E. (ed.), 2007. Bezpieczeństwo Polski. Aspekty zewnętrzne i wewnętrzne [Polish security. External and internal aspects], Gdańsk: Wyd. Gdańskiej Wyższej Szkoły Humanistycznej [Gdańsk Higher School of Humanities' Publisher].

Bezpieczeństwo narodowe: 15 lat w NATO [National Security: 15 years in NATO], Quarterly published by the National Security Bureau, No. I-2014.

Bieleń S. (ed.), 2007. Polska w stosunkach międzynarodowych [Poland in international relations] Warsaw: Wyd. Wydział Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego [Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Warsaw].

Chmiel B., 2002. Instytucjonalizacja wspólnej polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa Unii Europejskiej [The institutionalization of the common foreign and security policy of the European Union], Toruń: Adam Marszałek.

Czaputowicz J., 2012. Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe. Współczesne koncepcje [International Security. Contemporary concepts], Warsaw: PWN.

Dictionary of Foreign Terms, 1965. Warsaw: PAN.

Fehler W., Tymanowski J., 1999. Międzynarodowe i wewnętrzne aspekty członkostwa Polski w NATO [International and internal aspects of Poland's membership in NATO], Toruń: Adam Marszałek.

Fehler W., 2002. Współczesne bezpieczeństwo [Contemporary security], Toruń: Adam Marszałek.

Grochowski L., Letkiewicz A., Misiuk A. (ed.), 2011. Nauka o bezpieczeństwie, istota, przedmiot badań i kierunki rozwoju. Studia i materiały [Security science, nature, subject of research and development directions. Studies and materials], Szczytno: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Policji.

Kitler W., 2011. Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System [Polish national security. Basic categories. Conditions. System], Warsaw: Wyd. Akademii Obrony Narodowej [National Defense University Publisher].

Kupiecki R., 2005. Strategia NATO w świetle teorii jako praktyka i próba interpretacji [NATO strategy in the light of theory as a practice and attempt to interpret], Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny, volume 5, no. 6.

Kuźniar R., Balcerowicz B., Bieńczyk-Missala A., Grzebyk P., Madej M., Pronińska K., Sułek M., Tabor M., Wojciuk A., 2012. Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe [International security], Warsaw: Scholar.

Kuźniar R., 2004. Europejska strategia bezpieczeństwa. Polska w Europie [European security strategy. Poland in Europe], Warsaw: Scholar.

Marszałek A., 2000. Suwerenność a integracja europejska w perspektywie historycznej [Sovereignty and European integration in a historical perspective], Łódź.

North Atlantic Treaty drawn up in Washington on 4 April 1949 (Journal of Laws of 19 October 2000). On behalf of the Republic of Poland (Journal of Laws 2000.87.970).

Nowak E., Nowak M., 2011. Zarys teorii bezpieczeństwa narodowego. Zarządzanie bezpieczeństwem [Outline of the theory of national security. Safety management], Warsaw: Difin.

Parzymies S., Popiuk-Rysińska I. (ed.), 2012. Udział Polski w organizacjach międzynarodowych [Polish participation in international organizations] Warsaw: Scholar.

Piekarski M., 2013. Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne Polski w latach 1989–2013. Wybrane aspekty [Internal security of Poland in the years 1989–2013. Selected aspects], Warsaw: Special ops, Szerokie Horyzonty.

Pieprzny S., 2012. Administracja bezpieczeństwa i porządku publicznego [Administration of security and public order], Rzeszów: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego [University of Rzeszów's Publisher].

Piskozub A., 1995. Polska w cywilizacji zachodniej [Poland in Western civilization], Gdańsk: Adam Marszałek.

Słomczyńska I., 2007. Europejska polityka bezpieczeństwa i obrony [European security and defense policy], Lublin: Wyd. Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej [Maria Curie-Sklodowska University's Publisher].

Sulowski S., Brzeziński M., (ed.), 2009. Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne państwa. Wybrane zagadnienia [Internal security of the state. Selected Issues], Warsaw: ELIPSA.

Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Official Journal of the EU C 115 of 9 May 2008) Art. 222, paragraph 1.

Turczyński P., 2011. Bezpieczeństwo europejskie. System. Instytucje. Funkcjonowanie [European security. System. Institutions. Functioning], Wrocław: Alta.

Tymanowski J. (ed.), 2001. Współczesne problemy globalne a bezpieczeństwo europejskie [Contemporary global problems and European security], Toruń: Adam Marszałek.

Wierzbicka E. (ed.), 1998. Przewodnik po świecie. Ilustrowana encyklopedia graficzna [World guide. Illustrated graphic encyclopedia], Warsaw: Reader's Digest.

Wojnarowski J., Babula J., 2006. Bezpieczeństwo militarne RP [Military security of the Republic of Poland], Warsaw.

Zięba R. (ed.), 2008. Główne kierunki polityki zagranicznej Polski po zimnej wojnie [Main directions of Poland's foreign policy after the Cold War], Warsaw: Wyd. Akademickie i Profesjonalne [Academic and Professional Publisher].

Żurawski vel Grajewski P., 2012. Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe wymiar militarny [International security military dimension], Warsaw: PWN.

www.spbn.gov.pl Biała Ksiega Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego RP.