NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY IN CONDITIONS OF EXTERNAL THREAT TO THE STATE AND DURING WAR

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ABSTRACT

Changes in the international environment mean that security problems have become a permanent part of social debate. Stimulated by globalization processes, the international security environment brings with it significant changes in threats. Four trends can be identified: expanding the number of entities that pose security threats, expanding the scope of security threats, "de-territorialization" of phenomena generating threats, and the emergence of conflicts with new qualitative features. Therefore, we are dealing with accelerated evolution and expansion of institutions, as well as instruments intended to ensure security. Countries are changing their strategies and doctrines, creating new types of armed forces and special services whose task is to respond to changing and increasingly complex threats to their security. The aim of this publication is to provide a scientific analysis of the issues of state security policy in the new, changed international situation.

Keywords: security policy, threats, security strategy

INTRODUCTION

Ensuring the safety of your citizens is one of the most important functions of each state. In modern times, national security should be understood as one of the basic areas of the functioning of the state aimed at ensuring not only the possibility of survival, but above all, making it possible development and freedom to pursue national interests in a specific security environment, by taking up challenges, taking advantage of opportunities, and reducing risks and countering all types of threats to its interests. Richer in experience from the last decade of the last century and ongoing armed conflicts are currently taking place, we know perfectly well that we are coping much better in situations for which we are prepared rather than in those that surprise us.

In the face of increasing globalization, the problem of national security and collective requires an innovative approach, including crisis management taking into account changes in the geopolitical location of virtually each country. These complex and interconnected processes are accompanied by both opportunities and threats, with the latter predominating. Competition on the scientific, economic and military levels, accompanied by ubiquitous globalization and the arms race, including the production of weapons of mass destruction, are the cause of significant changes and turmoil in the external and internal environment of countries. The increasing distance in development, primarily economic, is the source of the majority's dependence on the minority's wealth. Countries that dominate the decision-making process use their position in the international arena, including in organizational bodies

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1 Events of the 1990s in the Balkans after the collapse of Yugoslavia, events of September 11, 2001, in the United States and terrorist attacks in Madrid and London, as well as the development of the political and military situation in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, North Korea and North African countries, and the armed conflict in Ukraine, cause particular concern for the security of the state and its citizens.
Ensuring the security of the state and its citizens is one of its vital national interests. National security means the ability of the state and its society to ensure the conditions for its existence and development, territorial integrity, political independence, internal stability and quality of life. This ability is shaped by actions involving the use of opportunities, taking up challenges, reducing risks and eliminating external threats and internal, which ensures the persistence, identity, functioning and development freedoms of the state and nation (Zięba, Zajęc, 2010, p. 16).

National security in the 21st century is greatly influenced by the processes taking place in the contemporary global security environment. They are characterized by high dynamics and complexity of changes and the occurrence of asymmetric threats, the most dangerous of which are: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, international organized crime, and threats in cyberspace. Potentially, challenges may also arise which, if not responded to, may turn into threats. These include phenomena such as: destabilization of the political system, poorly functioning economic and social mechanisms, massive violations of human rights, impoverishment of societies, small water resources, degradation of the natural environment, natural disasters, growing demand for energy combined with difficult access to energy resources, depleting resources of rare metals and demographic problems. The main opportunities for strengthening national security should be seen in strengthening the role of the European state in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union and building increasingly better relations with neighboring countries.

1. CONTEMPORARY THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY

The concept of threats to national security was previously defined in close connection with the priority (or even the only) military area of national security (Report, 1997, p. 28). With the passage of time and various catastrophic events, new areas of national security have been identified. The concept of "comprehensive security" often appears in the analyzes of representatives of realism, which, in addition to an element such as force (military aspect), additionally includes politics, economics, culture, law, environment and aspects humanitarian.

When analyzing a security problem, it is necessary to take into account both external and internal aspects. Analyzing the threats that can refer to Europe, it should be noted that their distribution on our continent does not is uniform. In a globalized world, it cannot be said that the security threats to Portugal or Malta do not concern Poland, Slovakia or any other country.

Nowadays, security is more and more often compared to "domino tiles", moving one of them causes the others to fall in an avalanche. It is worth quoting here the document A secure Europe in a better world – prepared by the European Parliament European security strategy: “(...) in the era of globalism, distant threats should be subjected to analysis and interest like those in our neighborhood (...). The first line of defense will very often be abroad. New threats are dynamic. Preventing conflicts and threats cannot start too early or too far away. (European Security Strategy, 2009, p.6).

The antonym of security is threat. M. Pietraś in his article (Pietraś, 2003, p.169) talks about the "deterritorialization" of contemporary threats, which confirms the quote above. R. H. Ullman defines threat in an interesting way. According to him, "(...) is an action or sequence of
events that drastically... and in a relatively short period of time threatens to degrade the quality of life of the country's inhabitants or threatens to significantly narrow the scope of political decisions available to the government of that country, or for private, non-governmental entities within the state” (Ullman, 1983, p.129). A different approach to the issue of threats is presented by S. Dworecki. In his understanding, a threat to state security is a series of events internal or in international relations in which the conditions for undisturbed existence and internal development may be reduced or lost with a high probability. They may also cause a violation or loss of a state's sovereignty or its partnership in international relations resulting from the use of political, psychological, economic or military violence (Ciekanowski, 2011, pp. 69-70).

The modern understanding of national (state) security assumes that a threat to state security is a series of events in internal or international relations that are likely to result in a reduction or loss of conditions for the undisturbed existence of the state and its partnership treatment. in international relations (Ciekanowski, 2011, pp.69-70).

Geopolitical conflicts and tensions have caused a series of interconnected global threats, according to the Global Risks Report 2023 prepared by the World Economic Forum, which has been warning against this type of risks for 17 years (Global Risks Report 2023, pp.1-98).

The global threats identified in this edition of the report include crises in energy and food supplies, which are likely to persist in the next two years, and a sharp increase in the cost of living and debt servicing. At the same time, this crisis carries the risk of weakening efforts to solve long-term problems, in particular those related to climate change, biodiversity and investments in human capital.

Currently, the pandemic and war in Europe have brought energy, inflation, food and security crises to the fore. This creates new threats that will dominate over the next two years: the risk of recession, growing debt, a livelihood crisis, polarization of societies caused by disinformation and fake news, suspension of rapid actions to mitigate climate change, geoeconomic competition. However, the authors of the report also note that if the world does not start to cooperate more effectively in mitigating the effects of climate change and adapting to it, it will lead to further global warming and ecological disasters in the next 10 years. At the same time, crisis-driven leadership and geopolitical rivalries may create social unrest on an unprecedented scale, driven by declining investment in health, education and economic development. Finally, growing competition threatens not only to increase spending on weapons, but also to remilitarize, especially through new technologies.

According to the report's authors, in the coming years governments will have to make compromises in the face of competing social, environmental and security issues. Already, short-term geoeconomic risks are putting net-zero commitments to the test and revealing a disconnect between scientific and political viewpoints. The security environment and rising military spending may reduce the fiscal space to cushion the effects of a prolonged cost of living crisis. Without a change in course, some countries will find themselves in a crisis situation in which they will not be able to invest in future economic growth, human capital development and ecological technologies - we read in the report (Global Risks Report 2023, pp.1-98).

Its authors point out that, in addition to conducting urgent and coordinated projects, joint efforts of states, as well as cooperation between the public and private sectors in order to strengthen financial stability, technology management, economic development and investments in research, science, education and health, are extremely important. The short-term risk landscape is dominated by energy, food, debt crises and disasters. Those suffering are those who are already most negatively impacted - and in the face of multiple crises, those who are most vulnerable are growing rapidly, in both rich and poor countries. Climate and investments in human capital must be at the forefront of world leaders' attention, even as they currently face
other challenges. Cooperation is the only way forward, summarizes the results of the report by Saadia Zahidi, managing director of the World Economic Forum (Global Risks Report 2023, pp.1-98).

2. CONCEPTS OF SECURITY POLICY – DEFINITIONS

To begin considerations on security policy, one must first become aware of (define) the essence of the term policy itself in axiological and substantive terms. The concept of security policy covers, broadly speaking, the activities of a given entity in a certain area in order to achieve previously adopted goals. This means that long-term policy goals had to be set first in a given important area of activity. Sticking to the traditional understanding of the role of the state, shared by realists, one can come to the conclusion that security policy is the domain of states in the area of international relations. Therefore, definitions of national security or state security policy are most often found in the literature. According to one of them, it is an element of state policy regarding projects related to the creation of defense potential in order to prevent and counteract various types of threats. Another definition defines national security policy as an element of state policy in the scope of practical activity of the executive power in the field of creating and applying defense potential to achieve the goals and tasks resulting from the assumptions of the security policy. The contemporary level of institutionalization of joint security efforts, the depth of integration processes and interdependence within existing structures allow us to see the development of the subjective role of security policy in various areas of activity (Pokruczyński, 2011, pp.41-58).

Here are some definitions of politics and security policy according to selected sources. **Politics** (Greek: *polis*- state, government) - striving to achieve political goals using the instruments and authority of the state. (Opara, 2007, p. 120).

**Politics** – the sphere of mutual relations and positive and negative influences and compromises between the state and other organizations (including states in the case of international politics), regarding the goals and means of state activity, and the nature of state power. Typically, internal policy is distinguished and foreign and the so-called detailed policies, e.g. economic and military policies, which mean individual directions of state activity (Balcerowicz, 2002, p.97).

**Security policy** - 1) state activity in the internal sphere aimed at: guaranteeing the proper functioning of state bodies, stabilizing social order and protecting the health and life of citizens, 2) state activity in the external sphere leading to the analysis and neutralization of threats from websites of other countries, international institutions and private and natural persons; security policy may concern various areas of the state's functioning, for example: military, economic, energy, information or ecological (Opara, 2007, p. 120).

**National security policy** - an element of state policy regarding projects related to the creation and use of defense potential for prevention purposes and counteracting various types of threats in national security policy. There are: military policy, foreign policy and others. Activities aimed at implementing essential long-term projects of national security policy are called national security strategy (Balcerowicz, 2002, p.99).

Based on the analysis of the content of the above-mentioned definitions, it is easy to see what is common and substantively correct, and what and how much is divergent from the point of view of norms. and evaluation criteria. I believe that if all authors developing the above definitions took into account the same criteria, the discrepancies would be minimal. However, the content of the definition would be complete and contain short and more precise and unambiguous formulations. A deeper analysis of the above-mentioned definitions leads to several, in my opinion, important statements, namely (Polcikiewicz, Siemiątkowski, Tomaszewski, 2019, pp.13-29):
Firstly, they concern the essence of politics and national (state) security policy, taking into account various areas of life;

Secondly, they cover the same or similar areas of consideration (political, economic, military, social, ecological, cultural);

Thirdly, they constitute a significant conceptual difference in relation to security strategies and strategies;

Fourthly, there are many formulations that do not add much to the philosophy of the concept (term);

Fifthly, the definitions do not fully reflect the importance of the term national security, a fundamental value of humanity in the modern world. In this situation, any attempt to define this concept (concepts), taking into account the criteria, challenges and threats of the 21st century, can be accepted provided that it is scientific and correct and its content is useful in today's reality full of dynamic changes.

In order to formulate the definition of policy as correctly as possible, it would be necessary to specify its public and international role, as well as the entity's activities in the most important areas. Due to the fact that the basic task of politics is forecasting and setting long-term goals of the government in various areas, hence the definition should reflect its essence in a positive or negative sense. Starting from the current definitions of politics, which put the activities of state authorities (government) first, we can assign its role, which determines, among others: security policy. It defines concepts and formulates goals on the basis of which strategies are developed. To clarify the scope of the security policy even more clearly, it is necessary first of all, determine the functions of the policy in the entire field of security. These very general functions include (https://mf-arch2.mf.gov.pl,2023):

1) creating coherent legal provisions on safety;
2) shaping social attitudes of all entities;
3) providing individuals with a sense of security, development and justice;
4) predictions regarding threats to the security of the state and alliances;
5) creating conditions for the implementation of national interests through the elimination of internal interests and external threats;
6) creating conditions for international cooperation and implementation of allied obligations in the international security system;
7) protection of the spiritual and material national heritage;
8) protection of the natural environment, mainly air, water and soil;
9) searching for new instruments and methods of action, appropriate to contemporary threats and types of risk.

A deeper analysis of the above-mentioned functions, which was the subject of the author's research, leads to the conclusion that security policy is part of national, regional (group of countries) and global policy. The content of the security policy depends primarily on many factors and conditions that fall within the theory of security. They are usually divided into internal and external, objective and subjective. Moreover, the structure of security policy is also important, especially when we consider all three areas, i.e. national, regional and global. The structure of security policy means its goals, principles and directions in the geopolitical aspect. The goals of security policy will always depend on a number of conditions and evaluation criteria. According to their meaning value, basic (vital), main (important in a given period) and secondary goals are distinguished (Marczak, 2011, p.56-58).

According to the substantive content, a typology is used distinguishing existential goals (security, survival), coexistential goals (meeting the needs of the state in terms of its role, affiliation and international cooperation) and functional goals (referring to various forms of regulation, information, decision-making and forecasting procedures to achieve the main
goals. It should be noted that security policy is a value system of the state (alliance) that guarantees the functioning of the government's decision-making center, defining long-term goals in various important areas.

3. NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM

National security (Kitler, Moch, Pawłowski, 2023), considered in various contexts, is a national value and need, the goal of the activity of the state and the entire nation (Kitler 2011, p.4-5). However, we perceive them primarily as an organizational product or as a social system. Both approaches allow us to perceive the complex matter of the phenomenon, treated as a specific type of real object created by humans to achieve specific goals, as well as an ordered set of organizational, social, cultural and material-technical elements, and the connections between them. The material basis of national security, perceived as a social system, are material objects that are not humans and products of material activity human (objects of material culture). The social layer is people (objects), psychophysical, and the culture layer consists of intellectual products of man, i.e. values: (also ideals, ideologies, doctrines, theories) and technical and social norms (rules and patterns proceedings). The most important and tangible manifestation of activity in this area are: organizational products, i.e. artificially or naturally produced parts of a larger one whole to achieve a specific goal of a given type. These are teams of people who have something in common mission to be achieved (destiny) by using all resources (human, material, financial and intellectual) managed in a given way (Kitler 2011, p.4-5).

Another definition says that an organization is a group of people cooperating with each other in a coordinated and orderly manner in order to achieve a specific set of goals and complete specific tasks. This approach to national security allows us to see the breadth of the phenomenon in which, apart from material objects, psychophysical (human) and cultural factors play a leading role, constituting the potential of the entire nation and, more broadly, national strength. The division of the social system into different layers allows us to see the creative role of humans, but it does not give us a final answer to the question about the division of roles between individual security tools. For this reason, treating it as an organizational system is a necessary or at least necessary condition for understanding the organizational layer of the subject we are interested in and making references to solutions practical in this matter. Due to practical needs, more often it is more useful to understand the organizational sphere of the subject of our interests, i.e. the national security system, i.e. a formalized form of a human product activities established to protect and defend values, goals and interests national (Kamiński, 2019,pp.57-72).

The European Union Security Strategy for 2020-2025 presents updates on areas at risk of attacks, such as cyberspace, state infrastructures and technologies (EU Security Strategy 2020-2025, 2020) - presented in Figure 1. The most important goals in the new Strategy are early detection of threats and speed of response. on them, as well as focusing on the extremely important nowadays commitment to the joint involvement of all parties in maintaining the level of safety.
The need to prepare, maintain and improve the national security system is provided for in the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland of May 12, 2020, which formulates the definition and creates the theoretical basis for the functioning of such a system (Zięba, Zając, 2010, p. 16). Moreover, the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland 2020 refers to the neo-imperial policy pursued by the Russian authorities (National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2020). Offensive military actions, even in the form of military exercises, have caused anxiety in the international arena for many years. The disinformation of the Russian society carried out by the Russian authorities and the spread of propaganda have caused the world to watch every next step of the Russian Federation with concern for many years. The concerns that were presented in the National Security Strategy in 2020 have come true in 2022.

The current situation in the world in the context of Russia's attack on Ukraine remains fact. On February 24, 2022, the Russian Federation, which had been expanding its military operations right next to the Ukrainian border for some time, launched an attack. The world condemned the Russian attack on Ukraine and economic sanctions were imposed on Russia. Ukraine has become an example of a modern state united in strength with the hope of winning thanks to the help of the international community. The enormous humanitarian aid and military support still provided to Ukraine shows that the modern world is aware of the enormous value of security and peace in the world (Kaczmarczyk, Bogucka, 2022, pp.151-162).

The national security system is the totality of forces, means and resources allocated by the state to carry out security tasks, organized, maintained and prepared appropriately to these tasks, which includes a management subsystem and a number of executive subsystems. External conditions of Poland's security, intensive development of its economic potential and expanding involvement in actively shaping the international security environment, as well as the growing "sensitivity" of open societies to modern threats, force the gradual optimization of national security forces and measures towards the creation of an integrated, comprehensive national security system, enabling the simultaneous use of elements of the state defense system and the crisis management system (Efficient State Strategy, 2020). Integration of planning and preparation of military and civilian components at every level of response, a comprehensive
approach to solving crisis situations and the regulation and assignment of tasks in this area to public administration, as well as creating a stable basis for their financing, is a lever for increasing the level of national security and an effective tool for its implementation (Falecki, Kochańczyk, Sowidniuk, 2018, pp.113-209).

On the security policy of states in the modern world and its role Much has been written about shaping national security, especially at the beginning of the 21st century. However, there is a significant gap in the literature on the subject as to its essence and importance in science. Few people have attempted to define precisely and unambiguously the very concept of security policy and its relation to security strategy, which is not without significance for the theory of security. Both in the literature and at conferences devoted to security issues in various areas and at many levels, I have encountered views that security policy and security strategy have the same meaning because they deal with the same phenomena occurring in national, regional and global security. Often these two concepts were used interchangeably, which for me was a bit strange and unacceptable from a substantive point of view. I also come across the view that strategy is superior to politics, and not the other way around. For the proper understanding of these concepts in various aspects, I try to explain the necessary definitions in the simplest possible way and establish criteria for assessing what is the primary element and what is a consequence. Therefore, the concept of security policy will be defined first, and the term strategy will be defined second (Pokruszyński, 2012, pp. 13-53).

4. NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

The experience of several years of Poland's membership in the European Union has shown that this is appropriate defining development goals and ensuring the possibility of achieving them depends mainly on the functioning of the management system in the public sector. This largely determines the state's ability to respond appropriately to strategic challenges emerging in the modern world. The provisions of Article 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (Journal of Laws of 2009, No. 114, item 946), which states that the task of the Republic of Poland is to safeguard the independence and inviolability of its territory, to ensure the freedom and rights of humans and citizens, as well as the security of citizens. Moreover, its task is also to guard the national heritage and ensure environmental protection (Art. 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, 1997). It is also worth taking into account the provisions of point 4 of the National Security Strategy, which states that "The Republic of Poland is an independent security entity, sovereignly defining its own national interests and strategic goals. They result from historical experience, existing political and political conditions and the potential of the state” (National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2014).

The main national interests of the state include ensuring security, freedom, independence, territorial inviolability, respect for human rights and citizen, as well as preserving national heritage and protecting the natural environment in conditions of sustainable development. There are three groups: vital, important and other important. Vital are understood in the context of ensuring the survival of the state together with its citizens, important as guaranteeing the lasting and sustainable civilizational and economic development of the country. In turn, others are important as ensuring a strong international position of the state. At the same time, it should be noted that ensuring favorable and safe conditions for the implementation of national interests is the main strategic goal of the Republic of Poland. Achieving the intended goal is possible by eliminating internal ones and external threats, risk reduction, assessment of undertaken challenges and skillful use of emerging opportunities. The main strategic goals should be considered (National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2014):
− "maintaining and demonstrating the readiness of the integrated national security system to take advantage of opportunities, take up challenges, and reduce risks and counteracting threats; − improving the integrated national security system, especially its management elements, including providing the necessary resources and capabilities; − development of defense and protection potential adequate to the needs and capabilities of the country and increasing its interoperability within NATO and the EU; − strengthening the readiness and capacity of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for collective defense and the coherence of the European Union's actions in the field of security; − building Poland's strong position in both of these organizations; − developing close cooperation with all neighbors and building partnership relations with other countries, including those aimed at preventing and resolving international conflicts and crises; − promoting in the international arena the principles of international law and universal values, such as democracy, human rights and civil liberties, as well as raising awareness of human and civil rights in Polish society; − ensuring public safety by improving the national rescue and fire-fighting system and the monitoring, notification and warning system on threats and eliminating the effects of natural disasters and catastrophes, as well as the implementation of legal and organizational solutions in the field of civil protection and civil defense systems; − improvement and development of the national crisis management system to ensure its internal coherence and integrity and enable uninterrupted cooperation within the crisis management systems of international organizations of which Poland is a member; − protecting Poland's borders, which constitute the external border of the European Union; − countering organized crime, including economic crime; − protection of public order; − improvement of systemic solutions for counteracting and combating terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; − ensuring the safe functioning of the Republic of Poland in cyberspace; − ensuring safe conditions for the development of human and social capital as well as innovation, efficiency and competitiveness of the economy, as well as the financial stability of the state; − ensuring energy security and climate security, as well as environmental protection, biodiversity and natural resources, in particular water resources, as well as shaping the country's spatial development in a way that increases resistance to various threats, in particular military, natural and technological ones; − ensuring food security; − conducting effective family policy and adapting migration policy to new challenges; − deepening social awareness in the sphere of security and increasing citizens' competences enabling proper response in crisis situations” (National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2014).

Taking the above into account, we distinguish two types of strategic goals in the field of security. These are preparatory goals that are intended to build the national security system from scratch, including the executive subsystem, and to maintain and improve the system. This should also be understood as building defense capabilities as a member of alliances, education and improvement in international coexistence. The remuneration of services and institutions will also be included in preparatory purposes. Responsibility for security rests with an organized network of cooperation between procedures and services responsible for protection during crisis situations or war.
There is also a second type - operational goals. The course of action designated by the preparatory objectives shows the risk reduction policy pursued in the area of state security. The basic operational goal is to respond to all threats to the independence and inviolatibility of the territory of the Republic of Poland, constitutional order and stability of the state (White Paper on National Security of the Republic of Poland, 2013). Conducting international policy and the desire to maintain good relations in the international arena force states to engage in peacekeeping military operations (Kaczmarczyk, Bogucka, 2022, pp.151-162).

CONCLUSION

To sum up, we can talk about security when the state's capabilities to face threats occur, while those in relation to the state should be perceived as "a series of events in which there is a high probability of limiting or losing the conditions for the undisturbed existence of the state and its partnership treatment." in international relations – as a result of the use of political, psychological, economic, military violence, etc. (Fehler, 2007, p.8). The dynamically changing environment has a significant impact on the catalog of threats to state security, which is not and will probably never be closed. Society is not free from threats, on the contrary - it is faced with an increasing number of them and their diverse nature.

Security is the main goal (mega-goal) of both internal policy and foreign countries, and at the same time the main criterion for assessing the effectiveness of the policy in both these dimensions. The essence of the state's external security policy is to recognize threats to state security occurring in the immediate and distant international environment and to undertake - by foreign policy decision-makers and state security – actions aimed at eliminating these threats or just limiting them.

It is impossible to list the threats and, as a result, there is no way to prepare for and protect against them. Hence the difficulty in remaining alert to every eventuality. The state system must be designed and functioning properly to be able to respond to threats - even those of which one cannot be aware. Hence, activities for state security, army updates and military security, and developing technology that increase the state's defense capabilities not only against external attacks, e.g. war, but also against cyberattacks or in the event of natural disasters, are still relevant.

State security policy depends on many conditions (determinants), both internal and external. Because of the varied conditions of the security policy of individual countries, including, among others, differences in the so-called their physical strength (including economic and technological potential, military, demographic), the effectiveness of their diplomacy and the degree of accuracy ruling groups' interpretation of existing or potential threats varies is the scope of ensuring real security for a given country.

Most of the conditions of the national security policy of Poland, as well as other countries, are dynamic and subject to a process of change. The challenges are also changing and threats to international and national security. Therefore, goals in security policy are not formulated in an unchangeable way. As threats and challenges change, security policy priorities also change. Decision-makers who constitute the central link in state security policy are also changing.

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