



Cezary Smuniewski

National Security
of Poland
in the Axiological
Perspective

President
Lech Wałęsa

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President
Lech Wałęsa

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To Jerzy Popiełuszko



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Introduction

“We have a huge responsibility. We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands. This is a historical moment. Important – but at the same time extremely difficult.”¹ – said President Lech Wałęsa at the beginning of 1991. In that statement of the head of the armed forces, every word carries an important content. First, it contains a kind of a reminder that responsibility of those who exercise power in the state, especially those who are nominated and appointed to create national security in the political community, is enormous. Then, it is meaningful that the President did not say “We have taken the security of the nation in our own hands”, which would be consistent with the next sentence in the speech – “This is a historical moment”. He said instead: “We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands”.

¹ L. Wałęsa, *Przejmujemy bezpieczeństwo narodu we własne ręce...* [We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council (February 13, 1991), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, p. 17 (hereinafter quoted in the following form: L. Wałęsa, title of a specific text, date, KPRP, page number). The National Security Council indicated in the title should not be confused with the National Security Council acting under the same name and provided for in Article 135 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997.

Because taking over the security of the nation into own hands was not a one-off act, an event recorded under a certain date in the calendar. It was a process, or “taking over”, not a “take-over”, creating, not the act of creation of security. At the same time, it was by all means a “historical”, “important” and “extremely difficult” event. The consequences of the ideas, solutions and actions adopted in the early 1990s permeate and shape to a large extent the present everyday life of all citizens of the Republic of Poland. The subsequent pages of this book invite the reader to a meeting with this great value which for the nation and the state is the creation of national security, the value with difficulty taken in their own hands by the Poles after the collapse of communism, the value recognised and described in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa (December 22, 1990 - December 22, 1995).

The creation of Poland’s national security constantly requires prior understanding of the facts and ideas preceding the present. For the present situation, this means the need to analyse changes that occurred in our homeland after World War II, and then with the emergence of Solidarity, the collapse of communism and the tedious process of systemic transformation. The events after 1989, of which Poland is a participant, are an imperative to analyse the specifics of contemporary threats and to confront them constantly with what Poland is, what its strength is and what prospects our country faces in the present international system. In the milieu of scholars and experts dealing with national security of Poland, there is a clear expectation of theoretical support for improvement of the state’s activities in this respect. This study is meant to be a help in this important work.

The main goal and area of research described in this monograph in accordance with its title – *National Security of Poland in the Axiological Perspective. President Lech Wałęsa* – is national security. This concept constitutes the core of deliberations conducted with reference to it. All other contexts undoubtedly co-create the description of the research area undertaken, but national security is absolutely superior to them. The adjective “axiological” used in the title of the study indicates that the main issue is considered here in the perspective of values, but the work does not aspire to be a study within the scope of the theory of axiology. The same concerns the figure of Lech Wałęsa.

The monograph uses his texts from the time of his presidency, but neither the period in which he held his office, nor the manner in which he exercised power was subject to thorough historical analysis. These and other contexts served only as a complement to the fundamental issue of national security.

Why the texts of President Lech Wałęsa?

Why were the texts of President Lech Wałęsa made the subject of research which is to be useful in creating security? This question may be answered as follows: if the democratically elected President is the head of the armed forces in the state, the reflection on how he understands national security is placed in the very centre of research relevant to security studies. Parallel to this argument, another one should be noted. Well, the President creates a certain reality with his statements. His position in the discourse within society is by all means special, difficult to compare with anyone else's. Additionally, there is his participation in the law-making processes in the state and decision-making regarding filling positions, including posts in the Polish Army. In the case of President Lech Wałęsa, one should also take into account the fact that, being previously the "leader" of "Solidarity", a Nobel Peace Prize winner, he has become a symbol of peaceful changes in the "world", liberation from the regime and new thinking about creating security. It is simply an axiom that the narratives of President Lech Wałęsa about Poland and its sovereignty, strength, problems and future, about the ideas shaping a democratic state and the dilemmas of a free nation in the middle of Europe determined and shaped the contents and forms of actions relevant to the direct processes of creating national security of Poland after the collapse of communism. It is difficult to juxtapose at the same level the statements of the President with anyone else's. For many years now, Lech Wałęsa has been mentioned among those who have influenced global changes at the end of the 20th century and the order of the contemporary world. It is not surprising, then, that the issues of Central and Eastern European security after 1989 and Poland's national security, as well as the very person of the Polish leader of "Solidarity" and

the President are constantly the subject of research and numerous studies.²

Starting this research, the author did it with a conviction that it was necessary to think about what was most important in the ideological and functional order of creating national security, which could be described as 'values', taking simultaneously into account the vagueness

² P. Polko, *Problematyka bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego w programach polskich partii politycznych po 1989 roku*, "Historia i Polityka" 2018, no. 25 (32), pp. 51-64; E. Cziomer, *Nowe uwarunkowania, ramy instytucjonalne oraz założenia polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa Polski po 1989 r.*, in: *Polityka zagraniczna i bezpieczeństwa Polski /po 1989 roku/*, ed. E. Cziomer, Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM, Kraków 2015, pp. 15-40; S. Cenckiewicz, *Wałęsa. Człowiek z teczki*, Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, Poznań 2013; A. Lipiński, *Dyskursywne (re)konstruowanie charyzmy. Przypadek Lecha Wałęsy*, "Przegląd Politologiczny" 2011, no. 1, pp. 107-120; D.N. Lussier, *From solidarity to division: An analysis of Lech Wałęsa's transition to constituted leadership*, "The Leadership Quarterly" 2010, vol. 21, no. 5, pp. 703-715; M. Kulisz, *Analiza procesu planowania strategicznego bezpieczeństwa Polski w latach 1990-2007*, "Doctrina. Studia Społeczno-Polityczne" 2008, no. 5, pp. 99-111; S. Cenckiewicz, P. Gontarczyk, *SB a Lech Wałęsa. Przyczynek do biografii*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Gdańsk–Warszawa–Kraków 2008; S. Cenckiewicz, *Sprawa Lecha Wałęsy*, Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, Poznań 2008; K. Sztafel, *Václav Havel i Lech Wałęsa. Charyzmatyczni przywódcy stają się prezydentami*, "Dialogi Polityczne" 2005, no. 5-6, pp. 143-150; *Dissent and Opposition in Communist Eastern Europe. Origins of Civil Society and Democratic Transition*, ed. D. Pollack, J. Wielgohs, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot – Burlington 2004; P. Simpson, *The Troubled Reign of Lech Wałęsa in Poland*, "Presidential Studies Quarterly" 1996, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 317-336; L.W. Zacher, *Observations on The Socio-Political And Cultural Context of Military Conversion: A Polish View*, in: *Military R&D after the Cold War. Conversion and Technology Transfer in Eastern and Western Europe*, ed. P. Gummett, M. Boutousov, J. Farkas, A. Rip, Kluwer Academic Publisher, Dordrecht 1996, pp. 191-198; F.S. Larrabee, *East European Security After the Cold War*, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica CA 1993; P.J. Podbielski, *Whence Security? Polish Defense and Security After the Warsaw Pact*, "The Journal of Soviet Military Studies" 1992, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 97-114; S.J. Flanagan, *NATO and Central and Eastern Europe: From Liaison to Security Partnership*, "Washington Quarterly" 1992, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 141-151; J.B. Spero, *The Warsaw-Prague-Budapest Triangle: Central European Security After the Visegrad Summit*, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw 1992; D. Hiester, *New Definitions of European Security*, "Paradigms" 1991, vol. 5, no. 1-2, pp. 58-66; J. Orme, *Security in East Central Europe: Seven Futures*, "Washington Quarterly" 1991, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 91-105.

of this concept.³ For, what is a value in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa is Poland,⁴ its citizens and their works, its future and history, national heroes and feelings, laws and customs, religion and hopes, the ideas developed and the armed forces.

It should be remembered that President Lech Wałęsa is not the creator of the axiology of Poland's national security. He did not do philosophical research, he did not create the theory of values, he did not analyse the nature of values. He also did not investigate the sources of the emergence and definitions of values or their hierarchy. Yet, he talked about what was important, what was valuable, what was good in creating Poland's national security, but also about what was a threat to the homeland, what exposed it to slavery, led to the loss of sovereignty or reduced its strength. Although the purpose of his actions was not to classify values, he pointed out those among them which he saw as important (or even the most important) goals, which should or even must be implemented for the sake of national security. He also showed how these goals could be achieved in practice. Having been a blue-collar worker who later became the national leader, Lech Wałęsa did not, obviously, study the social functioning of values on the timeline, but he spoke about the experience of what was important for Poland, and also defined what created security and what threatened it in specific situations in a given moment of history.

Book layout

In his speeches, President Lech Wałęsa repeatedly drew attention to the essence and strength of issues fundamental for the processes of creating Poland's national security. In his speeches, three types of speaking about these issues may be distinguished, which for the purposes of this monograph are defined by means of the notion

³ Cf. J. Puzynina, *Słowo – wartość – kultura*, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 1997, p. 263: "I believe we have no choice. The concept of 'values', together with all its vagueness, has so deeply entered the stream of the humanistic thought in the contemporary world that it is impossible to avoid using it."

⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Professor Andrzej S. Ciechanowiecki* (September 22, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 298.

of – values. First, he spoke of values as such, without naming them. Secondly, he named specific values, emphasising that he meant exactly them. Thirdly, he did not mention that he spoke about values, he did not name them, but he described the realities of interest to him (ideas, phenomena, attitudes, processes, events, facts) which were important for creating Poland's national security. The search and analysis, which permeated the content of all three types of speaking about values, turned out to be a fascinating research venture. The effects of this work fill in the structure of this monograph in its seven chapters.

Chapter 1, as indicated in its title, is devoted to introductory issues of the research and the creation of this monograph. It defines the research field and the starting point for the research. Due to the introductory nature of this chapter of the monograph, it explains the main concepts in the field of security studies and describes the understanding of values adopted for the purposes of this study. It presents substantial arguments for research on values in creating Poland's national security. Then, the purpose of the research is determined, and a description of its implementation is provided. Next, the most important historical contexts of creating national security of Poland after 1989 are described. This part of the monograph also contains explanations regarding the analysed sources. The starting point for the conducted research on values in creating Poland's national security in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa is designated by four words: Poland, President, value, human. They also determine the thematic construction of the second part of the first chapter of the monograph. A reflection on these four concepts in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa allowed to distinguish values that determine the content constructing the remaining chapters of the entire study. These values are freedom, national identity, state, army, international relations and society.

Chapter 2 presents freedom as a fundamental value in the processes of creating national security, valued in Poland most not only in the period of the systemic transformation, but shaping the political thinking of the national community for many generations. Freedom is shown in connection with independence and sovereignty of the nation and the state. It is national freedom that allows

the sovereign – the nation to reveal itself in all areas of its existence, development and creation of power.

Chapter 3 offers a reflection on national identity in creating Poland's national security. The analysed texts allow to come closer to the understanding of this value, which enables the nation and the state to lead an independent existence among other nations and states, to develop their own culture, their own way of being. This value reveals uninterruptedly the great strength of the Polish nation that allows it to survive the toughest experiences. The chapter reflects upon the manifestation of national identity, which turns out to be the basic form of caring for this value, and at the same time acting for national security of Poland.

The content of Chapter 4 is a result of research focused on the state as a value in creating national security of Poland. The times of the systemic transformation were connected with the need for not only reforms permeating individual spaces of the life of the political community, but also, which turned out to be much more difficult, the way of thinking about the state. In Polish conditions, the creation of national security is inseparably connected with the concern for the state understood as a common good. It should be remembered that the care for the state, which is often equated with the homeland and its territory, is the care for the living space of a free and self-conscious nation. The development of pro-state ideas calls for the citizens' sense of responsibility for the community of goods they constitute and the forms of fostering them.

Chapter 5 is an extremely important element of the entire text. It is as if the core of the monograph, the effect of reflection on the army as a special value in creating Poland's national security. This chapter presents issues relating to the ethos of service for national security, above all the service of soldiers, and activities for the sake of peace. The subject of reflection is also the issue of Poland's defence capabilities in the period of transition and the issues of international military cooperation. The ideological and functional aspirations of Poland to participate in Western security structures have been described.

The content presented in Chapter 6 deals with international relations as a value in creating Poland's national security. The subject

of the analyses is the President's narration regarding the presence of the Republic of Poland in the international arena. This presence was influenced by new internal conditions, permeated with the dynamics of systemic changes, and the equally rapidly changing situation both in the closest neighborhood of Poland and throughout Central Europe. When creating national security at that moment in history, it was necessary to be exceptionally alert, because the country was weakened by problems arising from the reforms. In addition, it had foreign troops in its own territory that could reveal their potential and use force against Poland.

The last chapter, Chapter 7 is devoted to the role of the value of a safe society in creating national security of Poland. It is a reflection on the nation that understands themselves as a community responsible for their own security, prepared and committed to their own defence. However, such a community must be provided with adequate conditions to be able to develop itself in this responsibility for security. In the period of system transformation, the ability of society to defend itself was particularly weakened by internal problems in the state because of the growing crime rate, inefficiency of health care and social welfare, unemployment and social impoverishment.

In the light of the above, the motto adopted for this monograph becomes clear. It comes from President Lech Wałęsa's speech delivered in Katowice at the ceremony of unveiling a monument to the miners of the "Wujek" colliery killed on December 16, 1981 by representatives of the communist security services. The death of workers protesting against the introduction of martial law in Poland in December 1981 is one of the most important events on the way to the overthrow of communism in Poland and systemic changes. During the unveiling ceremony, the President said: "There is neither on this monument nor on any other a full list of those who deserve a monument. For it is impossible to honour all the merits and sacrifices that have been made by the entire nation. So that we could have free Poland. Now we can hope. Values that are most important to us have been saved. They form the foundation we will build on. Let Poland be free and independent but also just for all of its inhabitants. On the paths to building

the Third Polish Republic sanctified by the blood of our Brothers.”⁵ It is impossible not to notice that values were shown in the speech of the head of state as something that had to be saved even for the price of blood, in order to be able to build the future of secure Poland.⁶

Inspiration for writing this book

One of the important inspirations for this book was research in theology, and then also security studies, regarding the thought of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko. They resulted in a number of my publications. Having lived for the subsequent years in the parish where the grave of the martyr from Warsaw is located and the museum dedicated to him, I have repeatedly witnessed visits from around the world, including many political leaders and social activists, people of culture and science. The arriving guests and pilgrims from Poland and the world, bowing their heads to the murdered priest who preached freedom and encouraged people “to conquer evil with good”, spoke in the most natural way about values and what is most important for sovereign Poland. It was their intuition that became a signpost to think about values in creating Poland’s national security. So, I started a query on this subject, looking first into the texts of President Lech Wałęsa. The speech that I found to be particularly important was the one delivered in 1994 on the occasion of the anniversary of the martyrdom of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko. President Lech Wałęsa said at that time: “Today, we are commemorating Father Jerzy. A great Pole and a patriot. An advocate of freedom and the national cause. A great priest wholeheartedly devoted to his fellow human beings and their problems. Here, in this church in the Żoliborz district of Warsaw, he lived and

⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Ich śmierć nie była daremna.... [Their death was not in vain...]. Speech at the unveiling of the Monument to the Fallen Miners of the “Wujek” Mine (December 15, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 52.

⁶ It is important to note here a significant study from the field of political philosophy written by Andrzej Przyłębski who claims that it is necessary to return to such society that will build a cultural community based on values and ideals worth fostering. Cf. A. Przyłębski, *Dlaczego Polska jest wartością. Wprowadzenie do hermeneutycznej filozofii polityki*, Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, Poznań 2018, especially pp. 259-275.

worked. He celebrated services, prayed and taught. Here we all came to Him. For hope and truth, for faith in the victory of good over evil. Every last Sunday of the month, thousands of people gathered here for Holy Mass. We prayed for the homeland and for our national ideals. For those who were persecuted, unhappy and suffering. We prayed for wisdom and endurance. For freedom of our brothers. For justice and peace. For Poland to be Poland. We left reassured. Spiritually strengthened. Thanks to Father Jerzy, we got up from our knees. We straightened our backs. We healed our wounds. He spoke for all of us. He was on our side against injustice, violence, trampling of dignity and human rights. When we were deprived of our freedom of speech, he ordered us to listen to the voice of conscience. Remember simple truths. It was with his inspiration that we helped those who were interned and in need. It was His teaching that awoke in us devotion and love of fellow human beings. It taught humbleness and patience. It gave us strength to survive the most difficult moments.”⁷ This content enabled the President to introduce the subject of values and the future of the nation and the state to the narrative: “For the faithfulness to values and to himself, Father Jerzy paid the highest price. He suffered a martyr’s death. He passed away, leaving an extraordinary testament: conquer evil with good. (...) The work of Father Jerzy must be completed. By building a strong and durable edifice of the Polish Republic. It will only be possible if the truth and justice, love and moral order prevail. This is the message of the life and martyrdom of Father Jerzy.”⁸ The content of the President’s speech confirmed my conviction that the question of values in creating Poland’s national security should be examined. If it were not for my “meeting” with Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko, if not for my living a few dozen yards from his grave, if not for the speeches in the church and the square in Żoliborz, if not for the talks with many Polish and foreign politicians from around the world, probably this book would never have been written. Therefore, I dedicate this book with gratitude to Blessed

⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Najważniejsze jest żeby się nie bać... [It is the most important not to be afraid...]. Speech on the occasion of the mass on the tenth anniversary of the death of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko (October 19, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 170.

⁸ Ibid., p. 171.

Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, from whom we are constantly learning patriotism in Poland.

There was also another argument that became an inspiration to write this book, and earlier to analyse the texts of President Lech Wałęsa. A few years ago, during one of the conversations at the University of Genoa, when the topic of one of the talks was Lech Wałęsa and the events in the middle of Europe after the collapse of communism, professor Maria Stella Rollandi, turning to me, said: "You should write about this. These are important and interesting matters." Professor Andrea Zanini, who was there during the conversation, also repeatedly urged me to address these issues. Meeting scientists from different countries, I was asked many times to speak about communism and its fall, and among people associated with this event, two were mentioned that aroused special interest: John Paul II and Lech Wałęsa. While thanks to the research and the preparation of a number of publications, talking about John Paul II has become easier with time, both from the point of view of theology and security studies, talking about Lech Wałęsa has been quite the opposite. Answering questions about this President, the first one elected in democratic and universal elections after the collapse of communism, has become increasingly difficult. In a sense, it was a need of the moment to refer to Lech Wałęsa's texts and studies on "Solidarity", strikes in communist Poland, actions of individual governments after 1989, changes in the legal order of the state, solutions for creating security, cooperation within NATO, the manner of our presence in Europe.

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World Peace Day
Genoa, 1 January A.D. 2019

1. “We have regained the sense of values.”

Introductory issues

“We have regained the sense of values. We have regained the inalienable human rights. And above all – the right to be a host in our own country. We are raising the structures of a fully democratic state. The world is interested in us again. Our experience is an example for others, freed from totalitarian systems – often in line with the Polish scenario.”⁹ – said President Lech Wałęsa in the Senate of the Republic of Poland. The fact of regaining the sense of values by Poles is thematically developed in the text of the country’s leader and elaborated on in the indication of such values as human rights, the right to be a landlord in one’s own country, the right to build a fully democratic state. “Regaining the sense of values” relating to the beginnings of building the Third Republic of Poland should be seen as an imperative to conduct research in the field of creating Poland’s national security. The research field and the starting point for the research, which resulted in this monograph, have been described below.

⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech given at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47.

1.1. Research field

The research field of this study consists of an explanation and presentation of how the concepts from the area of security studies are understood, and then determination of the understanding of values in the research conducted. Further on, the reader will find an answer to the question: "Why should values be thought of in creating national security of Poland?" This argumentation is followed by a description of research carried out, important historical contexts of creating Poland's national security after 1989, and a description of the sources.

1.1.1. Concepts from the scope of security studies

Since the research resulting in this book was not focused on defining the fundamental concepts for security studies (including security studies as such, national security, national security policy, national security strategy, nation and state), an internally coherent understanding of them was adopted, which was precisely expressed by a Warsaw scholar Waldemar Kitler in one of his works. It can be justified with the great authority of professor Waldemar Kitler in the community of scholars dealing with national security, but also the usefulness of his narrative for the analyses serving as the basis for this monograph. The point is that when defining concepts important for research relevant to security studies Kitler often refers to the concept of values. Thinking about values permeates the whole of his concept of the area of science he is interested in and creating national security of Poland in practice.

The fundamental concept in research on national security is the nation, the definition of which causes many problems resulting from different points of view of historians, political scientists, anthropologists, cultural experts, sociologists. Besides, even among sociologists themselves no common definition has been adopted. In view of this state of affairs, taking into consideration the specificity of research relevant to security studies, we refer to Waldemar Kitler's coherent narrative. He believes that the nation in a positive (and political) sense is a community of citizens living in a given territory (state) which is united

by economic, political and social ties, “and they are all connected by a dense network of values from the area of common security”. The nation understood as a community living in a given state “shares certain values”, which – according to the scholar – include:

- Territorial community;
- Territorial historical ties;
- Community of interests and guarantee of their implementation;
- Legal order – a system of laws connected by the idea of legitimisation, in accordance with which the society communicates with the governing groups, vesting them with trust and support;
- Tolerance and respect for the rights of minorities;
- Legal capacity and capacity to perform acts in law, realised by the state embodying them – a subject of international law;
- Official language, often commonly used (there may be two or more);
- Set of common rights and obligations stemming from international and state law as well as customs accepted as common;
- Specific relations between the national interest and the citizen’s interest (harmony of interests);
- Protection and defence of these values as a superior value.

In accordance with the proposed approach, the nation “bound by these values” treats the state that it lives in as the fatherland (Latin *patria* from *pater* – father). The nation is a multicultural (multi-ethnic) civil society, inhabiting a specific territory (most often of a state), “united by material and moral values”, which can be realised only within the state. It is distinguished by “internal features and values of the general public of a given state” that this community agrees to live in, and at the same time to “respect the values” that it serves.¹⁰ Such a narrative, saturated with thinking that reveals clear axiological inclinations, leads a scholar to formulate the following definition of a state: “A state is a formalised, equipped with authorities, large and territorially expansive social organisation, as it embraces the entire

¹⁰ Cf. W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2011, pp. 20-21.

population inhabiting a given territory, subject to the norms and principles constituting internal order, determining all the specific duties and rights.”¹¹ It should be noted that the subject of concern for the state and society are “the material and moral values of citizens, society and nation”, which determine their independent and undisturbed existence and development.¹²

The reflection on the nation and the state allows for defining the term “national security”. Paying attention to the issue of values that is of interest to us, the following definition has been adopted in research and in this monograph: “National security is the most important value, national need and priority goal of the state, individuals and social groups, and at the same time a process encompassing various means guaranteeing a sustainable, undisturbed existence and national development (of the state), including protection and defence of the state as a political institution, and protection of individuals and the whole of society, their goods and the natural environment against threats that significantly limit its functioning or damage the goods that are subject to special protection.”¹³ National security is connected a national security policy.¹⁴ It should be understood as a part of the state policy,

¹¹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 89.

¹³ Ibid., p. 31. Cf. W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2018, p. 38.

¹⁴ It should be noted that the national security policy is the subject of separate research, especially in the field of security studies and political science. Cf. K. Załęski, *Polityka bezpieczeństwa w Unii Europejskiej*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Oficerskiej Sił Powietrznych, Dęblin 2014; E. Waśko-Owsiejczuk, *Polityka bezpieczeństwa narodowego Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki w latach 2001-2009*, Avalon, Kraków 2014 (the book is a text of a doctoral thesis adapted for printing under the same title, whose supervisor was professor Ryszard Zięba, defended at the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science at Warsaw University in 2011 (Warsaw University Library); L.W. Zyblikiewicz, *Polityka bezpieczeństwa Stanów Zjednoczonych w latach 1991-2010*, in: *Międzynarodowe wyzwania bezpieczeństwa*, ed. K. Budzowski, Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego, Kraków 2010, pp. 39-52; M. Czajkowski, *Uwarunkowania polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa Federacji Rosyjskiej*, in: *Międzynarodowe wyzwania bezpieczeństwa*, ed. K. Budzowski, Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego, Kraków 2010, pp. 93-108; K. Kraj, *Koncepcje, strategia i polityka bezpieczeństwa narodowego Federacji Rosyjskiej*,

which includes the activities of state authorities in the domestic and international arena, consisting in defining national goals and interests in terms of security and ensuring their implementation using various means and instruments at their disposal.¹⁵ The question of military security is inseparably linked with the national security policy.¹⁶ There are many scholars who claim that military security is at the heart of all thinking about national security.

In research underlying this monograph, it has been assumed that security studies combine elements of the humanities, social, legal and technical sciences. It has also been assumed, following Walde-
mar Kitler, that “the aim of research in security studies is to identify cultural, material and energy as well as social conditions affecting the conditions of existence and development of an individual in a state, social group (nation), the state and international environment, to define the rules and forms of organisation and protection of these entities

in: *Międzynarodowe wyzwania bezpieczeństwa*, ed. K. Budzowski, Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego, Kraków 2010, pp. 159-166; E. Haliżak, *Koncepcja i polityka bezpieczeństwa narodowego ChRL*, Departament Strategii i Planowania Polityki – Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, Warszawa 2000; K. Malak, *Polityka bezpieczeństwa narodowego Ukrainy*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 1999.

¹⁵ Cf. W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, op. cit., p. 36. When defining a national security policy, the concept of a national security strategy should also be clarified. It can be assumed that “a national security strategy is the domain of a national strategy, understood as a choice made on the basis of knowledge and strategic analysis of relevant and necessary means – at the disposal of the state – to achieve goals and pursue interests defined by the national security policy, captured in a global scale and having a long-term character.” W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, op. cit., p. 39. On the subject of strategic problems in the global, intercontinental, continental and national order, cf. J. Pawłowski, *Strategiczne problemy i dylematy we współczesnym świecie*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2004.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Karpowicz, *Bezpieczeństwo militarne Polski*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Oficerskiej Sił Powietrznych, Dęblin 2016; D. Majchrzak, *Bezpieczeństwo militarne Polski*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2015; R. Szpyra, *Bezpieczeństwo militarne państwa*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2012; L. Wyszczałski, *Bezpieczeństwo militarne w poglądach teoretyków wojskowych oraz doktrynach wojennych od zakończenia drugiej wojny światowej do 2001 roku*, “Problemy Bezpieczeństwa” 2007, v. 1, pp. 75-84.

against negative factors of the natural, social and cultural environment, as well as to determine the principles and regularities in this field.”¹⁷ It should be noted here that, according to Waldemar Kitler, the key criterion for determining the essence of security studies is, first of all, to define the purpose of research in this field of knowledge, and therefore not only what it deals with (what it studies), but also what is the purpose thereof.¹⁸

Thinking about the field of research determined by the above narrative, it should be stated that the research and analyses, the outcome of which is this monograph, are set in security studies, at the same time having many references to political science and international relations, history, law and philosophy. The author's intention is to contribute to security studies in what is associated, first, with general security sciences (security theory and security philosophy), secondly, with specific security studies (defence; public, universal, political, social security), and – finally – with auxiliary sciences (history and anthropology of security).

1.1.2. The understanding of values

After national security, values are a second concept defining the research field for our analyses. Waldemar Kitler wrote about the relation between national security and values, emphasising their significance in reflecting on the state, international relations and society: “National security is connected with those values that determine safe existence of the state (its sovereignty, durability of borders, territorial integrity) – as the subject of international relations, and the society (nation) – as the most important constitutive factor of a democratic state.”¹⁹ What is a value for a particular nation is therefore what is valuable

¹⁷ W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, op. cit., pp. 21-22; J. Ziarko, *Uwagi o przedmiocie nauki o bezpieczeństwie*, “Problemy Bezpieczeństwa” 2007, v. 1, pp. 9-22.

¹⁸ Cf. W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

¹⁹ W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, op. cit., p. 10.

and desirable, and in particular, refers to creation of security.²⁰ Both in various social groups as well as in the life of a single human being, values are appropriately ranked, and thus have a relevant hierarchy.²¹ Usually, the hierarchy of values on the periphery is much more stable than in the middle part of a given rank. In the middle of the hierarchy, individual values change positions in relation to each other much more easily. It should be remembered that what is referred to as the national ethos is largely shaped by a specific hierarchy of values. The issue of locating national security itself in this hierarchy, as well as other

²⁰ L. Chojnowski, *National security as a process: From national values to the system of national security*, "Kosice Security Revue" Vol. 7, no. 2 (2017), pp. 65-80; R. Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 2015; A. Toje, *Strategic Culture as an Analytical Tool. History, capabilities, geopolitics and values: the EU example*, "Western Balkans Security Observer" 2009, v. 14, no. 4, pp. 3-23; J. Der Derian, *The Value of Security: Hobbes, Marx, Nietzsche, and Baudrillard*, in: *Critical Practices in International Theory*, Routledge, London and New York 2009, pp. 161-178; G.V. Caprara, S.H. Schwartz, C. Capanna, M. Vecchione, C. Barbaranelli, *Personality and politics: Values, traits, and political choice*, "Political Psychology" 2006, v. 27, no. 1, pp. 1-28; J.S. Lantis, *Strategic culture and national security policy*, "International Studies Review" 2002, v. 4, no. 3, pp. 87-113; V.R. Krishnan, *Value systems of transformational leaders*, "Leadership & Organization Development Journal" 2001, v. 22, no. 3, p. 126-132; S.H. Schwartz, G. Sagie, *Value consensus and importance: A cross-national study*, "Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology" 2000, v. 31, no. 4, pp. 465-497; A.I. Johnston, *Thinking about strategic culture*, "International Security" 1995, v. 19, no. 4, pp. 32-64; A. Wolfers, *National security as an ambiguous symbol*, "Political Science Quarterly" 1952, v. 67, no. 4, pp. 481-502.

²¹ Cf. M. Kleszcz, *Postawa twórcza a hierarchia wartości młodego pokolenia*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2011; K. Gerc, *Hierarchia wartości młodzieży zagrożonej uzależnieniem od środków psychoaktywnych w kontekście funkcjonowania rodziny*, "Państwo i Społeczeństwo" 2010, (X) no. 3, pp. 89-108; A. Gdula, *O bezpieczeństwie człowieka jako wartości*, "Doctrina. Studia Społeczno-Polityczne" 2010/7, pp. 45-50; M. Jankowska, J. Krasoń, *Hierarchia wartości i sposoby ich realizacji. Młodzi bydgoszczanie wobec wartości*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Impuls, Kraków 2009; P. Brzozowski, *Wzorcowe hierarchie wartości. Polska, europejska czy uniwersalna? Psychologiczne badania empiryczne*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2007; R.A. Podgórski, *Hierarchia wartości młodego pokolenia Polaków w Unii Europejskiej. Studium edukacyjno-socjologiczne*, Warszawa 2005; P. Brzozowski, *Uniwersalna hierarchia wartości – fakt czy fikcja?*, "Przegląd Psychologiczny" 2005, v. 48, no. 3, pp. 261-276.

issues connected with it, has a special meaning for the political community and its security, as the content of national security is derived from national values. Waldemar Kitler claims that these values include: survival, territorial integrity, political independence, quality of life.²² Józef Marczak, in turn, together with the team which he headed, concludes that the traditional national values, which in history contributed to creation of national security of Poland, include:

- Patriotism, understood as the knowledge of, attachment to and continuation of national traditions, love of the homeland and readiness to sacrifice oneself for its defence and enrichment;
- Chivalry or nobility, understood as a spirit of valour, honour, respect for people, and especially for women;
- Sense of human dignity and freedom, understood as firm opposition against any attempts to degrade personal dignity and the dignity of Poles, as well as against enslavement.²³

It is not difficult to notice that these scientists approach the question of national values in a completely different way. In the case of Józef Marczak, they are the attitudes of citizens, and in the case of Waldemar Kitler – issues concerning the functioning and development of the state. Their conclusions are by no means mutually exclusive, they even complement each other.

Values accompany a person throughout their life. Similarly, they accompany the common forms of life that people create. This applies, among others, to the nation and the state and the area of political life²⁴

²² Cf. W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania*. System, op. cit., p. 80.

²³ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsior, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski od X do XX wieku. Wnioski dla Polski w XXI wieku*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2013, p. 101.

²⁴ Cf. T. Buksiński, *Podstawy aksjologiczne sfery publicznej*, "Filo-Sofia" no. 24 (2014/1), pp. 21-42; P. Łyżwa, *Aksjologiczne uwarunkowania polityki jako sfery społecznej – zarys problemu*, "Wrocławskie Studia Politologiczne" 13/2012, pp. 23-36; B. Hordecki, *O roli retoryki i erystyki w kształceniu kultury politycznej Polaków*, "Środkoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne" 2009/4, pp. 39-52; M. Bednarz, *Aksjologia i praktyka polityczna*, "Studia z zakresu nauk prawnoustrojowych. Miscellanea" 2008, v. 1, pp. 51-60.

and legal order connected with them.²⁵ Common forms of life are created, function and die in their space, more or less organised, more or less formal, such as families, associations, professional groups, clubs, etc. In values one should recognise what directly affects the entire decision-making processes of individuals and human communities, starting from initiating ideas through their implementation and shaping, to what allows to recognise the end of these processes. Values, therefore, motivate and give strength to make specific choices. Their great power is that they can render choices and decisions meaningful, and above all, render the lives of individuals and existence of organised communities meaningful. It is not surprising, therefore, that we talk of thinking according to values and living according to values. They are a kind of *signum temporis* in the reflection on the present day. They penetrate the dilemmas of everyday life, scientific searches, reflections that aspire to be the ones that are constructing the functioning of states and the international community.²⁶ The choice between what is important and more important belongs to the everyday life of individuals and states.

Among Polish thinkers who address the topic of values and value judgments, it is easy to see those whose reflection has a certain characteristic – a gradation of values. Feliks Koneczny, when studying and describing various civilizations, at the same time value judged them,

²⁵ Cf. *Aksjologiczne podstawy polskiego prawa karnego w perspektywie jego ewolucji*, ed. A. Grześkowiak, I. Zgoliński, Wydawnictwo Kujawsko-Pomorskiej Szkoły Wyższej, Bydgoszcz 2017; M. Piechowiak, *Aksjologiczne podstawy polskiego prawa*, in: *Prawo polskie. Próba syntezy*, ed. T. Guz, J. Głuchowski, M.R. Pałub-ska, Warszawa 2009, pp. 39-70; M. Kordela, *Zarys typologii uzasadnień aksjologicznych w orzecznictwie Trybunału Konstytucyjnego*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Branta, Bydgoszcz - Poznań 2001; M. Piechowiak, *Filozofia praw człowieka. Prawa człowieka w świetle ich międzynarodowej ochrony*, Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 1999.

²⁶ Cf. F. Znaniecki, *Zagadnienie wartości w filozofii*, Skł. gł. Księgarnia E. Wende i Sp., Drukarnia Literacka, Warszawa-Kraków 1910; W. Tatarkiewicz, *O bezwzględności dobra*, Zakłady Graficzne B. Wierzbicki i S-ka, Warszawa 1919; R. Ingarden, *Przeżycie, dzieło, wartość*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1966; W. Stróżewski, *Istnienie i wartość*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 1982; J. Tischner, *Myślenie według wartości*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2011.

spoke of higher and lower civilisations.²⁷ Władysław Tatarkiewicz likewise distinguished higher and lower values.²⁸ It was alien to both scholars to strive to level the differences in the hierarchy of values. An expression of this kind of thinking are also the works of Józef Maria Bocheński and Bogusław Wolniewicz. In the narratives of these philosophers, individual values seem even to have definite places in relation to other values. Meanwhile, in the modern way of thinking about values, the order of political life is moving in a somewhat different way, in which basic values become the subject of public controversy, and thus cease to be protected. It affects the security of states and nations. Michał Gierycz emphasises that such a situation "shows the progressive expansion of the policy area which ceases to accept any order that is independent of the will of the majority. It therefore enters the area recognised so far as being beyond its boundaries. The latter, until recently designated, among other things, by public morality, together with the policy of morality are in fact lifted. The expansion of politicality, in the name of freedom or rather – emancipation, seems to make politics become the area of omnipotence."²⁹ This is undoubtedly a significant and valuable cognitive observation, especially for political science and security studies, as well as connections with ethics characteristic of both of them. Such a direction of reflection may help identify a number of dilemmas important for the culture of common life.

However, it should be remembered that currently the contentious issue is not only determination of values which are at the top of the hierarchy, but their understanding and practical implications. From the point of view of security studies, the problem does not consist

²⁷ Cf. F. Koneczny, *Prawa dziejowe*, Wydawnictwo Antyk Marcin Dybowski, Komorów 1997; F. Koneczny, *O wielości cywilizacji*, Antyk, M. Dybowski, Komorów 1997.

²⁸ Cf. W. Tatarkiewicz, *O bezwzględności dobra*, op. cit.; W. Tatarkiewicz, *O doskonałości*, PWN, Warszawa 1976; W. Tatarkiewicz, *Parerga*, PWN, Warszawa 1978; W. Tatarkiewicz, *O szczęściu*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2011; W. Tatarkiewicz, *Dzieje szczęścia pojęć*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2011; J. Pelc, *Władysław Tatarkiewicz – filozof najwyższych wartości*, Polska Akademia Nauk, Warszawa 1976.

²⁹ M. Gierycz, *Europejski spór o człowieka. Studium z antropologii politycznej*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, Warszawa 2017, p. 15.

in showing the importance of the role of the nation or state, their unique value for individuals or social groups living in them (it does not mean that there are no contestants of states or devaluators of the importance of nations). The problem lies, however, in the content defining and building the goals of the nation and the state, and, above all, what makes it possible for a political community to create security. The objectives of the state, also known as national goals, include: moral and material strength of the state; high international position; prosperity, economic development and stability; preservation of national identity; shaped and optimised international environment and national security.³⁰ A reflection on the goals of the state allows to distinguish the highest (priority) values which the nation is aspiring at. They are related with each other and constitute the embodiment of the highest need, which may be the survival of the nation in the structure of the state as an autonomous and independent subject of international relations.³¹ It should be remembered, what Waldemar Kitler precisely reminds about, that “the state, like any complex social structure, is guided by specific goals that determine the essence of its existence as a specific community of people occupying a certain territory and accepting a set of values that is sanctioned by law and social norms. Achieving the goals of the state is its natural predestination, otherwise its existence would not be justified.”³² In light of the above, it should be noted that the relationship between state goals and values deepens both when the starting point are the goals of the political community and when it is a “set of values” that requires to be protected by the state.

³⁰ Cf. W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, op. cit., p. 87; R. Wróblewski, *Podstawowe pojęcia z dziedziny polityki bezpieczeństwa, strategii i sztuki wojennej*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 1993, p. 13.

³¹ Cf. W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, op. cit., p. 87.

³² Ibid., p. 86. Cf. ibid., p. 29: “National security as a national value (and at the same time a national goal) permeates all other goals in accordance with the principle that one cannot achieve any of the other goals without feeling secure. It is then a non-autotelic, utilitarian and instrumental value, and even of a practical nature with respect to other values, close to the human being and the state in its entirety. Even the most valuable material or intellectual value becomes unimportant when there is no security.”

The most important goal of nations and states is to recognise what is important for their existence and development, for creating their own security. However, this does not happen without naming what constitutes particular nations and states and without taking action to defend this very thing. On one hand, the national effort to defend the "set of values" turns out to be an action creating national security, and on the other – efforts to create national security must include the defence of the "set of values". In this context of reflection, it is necessary to agree fully with Waldemar Kitler, who claims that "security is a primary value with regard to other values."³³

Security is also said to be a universal value, although it is differently understood and concretised depending on various historical circumstances, social, cultural and civilizational conditions. It is at the same time one of the most desirable and necessary values, both in the lives of individuals and communities.³⁴ This value, which lies in the heart of reflection on the goals of a nation, provides a proper hierarchy of values in state policy, and being primal to other values, gives them content, ensures their understanding and determines their practical implications. This state of affairs makes it possible to say that creating national security at the level of the foundations of state policy involves continuous identification and naming of a number of values accompanying the processes of creating security. Without national security these values cease to exist to a large extent, are condemned to death (because what is national freedom, national identity, a state without security?).

³³ Ibid., p. 88. Cf. K. Świerszcz, *Bezpieczeństwo państwa w czasach współczesnych w ujęciu podmiotowo-aksjologicznych wyzwań*, "Przegląd Nauk o Obronności" 2016, 1 (1/2), pp. 65-82; A. Pieczywok, *Bezpieczeństwo jako wartość edukacyjna i badawcza*, in: "Rodzinna Europa". *Europejska myśl polityczno-prawna u progu XXI wieku*, ed. H. Malewski, P. Fiktus, M. Marszał, E-Wydawnictwo, Wrocław 2015, pp. 457-480; A. Polcyn-Radomska, *Wartość, znaczenie i uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, "Fides et Ratio" 2014, no. 1(17), pp. 216-233; A. Węgrzecki, *Ontologiczne i aksjologiczne aspekty bezpieczeństwa*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo jako wartość*, ed. I. Pabisz-Zarębska, J. Szewczyk, Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego i Indywidualnego "Apeiron", Kraków 2010, pp. 14-24.

³⁴ Cf. J. Szmyd, *Poczucie bezpieczeństwa jako wartość społeczna, etyczna i egzystencjalna. Rozważania podstawowe*, "Państwo i Społeczeństwo" 2014, (XIV) no. 2, p. 11.

In turn, security of a nation without a proper set of values is devoid of purpose, strength and sense of action. These words of Waldemar Kitler have not lost their validity: "Security of a state, and its society, is the goal and, at the same time, the supreme value. The meaning of security is very broad. It concerns, *inter alia*, such goals as: sustainability, independence and sovereignty of a state; lasting existence and development, survival of a nation, biological survival of the population; sovereignty; quality of life; human rights and quality of the natural environment, freedom of conscience and religion, national identity."³⁵ The list of these goals in which values should be recognised should not be considered as closed. Its content is influenced by a number of factors: historical circumstances, social morality, external and internal threats, level of economic development.

The understanding of values seen in the context of creating national security is deepened by reference to the national interest, which is a priority of the external policy of the state.³⁶ When expressed – especially in the international arena – it is the carrier of a state's position regarding its own goals and values that are important for its vital interests. These goals and values often refer to a specific moment in history in which they are important to a state from the point of view of expected benefits. However, a reservation should be made that today, along with the internationalisation of the economy and ever stronger interdependencies, it is hard to speak about autonomy of the national interest of individual states. It often turns out that deepening of these interdependencies lies in the national interest, as they can automatically turn into a guarantor of security.³⁷ There is a valuable observation by Vadim Udalov, who noted that in the Cold War period American researchers associated the category of national interest with needs, teleological determinants and non-negotiable causes

³⁵ W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania*. System, op. cit., p. 88.

³⁶ Cf. K. Kałużna, R. Rosicki, *O interesie narodowym i racji stanu – rozważania teoretyczne*, "Przegląd Politologiczny" 2013, no. 1, pp. 119-128.

³⁷ Cf. K. Żukrowska, *Pojęcie bezpieczeństwa i jego ewolucja*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe. Teoria i praktyka*, ed. K. Żukrowska, M. Grącik, Szkoła Główna Handlowa - Oficyna Wydawnicza, Warszawa 2006, p. 36.

of human behaviour. National interest consisted of survival, security and identity.³⁸

In light of the above considerations, it may be assumed, after Waldemar Kitler, that: "National values and goals are relatively stable, needs and hence – interests change; it is a specific game in the international and intra-state arena, thanks to which the cherished values and achieved goals are cared for, and at the same time specific needs are satisfied."³⁹ Considering such a position of values in relation to national goals, interests and (individual and group) needs for research in the effect of which is this monograph, it has been assumed that as a value national security is a set of many specific values⁴⁰ that tend to create a hierarchical system defining the essence of creating Poland's national security. Therefore, values are issues (entities) constructing thinking and actions in the public, above all political sphere that is important for creating security. Hence, if the lexeme 'value' is used here, it means something that is recognised as important, regardless of whether it is an idea, legal situation, material thing or a moral question. It is about what is (or should be) the concern of an individual citizen and all citizens when they think about the safe existence and development of the nation.

In light of the above approach, one may argue that such an understanding of values contributes to the inflation of their meaning. However, this accusation could be answered as follows: a strong impulse to think about what is of special importance in the space of values is needed in Polish security studies. There are many important things, but those that turn our thinking to what is particularly important and most important are fewer. In the first place (without neglecting the whole) one should concentrate on fundamental issues. In no way does it mean inflation of values, but searching, finding, naming, systematising them and indicating prospects for their usefulness.

³⁸ Cf. V. Udalov, *National Interests and Conflict Reduction*, in: *Cooperative Security. Reducing Third World Wars*, ed. I.W. Zartman, V.A. Kremenyuk, Syracuse University Press, New York 1995, pp. 61-77.

³⁹ W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie. Uwarunkowania. System*, op. cit., p. 92.

⁴⁰ Cf., *ibid.*, p. 31.

1.1.3. Why should values be taken into account in creating national security of Poland?

Many of the arguments for research concerning values in creating national security of Poland, thinking about what is most important for ideas and activities in this area, can be deduced from the works of Waldemar Kitler as regards concepts in the field of security studies and understanding of values. However, it should be remembered that issues concerning values (or more broadly -, axiology) do not constitute an immediate subject of research for this scholar, although they contain an in-depth reflection, thanks to which he notices the omnipresent discussion on ontological, epistemological and axiological issues of security.⁴¹ Certainly, however, it could be said that this discussion in the area of values does not translate itself in the Polish academic community into the quantity and quality of research and the resulting publications. The existing studies are essentially of a imitative nature or they treat security from the viewpoint of other sciences, for instance philosophy. This situation was one of the main arguments for undertaking research that led to writing this book. However, it should be also noted that a broader study is needed in Polish security studies, comprehensively addressing the axiology of creating Poland's national security. One that will not only name and describe values, but will show indispensability of the symphony of axiology and security studies. This study does not meet this objective because it has not been meant to do so. It has been the author's intention, however, that it may inspire and, to a certain extent, contribute to such research. In addition to the above-mentioned argument for undertaking research on values in creating Poland's national security, twelve other reasons may be formulated in favour of the research which led to writing this monograph.

1. Value judgment allows to assess the crimes committed by, for example, the USSR, the Third Reich, or the communists in post-war Poland. If one were to follow the thought of the author

⁴¹ Cf. W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, op. cit., p. 26.

of *The Phenomenology of Spirit*⁴² and *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*⁴³, then those events, seen without judgment, but only as a reality that exists, may turn out to be part of a narrative showing them as rational and even necessary. Value judgment in security studies should be seen as part of describing facts, particularly concerning military operations.

2. A characteristic feature of values is that they organise many matters in the life of individuals and society, put them in the right place among other issues, give them an adequate "label", such as: 'priority issue', 'urgent', 'can wait', 'without this we will die', 'it must be considered'. For this reason, thinking about values is important for creating Poland's national security, whose effectiveness depends, among other things, on putting the entire organisational space of security in order. By giving a specific label, values reveal their abilities: they hierarchize matters, and thus arrange activities, create linkages between particular issues, delineate the direction of ventures and ways to improve them. Referring to values finally makes it possible to say: Poland's national security is superior to other things.⁴⁴ Such a "label" proclaims that Poland, the nation that forms it, wants to become an increasingly safer state, wants to draw conclusions from history, avoid what has turned out to be destructive for individuals and society. Such a "label" contains a message that the good in the form of security of every citizen, nation and state, dominates over the ideology constituting the political community and its legal and organisational actions.
3. The arguments in favour of the research on values in creating national security are the premises resulting from the sense of community which is the core of a nation. It is precisely the sense of national community that is shaped to a great extent by values. The issues considered to be important by a nation

⁴² G.W.F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, translated by T. Pinkard, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018.

⁴³ G.W.F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, translated by H.B. Nisbet, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1975.

⁴⁴ As a theologian, I would add that Poland's national security is superior to other things in the temporal order, but it is not without significance for what is eternal.

have the power to unite people. These both important and common issues define: construction of the state order, standards of justice and governance, various types of obligations that construct the system of economic development, social welfare, education and internal order. Since, at the same time, it gives a sense of security and is close to individuals and communal forms of their life, because it is present in “here” and “today”, it should not come as a surprise that national interest gets preference over what is global. Values are at the heart of this process. In this way, they also become the strength of nations and states in clashes in the international arena when differences appear in what individual entities functioning in the global order see as essential, what they must not give up, what they should seek, what should be fought for, reaching even for the argument of armed force.

4. Thinking about values in the process of creating national security offers a special opportunity to observe negative values – anti-values in this space. Distinguishing them is nothing more than elaborating on the analysis relevant to the identification of threats to national security. In the description of anti-values, the research of security historians, as well as philosophers and culture experts dealing directly with anti-values comes in handy.⁴⁵ The tendency to glorify what is destructive to the individual and social forms of human existence, including the state, is revealed in the intellectual sphere through negation or relativization of reason, truth and science. This phenomenon seems to be accompanied by a lesser ability to distinguish what is real from what is illusory. This process will probably intensify alongside the development of the Internet and the impact of virtual reality. Without precise identification of anti-values from the point of view of Poland’s

⁴⁵ Cf. M. Gołaszewska, *Fascynacja złem. Eseje z teorii wartości*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa-Kraków 1994; B. Wolniewicz, *Filozofia i wartości. Rozprawy i wypowiedzi*, Wydział Filozofii i Socjologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 1998, szczególnie tekst opatrzony tytułem *Epifania diabła*, ibid., pp. 208-223.

national security, manipulation in this space may be facilitated by changing axiological qualifications. The example that affected Polish art and then culture and its understanding seems to be a clear one. "Ugliness" in the Polish aesthetics of the 20th century gained a positive meaning and became an aesthetic and artistic value.⁴⁶ Therefore, a kind of redefinition took place. The mechanism of redefinition in the area of national identity and the functioning of the state should be of particular interest to researchers in the field of security studies. The change of axiological qualifications, naming as value something that destroys the political community is a direct blow to the sovereignty and independence of the nation.

5. The life of a political community to a large extent involves tension between what individual people and social groups (interest groups) recognise as important and what is a political decision aimed at becoming a law and actions of the authorities in a state. The undertakings of entities exercising power in the state and the activity of politicians and parties in a sense either ease this tension or, on the contrary, fuel it. Moving from values to political decisions is an important part of wielding power. Talking about it, however, is an important way to stay in power or run for it. Being selective as to what is important, reshuffles in the hierarchy of what is important, is the everyday life of the state in these processes. Certain values get a higher position, and others – on the contrary. From the point of view of creating national security, to allow for a situation in which issues fundamental to security depend on the bias of the evaluative policy (choosing between values and reshuffles in the hierarchy of values) is a particularly dangerous phenomenon. Such a state of affairs may, in extreme circumstances, turn out to condemn the nation and the state to the loss of sovereignty. Nevertheless, it is dangerous to separate national security from the evaluative political discussion

⁴⁶ Cf. M. Wallis, *Przeżycie i wartość*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1968; M. Gołaszewska, *O naturze wartości estetycznych na tle sytuacji aksjologicznej*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1986.

and place it outside the above-mentioned tension characteristic of the life of a political community. For the nation has the privilege to observe the process of transforming the value of national security into political decisions which become laws and actions of the authorities exercising power in the state. In a sense, national security depends on what the nation perceives as its own processes of creating national security. And it is not just about the sense of security which does not always have to be conclusive.

6. Value judgments, which are emphasised and therefore strongly present in the life of society, in security studies constitute an important element of building national pride. This element seems particularly important given the feeling of shame of being a Pole imposed from the outside but also stirred from the inside. Andrzej Przyłębski expressed it emphatically when he wrote: "Against the pedagogy of shame, which overemphasises the few dark sides of Polish history, the Polish society was involved in most often when it was deprived of its state, we can be proud of our history as hardly any other nation in the world. (...) There is no need to feel embarrassed by the fact that there is a kind of messianism in us: the messianism of patriotism as the love not only of the homeland but also of freedom. Because such messianisms are present in the consciousness of every large European nation."⁴⁷ Making Poles believe in the sense of shame occurred especially in the 1990s. Poles were to be ashamed of being citizens of a post-communist country afflicted by violence and poverty, at the end of World War II deserted by the West in the middle of the continent as pray to the huge USSR; ashamed of the practised faith and attachment to Catholic values, patriotism and republicanism, and above all – love of freedom, which supposedly in history turned out to be merely a deceptive desire. The programmed shame of Poles quickly turned out to be an element of a political game in the European arena, especially when it came

⁴⁷ A. Przyłębski, *Dlaczego Polska jest wartością. Wprowadzenie do hermeneutycznej filozofii polityki*, Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo, Poznań 2018, p. 274.

to international economic, military and cultural cooperation. Embarrassed Poles were easier partners in applying for membership in international organizations of the Western world. They were supposed to enter Europe, but without bringing in their own values and their hierarchies.

7. The axiology of security cannot be reduced solely to showing the values which underlie the processes of creating national security. This is definitely not enough. The axiology of security should reveal itself as a space for questions about nation, state, the processes of creating national security in its various dimensions and at various levels. The axiology of national security should also be revealed as a space for answering questions that arise among the assumptions of creating security processes and state activities. What is meant here, however, are common answers, somehow linking the evaluative thinking characteristic of "general security studies", "specific security studies" and "auxiliary security studies".⁴⁸ The axiology of security understood in this way appears to be one of the conditions for the effectiveness of defence processes and development of a political community. Otherwise, the processes of creating security are exposed to incoherence which leads to inefficiency, and in extreme cases – to resistance of society and destruction of the state. This incoherence will be probably manifested in the culture (in this case anti-culture) of the processes of creating security, but above all in the resistance of citizens' conscience, in the conscience of the nation. The inconsistency of the axiology of national security inevitably leads to the destruction of the "spirit of the nation", decline of morality, inability to care for the common good, defence of the nation and national goods – the defence of what has value. The axiology of national security should, therefore, protect the coherence between value judgments in the theory of security with value judgments in the processes of creating national security.

⁴⁸ I am referring here directly to the classification adopted by Waldemar Kitler. Cf. W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, op. cit., pp. 21-25.

8. The nation, just like an individual, should ask themselves questions about what has value. Next should come a question about the price of achieving and possessing what is recognised as valuable. In national security, of course, it is not about indicating anything that has value, it is not about seeing something that has an intentional value, but about what has fundamental value directly for creation of national security. A characteristic feature of matters with essential value is the fact that they make it possible to assess and evaluate other important matters. It is not just about finding what has any potential for creating security, because there can be many such things. It is above all about matters that are essentially most important in the light of which one can judge what could co-create national might.
9. Research concerning values in creating national security can help to determine a proper relationship between the rights of individuals and the power of the state. This can be visualised by a reference to two objects – the compass and the scales. The compass should set a direction for the state towards the people and for the people towards the state. The scales, on the other hand, should make people aware of the importance of the political community for them. The same political community should use the scales to recognise the irreducible value of every individual. In this way, the political community can see citizens not as consumers of common goods, but their defensive power; whereas citizens can see the state as an indispensable help for their functioning and development. Therefore, when answering the questions about values, which are asked from the point of view of national security, it is necessary to recognise the beginning, the strength and the way of thinking about the balanced coexistence of individuals and the state, which offers protection against individualism disruptive for the community and destructive deification of the state.
10. What should be noticed is a rapid development of axiological reflection in legal and medical sciences, economics, political

science, management sciences and many others. A dialogue with these sciences is one of the conditions for the effectiveness of creating Poland's national security in all of its dimensions. However, the prospect of a fruitful dialogue with these sciences depends to a large extent on the consistency in the order of values. The point is for us to be able to speak the same language in matters of importance, albeit from a different perspective, relevant to a particular science. The fact that other sciences take interest in security studies is not without significance. The effects of the work of scholars from various areas of knowledge can and should be used in creating the might of the state. On a side note of this argument, one more issue may be noted. Well, it should be in the interest of security studies to work out tools in their own environment and have the human resources that could be used in the assessment of ethics and in value judgment of projects that are subject of their own research. It is not about keeping other sciences away from the issues of security. On the contrary, these issues should be transparent and understandable. The community of security researchers must not lack their own, developed space in which it is possible to meet with other sciences and carry out joint research.

11. In the context of scientific investigations, focusing on the source material such as President Lech Wałęsa's texts, other arguments in favour of doing research with respect to values in creating Poland's national security can be pointed out. Well, the President of a democratic state, acting as a guardian of national security, cannot avoid fundamental questions about the purpose, meaning and value of specific actions relevant to the position held. This particularly applies to legislative activities, nominations (e.g. in the armed forces) and how the image of the highest state office is perceived by the people. This means that the President cannot renounce evaluative thinking and expressing evaluative opinions. It is impossible to understand the concept of creating Poland's national security contained in the texts of Lech Wałęsa, while ignoring the question

of values – “matters of the utmost importance for the nation and the state”⁴⁹ – as the President said.

12. The argument for investigating what is most important for Poland can be heard in the words of the first President of the Third Republic of Poland elected in free elections. At the very end of his presidency Lech Wałęsa said, in a sense summarising five years of his incumbency for people of the army: “To ensure Poland’s independence and sovereignty has always been the most important task for me. That is why – by correcting the mistakes of others – I caused the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country. For this reason, I treated the duties linked with the supervision over the armed forces and the responsibility for state security with utmost seriousness. That is why, with such determination, I requested national consent for the creation of a strong defence system of the state. We are not building it for Wałęsa. We are building it for Poland. The Third Republic must be strong. Otherwise, in five, ten years there will be challenges that we will not be able to face.”⁵⁰ In a sovereign state, one cannot fail to research what is the most important task for a democratically elected President, and his fulfilment of obligations relating to the supervision over the armed forces and responsibility for the security of the state. Such research should include a reflection on values in national security.

1.1.4. Research carried out

The main question determining the research on the basis of which this monograph has been written was: what is essential and what appears

⁴⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

⁵⁰ L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Gentlemen! Once again, I am participating in the briefing of the senior staff of the armed forces... Meeting at the Ministry of National Defence (October 26, 1995)*, p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 690/95, p. 151, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

to be a value in the process of creating national security of the Third Republic of Poland basing on the statements of President Lech Wałęsa, and what is the content of the narrative of this leader of the nation concerning these issues? It should be assumed that particularly important information is included in the content that makes up the narrative. It should also be assumed that axiological assumptions are at the heart of thinking of security policy makers; that it includes the recognition of what is very important, namely a set of specific values, often not explicitly declared. Their essence is revealed in a thorough analysis of the narrative in which they remain "hidden". For the author has been convinced for many years that analysing, naming and describing what is important is also a very important activity within a given science. It is necessary to talk about important things, insist on them, defend them, promote them. The most important things are not to be lost sight of. The development of a set of important (most important) issues thoroughly systematises thinking. It allows to observe the relationship between "important matters". After all, there are important, more important and most important things. There are important issues that form the foundations for creating security of Poland, and there are those that define goals; there are also those that are found between the foundations and the goals, namely the means.

In view of the above, it is necessary to narrow down the exploratory field of research. It is worth clarifying what the reader will not find in this monograph. This is not a study in the field of philosophy, but security studies seen in direct relation to political science and recent history. Therefore, it is not a lecture in axiology, although philosophical thinking is close to the author in a sense that he is interested in concrete human experience of what exists (contact with reality, or even immersion in it) in order to abstract from the details of experiences so as to reach universal principles and truths. The book offered to the reader does not contain a detailed theory of values, it does not describe or create an axiological system that can be the foundation for the processes of creating national security in Poland, or even axiology relevant to security studies, even though the author would like to develop such a monograph someday, because he is convinced that it is very much needed.

The aim of research was not to understand or even to get through to the ocean of interpretations (e.g. by journalists, political scientists) of actions and statements of President Lech Wałęsa, and to seek values or principles of creating Poland's national security in these interpretations. Such aim, firstly, would require reaching out to the contents growing "around" the President and the identification of state-building processes that permeated the political activity at that time in its enormous complexity, which probably still has not been fully revealed at the level of the availability of sources. Secondly, such objective would also require determination of the scope and extent of the influence of "interest groups" on Lech Wałęsa and a meticulous examination of the process of writing. Thirdly, it would be necessary to analyse the media coverage and the use of separate specialised tools in this space, such as reaching for the analysis of the semantic field. The author's intention was not to carry out the analysis at these levels.

The purpose of this monograph is not to show the evolution of political processes, the consequences of historical facts, the assessment and value judgment of President Lech Wałęsa's political actions, nor the validity or effectiveness of his decisions. The subject of the research were not the circumstances of his specific undertakings. Despite the fact that the analysed statements result from "a situation", from "a today", from "the need of the moment", these matters are not analysed so as not to lose what is essential and what should not be blurred, and what is the subject of cognition. Pointing to the elements of historical political background of the President's statements and activities is only to illustrate the context in which the analysed content were divulged. Lech Wałęsa's statements have not been, therefore, compared with the narratives and discourse on the then political scene. The research was aimed not at a comparative but synthetic approach and reduced to the texts of President Lech Wałęsa only.

The aim of the research was not to describe the life and activities of Lech Wałęsa at consecutive stages of his political activity nor the undertakings of the people gathered around him. Thus, the book does not address topics relating to the President's political career, connections with various milieus of: workers, party, church, journalists, science, etc. It also does not provide a description of the reception

of his person and activities by various national bodies and outside of Poland. The analysis did not concern compilations collected by officers of the party apparatus.

Thinking about the aims and what was not the purpose of the analyses, as well as about the content of this monograph, some additional explanations are needed. Well, the research the results of which are presented in this book, was intended by the author to be part of a larger work – the Polish axiology of national security. In the perspective of this undertaking, the presented study can, therefore, appear only as a contribution. However, in the perspective of what is undoubtedly necessary for the processes of creating Poland's national security, it has only an introductory and provocative character. For it aims to draw attention to the issues that are fundamental for the processes of creating security – creating a set of values presence of which is confirmed in the source material, and provoking the community of scientists involved in research in the field of security, political sciences and philosophy to do not so much similar or analogous search, but one that aspires to contribute to creation of security, is aimed at integral reflection on national security and values.

The starting point for the research was to turn to a concrete experience of reality in Polish history – the period after the breakthrough year of 1989, after the collapse of communism, the time of the beginning of the systemic transformation and Lech Wałęsa's presidency. The aim was to immerse, in a way, in what the Poles experienced at that time, to abstract gradually from diversity and detail so as to distinguish what appears to be particularly valuable in the processes of creating Poland's national security. Those years in the history of our nation were permeated with special thinking about what was most important for creating Poland's national security, because it was a clear need of the moment. The consequences of the decisions made at that time shape the present and will probably continue to do so for many years to come.

The research carried out was based on a series of ontological and epistemological assumptions embedded in the methodology typical of social sciences. At that stage, a number of specific assumptions, strategies and heuristics were created to help in the understanding

of the complex reality of the surrounding world. It was necessary to deal with what concerns the logic of the world (and sometimes lack of logic) first, and then make logical attempts to explain the phenomena occurring in it.⁵¹ It was also necessary to deal with ontological and epistemological issues, and thus take into account the dilemmas revealed in the questions: “Does the researched reality exist independently of the researcher?” and “Can the researcher objectively determine what kind of relations occur between the phenomena of the social world?”. In the process of analysing the source material and developing the monograph, particular vigilance was required regarding the researcher’s objectivity. It was necessary to accept the rankling question that accompanied the research: “To what extent am I objective, living in society and being subject to the influence of social constructs of reality?” This question should be seen as a reflection of the content concerning dual hermeneutics. It was equally important to reflect on the researcher’s own experience in the relation between his perception of reality and its interpretation.⁵²

The first step in the research process was to get acquainted with the collected source texts, such as: speeches delivered by Lech Wałęsa in various situations, published and non-published interviews, various types of letters to private individuals as well as different organisations. Taken into account were also the texts of various forms and meanings, developed in the political office of the presidential palace, such as those meant to prepare the President for interviews or meetings during which the audience could ask spontaneous questions. The Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw contains many such texts, including those that have never been used, and which also speak a lot about the President’s environment and its preferred ideological directions. At this stage of the research, it was

⁵¹ Cf. D. Little, *Mechanisms and Method*, “Philosophy of the Social Sciences” 2015, v. 45(4-5), pp. 462-480.

⁵² Cf. D. Marsh, P. Furlong, *A Skin not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science*, in: *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, ed. D. Marsh, G. Stoker, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2002, pp. 17-41; U. Flick, *Constructivism*, in: *A Companion to Qualitative Research*, ed. U. Flick, E. von Kardorff, I. Steinke, translated by B. Jenner, Sage Publications, London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi 2004, pp. 88-94.

also necessary to verify authenticity of some texts. It was necessary to compare the text printed officially in a book published by the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland with an audio-video recording and typescripts from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw and the Archive of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw. The analysis of the above material, as well as the interview with Lech Wałęsa, which will be discussed below, was carried out as part of an inductive approach, in which researchers concentrate on drawing conclusions from analyses rather than deriving a specific theory from them.⁵³ Therefore, neither before the collection of material nor during its analysis research hypotheses were formulated, and the exploratory nature of the research was adopted. The axiological layer in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa was critically analyzed taking into account the dynamics of the relationship between values in the context of a specific event and the circumstances to which it refers in individual texts. This analysis also includes changes in references between individual values throughout the presidency. As a result, it was recognised that the values from the area of national security in Poland included: national identity, freedom, the state, armed forces, international relations, and society. After the interview with Lech Wałęsa, this list was expanded to include the linkage between freedom and responsibility, and it was ranked differently. Freedom was put first, before national identity.

When it comes to interviews as a technique for collecting source material, there are a number of their types in social sciences. First of all, it should be noted that a research interview assumes asymmetry of the relationship – the purpose and course of the interview are determined and controlled by the researcher. It makes the interaction between the participants in the interview a professional relationship and goes beyond a free exchange of opinions on a given topic. The most general division of interviews is determined by the criterion

⁵³ Advocates of this approach argue that checking hypotheses rooted in theory as part of the hypothetical-deductive paradigm can lead to the limitation of the scientific imagination. Cf. R. Wagner-Pacifici, J.W. Mohr, R.L. Breiger, *Ontologies, methodologies, and new uses of Big Data in the social and cultural sciences*, "Big Data & Society", July-December 2015, p. 4.

of standardisation and structuring. A standardised interview means the exact order of questions asked, whereas a structured interview – the closed character of questions.⁵⁴ Due to the respondent's broad range of interests, the formula of an individual in-depth interview (IDI), with a non-standardised and unstructured form was adopted.⁵⁵

Values in President Lech Wałęsa's texts could be identified in two basic ways. The first was based on the analysis of explicit declarations by the head of state as to values, while the second – on identifying the value-based assumptions of the specific solutions adopted. At the beginning of the research, preference was given to the analysis of the President's declarations, his direct axiological solutions, but it soon turned out that this was not enough. In this way, only a set of not necessarily consistently related values (important matters) was created. Therefore, the method had to be expanded to search for the assumptions from which claims contained in various types of statements were derived. An example of such assumption which was soon discovered was the uncompromising privilege given by Lech Wałęsa to the value of life of every single individual from the time of conception. This position had a direct impact on the legislative processes in Poland during his presidency. Another argument for the need to identify in the course of analysing the source material the value-based assumptions for specific solutions adopted was offered directly by the President himself. In the expert interview conducted for the purpose of this research he said: "I became President only to finish off communism and to drive the Soviet army out, but my drama was that I could not say it."⁵⁶ Putting it in this way clarifies many senses of the President's texts, many of his solutions and decisions. However,

⁵⁴ Cf. S. Gudkova, *Wywiad w badaniach jakościowych*, in: *Badania jakościowe*, v. 2, *Metody i narzędzia*, ed. D. Jemielniak, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2012, p. 113; S. Kvale, *Interviews. An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks 1996.

⁵⁵ Interview with Lech Wałęsa conducted on December 12, 2018 by Cezary Smuniewski in Gdańsk, in the Office of President Lech Wałęsa in the European Solidarity Centre. The transcribed research material is in the possession of the author of the publication. Hereinafter referred to as: *Interview with Lech Wałęsa of December 12, 2018*.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

for the process of research it meant the need to accept that these two Lech Wałęsa's assumptions – "finishing off communism" and "driving Soviet troops out of Poland" – are fundamental for understanding his narrative and, above all, for describing the main values that define the processes of creating national security of Poland. It can be undeniably assumed that "finishing off communism", "driving Soviet troops out" and defending the lives of individual people are the value-based assumptions adopted by Lech Wałęsa for specific solutions in the processes of creating Poland's national security.

1.1.5. The contexts of creating Poland's national security after 1989

The research, the result of which is this monograph, was focused on the sources rooted in the reality of the specific situation of the state and society, in very special circumstances shaping the then thinking about national security of Poland. For many reasons, these were new contexts for creating Poland's national security. It should be noted that the period after 1989 has been the subject of numerous studies and reviews of political history of Poland, the functioning of public authorities, including the government and the President of the Republic.⁵⁷

The late 1980s and the early 1990s were associated in the case of Poland with a fundamental change in the geopolitical situation and the balance of forces both on a global and regional scale. The 1990s were a period of radical changes in Central and Eastern Europe. Poland made an effort to define and re-establish the system and the conceptual foundations of its sovereignty. After more than four decades of dependence on the USSR, it managed to become independent in matters of security and defence. The following years were marked by efforts to enter the NATO structures, which became a fact in 1999, and

⁵⁷ Cf. T. Nałęcz, *Strażnicy Rzeczypospolitej. Prezydenci Polski w latach 1989-2017*, Polityka, Warszawa 2017; J. Wawrzyniak, *Sejm a prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej i Rada Ministrów*, Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, Warszawa 2016; *Prezydent w Polsce po roku 1989. Studium politologiczne*, ed. R. Glajcar, M. Migalski, Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, Warszawa 2006; R. Glajcar, *Instytucja prezydenta w Polsce, Czechach i Słowacji w latach 1989-2000. Analiza porównawcza*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2003; J. Ciapała, *Prezydent w systemie ustrojowym Polski (1989-1997)*, Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, Warszawa 1999.

the European Union, to which Poland acceded in 2004. For the Polish Republic, these were primarily the years of special efforts in building the entirety of Polish strategic subjectivity in allied international security systems, but also (which turned out to be very difficult) changes in the way of thinking about Polish national security. It was also a period of the renaissance of thinking about security issues and the development of security studies. The criterion of national interest became the central point of these changes.⁵⁸ The evolution of Poland's security conditions influenced the reformulation of the national security concept first in 1990⁵⁹ and then in 1992.⁶⁰

Thinking about the contexts of research focused on values in national security of Poland according to Lech Wałęsa, reference should be made to the document of strategic importance that was in force in Poland when that President held power in the state. Namely, the "Defence doctrine of the Republic of Poland"⁶¹ of February 1990, a document adopted by the National Defence Committee (KOK) and signed by its chairman, i.e. the then President of the Republic of Poland – General Wojciech Jaruzelski. The general directions of the defence policy outlined in this document accompanied the beginnings of the systemic changes, including the political ones, and transformation in creation of national security of Poland. The *Doctrine* incidentally speaks of "human principles

⁵⁸ Cf. S. Koziej, A. Brzozowski, *25 lat polskiej strategii bezpieczeństwa*, "Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe" no. 30, II – 2014, pp. 11-40; S. Koziej, *Obronność Polski w warunkach samodzielności strategicznej lat 90. XX wieku*, "Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe" no. 21, I – 2012, pp. 19-30.

⁵⁹ *Doktryna obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Defence doctrine of the Republic of Poland]*, appendix to the Resolution of the National Defence Committee of 21 February 1990 concerning the defence doctrine of the Republic of Poland (Official Gazette 1990 no. 9 item 66).

⁶⁰ *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa [Assumptions for the Polish security policy]*, "Przegląd Rządowy" 1992 no. 12 (18), pp. 73-75 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa); *Polityka bezpieczeństwa i strategia obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, "Przegląd Rządowy" 1992 no. 12 (18), pp. 75-81.

⁶¹ *Doktryna obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Defence Doctrine of the Republic of Poland]*, appendix to the Resolution of the National Defence Committee of 21 February 1990 concerning the defence doctrine of the Republic of Poland (Official Gazette 1990 no. 9 item 66).

and values"⁶² and the subject of re-evaluation is discussed, when it is stated that the national security policy "aims to build mutual trust, create an atmosphere conducive to cooperation in all areas, to further positive re-evaluation in the political and military situation in Europe."⁶³

The necessary fundamental changes in the defence doctrine were required in the new circumstances at the beginning of the Third Polish Republic.⁶⁴ Speaking at the meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence in August 1992, the President spoke about these changes as follows: "Our Homeland is undergoing fundamental changes. We are transitioning from a totalitarian regime to democracy. From dependence to state sovereignty. From the offensive war doctrine under the Warsaw Pact to the national defence doctrine. From Europe divided into two blocks to Europe which is the community of many homelands. All these changes require a new look at security matters. All these transformations must involve changes in the Armed Forces."⁶⁵ The natural consequence of the systemic transformation involving changes in the sphere of national security was recognition of the need for a new formulation of the security content.⁶⁶ In order to elaborate an appropriate document, a special team was appointed

⁶² Cf. *Doktryna obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Defence doctrine of the Republic of Poland]*, op. cit., Chapter III: "Poland considers creation of a system of mutual guarantees and obligations precluding the transformation of conflicts of various kinds into war as an important measure to prevent war. In the future, this system should put an end to the arms race and the existence of opposing alliances in Europe. It should be based on universal principles and values that are considered superior."

⁶³ Ibid., Chapter II.

⁶⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Speech of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at the meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence (Warsaw, August 6, 1992)*, p. 2, typescript, Press Office of the President, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Przemówienia 1992, folder 3, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁶⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Speech of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at the meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence (Warsaw, August 6, 1992)*, p. 3, typescript, Press Office of the President, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Przemówienia 1992, folder 3, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁶⁶ Cf. S. Koziej, *Współczesne problemy bezpieczeństwa narodowego i międzynarodowego*, Biuro Badań Strategicznych Prywatnej Wyższej Szkoły Businessu i Administracji, Warszawa 2003, p. 88.

headed by the Head of the National Security Bureau, at that time acting as the secretary of the National Defence Committee.⁶⁷ The result of that work are two documents adopted on November 2, 1992 at the meeting of the National Defence Committee, chaired by President Lech Wałęsa: *Assumptions for the Polish security policy*⁶⁸ and *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*.⁶⁹ Because of the manner of their adoption and publication, despite the signature of President Lech Wałęsa appearing only in the first part, both documents are usually treated inseparably. Stanisław Koziej claims that “their content essentially defined the strategy of national security and, within its framework, the defence strategy of the Republic of Poland in the conditions of defence independence.”⁷⁰ Sławomir Wojciechowski believes that they can be understood as a consistent two-part document.⁷¹ These documents – in the opinion of the Political Office of President Lech Wałęsa – are the first such documents in the new political situation, giving an interpretation of the Polish reason of state and pointing to the directions of actions aimed at strengthening the sovereignty and security of the country.⁷² It should be remembered that the assumptions adopted in 1992 were in force for almost 8 years, being the first

⁶⁷ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995 [Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995]*, typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, pp. 58-59, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁶⁸ Cf. *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa [Assumptions for the Polish security policy]*, “Przegląd Rządowy” 1992 no. 12 (18), pp. 73-75 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

⁶⁹ Cf. *Polityka bezpieczeństwa i strategia obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland]*, “Przegląd Rządowy” 1992 no. 12 (18), pp. 75-81.

⁷⁰ S. Koziej, *Obronność Polski w warunkach samodzielności strategicznej lat 90. XX wieku*, op. cit., p. 25.

⁷¹ S. Wojciechowski, *Strategia jako narzędzie polityki bezpieczeństwa i rozwoju Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, doctoral thesis written under the supervision of professor Waldemar Kitler, Akademia Sztuki Wojennej, Warszawa 2017, p. 74 (War Studies University Library).

⁷² Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995 [Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995]*, typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, p. 210, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

document of this type prepared after the collapse of communism. It is also worth mentioning that in 1997, along with the launching of the process of Poland's accession to NATO, work began on another version of the defence doctrine. Due to the new strategic concept being prepared by the Alliance at that time, according to Jerzy Kajetanowicz, these works were deliberately delayed, which meant that the new security strategy of the Republic of Poland was adopted only in January 2000, i.e. a few months after Poland became NATO member. According to the scholar, this attitude resulted from the observance of patterns from the period of the Warsaw Pact. Meanwhile, in NATO, national strategy is of primary nature and only as a result of negotiations between individual states an allied strategy is developed.⁷³ The adoption of this state of affairs allows for talking about deep mental rootedness of the creators of the Polish defence thought of the 1990s in the past era, the time of no political sovereignty and inability to develop own national security policy.

The new situation in the early 1990s resulted from the fundamental changes that occurred and continued in Central and Eastern Europe, created new conditions for security of the Republic of Poland. This time is commonly referred to as the "Autumn of Nations" when talking about the changes that took place in the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic. The crowning of the process of the communist bloc breakdown initiated by the Autumn of Nations was the collapse of the USSR in 1991.⁷⁴ The new circumstances brought about new threats for Poles, which were described in the *Security policy...* in the following words: "The process of changes in the East causes a number of threats that may become revealed in the near future. A serious danger would be rejection by the states, heirs to the USSR, of the disarmament obligations taken over from that empire. This could lead to uncontrolled proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and

⁷³ Cf. J. Kajetanowicz, *Strategie bezpieczeństwa Polski w drugiej połowie XX wieku*, "Zeszyty Naukowe WSOWL" 2011, no. 3 (161), p. 246.

⁷⁴ Cf. E. Centkowska, *Jesień Ludów '89. Kalendarium wydarzeń*, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warszawa 1992.

no reduction of conventional forces. The threat of armed conflicts cannot be ruled out, on border, ethnic or economic ground between new political entities, involving the neighbouring countries, such as Poland, or even the entire region in military operations. What can become the threat to our security may be: a great wave of migration from the east, from or through the territories of the neighbouring countries, as well as the economic consequences of severing trade contacts, in particular, interrupting the supply of strategic raw materials and cutting off from the traditional markets.”⁷⁵ Despite the fact that the language of the document is very balanced, the then security threats identified in it highlight the situation and the arising fears of Poles. At the time when this document was being developed, it was already clear that the changes in Poland depended on similar activities in the entire region of the continent. On the other hand, security within the state and progress in the process of systemic changes depended on economic issues – the economic transformation. These, in turn, translated into the daily functioning of society, internal security, relations between public authorities in the state and citizens.

Changes in the way of thinking about threats and creating national security constituted a particularly important context allowing for a deeper understanding of security issues in the early 1990s in Poland. The issue of security was expanded to include new topics; it was no longer limited solely to military issues, whereas thinking about other important issues was developing. Other values besides armed forces and military alliances were clearly recognised. It is in this process of the change in thinking about what is most important for national security that one should see an important context for research on Poland’s national security in the texts of Lech Wałęsa. The *Assumptions for the Polish security policy* include the following statement: “The contemporary content of the concept of state security covers both political and military issues as well as economic, ecological, social

⁷⁵ Cf. *Polityka bezpieczeństwa i strategia obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland]*, op. cit., point 2, pp. 75-76.

and ethnic aspects.”⁷⁶ An important change in the understanding of the power of the state and national security was appreciation of economic development. However, throughout the entire presidency of Lech Wałęsa, the issue of defence financing remained a prevailing topic. This is a particularly important element of the context of the then thinking about national security. Counting on re-election, at the very end of the first term of office, Lech Wałęsa spoke about the tension between investing in defence and economic development: “Poland will have so much sovereignty and independence as it will achieve with today’s methods. Conscientious work, economic growth, wealth of citizens, but also – military power (...). Opinions reach me that we cannot afford to strengthen our defence today. The economy that has already caught the first breath is still too weak. Let us wait until it is stable – and then we will build a proper army. Well, that is one way of doing it, but prosperity and wealth will not defend themselves. What will happen when predatory hands reach out for them? I do not share the view that Poland is now safe, that our sovereignty and independence are permanent. (...) Without a real armed force, the Polish Republic will in the best case be a passive observer of events in the European arena. Decisions will be made over our heads, without concern for our national interests.”⁷⁷ This text was delivered on October 26, 1995. Soon after, on November 5, the first round of presidential elections took place, in which Lech Wałęsa ran for re-election. In spite of the fact that the elements of the election campaign and soliciting the votes of the military should be recognised in the above quoted statement, it is a fact that in this text the issue of military security was juxtaposed with the dilemmas of economic development. In the same speech, the President drew attention to the need for establishing links with Western states, their political and military structures: “There is no alternative for Poland other than Europe and NATO. Our reason of state requires it.

⁷⁶ *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa* [Assumptions for the Polish security policy], op. cit., point 1, p. 73 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

⁷⁷ L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Gentlemen! Once again, I am participating in the briefing of the Armed Forces senior staff... Meeting at the Ministry of National Defence (October 26, 1995)*, p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 690/95, p. 151, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

But this is still the future. Today, however, security of the Republic depends primarily on the strength of our army. Therefore, rebuilding the defence system and adapting it to the needs of a sovereign, democratic European state is a task of special importance.”⁷⁸

The President’s tasks seen from the viewpoint of creating national security should be included among the contexts of the content described in this book of interest for us at this point. Synthetically, this issue is reflected by the provisions in the *Security policy...* where it states that: “The President of the Republic of Poland is the Head of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland. During peacetime, the entirety of the military forces’ activity is supervised by the Minister of National Defence.”⁷⁹ On the other hand, when it comes to supervising the defence, a special role assigned to the President in the document should be noted: “The Constitution of the Republic of Poland defines the basic functions in the system of managing state defence in peacetime. They are implemented by the President of the Republic of Poland, the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. (...) The President of the Republic of Poland coordinates the development of the defence strategy of the state, and as the Head of the Armed Forces defines main directions of their development. The President controls the course of defence preparations, realised under the direction of the Prime Minister by ministers, heads of provinces (voivodes) and other public administration bodies. The National Security Bureau (BBN) is the executive body of the President in this respect. The main defence tasks at the government level are the responsibility of the Minister of National Defence, the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the event of a security threat, the war state control system shall be launched. The supreme decision centres at the time of threat and war are the President and the Government. The Sejm appoints the Chief Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland for the time of war, and when the Sejm is not in session, it shall be the responsibility of the President. The Chief Commander, reporting directly to the President, exercises strategic command over

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 2, p. 152.

⁷⁹ *Polityka bezpieczeństwa i strategia obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland], op. cit., point 6, p. 80.

the entire armed forces. During peacetime, the President determines the composition and tasks of the advisory bodies, and at wartime – of the President's war staff."⁸⁰

In a nutshell, summing up the reflection on the contexts of creating national security of Poland after 1989, it may be said that: transition from the Warsaw Pact to the North Atlantic Alliance took place at that time. However, it concerned not only formal issues, but – as Stanisław Koziej wrote –breaking with the mentality of the "operator", i.e. the executor of strategic tasks coming from without and initiating the construction of a full-sized, creative, national strategic culture, based on national interests. It must be remembered that almost throughout the entire period of its membership in the Warsaw Pact, Poland did not have its own security strategy, including the defence policy.⁸¹ The effort of effecting the changes initiated at that time turned out to be a very difficult one in practice, as it primarily involved a change in the way of thinking about Poland and about what was most important for her. Value judgments rooted in the way of functioning of the state dependent on Moscow managed to penetrate deeply into the soul of the nation, in recognising and naming what was particularly important in creating the national security of Poland. It took a great effort to recall national values, those that were most deeply rooted in the nation. It was a great temptation in thinking about the Third Republic to create something new, to set values, to behave as if Poland had no experience in recognising the ways to build its own might.

1.1.6. Sources researched

The ability to exercise power is to a large extent the ability to communicate. Analysing President Lech Wałęsa's texts, one should remember that they convey the message of a politician. Irena Kamińska-Szmaj correctly reminds that in the language of political propaganda, regardless of a political system, linguistic means of persuasion are used to win over supporters who are urged to support the presented political views,

⁸⁰ Ibid., point 6, p. 81.

⁸¹ Cf. S. Koziej, *Obronność Polski w warunkach samodzielności strategicznej lat 90. XX wiek*, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

ideas and visions of ordering the world.⁸² It is therefore a matter of persuasion, which is a phenomenon of a pragmatic nature in communication. It is the encouraging function, whose domain is exerting influence, which is considered the basic feature of the language of politics.⁸³ Often the main factor of persuasiveness in Lech Wałęsa's texts is reference to values and/or describing something that is particularly important. In the collected source material, references to values are often the axis structuring the entire narrative. That is why, the President's texts contain so many attested value-based phrases and descriptions of what is important. They become particularly pronounced when anti-values are mentioned in their context or when what is important is juxtaposed with what is insignificant, matters that provide security with threats, good with evil. The specificity of the language of politicians, including President Lech Wałęsa's texts, is that value judgments are made in three perspectives. First of all, important issues are presented, such as the national community, the political, economic, social, international reality and, of course, national security. Secondly, the same important matters are ranked in terms of value, some things are more important than others, the value of one depends on the importance of the other. Thirdly, important matters can change their ranking in the hierarchy of values. Therefore, politicians request support for their actions (or for themselves in an electoral campaign) because they want what they recognise as important to become even more important. It is, therefore, not surprising, that one of the most common language tools used by politicians is the pursuit of emotionality of the message by saturating it with value judgments and evaluative words.⁸⁴

⁸² Cf. I. Kamińska-Szmaj, *Język polityki na tle przemian kulturowych*, "Acta Universitatis Vratislaviensis" 2008, no. 3060, v. 20, p. 259.

⁸³ Cf. A. Siewierska-Chmaj, *Język polskiej polityki. Politologiczno-semantyczna analiza expose premierów Polski w latach 1919-2004*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Informatyki i Zarządzania z siedzibą w Rzeszowie, Rzeszów 2006, pp. 39-43; K. Ożóg, *Język w służbie polityki. Językowy kształt kampanii wyborczych*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów 2004, pp. 41-42.

⁸⁴ Cf. A. Siewierska-Chmaj, *Język polskiej polityki. Politologiczno-semantyczna analiza expose premierów Polski w latach 1919-2004*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Informatyki i Zarządzania z siedzibą w Rzeszowie, Rzeszów 2006, pp. 39-43; K. Ożóg, *Język w służbie polityki. Językowy kształt kampanii wyborczych*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów 2004, p. 47

The language of Lech Wałęsa's political narration has become the subject of Jerzy Bralczyk's research. The scholar – a Polish philologist, and also an attentive observer of the Polish political scene, in the following words pointed to the issue of values in one of Lech Wałęsa's texts from the time when he was not yet President of the Republic of Poland. In the text of the Solidarity leader, the linguist actually recognises the hallmarks of the expressed hierarchy of values. Let us give the floor to Jerzy Bralczyk: "Faith in the cognoscibility of the world was connected (and is connected) for him with the faith in the just order. It can be said that for Wałęsa (as probably for many of us) justice is the superior category to which even the category of freedom is subordinated. One of the most important statements made before the US Congress was: 'Poland is reaching for the freedom to which she is justly entitled', and so it is thanks to justice that we can justify our right to freedom, not the other way around! Such a construction of the sentence clearly speaks of the actual view of the hierarchy of values."⁸⁵ When analysing the source material, it was important to remember that what is most significant is often not directly named in the texts and oral statements. The addressee receives a message containing a more or less clear message value judging many issues. The values are indicated, for example, by the turns of phrase used by the speaker or the author of the text.⁸⁶

Before undertaking the analysis of the source material and conducting research resulting in this monograph, a specific caution were the words of Anna Siewierska-Chmaj: "The study of value judgments in texts is a difficult undertaking, because it requires entering the entire sphere of occasionality, knowledge of the author, the addressee of the text, place, time, situation. There may be many uncertainties at all these levels, which, in turn, condemn the researcher to groping around

⁸⁵ J. Bralczyk, *O języku propagandy i polityki*, Wydawnictwo Trio, Warszawa 2007, p. 269.

⁸⁶ Cf. M. Kordela, *Zarys typologii uzasadnień aksjologicznych w orzecznictwie Trybunału Konstytucyjnego*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Branta, Bydgoszcz-Poznań 2001, pp. 41-46.

in the dark.”⁸⁷ Apart from this warning, also before the analysis of the collected source material, the words of Anna Drabarek were accepted as a piece of good advice. The philosopher states that dialogue and authentic discussion of values assume the existence of a communication community. It is through dialogue in the community that we learn sensitivity to the possible threats to the common good on the part of particularist, selfish individual interests. However, also in such space and with such means, we learn to trust others and look to them with hope as an authentic source of values in the area of collective life.⁸⁸ Accepting Anna Siewierska-Chmaj’s warning and the advice of Anna Drabarek, every effort was made to listen carefully to the analysed content, enter into dialogue with it, ask questions, not to impose one’s own answers, be a curious participant in the debate on the most important matters for the national security of Poland. The participants in the dialogue were the researcher and the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa.

Emphasising the fact that the research involved a dialogue with the President’s content does not only limit the material subject to research in time, but also influences its understanding. For it should be remembered that Lech Wałęsa was not the author of all texts that he delivered when he was President, and many of them did not even contain a single sentence by Lech Wałęsa. Asked in the interview about these issues, the President made it clear: “They prompted me there, it was not entirely mine.”⁸⁹ Having said that, however, he adds: “Usually, I threw away the papers and spoke for myself, because I did not agree with it.”⁹⁰ Indeed, in case of some statements, Lech Wałęsa did so, he diverted in statements from the sentences prepared for him; usually this happened during interviews, which were later authorised anyway. However, in speeches of a special rank he held on to the written text. In many cases, the author of the first draft, which

⁸⁷ A. Siewierska-Chmaj, *Język polskiej polityki. Politologiczno-semantyczna analiza expose premierów Polski w latach 1919-2004*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Informatyki i Zarządzania z siedzibą w Rzeszowie, Rzeszów 2006, p. 51.

⁸⁸ Cf. A. Drabarek, *Wartości w demokracji*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2012, pp. 16-17.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

was then processed and prepared for the President to deliver or sign was Andrzej Zakrzewski – a historian, in 1991-1995 an employee of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa in the positions of Undersecretary of State, Secretary of State and Minister of State; for some time he was also Head of the Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland. He is also the editor of the book with a (very limited) selection of the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, issued by the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. These texts constituted a very important part of the source material for the research.⁹¹ In the Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland many typescripts bear annotations indicating the authorship of Andrzej Zakrzewski. Sometimes the text had been previously prepared by someone else, but it still landed on his desk. He was not always the only author or final editor. Numerous texts passed through the successive "desks" of the presidential palace before they were approved by signature of the President or were sent to the rostrum from which Lech Wałęsa read them. Often, therefore, an important moment of the research was first to determine which of the texts found was the final one and was used by the President. What was particularly interesting were notes on the margins, handwritten memos, deletions and footnotes, comments often showing the attitude of the President's environment to many issues happening in the state and at the same time showing the lack of unanimity of the presidential palace on various matters. It should be emphasised here that the subject of the research preceding this study was not the investigation of the "actual" authorship of the analysed texts. Nobody is surprised that a staff of people – specialists in various fields, whose job is to prepare the right material for the head of state, work for the President. Thus, without entering the back office of the history of presidential texts, it was assumed in the conducted research that since the President said or signed something, as in the case of messages and letters, he was the author of that text. Therefore, the lexeme 'author' is often synonymous with the word 'President' – obviously meaning

⁹¹ It refers to L. Wałęsa's book, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski* [*Everything I do, I do for Poland*], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995.

Lech Wałęsa. Bearing in mind the above specification, it can be said that this book describes not only the values in creating Poland's national security according to Lech Wałęsa, but according to Lech Wałęsa and the presidential palace, in particular the Political Office of the President. However, it should be remembered that it is an entity responding to the President. Speaking of this entity from the presidential palace, two important sources should be noted that were particularly important and useful during the research. First, *Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995*⁹² and a similar study, entitled *Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. Plans and achievements*.⁹³ They contain a description of the activities of the head of state, a lot of unique and detailed information, constituting a specific chronicle of the President's activities. In some fragments they take the form of a laudation in honour of Lech Wałęsa or the apology of his politics. It can be assumed that these two typescripts, likewise a large part of Lech Wałęsa's texts, were put out in the area of the same source, which was the presidential palace. Almost all texts were created and adopted in the final form there. Not all, however, because some arose from the need of the moment, for unforeseen meetings, for example, during foreign trips. It should be noted that President Lech Wałęsa made 64 foreign travels, hosted over 850 representatives of foreign states, participated in around one hundred meetings with representatives of various national professional circles, gave 205 interviews to representatives of foreign media and nearly 300 to national ones, signed 307 international agreements.⁹⁴

⁹² Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995 [Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995]*, typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁹³ Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania. [Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. Plans and achievements.]*, typescript, Material prepared by the Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw, January 1994, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁹⁴ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995 [Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995]*, op. cit., pp. 228 and 243, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

Taking this book in hand, the reader shall come across many long quotes from Lech Wałęsa's texts, which results from the specificity of the analysed sources. It was meant not to distort the author's statements, not to pull out sentences or words from the context (such treatment of politicians' texts can sometimes be seen in the mass media). Describing Lech Wałęsa's language, Jerzy Bralczyk warned against such use of this politician's statements: "Short, as if chopped, sentences work in specific poetics – they are not required to be precise, they do not have to describe the world. They are characteristic of the language associated with action, they are, usually 'for an instant', rough. Extracting them from the context and using them to deprecate is a form of abuse."⁹⁵ However, even if the purpose of using Lech Wałęsa's sentences is not to deprecate but to understand the meaning of the statement in a reliable manner and their true sense, it is appropriate to reach for larger fragments of the text.

Readers will notice that the critical apparatus in this monograph concerning the sources originating from the Presidential Archive in Warsaw presents detailed information differently recorded and certified in diverse manners. This is due to the fact that individual folders stored in the Archive, grouping various presidential texts and concerning his activity, are described in different ways. The principle of providing a maximally large amount of information has been adopted here to ensure that the reader can consult the sources. It should be assumed that digitalization of these materials will probably take place (beyond question, this should happen), which may change the way they are described, and the archiving system adopted so far. Two systems of page numbering have been adopted in many folders kept in the Archive. The first one usually covers most of the content of a given folder – it is usually continuous numbering. However, since a given file consists of a sequence of texts, which often include many

⁹⁵ J. Bralczyk, *O języku propagandy i polityki*, op. cit., p. 264. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 260: "Human beings exist to a large extent through language. Public persons exist through their public language. Lech Wałęsa is a public person. His statements are subject to analyses and interpretations, distorted and taken out of context, quoted and used as slogans. The statements of a public person become independent of them and make up their image. It cannot even be said whether this picture is true or false. It is the image, not the human being, that we commune with."

pages, then the individual ones, e.g. speeches or interviews, have their own (internal in relation to the entire book) numbering of consecutive pages. In the critical apparatus, both numbers are given in footnotes and in bibliography. Similarly, dual numbering appears in the description of some documents. The number from the inside of the text is given in accordance with the thematic sequence (numbers of individual points), followed by the page numbers from the official edition. In order to make it easier for the reader to follow, footnotes contain a number of information about the cited text usually along with the title, date and circumstances of delivery.

1.2. The starting point for research

The research presented in this monograph covers three areas:

1. Poland understood as a value that allows to distinguish another value, which is national security.
2. The President, with the relevant securitological and axiological self-awareness, as a guardian of security and a participant in prioritizing the components of the national security creation processes.
3. Values which are an integral element of the content of the presidential narrative about national security of Poland.

Specification of these thematic areas has been based on adoption of the following assumptions:

1. Poland (nation, state) is a value;
2. Authority (including the president) is a value in the process of creating national security, especially in a democratic state;
3. The basic task of the state security policy is to develop a national security system, the nucleus of which are mutual connections and relations with respect to the mission.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Cf. W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2018, p. 51: "The National Security System (SBN) is a collective set of authorities and public administration bodies, other bodies of the state, the armed forces, entrepreneurs and other organizational units, non-governmental organisations and citizens engaged in the effort to ensure national security, intentionally separated within the state, internally coordinated and

However, already at the stage of the preliminary analyses of the collected material, it has turned out that a fourth thematic area should be distinguished, namely people. However, it should be noted that in the security studies this approach is nothing new. This topic has been already taken up, for example, by Waldemar Kitler: "Security as such refers to people (individuals, formal and informal social groups) and only where there is a human being, a need for security arises, and thus the pursuit of living in the conditions of existence and development free from

interconnected with each other by referential relations, with respect to the mission pursued, which is to defend and protect the state as a political, territorial and social institution as well as ensure undistorted conditions of existence and development of individuals and the society as a whole as well as protection of life and health of people, their properties (tangible and intangible) and the environment in all situations of the functioning of the state (in normal time, including the time of crisis and emergency)." On the notion and basis of the system of national security cf. *ibid.*, pp. 26-89; R. Dynak, *System bezpieczeństwa w powiecie*, Towarzystwo Wiedzy Obronnej, Warszawa 2018; P. Mickiewicz, *System bezpieczeństwa narodowego w rozwiązaniach ustrojowych wybranych państw*, Difin, Warszawa 2018; S. Bylina, *System bezpieczeństwa narodowego. Aksjonormatywne studium w kontekście teoretycznym i praktycznym*, Drohiczyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Siedlce-Drohiczyń 2017; A. Czop, *System bezpieczeństwa publicznego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem prywatnego sektora ochrony. Podręcznik akademicki*, Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego i Indywidualnego "Apeiron", Kraków 2016; R. Szandrocho, *System bezpieczeństwa i stany nadzwyczajne*, in: *Teoretyczne i metodologiczne podstawy problemów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa. Podręcznik akademicki*, ed. Z. Ścibiorek, Z. Zamiar, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2016, pp. 49-83; W. Kitler, *System bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP. Podstawowe założenia koncepcji struktury SBN RP*, in: *System bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP. Wybrane problemy*, ed. W. Kitler, K. Drabik, I. Szostek, Wydawnictwo Akademii Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2014, pp. 232-257; B. Wiśniewski, *System bezpieczeństwa państwa. Konteksty teoretyczne i praktyczne*, Wydział Wydawnictw i Poligrafii Wyższej Szkoły Policji, Szczytno 2013; A. Misiuk, *Instytucjonalny system bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego*, Difin, Warszawa 2013; E. Zabłocki, *System bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Oficerskiej Sił Powietrznych, Dęblin 2012; A.D. Rotfeld, *Europejski system bezpieczeństwa in statu nascendi*, Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, Warszawa 1990.

disturbances.”⁹⁷ ‘Poland’, ‘president’, ‘values’, ‘human being’ are the four words that appear as fundamental, opening up research on the values in creating Poland’s national security according to President Lech Wałęsa.

1.2.1. Poland – “a value”

Talking about Poland, President Lech Wałęsa refers to the concept of “the supreme good”⁹⁸ (Lat. *summum bonum*). In this way the leader of the nation puts a reflection on the Homeland in direct relation with ethical issues, with axiology – the utmost values or the ultimate goal of human endeavours. This kind of glorification is commonly found in politicians’ narratives. When in the Western civilization a politician uses the expression “the supreme good” it is impossible not to see in this message a reference to Aristotle’s thought and reflection expressed in the first book of *Nicomachean Ethics* on the subject of purpose and meaning. What is particularly important in the case of the supreme good is the hierarchy of goals, which manifests itself, in particular, in a distinction of the first goals with respect to which all other goals are pursued. The essence of reflection is then to recognize what the goal is, the good in itself, the supreme good. However, for Aristotle, considering what the supreme good is in the sense of the supreme, ultimate goal, requires the use of appropriate science, which could only be the science of the state – politics. “For it is this that ordains which of the sciences should be studied in a state, and which each class of citizens should learn and up to what point they should

⁹⁷ W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2018, p. 26. Cf. C. Smuniewski, M. Mazurek, K. Kochańczyk-Bonińska, *On the Need of Research on the Phenomenon of a Person in the Polish Security Studies*, “Journal of Defense Resources Management” vol. 9, issue no. 2 (17), October 2018, pp. 93-108.

⁹⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Możliwości twórczego działania Sejmu uległy wyczerpaniu...* [The possibilities of the Sejm’s creative activity have been exhausted...] TV appearance after the dissolution of the Sejm (May 31, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 103. On the subject of the supreme good, cf. E. Falkowska, K. Rudzińska-Ludwiczynska, *Spór o najwyższe dobro*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Warszawskiej, Warszawa 2001.

learn them; and we see even the most highly esteemed of capacities to fall under this, e.g. strategy, economics, rhetoric; now, since politics uses the rest of the sciences, and since, again, it legislates as to what we are to do and what we are to abstain from, the end of this science must include those of the others, so that this end must be the good for man. For even if the end is the same for a single man and for a state, that of the state seems at all events something greater and more complete whether to attain or to preserve; though it is worthwhile to attain the end merely for one man, it is finer and more godlike to attain it for a nation or for city-states."⁹⁹

Poland - understood by President Lech Wałęsa as the supreme good - requires involvement of the entire society, the activities of individual citizens, which could be revealed, *inter alia*, through participation in the parliamentary elections. Here is one of his appeals: "The pre-election battle is ahead of us. (...). As the President of the Republic of Poland, I appeal to everyone: let this campaign be fierce, but let it be filled with civic care. Care for Poland, which is and should be the supreme good. Let it be free of demagoguery, insinuation and slander."¹⁰⁰ The above statement of the President is a fragment of the TV speech delivered at a moment difficult for the emerging democracy in the Third Polish Republic, namely after the dissolution of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of the First Term (1991-1993). Speaking in such circumstances about Poland as the supreme good seems to be of special importance. It should be seen as a reference to such values which are outside the issue of the elections decided in political campaigns, the decisions that can only be the result of voting. Poland seen as the supreme good appears to be a value in itself that must be defended and whose security must be pursued in all possible ways.

In the narratives of President Lech Walesa, Poland is also referred to as the "common good".¹⁰¹ This category is deeply rooted

⁹⁹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book One, Translated by W.D. Ross, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.1.i.html> (access on February 13, 2019).

¹⁰⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Możliwości twórczego działania Sejmu uległy wyczerpaniu...* [The possibilities of the Sejm's creative activity have been exhausted...] TV appearance after the dissolution of the Sejm (May 31, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 103.

¹⁰¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ich śmierć nie była daremna...* [Their death was not in vain...] Speech given at the unveiling of the Monument to the Fallen Miners of the

in the Polish tradition and scientific research.¹⁰² The common good is one of the foundations of the Polish Republic. Already the Constitution of May 3, 1791 declared its enactment “for the common good”, alongside “establishing freedom” and “saving the homeland and its borders”. Presenting the sovereign Republic as a common good is to draw attention to the communal nature of the state (understood as a political community) and the subsidiary character of its authorities towards it.

“*Wujek*” Coalmine (December 15, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 51-52: “The Sovereign Third Republic is our common good today. But also, a great duty (...). Today, we bow our heads down in a homage to the martyrs of the common cause, we are thinking about Poznań and Gdańsk. About the defenceless people who were shot at. About Gdynia, Szczecin and Elbląg. About Lublin, Jastrzębie and other places where a Pole went against a Pole. (...) The guilty must be punished. However, it is the hand that must be punished, not the blind sword. Society needs to know who made the decision and who is responsible for it. Crimes are not impersonal; concrete people are responsible for them. They must be tried and punished.” Lech Wałęsa also spoke about the state as a common good. Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...] Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁰² Cf. *Służąc dobru wspólnemu*, ed. K. Kułak-Krzysiak, J. Parchomiuk, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2016; *Dobro wspólne. Teoria i praktyka*, ed. W. Arndt, F. Longchamps de Bérier, K. Szczucki, Kancelaria Sejmu. Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, Fundacja “Utriusque Iuris”, Warszawa 2013; M. Piechowiak, *Dobro wspólne jako fundament polskiego porządku konstytucyjnego*, Biuro Trybunału Konstytucyjnego, Warszawa 2012; *Spółeczeństwo obywatelskie jako wspólne dobro*, ed. L. Kacprzak, B. Koszel, A. Marcinkowski, Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Stanisława Staszica, Piła 2012; *Władza czy służba? Problem dobra wspólnego w polityce*, ed. A. Kasińska-Metryka, K. Bochenek-Cichoń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2011; *Dobro wspólne*, ed. D. Probuska, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, Kraków 2010; R. Łętocha, *O dobro wspólne. Szkice z katolicyzmu społecznego*, Wydawnictwo Libron, Kraków 2010; B. Drożdż, *Dobro wspólne troską samorządowców*, Biblioteka im. Jana Pawła II Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego Diecezji Legnickiej, Legnica 2010; *Dobro wspólne: problemy konstytucyjnoprawne i aksjologiczne*, ed. W.J. Wołpiuk, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Zarządzania i Prawa im. Heleny Chodkowskiej, Warszawa 2008; W. Polak, *O dobro wspólne i egzekucję praw. Sejm 1565 roku w Piotrkowie*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2004; M.A. Krąpiec, *Dobro wspólne i zagrożenie alienacją*, in: *U źródeł tożsamości kultury europejskiej*, ed. T. Rakowski, Lubelska Szkoła Filozofii Chrześcijańskiej, Lublin 1994, pp. 68-72; J. Krucina, *Dobro wspólne. Teoria i jej zastosowanie*, Wydawnictwo Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, Wrocław 1972.

At the beginning of creating security of the Third Polish Republic, it was communality of the state and subsidiarity of the authorities that appeared to be particularly important and, in a sense, new, as they were rediscovered. It should be remembered that the Polish People's Republic completely abandoned the concept of the common good. At that time, the concept of service was used only in relation to certain social classes. Recognizing that the state is a common good means that it serves the development of people, their growth with respect given to their dignity. The implementation of the common good in the state, requiring the exercise of the subservient role of the state, requires considering the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity and respect for personal freedom of an individual. Perhaps that is why President Lech Wałęsa, when he said that "The sovereign Third Republic of Poland is our common good today," added in the following sentence: "But also our great duty." It is a duty a characteristic feature of which (in every respect essential for the processes of creating national security) is to connect generations. In one of her works, Irena Lipowicz expressed it aptly: "Democracy means the power of people, but in terms of service, obligations to care for the state deposit entrusted in a specific generational contract. The common good is intergenerational."¹⁰³ Following the idea of the Polish scholar, and at the same time a politician and diplomat it should be noted that in the idea of the common good an important role is played by the element that connects successive generations. In the practice of exercising power in a political community it may become part of the historical policy of the nation and the state, appreciation of such heroes and such traits that illustrate values that are greater than a given generation.

Understanding Polishness as a value is of particular importance for the processes of creating national security of the country. It authorizes a reflection characteristic of teleology and allows a discussion not only about the objectives of the state implemented on an *ad hoc* basis (permanent and changeable), but also about the goal of national security as such. It comprises and subordinates other goals. This goal relates to sovereignty and power of the state being built in various

¹⁰³ I. Lipowicz, *Dobro wspólne*, "Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny" Year LXXIX – vol. 3 – 2017, p. 24.

areas of its life. It is impossible to speak about the future of the Polish political community without it.

1.2.2. The President – “the guardian of the Republic of Poland”

“The President is the guardian of the Republic and will remain one”,¹⁰⁴ said Lech Wałęsa in a speech delivered at the inaugural session of the Senate elected in the first free, democratic elections. While a day before, speaking at the first sitting of the Sejm, he recalled what was personally important to him in the fight against communism: “In December 1970, I left the Gdansk Shipyard defeated, along the rows of tanks. I sighed to God – how to overcome this system, this army – without shedding Polish blood. And today, as the President of the Republic, I can say in the democratically elected parliament: Poland is free. This freedom must be well managed to the benefit of all citizens.”¹⁰⁵ In the quoted statement, one notices a way of understanding

¹⁰⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs to be repaired...] Speech given at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 48. The quoted sentence is a part of a larger statement. Cf. *ibid.*: “As a President, I cannot allow a party, in the name of its own particular interests, to pull on and tear the «cloth» of the Polish Republic. The President is the guardian of the Republic and will remain one. I treat it as a service.”

¹⁰⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...] Speech given at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 45. The quoted statement of the President was preceded by a significant introduction by Aleksander Małachowski, who was at that time the Senior Speaker of the Sejm. The text of this statement makes one better understand not only the solemnity of that event, but also notice the value of freedom, in contrast to communist totalitarianism: (stenographic record) “Please take your seats. We are all participating in a momentous turn of our history. In a moment, as the tradition requires, with three strikes of the speaker’s staff on the floor of the House of Deputies, I shall open the first meeting of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland elected in free elections after a half century long break, which testifies that Poles did not fight, suffer, die for their homeland in vain, which testifies explicitly that it was not for nothing that Solidarity emerged and defeated communist totalitarianism. It is a beautiful day, a beautiful day of freedom. The anticipated moment has come. (Applause) (The speaker-senior strikes three times with the speaker’s staff). I have a rare honour to have been appointed

his own mission in the nation and state characteristic of this President. It is precisely this understanding of the mission that the approach, specific for this particular President, to value judgments in the creation of security seems to depend on, which can reveal the actual core of the national security policy. It should, of course, be remembered that the choice and assessment, and hence the value judgments, do not take place outside the sphere of freedom of people – citizens, scholars, politicians, military commanders. Value judgments, from citizens' decisions made in a democratic state in the electoral process to decisions made by state leaders (including the president) is a condition for freedom and the rule of law.

For Lech Wałęsa being a national leader was a condition for the effectiveness of political changes, which is why after the first term he ran for re-election in 1995 (though unsuccessfully, having lost the election to Aleksander Kwaśniewski). A year before, in a TV speech, he explained how he understood his mission as a leader: "What I did and what I do – is for Poland. I do not deny that I will run for another term, but only if there are opportunities to serve my homeland effectively. I do not need power for personal use. I have enough ideas what to do with my life. I do not need power to prance or play. I want to be able to decide on matters of the state and the nation. To do something concrete for Poland. I want to serve Poland."¹⁰⁶ During the electoral campaign, drawing attention to his own service for the homeland, he spoke in a similar tone to the delegates of "Solidarity" in Gdańsk. He pointed out a series of values that were personally close to him in his role as the President: "I have always tried to serve Poland. You know my path. I am a man of trust. I trust in the wise judgments of Providence,

as the Senior Speaker of this House. And I, therefore, welcome Mr. Lech Wałęsa, the President of the Most Serene Republic of Poland, I am asking you, Sir, to give a speech inaugurating the work of the Sejm elected in free democratic elections on October 27, 1991. The floor is yours. (Applause)." A. Małachowski, (speech starting with the words:) *Proszę o zajęcie miejsc. Uczestniczymy wszyscy w doniosłym zwrocie naszych dziejów... [Please take your seats. We are all participating in a momentous turn of our history...]*, in: The Sejm of the Republic of Poland, term 1, sitting 1, day 1 (November 25, 1991), a stenographic record, Warsaw 1991, (internal print in: Archives of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw).

¹⁰⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]*. TV speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 174.

which are our hope and which at the same time impose obligations on us. I am a man of service. As the President of the independent Republic of Poland, I fulfil the will of the Nation. For the last four years I have been the guardian of freedom and democracy. I defended balance and peace. I did not hesitate to step in sharply where I saw a danger looming for Poland. Sometimes I had to provoke, stimulate people and speed up solutions. It had a price, but the one who serves does not ask about the price. The end of my current term is approaching. A lot has been achieved, the Polish ship has been saved from many reefs. But have I completed my mission? Can I say that the Homeland is peaceful and safe? I am not sure, just as you cannot be sure either.”¹⁰⁷

The Presidential guardianship over the Polish Republic is inextricably linked to the president's function in the army. In a speech delivered at the ceremony of assuming the authority over the armed forces of the Republic of Poland, having taken an oath as the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Wałęsa stressed his own responsibility, pointing out four values: God, Nation, history, and conscience.¹⁰⁸ For Lech Wałęsa being a President meant, of course, as he himself declared, being the guardian of the nation and the state, which includes safeguarding values. By exercising power, a leader plays the key role in a political community. In a speech delivered at the opening of the constitutional conference organised at the Chancellery of the President on July 5, 1991, the President said: “Pathology cannot become a standard.

¹⁰⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Zaczynamy traktować wolność jako coś oczywistego...* [We have started to treat freedom as something obvious...] Speech given at the Gdańsk Shipyard at the general meeting of the delegates of the Gdańsk Region of NSZZ “Solidarność” (May 24, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 207.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych...* [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...]. Speech at the ceremony of assuming the command of the armed forces of the Republic of Poland after having been sworn in as the President of the Republic of Poland (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 13: “By assuming this most honourable office, I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law. I will perform this function, aware of my responsibility to God, the Nation, history and conscience.” In the quoted speech addressed to the soldiers, the President referred to the fact that he also “had fulfilled his duty” because he had completed his basic military service. It was in the years 1963-1965, when he was drafted into the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic.

As a President elected in free democratic elections I must entertain a special sense of responsibility for my homeland. I have a duty to care for the common good – for our state.”¹⁰⁹ The responsibility for everyday life of citizens should be probably recognized in reference to the responsibility for the homeland, for the common good, as it was inseparably connected with the need to carry out reforms in the state.¹¹⁰

In order to understand Lech Wałęsa’s specific way of perceiving his mission in the nation and the state – “being the guardian of the Polish Republic” – it is necessary to consider the contents where he speaks about himself.¹¹¹ There are two recurring themes, in particular. The first one concerns his background and lack of education. He even spoke about it in the Sejm: “I come from a peasant family; I used to be a labourer for many years. I shall never forget where I started the journey that led me to the highest office in the state. I would like all Polish peasants to feel more like co-hosts in our homeland because of the fact of my advancement.”¹¹² The other theme, often recurring in his speeches, is his faith and cooperation with the men

¹⁰⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our country...]*. Speech given at the opening of the constitutional conference held at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 37.

¹¹⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy... [The entire Polish edifice needs to be repaired...]*. Speech given at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm, elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 48: “I have repeatedly promised people that I would change their fate. This is the only reason why I ran for presidency, namely to successfully carry out the reforms initiated by the strike at the Gdańsk Shipyard in 1980.”

¹¹¹ At this point, it should be noted that one of the characteristic features of those texts, especially those that have been uttered spontaneously, is that the President speaks about himself. This issue has been well highlighted by an exhaustive interview with Lech Wałęsa in a book with a telling title – “I”. The first chapter of this book, which should be noted in this context, was named “I, I, I” by the interlocutors of the retired President. Cf. *Ja / z Lechem Wałęsą rozmawiają Andrzej Bober, Cezary Łazarewicz*, Grupa Wydawnicza Foksal, Wydawnictwo WAB, Warszawa 2017.

¹¹² L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród... [As the first President elected by the entire nation...]*. Speech given in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at the solemn meeting of the combined Houses of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 10.

of the Church.¹¹³ In some statements, these two themes, and at the same time the specific areas of values that shaped the personality of the future President, appear side by side: “I would do nothing without religion. I had no preparation. I am of rural descent. However, what I had was the faith in God and the faith in what I do.”¹¹⁴

1.2.3. Values – “the catalogue of matters which are most important for the nation and the state”

The fact that values are a foundation for the processes of creating Poland’s national security has been repeatedly reflected in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa. He spoke about it, for example, on November 25, 1991, in a speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm of the first term elected in the first free democratic elections: “We must together establish a catalogue of matters which are most important for the nation and the state.”¹¹⁵ The imperative that opens this statement expresses the situation of the state at the moment of turbulent

¹¹³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo...* [The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...]. Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic (February 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 16: (to John Paul II) “In conclusion, I would like to express my personal gratitude for strengthening faith, hope and love in me. For spiritual support. For all the meetings that encouraged me. For prayer and blessing. I wish Your Holiness health, many years to come and strength in fulfilling the historical mission which is so important for the Church, our Homeland and the world at large.” L. Wałęsa, (Letter) Mr. Aleksander Solzhenitsyn (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 302: “We are both believers. We praise God in different rites, but it is the same God. We also both believe in the mercy and goodness of His Mother. Please, therefore, accept from me the sincerest »God bless you«.” L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu...* [Poland is not moving forward...]. TV speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 174: “Let no one threaten me with the Tribunal of State. I have nothing to feel guilty about. I fear only God.”

¹¹⁴ Meeting of Lech Wałęsa with youth in the assembly hall of the University of Zielona Góra on September 10, 2010. Transcribed research material in the possession of the author of this publication.

¹¹⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

changes and formation of its self-awareness. At the root of this rhetorical statement one should perceive the desire for freedom and sovereignty of the nation oppressed by the totalitarian system; the desire to experience democracy in the state placed by force within the sphere of influence and direct exploit of the USSR. The realization of this imperative is supposed to be a common work – "we must together establish". This means that this work is to involve active participation of citizens, their engagement. It seemed particularly important after the period in which individuals and their opinions were devoid of meaning because it was the voice of the collective that was decisive and the only one correct, and its proponent was the communist party. It should be remembered that the countries of the "Eastern bloc" did not have the power to determine what was important for them. Such decisions were announced to those countries in the "voice" from Moscow, or, at most, determined in the relations e.g. between Moscow and Warsaw. In this arrangement there was no room for the individual, because what was important for the individual could be important provided that it was recognized as such by the collective. If in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (of the first term), the following words were spoken: "We must establish together a catalogue of matters which are most important for the nation and the state," it is necessary to perceive in them the novelty of the political situation and the strength given to the nation by the experience and hope of full freedom and sovereignty, the strength vested in the nation by the faith in values. A similar content was included in the speech delivered on the following day, November 26, 1991. Speaking at the inauguration of the Senate elected in the first free democratic elections, the President explained to the audience: "For centuries, dozens of generations have created values that we must not squander. (...) For over fifty years, Poles were deliberately and consciously taught to unlearn how to take the initiative. The totalitarian state was supposed to distribute all goods. At present, we are faced with the most difficult task, namely to assume responsibility for our own fate and the future of the country."¹¹⁶ It should be noted

¹¹⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs to be repaired...] Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm, elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47.

that the speaker does not mention any “new values”, but only those known to the Poles from their history, from their national experience. Such an approach to the question of values can have a double meaning for research concerning creation of Poland’s national security. First of all, the reference to the experience (“dozens of generations”) should be perceived as a strategic approach characteristic of the leader of the nation. Secondly, there is no question of creating a new reality, which is typical of totalitarian ideologies that wish to start everything “from the scratch”, which despise history and build on the ruins of the past. A similar approach to values was expressed by the Polish President also on the international arena. The first example may be his statement in Jerusalem, in the Knesset, when he described the reforms in his homeland in the following words: “We are currently experiencing changes of historical significance in Poland. We are returning to proven and recognized values.”¹¹⁷ What is worth noticing is the clarification of the word ‘values’ in this statement. They are not only “proven and recognized”, but, above all, known to the Poles from their experience, as it is possible to return to them. Another example may be the address to the participants of the World Conference on Human Rights, which was held in Vienna from June 14 to June 25, 1993. President Lech Wałęsa spoke about values referring to personal experience: “The years of struggle against systemic totalitarianism taught me respect for basic values in the life of every individual and every nation.”¹¹⁸ Further on in the address, he wrote about such values as peace, freedom, human rights and human dignity.¹¹⁹

Having experienced the great axiological communist experiment on man and society, and knowing the consequences of the functioning of individuals and nations in the totalitarian regime, President Lech Wałęsa ardently advocated tested methods of building statehood and life of society. An example that well illustrates this approach is his

¹¹⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [The future lies in getting to know each other...]. Speech at the Knesset during an official visit to Israel (May 21, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 29.

¹¹⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants of the World Conference on Human Rights (June 15, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 232.

¹¹⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants of the World Conference on Human Rights (June 15, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

statement made during a visit to the Republic of Belarus. Speaking in Minsk, in the Belarusian Council of the Republic, he reminded that the history of European development shows that the stability of a state and social order are based on two pillars. One of them is the sense of national identity, the other is democracy, with the second pillar being comprised of a democratic system as well as democratic government and public institutions. Only so understood democracy gives citizens an opportunity of self-fulfilment and provides a mechanism for mitigating conflicts and achieving wise compromises, contributing to the growth of a country's wealth, liberating activity, entrepreneurship and responsibility.¹²⁰ It should be noted that the value of democracy makes it possible for other values to be revealed. It is probably no coincidence that the value of "an opportunity of self-fulfilment of citizens" is indicated in the first place. This is a special value for people who live in a state that until recently was without sovereignty and subjected to communist indoctrination. Another example, adequately illustrating the Polish President's approach to the communist axiological experimentation on man and society, is his address to Polish farmers, in which he drew attention to the "faithfulness to traditional values" when he said: "Good, kind words are missed in the Polish countryside today. Polish farmers hear more mean words. About benightedness and backwardness. That they do not measure up to challenges. That they are unable to keep up. That they do not understand the spirit of the times and the mechanisms of economics. These are not new words. Polish peasants have heard them for years. Often from the same mouths that call fidelity to traditional values backwardness."¹²¹ It is necessary to recall the reality in which Polish farmers were the largest community in the times of the People's Republic of Poland, clearly "resistant" to communist

¹²⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Stabilna, demokratyczna i otwarta na współpracę Białoruś jest oczekiwana w Europie...* [Stable and democratic Belarus, which is open to co-operation, is awaited in Europe...]. Speech at the Belarusian Council of the Republic during an official visit to the Republic of Belarus (June 29, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 111.

¹²¹ L. Wałęsa, *Wieś wniosła wiele w powodzenie polskich reform...* [Farmers have contributed a lot to the success of Polish reforms...]. Speech at the harvest festival at Jasna Góra (September 4, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 164.

indoctrination.¹²² The partisan propaganda clashed with another authority in Polish villages – the teaching of the Catholic Church. In this way, the second fact that could be used in the analysis of the President's statement quoted above becomes visible. It is a fragment of the speech given in the largest and most important Polish Catholic sanctuary – at Jasna Góra in Częstochowa, where the image of the Black Madonna is worshiped. This place is considered to be the spiritual capital of Poland, a place that has always been free, always Polish, unconquered by the enemies of the homeland, either by the strength of arms or by the might of anti-Christian ideologies. It would be a mistake, however, to claim that the “traditional values” of which the President speaks are solely Christian ones. It is rather about universal values, those that first make it possible for the Poles to be free internally and externally, in a spiritual and political order, and then become the force of national freedom and the foundation for the processes of creating national security.

President Lech Wałęsa also reminded the hierarchy of values in the functioning of the state. In a speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland on May 8, 1992, he stated: “Standing before the democratically elected Sejm, I want to talk about matters of utmost importance to our homeland.”¹²³ Similarly, he drew attention to the existence of a hierarchy of what is important, and hence

¹²² At this point, worth noting is an important scientific text of Carole Nagengast, which is the result of anthropological research. The scholar writes, among other things, about the Polish countryside and farmers at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. She notes that the Polish countryside is characterized by distrust to the centralist state, by the cult of individualism, acceptance of inequality and experience in defending private property against the communists, and earlier against the occupying powers (Russians, Austrians and Germans) until 1918, when Poland regained independence. According to the researcher, the Polish countryside is the heartland of arch-capitalist values – a Central European equivalent of capitalist development that may be comparable to that described by Max Weber in *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* (German: *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*). Cf. C. Nagengast, *Reluctant Socialists, Rural Entrepreneurs: Class, Culture, And The Polish State (Studies in the Ethnographic Imagination)*, Westview Press, Boulder 1991.

¹²³ L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi... [The uppermost purpose – the service for the nation – has been lost...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 67.

the need to recognize and name the most important matters, when talking to the MPs of the following parliamentary term: "There are fundamental matters for the existence of a state, for its development. From the point of view of its interest – they are indisputable. They require continuity. Great consideration. Special responsibility."¹²⁴ A sovereign state, for the sake of its security, should have a clearly defined "catalogue of most important matters". It should be a "catalogue" indeed, that is something sorted out within a given set, and thus a certain system – a "system of values". If we are talking about a "system of values", it is both about values that are sorted out in terms of their importance and purposefulness, as well as a hierarchically arrayed collection of attitudes to values. The President emphasized how important the "system of values" was in creating Poland's national security in a speech delivered during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising on August 1, 1994: "Fifty years ago, Warsaw insurgents took up arms. A clash of political reasons took place on the Vistula river. Of different ideologies. Of opposite visions of Europe and systems of values. Freedom stood against enslavement. Law against lawlessness. The force of spirit against the force of the fist. The fist won. Luckily, we can say today that it was not a lasting victory. The Flame of the Uprising persisted in people's souls and hearts. It has been passed on in the relay race of generations. It has survived to explode after many years. To burst with freedom. The spirit turned out to be indestructible and immortal."¹²⁵ The quoted fragment of the President's statement, submitted to an analysis in order to extract the content that may be used in creating Poland's national security, warrants the following question: what is the strength of this system of values? This is, of course, a question about the values as such

¹²⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Od Was zależy w jakim kierunku zmierzać będzie Polska...* [It is up to you in which direction Poland will go...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm (October 14, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 128.

¹²⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej chyli przed Wami czoło...* [The President of the Republic of Poland is bowing his head before you...]. Speech at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising (August 1, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 160.

and their cross-references, the internal hierarchy. The answer to this question allows for a better understanding of not only the axiological arguments that contributed to the fact that “Warsaw insurgents took up arms”, but also those which enabled Poles to reject communism decades after World War II – “to burst with freedom”. What stands out among the indicated values, first of all, is freedom which is a force against enslavement; secondly, the law that can oppose lawlessness; and thirdly, what is spiritual in man, and what can face violence, physical power – “the force of the fist”. It seems that the latter of these values may be perceived in this case as having the ability to enroot the desire for freedom and law in the Poles; freedom that manifests itself in the rule of law. This value has also another power – passing down the axiological system to successive generations – “The Flame of the Uprising persisted in people’s souls and hearts. It was passed on in the relay race of generations. It survived to explode after many years.”

One of the values in the catalogue of the most important matters for the nation and the state is the citizens’ faith in their strength: “We must believe in our strength again”¹²⁶ – said President Lech Walesa in a speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at the solemn meeting of the combined Houses of the Sejm and the Senate on the first day of his term, immediately after taking the oath. In the background of the imperative-containing syntactic construction, one should first see the experience of depriving the people of hope through political and military dependence on the USSR after World War II, the difficult economic situation of the Poles in the 1980s and early 1990s, and the tensions and divisions in the society characteristic of a systemic transformation. Basing on the content of the President’s texts, it may be concluded that there are two values at the root of the people’s rational belief in their own strength: the people’s hope, transferring

¹²⁶ L. Wałęsa *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród...* [As the first President elected by the entire nation...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at a solemn meeting of the combined Houses of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 10: “We must believe in our strength again. We have a lot of strengths, but we cannot always make use of them. We doubt our abilities too often. Passivity and discouragement – these are the biggest obstacles to the well-being of the Poles. When we set to work with faith, the most developed countries will also give us more trust.”

it through difficult experiences, and the state, with the specific qualities that are indicative of its power. At the time of reforms, the faith in their own strength was constantly needed by the people. During the speech delivered in the Sejm, outlining the picture of the situation in the state at the time, Wałęsa said that one cannot look passively at how the country is drowning in apathy and disorder, in chaos with regard to the division of competences. He described politics practiced in Poland as a fight for offices and positions in the structures of power by means fair or foul. He spoke about the society's awareness of such a state of affairs, which he proved with the contents of thousands of letters sent by the Poles to the office of the President of the Republic of Poland, describing the anxiety and disappointment towards politicians, including the President.¹²⁷ In view of such a situation in the state, he emphasized the strength of the Polish society, but, first of all, the value of hope in the people: "The Polish society has given numerous proofs of fortitude and perseverance. I know, we all know, that it is able to endure privation and accept shortcomings. I know, however, that it will never come to terms with one shortcoming. The absence of hope. People ask one another: in the name of what should I put up with all this? Those who are in government often mention a return to Europe – I will pack my suitcases and I will be there before them – many say. And they leave. This situation cannot last. People need to be given hope – it is our duty. And not by word of mouth. Nobody believes in words today anymore. It needs to be a concrete calendar of changes, clearly defined goals and understandably indicated ways that lead to them. Only such a procedure will provide people with hope. Only then, will they stop answering the question: When will it get better? by saying: It has already been better! I think that the role of the parliament in all this is enormous."¹²⁸

In the President's texts, the hope of the people appears as a value which provides strength in creating national security. It is the result

¹²⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The uppermost purpose – the service for the nation – has been lost...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 67.

¹²⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose – the service for the nation – has been lost...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 70.

of what the nation has lived through, what it has gone through, what it has faced. Hope sprouts on the ground of history¹²⁹ and allows the nation to look into the future and take responsibility for it through effort in the present: “I still think that Poland is facing a great historic opportunity today. I go on repeating it, although I understand that people do not want to hear about historical opportunities today, but about wages, pensions, rents and electricity bills. I know that living is not easy. But if we completely forget about the challenges and reforms, if we let it go and deal with our own matters, then in the future the living will be even worse. If we shake the still very fragile stability of the Polish state, the consequences will be deplorable.”¹³⁰ In order for the Poles to be able to believe in their own strength and look into the future with hope, it is not enough to recall certain facts from history. In the President’s opinion, concrete political action is necessary and, above all, a well-functioning state – strong, just and modern. Such a state can be a source of pride for its citizens and a respected partner for international cooperation.¹³¹ The future of Europe and the world will be co-created by those who live in a just country with the efficient economy and educated

¹²⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej chyli przed Wami czoło... [The President of the Republic of Poland is bowing his head before you...]. Speech at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising (August 1, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 160: “I believe that the experience of Warsaw will not be repeated. I believe that at the threshold of the third millennium such a hideous treachery will not take place. Poland, born of the sacrifice of Warsaw, looks with hope into the future”; L. Wałęsa, *Szacunek Polaków do przeszłości to nasza wewnętrzna ogólnonarodowa potrzeba... [Poles’ respect for the past is our internal nationwide need...]. Speech on the occasion of giving fifteen architectural monuments the title of “Monuments of history” (September 20, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 166-167: “Poles’ respect for relics of the past is not a temporary fad in Poland. This is our internal nationwide need. People who are proud of their past look more confidently into the future. The moment we are now creating is of great importance for our future.”

¹³⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Polska potrzebuje naszej solidarności... [Poland needs our solidarity...]. Speech at the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers on the fourteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (August 31, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 162.

¹³¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi... [The main purpose – the service for the nation – has been lost...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 72.

people.¹³² It should be remembered that the faith in the nation's own strength in the processes of creating security is possible when a political community has hope consolidated in its own identity and a realistic prospect of an efficiently functioning state.

A catalogue of what is important, what appears to be a set of values for the functioning of the state can be set up on the basis of Lech Wałęsa's speeches. In some of his speeches the President happened to present such a set himself, as was the case for instance in a television broadcast on October 27, 1994. Commonly respected values could be recognized in what was defined as the "pillars of national existence": "It should be determined (...) for good that science, education and culture, health care and social welfare, as well as a system of security are the pillars of our national existence." The politician emphasizes that financial support for them is also important: "They must receive the same percentage of money each year from the [state] budget. The pillars must not be wobbled or moved. It may result in the collapse of the Polish edifice. It is also necessary to have a vision of economic development. The strategy for Poland must not be hidden away in a drawer. It must be realized and perfected. It is necessary to assist those sectors and enterprises that can provide Poland with economic power. To support exports."¹³³ Of course, the President's speech is embedded in a specific moment of the situation and mood in society; its more in-depth interpretation would require a detailed analysis of the events and the context of the Polish political scene at the time. However, this is not the purpose of research in this study.¹³⁴

¹³² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska potrzebuje naszej solidarności...* [Poland needs our solidarity...]. Speech at the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers on the fourteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (August 31, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 162.

¹³³ L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu...* [Poland is not moving forward...]. The television speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 175.

¹³⁴ It is worth emphasizing that at the beginning of the quoted speech, President Lech Wałęsa vividly described the Polish reality and the state of reforms five years after the commencement of the transformation process in 1989. He said: "Poland resembles a cart that got stuck in the mud. We are moving more and more slowly, and it is becoming more and more difficult. Anger and fatigue grow. We did not count on luxuries in our journey, but we want to see that self-sacrifice is not in vain, that we are moving forward. But Poland is not moving forward."

The “pillars of national existence” mentioned by the President are a part of a much larger set, including such values as: God,¹³⁵ Nation,¹³⁶ its identity,¹³⁷ dignity¹³⁸ and unity,¹³⁹ religion,¹⁴⁰ state,¹⁴¹

It is going around in circles.” L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]. The television speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 172.

¹³⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych... [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...]. Speech at the ceremony of assuming the command of the armed forces of the Republic of Poland after having been sworn in as the President of the Republic of Poland (December 22, 1990)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 13; *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.; References to God are a particularly frequent motif in the statements of President Lech Wałęsa.

¹³⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych... [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...]. Speech at the ceremony assuming the command of the armed forces of the Republic of Poland after having been sworn in for the President of the Republic of Poland (December 22, 1990)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 13.

¹³⁷ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our country...]. Speech delivered at the opening of the constitutional conference held at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 38; L. Wałęsa, *Postanie do uczestników uroczystości poświęcenia kwatery żołnierzy AK na cmentarzu na Rossie [Message to the participants of the blessing of the Home Army soldiers' burial plot at the Rossa cemetery (July 11, 1993)]*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 235.

¹³⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa... [This day did not turn out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 190.

¹³⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free, democratic elections (November 25, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁴⁰ *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

¹⁴¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free, democratic elections (November 25, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

honour,¹⁴² reason of state,¹⁴³ human rights,¹⁴⁴ peace,¹⁴⁵ truth and justice,¹⁴⁶ freedom¹⁴⁷ inextricably linked with responsibility,¹⁴⁸ democracy,¹⁴⁹ the law safeguarding the common good, clear, understandable and

¹⁴² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day has not turned out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 191; L. Wałęsa, *Postanie do uczestników uroczystości poświęcenia kwatery żołnierzy AK na cmentarzu na Rossie* [Message to the participants of the blessing of the Home Army soldiers' burial plot at the Rossa cemetery (July 11, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 235.

¹⁴³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polacy z za oceanu byli zawsze wiernymi synami starej ojczyzny...* [Poles from across the ocean have always been faithful sons of the old homeland...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad in Chicago during a visit to the USA (March 24, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Postanie do uczestników Światowej Konferencji na Rzecz Praw Człowieka* [Message to the participants of the World Conference on Human Rights] (June 15, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 232.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, (Letter) Mr. George Bush President of the United States of America (January 8, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 263.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day has not turned out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit. p. 190: "New Poland needs to be built on the truth and justice. Those who are guilty must be punished and the victims must be indemnified."

¹⁴⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Postanie do Rady Narodowej w Londynie z okazji zakończenia przez nią działalności na emigracji* [Message to the National Council in London on the occasion of the end of its activity in exile (December 8, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 219.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność i demokrację...* [American democracy has helped us in our fight for freedom and democracy...]. Address during a meeting with the residents of Warsaw at Castle Square in the presence of US President George Bush who came to the ceremony of placing the ashes of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral (July 5, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [The future lies in getting to know each other...]. Speech at the Knesset during an official visit to Israel (May 21, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 29.

stable,¹⁵⁰ own national armed forces¹⁵¹ and the international security system,¹⁵² civil liberties,¹⁵³ the land that can be farmed¹⁵⁴ and the territory enabling the nation to live and the state to function,¹⁵⁵ knowledge of Polish scholars which needs not only to be maintained but also

¹⁵⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free, democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych...* [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...]. Speech at the ceremony of assuming the command of the armed forces of the Republic of Poland after having been sworn in as the President of the Republic of Poland (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 13; L. Wałęsa, *Przejmujemy bezpieczeństwo narodu we własne ręce...* [We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council (February 13, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁵² Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana...* [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Address to the officers of the Polish Army during the training briefing with the senior staff of the PAF (June 30, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 154.

¹⁵³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [The future lies in getting to know each other...]. Speech at the Knesset during an official visit to Israel (May 21, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 29.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wieś wniosła wiele w powodzenie polskich reform...* [Farmers have contributed a lot to the success of Polish reforms...]. Speech at the harvest festival at Jasna Góra (September 4, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 164.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, *Przejmujemy bezpieczeństwo narodu we własne ręce...* [We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council (February 13, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 17; L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba budować Europę łączącą narody i państwa...* [It is necessary to build Europe that unites nations and states...]. Speech at the last ever meeting of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact (July 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 35; L. Wałęsa, *17 września 1993 roku dopełniła się sprawiedliwość dziejowa...* [On September 17, 1993, historical justice was done...]. Speech at the ceremony of ending the withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland (September 17, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 124; L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day did not turn out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 190.

multiplied,¹⁵⁶ good international relations, especially with the neighbours as well as global economic and military powers,¹⁵⁷ free market economy,¹⁵⁸ private property¹⁵⁹ and entrepreneurship of private individuals,¹⁶⁰ history,¹⁶¹ cultural treasures,¹⁶² stability,¹⁶³

¹⁵⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs to be repaired...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free, democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród...* [As the first President elected by the entire nation...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at the solemn meeting of the combined Houses of the Sejm and Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 9; L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free, democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 43; L. Wałęsa, *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich...* [Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...]. Speech at the headquarters of the League of Arab States during a visit to Egypt (May 17, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 74.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [The future lies in getting to know each other...]. Speech at the Knesset during an official visit to Israel (May 21, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 29.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs to be repaired...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [The future lies in getting to know each other...]. Speech at the Knesset during an official visit to Israel (May 21, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 29.

¹⁶¹ L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych...* [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...]. Speech at the ceremony of assuming the command of the armed forces of the Republic of Poland after having been sworn in for the President of the Republic of Poland (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁶² Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs to be repaired...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47.

¹⁶³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs to be repaired...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural session of the Senate elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47: "I also speak as a father and a grandfather. My children and grandchildren

nature,¹⁶⁴ the idea of solidarity and the “Solidarity” social movement,¹⁶⁵ which has become an international symbol of peaceful change and the fall of communism.

In the catalogue of President Lech Wałęsa's values, a unique place is occupied by man, which is confirmed by his words that “man, human rights and freedoms become the superior values.”¹⁶⁶ This is particularly evident in the texts on the operation of law in a state. The task of the state is to ensure security and provide a legal framework for the activity of free citizens. The state should be focused on the development of people, their well-being, respect for their dignity, and support to culture. It is also responsibility of the state to protect the common good, which is the work of a civil society. The state exists for the good of individuals and is obliged to defend individuals even against the will of the collective. In President Lech Wałęsa's statements, the position of an individual is by all means privileged. This topic deserves a separate consideration.

will live here, on the Vistula. Let them live in the conditions of normality, not in a makeshift and eternal improvisation.”

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, *Stabilna, demokratyczna i otwarta na współpracę Białoruś jest oczekiwana w Europie...* [Stable and democratic Belarus, which is open to cooperation, is awaited in Europe...]. *Speech at the Belarusian Council of the Republic during an official visit to the Republic of Belarus (June 29, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 113.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo...* [The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...]. *Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic (February 5, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 16; L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. *Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 39; L. Wałęsa, *Postanie do uczestników Światowej Konferencji na Rzecz Praw Człowieka* [Message to the participants of the World Conference on Human Rights] (June 15, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 232.

¹⁶⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Jesteście częścią wielkiej polskiej rodziny...* [You are part of a great Polish family...]. *Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad during an official visit to the Republic of Ukraine (May 26, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 99. Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

1.2.4. Man – "is the foundation"

The values and value judgments do not exist in a given state without reference to a single individual, without seeing a concrete person and their importance in society.¹⁶⁷ The processes of the functioning of the state and those that are aimed at ensuring national security in all dimensions and at all levels will not happen without man, without vesting an individual with due dignity and value. This is how the thought of President Lech Wałęsa could be recapitulated, while trying to extract from his texts what is common to the three concepts: man, values and state. In a state, man is the supreme value, no matter what kind of a person they are, what are their limitations or views.¹⁶⁸ The reflection on values in the creation of national security, taking into account the necessary functionality characteristic of social sciences and the humanities, the insight and depth of the analysis, is not possible without thinking about the value of man. It concerns a political entity that wages wars and strives for peace, and at the same time has for centuries been the subject of special reflection and self-reflection. Questions about man, about man's value and dignity, place and role in society and state, about the value of man's political actions, the value of man's life in the context of military activities (and all measures aimed at creating national security) become extremely dramatic and topical; in the context of armed conflicts as well as civilizational, cultural, anthropological and axiological processes perceived within their context. These are the questions about man that security studies and political science must not fail to asked. In a sense, these detailed questions are combined into one question of an ontological and universal nature: what is man? Any political community that wishes to create security must not fail to know the answer to this question. Similarly, it must also know the answer to the question about the value of human life. The answer to these questions should be reflected in clear law and education at all levels.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. W. Krztoń, *Godność ludzka jako istotna wartość bezpieczeństwa jednostki. Analiza wybranych poglądów*, Rambler Press, Warszawa 2018; S. Kowalczyk, *Z refleksji nad człowiekiem. Człowiek – społeczność – wartość*, Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 1995.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

Already on the first day of his presidency – December 22, 1990 – in a speech to the Sejm and the Senate, the President spoke about priority of man in the process of social and political changes: “Our reforms must be faster and more efficient, not only for the sake of numbers, but above all, for the sake of people.”¹⁶⁹ Six months later – on June 1, 1991 – welcoming Pope John Paul II in Poland, the President said: “If the process of democratization is to be reliable and exhaustive, it must concern not only reconstruction of the state and its structures. It must also reach the inner life of man.”¹⁷⁰ This statement seems to be particularly significant because it shows what is typical of Lech Wałęsa’s perception of political change – reconstruction of the state and its structures is linked to inner transformation of people. It is impossible not to notice similarity of this approach of the President to the conversion of man described in Christian literature, the effect of which is affiliation to a religious community and participation in the formation of the Church. It might be suspected that Lech Wałęsa’s statement about the “inner life of man” is entangled in a specific context and that its content is forced by the form, i.e. the welcoming speech for the Pope. Such an argument, however, loses its power when another statement of the President is taken into account – a speech on the occasion of receiving a honorary doctor’s degree at Sophia University in Tokyo in 1994, when he spoke about the role of man’s inner life, the power of faith in the spirit of man and the spirit of humanity. It is impossible to maintain that the words spoken in the Japanese capital were also embedded in religious thinking. The President said: “Thank you very much for the distinction bestowed on me. By a university which, although so distant from my country, is very close to me. The university which invited me thirteen years ago and wanted to hear me. The university which derives its name from the word ‘wisdom’ showed curiosity about my reasons and my thoughts at that time. I am deeply moved

¹⁶⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród...* [As the first President elected by the whole nation...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at the solemn meeting of the combined Chambers of the Sejm and Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁷⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach...* [Keys to the homeland are in your hands...]. Welcoming speech for His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 32.

by that fact especially as I have now, and I had then, only a great faith in the power of the spirit of man. In the power of truth and justice. I accept the honour conferred on me today as an expression of appreciation for this very deep faith in the power of the spirit of humanity."¹⁷¹ For a fuller picture of the role of the inner life of man and the spiritual dimension characteristic thereof, it is worth to note the fact that such values as truth and justice were placed within the President's narrative about the inner life of man, about man's spiritual dimension. Therefore, the question based on the political thought of Lech Wałęsa about the relation between truth and justice, and the spiritual dimension of humanity, seems justified. Is it not that truth and justice are revealed in their "might" only when man reveals themselves in their carnal and spiritual complexity? The President also spoke about "truth and justice" during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the murder of the martyr from Warsaw, Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko by communist security service agents. It was then that in the speech delivered on October 19, 1994, he spoke about what a single man – "a Great Pole and patriot, an advocate of freedom and the national cause, a wonderful priest wholeheartedly devoted to his fellow men and their problems"¹⁷² – had done and what the power of his influence had been. In the same speech, the President stressed such values as spiritual reinforcement, human rights, sacrifice and charity, fidelity to professed values, but also truth and justice: "The work of Father Jerzy should be brought to a close. Build a strong and durable edifice of the Polish Republic. It will only be possible if truth and justice, love and moral order prevail. This is the message of the life and martyrdom of Father Jerzy."¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ L. Wałęsa, *Przyznana mi godność jest wyrazem uznania dla wiary w moc ducha człowieczeństwa...* [The honour conferred on me is an expression of appreciation for the faith in the power of the spirit of humanity...]. Speech on the occasion of the honorary doctor's diploma award ceremony at Sophia University in Tokyo (December 7, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 180.

¹⁷² L. Wałęsa, *Najważniejsze jest żeby się nie bać...* [It is most important not to be afraid...]. Speech on the occasion of a mass on the tenth anniversary of the death of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko (October 19, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 170.

¹⁷³ L. Wałęsa, *Najważniejsze jest żeby się nie bać...* [It is most important not to be afraid...]. Speech on the occasion of a mass on the tenth anniversary of the death of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko (October 19, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 171.

Let us go back to the speech at Sophia University in Tokyo in 1994. In this speech President Lech Wałęsa sees a single person as the foundation for creating the power of the state. The Japanese perception of man's value – "the fortitude of spirit, the power of mind, the ardour of heart" – is the basis of economic success the effects of which are noticeable throughout the world. This is the approach to man's value that inspired the leader of the political change in Poland: "A university is a temple of learning; it rewards wisdom rather than faith. However, I am receiving this honourable title in a country that has served for me as a proof of the rightness of this faith; has been an inspiration for my imagination. Your country has repeatedly negated the results of cool-headed calculations. You have built your own power against purely rational premises. Japan has no natural resources. It has no vast spaces or fertile land. Rationally, it did not have a chance to become an economic power, and yet it has become one. Its principal asset is man. The fortitude of spirit, the power of mind, the ardour of heart. You have built the power of your country because you believed in yourselves and the power that was in you."¹⁷⁴ In the light of the above statement, recognizing man as a fundamental and supreme value in the state – faith in humanity – paves the way for the nation as a community to believe in their own strength and the power that is latent in them.

According to President Lech Wałęsa at the end of the twentieth century the world entered a period in which relations in society, including relations between nations and states of different religions and languages, should be based on humanity, which is the foundation of relations between people. Racial, religious and national divisions become less important, and frontiers between countries become penetrable.¹⁷⁵ In this context, significant are the words of the speech delivered on

¹⁷⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Przyznana mi godność jest wyrazem uznania dla wiary w moc ducha człowieczeństwa...* [The honour conferred on me is an expression of appreciation for the faith in the power of the spirit of humanity...]. Speech on the occasion of the honorary doctor's diploma award ceremony at Sophia University in Tokyo (December 7, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 180.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.; L. Wałęsa, *Jesteście częścią wielkiej polskiej rodziny...* [You are part of a great Polish family...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad during an official visit to the Republic of Ukraine (May 26, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 99.

May 26, 1993 to the Polish Community Abroad living in the Republic of Ukraine : "You are part of a great Polish family. The part that has been living outside of home. You did not cross the borders of Poland. The borders crossed you. You live on your own land. Here are your roots. Here is your homeland. Here is the homeland of all your neighbours – Ukrainians. This is your common homeland. You are not guests here. (...) The time of nationalism is gone, although the word 'nation' has not lost its importance. By remaining Poles, on the foundation of humanity you build the future of your homeland – this land."¹⁷⁶ It should be remembered that the President addressed those words to the Poles many of whom were made residents of the soviet republic of the USSR by the political division after World War II, as well as the fact that in the 20th century Polish-Ukrainian relations sometimes assumed not only the form of an armed struggle, but even ethnic and religious genocide. In that speech, the President saw hope in the foundations of humanity for building political relations and creating personal security for the Polish community in Ukraine.

Lech Wałęsa's reflection on man as the supreme value is accompanied not only by the Polish context of communist destruction of humanity and denial of the value of an individual, but also by the vivid memory of World War II. In a speech delivered on 27 January 1995 in Birkenau during the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz, Lech Wałęsa spoke about a new type of criminals who, although they did not touch anyone personally, are guilty of the deaths of millions of people.¹⁷⁷ The destruction of entire nations

¹⁷⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Jesteście częścią wielkiej polskiej rodziny...* [You are part of a great Polish family...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad during an official visit to the Republic of Ukraine (May 26, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 99.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wszystkim ofiarom jesteśmy winni pamięć...* [We owe remembrance to all victims...]. Speech delivered at Birkenau-Brzezinka during the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz (January 27, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 183: "Where we are standing now, people were killed in a deliberate and dispassionate manner, just like a mathematical solution. The entire complex of Auschwitz camps and sub-camps was a death factory. An industry utilizing complex technology operated here. There was specific bureaucracy. A new type of a criminal was created – a murderer sitting behind the desk. A person who did not touch anyone personally but who was guilty of the blood of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions. A new type of crime was

in the name of ideology that was intended to be instilled during this war was a denial of humanity – “Even children were killed in the name of the insane ideology. Man denied their humanity, taking the lives of other people. Philosophers asked whether it was possible to continue to be a philosopher after what had happened here? Was it possible to continue to create poetry? Thinkers wondered whether what distinguished people from animals was cruelty and lust for murder greater than in beasts? These are bitter questions.”¹⁷⁸

Humanity, along with its uniqueness, is an imperative in order to have trust in man. Such a conclusion may be drawn from listening to Lech Wałęsa, when he repeatedly emphasizes that it is necessary to talk to people and create an “era of the word”. “We shall see new people in a discussion. We need people who think in a new way. Let us invite those who are wise and those who are stupid. Let us talk.”¹⁷⁹ Despite the fact that trust in man permeates the President’s thinking about building a democratic state of law and its national security, it is far from naive in perceiving and evaluating human actions: “People have killed each other since the time of Cain and Abel. They have transgressed the fifth commandment for countless reasons. They did so to satisfy their thirst for revenge. In the struggle for land and material goods. For control over other people.”¹⁸⁰ Such observation could be an argument for degrading man from the position

created – mass genocide”; L. Wałęsa, *Wasza sprawa zwyciężyła... [Your cause has won...]. Speech at the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (April 19, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 95-96: “We are standing in front of the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes erected with granite prepared by the Nazis for a monument to Hitler. Let us reflect deeply for a moment. This moment will be a symbol. The symbol of victory over those who wanted to dishonour and annihilate man. To destroy the nation.”

¹⁷⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Wszystkim ofiarom jesteśmy winni pamięć... [We owe remembrance to all victims...]. Speech delivered at Birkenau-Brzezinka during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz (January 27, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

¹⁷⁹ *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

¹⁸⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Wszystkim ofiarom jesteśmy winni pamięć... [We owe remembrance to all victims...]. Speech delivered at Birkenau-Brzezinka during the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz (January 27, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 183.

of the supreme value. However, this approach finds no explicit confirmation in the texts of the Polish leader. Man is rather someone who, knowing that they are a threat both to themselves and other people, needs values even more, namely such goals and standards of behaviour that protect the supreme value, which is man. Degrading man from the privileged position among values will not change the community but will reaffirm people in the belief that evil can be done because one is evil. In this way a broad subject emerges on the horizon of this reflection, when one starts thinking about creating security at the level of states and global order. It is the issue of understanding people in different political systems and at the level of ideas that form the life of political communities.

In the views of President Lech Wałęsa, the value of each person was most strongly expressed in the statement, which could probably be regarded as the most strident of all his speeches presented on the international arena – A Message on the occasion of the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo.¹⁸¹ In the text – which is worth emphasizing – the author speaks not only “as the President of the Republic of Poland”, but also “as an ordinary citizen”, defending the “right to life of every human being”. At the very beginning of the text, diagnosing the present day, President Lech Wałęsa states that there are no clearly outlined prospects for making human life more satisfying and worthy. What vision of the development of the world may be proposed to a modern human that would answer their needs and aspirations, so that – as the author precisely put it – “it would not minimize their human essence”?¹⁸² Lech Wałęsa argues that when preparing the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo the United Nations inadequately addressed such matters as procreation, family, moral and material development

¹⁸¹ The conference organized by the United Nations was held on September 5-13, 1994. It was a huge undertaking and delegations of 182 countries took part in the proceedings. The conference was a great international event. Over three thousand journalists expressed their willingness to report it.

¹⁸² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Posłanie z okazji Obrad Międzynarodowej Konferencji na temat Zaludnienia i Rozwoju w Kairze* [Message on the occasion of the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo] (August 24, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 252.

of society. In light of the conference preparatory documents these extremely delicate issues, including moral aspects of human actions, appear to be of little importance, presented in a simplified and superficial way. Pragmatic solutions gained priority over ethics – they were deprived of depth and spiritual dimension. It was forgotten that all of us will pay a price in the future for such an approach of today–. The price will be a society of insensitive and heartless people, indifferent to the values that determine the essence of humanity.”¹⁸³ Speaking about global issues the politician did not lose sight of an individual. “I am speaking not only as the President of the Republic of Poland, but also as an ordinary citizen. I am also speaking as the one who has fought for human rights and freedom for many years. One of them is the right to life of every human being. It must not be opposed to any other goods, especially to economic reasons. I do not agree with those who see improvement only in restricting the birth rate; who think that there is a simple relationship between poverty and overpopulation. These mutual relations are much more complicated and complex.

¹⁸³ L. Wałęsa, *Postanienie z okazji Obrad Międzynarodowej Konferencji na temat Zaludnienia i Rozwoju w Kairze* [Message on the occasion of the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo] (August 24, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 252. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 253: “It is with genuine concern that I take the tendency, approved by the UN document, to treat abortion as one of the methods of regulating population growth. What is more, it is proposed that it should be recognized – universally and on a global scale – without any restrictions. In this way, it is an attempt to solve complicated and delicate human matters administratively. It raises serious doubts and reservations of moral and ethical nature. Also, the change of the previous position on this issue is thought-provoking. Still in 1984 – during the conference in Mexico – termination of pregnancy as a method of family planning was widely recognized as unacceptable. Ten years later, in Cairo, an opposite opinion is being advocated. How is this to be explained? What reasons justify this approach to demographic problems? I would like to know an answer to these questions. I could not find any in the document in question. I would like to believe that its authors were not only motivated by the willingness to find a quick and easy solution to very difficult problems of the modern world. That it was not their intention to resolve, with the help of decrees, complex matters of human nature and human conscience. Abortion is a multi-threaded problem. It involves aspects of moral, religious, cognitive and intellectual nature, as well as medical and material aspects. No-one must lose sight of them. They should all be considered and taken into account. Especially when making decisions of key importance for the future of the world.”

Deprivation and poverty are not generated solely by overpopulation. Their sources lie, among others, in social relations, ethnic conflicts, bad economic management, and excessive spending on armaments; and also – underestimated by many – a vast area of education. Therefore, when planning the development of the modern world, these factors must be taken into account. We must look for solutions that, on one hand, will enable humanity to satisfy natural needs, and on the other, will allow to maintain dignity and responsibility. The widespread use of abortion will certainly not be such a solution. It is an escape from the problem, not a solution. The modern world must find a different, better way.”¹⁸⁴ In Poland, the law was changed in a democratic manner in 1993, rejecting the abortion law in force since the times of the Polish People’s Republic and introducing the law on the protection of life.¹⁸⁵ Years later, recalling the ongoing discussion in Poland on legal solutions regarding the protection of life, Lech Wałęsa confessed that he had been ready to resign from being the President of the Republic of Poland if he were to sign the law promoting abortion: “When I was President, I said: I will not sign. I will resign from the presidency, but

¹⁸⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Postanienie z okazji Obrad Międzynarodowej Konferencji na temat Zaludnienia i Rozwoju w Kairze* [Message on the occasion the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo] (August 24, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 253. As a side note to the text of Lech Wałęsa, it is worth noting that the document ending the Cairo conference did not include a provision imposing the “right” to abortion. International commentaries mention in this context the activities of the delegation of the Holy See headed by Archbishop Renato Raffaele Martino, a permanent observer on behalf of the Holy See at the United Nations in New York at that time. Also mentioned is the impact of the letter faxed by Mother Teresa of Calcutta to the Conference, in which the religious sister described abortion as “the greatest destroyer of peace in the world”. This fact was widely commented in the media almost all over the world.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *Ustawa z dnia 7 stycznia 1993 r. o planowaniu rodziny, ochronie płodu ludzkiego i warunkach dopuszczalności przerywania ciąży*. [The Family Planning, Human Embryo Protection and Conditions of Permissibility of Abortion Act of January 7, 1993]. Journal of Laws 1993 no. 17 item 78. At the very beginning the bill reads: “Recognizing that life is a fundamental right of a human being, and that life and health care shall be subject to special protection by the State, society and citizens, it is decided as follows: Art. 1. 1. Every human being has the inherent right to life from conception. 2. The life and health of the child from the time of conception are protected by law.”

I will not accept such a simple solution when it comes to abortion and all these other things. But I saw this topic a little differently. Nobody likes to kill. First, awareness. Second, conditions. Third, responsibility. This is not such a simple problem – prohibited, not prohibited. We must see it very widely. We must see young people unprepared, ignorant even in these matters, without care. And if all this worked, there would be no such topics.”¹⁸⁶ The question of the value of human life is for Lech Wałęsa¹⁸⁷ not a world-view but an ethical and legal question shaping the life of society, requiring appropriate education.

The views expressed by President Lech Wałęsa regarding man understood as the fundamental value in relation to other values in the context of the nation, the state and the creation of national security in Poland probably have two sources. First, from the experience of communism – a system in which an individual was irrelevant, subordinate to the collective, was to exist “for” the state and the party. With his many years of experience working in the Gdansk Shipyard as an ordinary worker, Wałęsa saw from the inside how ill-treated workers were when the workers’ party was, paradoxically, in power. He also realized that man had no value in light of the communist ideology. As the President, having already had the experience of leading social changes and the experience of being a leader in the state, he was an example for himself that an individual can do a lot, for example, change the course of history. He knew that an individual is of value also in relation to the entire system of the functioning of the state. Secondly, for Lech Wałęsa the teaching of the Catholic Church was important. In the Catholic social teaching, an individual is in the first place in relation to the general public. The state reveals its greatest value by serving man and social forms of their functioning. The privileged form of this service is the protection of the right

¹⁸⁶ Meeting of Lech Wałęsa with youth in the assembly hall of the University of Zielona Góra on September 10, 2010. Transcribed research material in the possession of the author of the publication.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. M. Drożdż, *Obszary dyskursu o wartości ludzkiego życia*, “*Studia Socialia Cracoviensia*” 7 (2015) no. 2 (13), p. 36: “The question of the value of human life cannot be reduced to detached and casual ideological disputes. The worldview is subjective by nature, but its quality is demonstrated by its rationality, openness to objectivization and reference to the truth, in this case to the truth about man.”

to life and ensuring security. Against the background of changes in Europe at the end of the second and the beginning of the third millennium, Lech Wałęsa's approach of to the value judgment of man can be in a sense interpreted as participation in a dispute about man, about understanding and functioning of man. This participation was in no way intended by either a worker, a political leader or even a president.

Probably one of the main conditions for the development of security studies, which indeed serve to create national security, is to recognize man as a privileged value among other values, which is probably not possible without adopting an integral concept of a human person. A value in the political community and processes of creating security is what is perceived in relation to the cognizing and experiencing subject – a person, and what in some way develops a person who lives in the society and enables them to participate in creating security. What allows man to overcome their own limitations and to climb to the level of heroic self-giving for the defence and the good of the homeland is also important. Thinking about the development of security studies at this point, it is necessary to recognize immediately the great challenge that is today faced by academic education in Poland in the field of research and teaching, first of all in the education of officers and all those who are prepared to work for society in public administration, as well as in those areas of the activities of the state and non-governmental organizations that deal with the creation of social security. This is a great task both for research and teaching. The point is to prepare people who are not only competent in their area of expertise, sometimes narrow, abounding in detailed knowledge, but above all in genuine wisdom that enables us to recognize good, do good and "infect" others with it. Community activists prepared in such way can assume responsibility for the future of Poland, and in a sense also Europe and the world.

2. “Freedom is a value that has been always cherished most by the Poles.” Freedom in creating national security of Poland

The analyses carried out in this chapter is aimed to show national freedom in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa as a fundamental value, valued most among all others in the processes of creating national security of Poland.¹⁸⁸ The corpus of the presented reflections has been based on two pillars. The first one is the historical context – the experience and heritage of enslavement in the times of the Polish People’s Republic (PRL), and the other – freedom seen as a task arising from responsibility for creating Poland’s national security. The discussion of these two thematic blocks is preceded by an introductory section.

Addressing the subject of freedom as the superior value among all others analysed in this study is primarily due to the place President Lech Wałęsa gives to this value while recognising the need to combine freedom and responsibility. An additional argument in favour of adopting such an order of the discussion is the perspective that freedom seems to open up. This value is even shown as a medicine for Europe: “Hatred is the offspring of enslavement. Freedom is the best medicine for it. Europe of free nations can recover from it. Poland wants to participate in this process actively. It is our duty to free the younger

¹⁸⁸ Cf. *Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, Presidency of Lech Wałęsa 1990-1995*, typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, p. 61, (Archives of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

generations from the burden that we had to bear. Blood and hatred were a curse of the 20th century; let them be bygone along with it.”¹⁸⁹ Freedom, which is a cure for hatred caused by enslavement, can free the younger generation from the burden of the disease that consumed the world in the 20th century, and lead this generation into the future.

2.1. Introductory issues

In the first words of a letter addressed to the National Council in London – a body affiliated at the President and the Polish Government-in-Exile – President Lech Wałęsa wrote: “Fellow countrymen, Polish Brothers and Sisters. Poland is free. Our Polish home is our own again. Sovereign and independent. We finally take its fate into our hands. We establish its laws. We work for ourselves. It is our common work - yours and ours. I share this joyful news with you through the National Council, which has gathered in London for the last time to close the beautiful, difficult and important period in the history of the Emigration and the Country. Freedom is a value that has been always cherished most by the Poles. Probably also because it was so often taken away from us. We had to fight for it persistently. For a long time. All together. Our last victory – the free Third Republic is also a great victory for all Poles. Us – in the country and you who live outside its abroad, scattered around the world.”¹⁹⁰ The syntactic construct used by the Head of the Polish state – “Freedom is a value that has been always cherished most by the Poles” is used as the title of this part of the study. In this way, the limitation of the subject matter, important from the point of view of this research, has been emphasised. The research concerns national security of Poland, freedom, as well

¹⁸⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej chyli przed Wami czoło... [The President of the Republic of Poland is bowing his head before you...]. Speech at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising (August 1, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 160.

¹⁹⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Postanie do Rady Narodowej w Londynie z okazji zakończenia przez nią działalności na emigracji [Message to the National Council in London on the occasion of the end of its activity in exile (December 8, 1991)]*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 219.

as independence and sovereignty.¹⁹¹ This reservation is particularly justified in view of the noticeable tendency to reflect on freedom in security studies adopting as a starting point philosophical reflection, ethical dilemmas or legal problems, and above all, civil liberties and their possible limitations with regard to the security of the general public.

One cannot but agree with Bohdan Dziemidok who, writing about human freedom, notes that for individuals and social groups freedom is one of the most fundamental and universal values, starting with the family and ending with the nation. However, by no means does this conviction about the fundamentality and universality of freedom result in unanimity in its understanding and defining. Nor does it mean that it is an absolute or the supreme value, to which other values, such as security and justice, should be subordinated. Problems related to the understanding and functioning of freedom are among the most complicated not only in traditional philosophy, but also more and more in the philosophy of politics and law as well as individual fields of social studies.¹⁹² They are also becoming more and more evidently the subject of research in security studies. Making a considerable synthesis, a certain process can be observed in reflecting on freedom that has taken place over the centuries. It is a process that puts the subject of freedom in the centre of not so much the research on national security as of the reflection on security as such, especially with respect to individuals. Originally, freedom was the subject of reflection of philosophers and concerned the freedom of man

¹⁹¹ The document, prepared by the Political Office of the President and summarising the activities of Lech Wałęsa at the end of his term, refers to the President's objective in the form of a comprehensive and cohesive concept of the state. The authors of the text note that according to Lech Wałęsa the overriding consideration was to restore the rights and dignity of the Sovereign to the Poles. In the closing remarks of the document (number 1), the following statement was included: "He proposed a comprehensive and coherent vision of the Modern Polish State, restoring the dignity and rights of the Sovereign to all citizens." Cf. *Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, Presidency of Lech Wałęsa 1990-1995*, typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, pp. 79-80 and 246, (Archives of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

¹⁹² Cf. B. Dziemidok, *Teoretyczne i praktyczne kłopoty z wolnością człowieka*, "Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska" section I, vol. XXXV (2010), p. 25.

as an individual, as well as one's free will and moral responsibility for the results of decisions, choices and behaviours. Using modern language, it could be said to have been not only philosophical, but also psychological, theological and ethical research. Since the times of the English Civil War in the 17th century and the French Revolution, as well as gaining independence by the United States of America, the situation has changed significantly. The issue of political freedoms and civil rights has become a research problem. On the other hand, in the 20th century, thinking about freedom was influenced by the development of the communication technology and a moral revolution emphasizing individualism. Whereas, at the beginning of the 21st century, it has been terrorism and computerisation of social life that have influenced the reflection on freedom. Stanisław Sulowski claims that "It was in connection with the fight against terrorism that the question has arisen whether political and national communities could afford to restrict freedom to ensure security. (...) A new form of danger has emerged to the security of the state and its society which the democratic state of law does not know how to counteract."¹⁹³ Ladislav Hofreiter concludes that the value of security has become more important than freedom and protection of human rights, and this means that it cannot be ruled out that the state might abuse citizens' rights in the name of creating security.¹⁹⁴ Observing, firstly, the development of terrorist activities, and secondly, the reactions of political decision-makers and legal decisions both in individual countries and internationally, as well as listening to the statements of defenders of freedom and anti-systemic movements, it is impossible not to get an impression that the discourse between freedom and security has not yet revealed itself fully and probably will continue to unravel in the coming years. The subject of the controversy will be primarily the function of the state with its apparatus of the legislative and executive power, but also the role of local governments and non-governmental organizations.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ S. Sulowski, *Wolność i bezpieczeństwo w kontekście walki z terroryzmem*, "e-Policon" 2016, no. XX, p. 8.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. L. Hofreiter, *Wstęp do studiów bezpieczeństwa*, Krakowskie Towarzystwo Edukacyjne, Kraków 2012, p. 58.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. D. Karłowicz, *Polska jako Jason Bourne*, Fundacja Świętego Mikołaja, Teologia Polityczna, Warszawa 2017, p. 180: "In many respects the idea of a minimal

In this research, however, the goal is not to address the dilemmas that appear in the so-understood space of social life, which is also an important research space. We want to talk not so much about rights and civil liberties, but about the freedom of a nation and a political community, as well as the sovereignly functioning state that cares for its own interests. It is only in the space delineated by the freedom of the nation that the rights and civil liberties of individuals can be discussed. In this space, too, one can speak about the dangers of anarchy¹⁹⁶ and, above all, the development and future of a political community. Lech Wałęsa spoke about freedom in Polish history and present times, juxtaposing it with the experience of the United States of America: "Our countries are on different continents. The ocean separates them. And yet our nations are close. Geographical distance is not significant against a similar understanding of the most important matters. Elementary matters. I am thinking here primarily about freedom. Poles and Americans have a special love for freedom. We have always been faithful to it. We did not doubt its victory. And we have won. With the help of God and kindness of friends. Our homeland is free today. This freedom is a challenge. We have accepted it. We want it to mean to us: well-being, prosperity, safe fate, especially for the entire nation."¹⁹⁷

state turns out to be a fiction. In the name of freedom, the state abdicates a part of its political, economic and social power, or leases it out to those who turn out to be able to seize it or returns to the role of a warden. This causes opposition – the medicine seems to be worse than the disease. In fact, we would like a minimal state that carries maximum weights. We would like a state that is responsible for the whole, guarantees freedom and upholds the axiological order on which this freedom is based, and at the same time we do not want such a state precisely because we are worried about our freedoms."

¹⁹⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polsce potrzebne są mądre prawa...* [Poland needs wise laws...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural session of the Senate (October 15, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 129.

¹⁹⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność i demokrację...* [American democracy helped us in the fight for freedom and democracy...]. Speech at a meeting with the residents of Warsaw in the Castle Square in the presence of the US President George Bush who came to attend the ceremony of placing the ashes of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral (July 5, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 86.

2.2. Experience and heritage of enslavement by communism

"Countries which had for a half century been under the rule of the communists won their return to the principles of democracy and freedom"¹⁹⁸ – concluded President Lech Wałęsa in a speech delivered at a meeting with the Commission of the European Communities on April 3, 1991. The reflection on Poland's national freedom requires taking into account the subject of negating the principles of democracy and freedom, that is, a reflection on the experience and heritage of enslavement by communism. In the following considerations, firstly, the President's thoughts regarding communism as a form of enslavement of the individual and the nation will be presented, followed by one of the examples of this enslavement, that is the presence of the Soviet Army on the territory of Poland and the issue of the Warsaw Pact. Secondly, against the background of the above-mentioned issues – the negation of the principles of democracy and freedom in a totalitarian state – the President's thoughts regarding freedom and responsibility as values essential to creating Poland's national security will be discussed.

2.2.1. Communism as enslavement of the individual and the nation

In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, communism is shown as a system enslaving individuals and entire nations.¹⁹⁹ It should be remembered that during World War II Poles fought for state sovereignty, territorial integration and dignity of a free nation. These three values were for the Head of the Polish state the main goals of Polish

¹⁹⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Powodzenie polskich reform wymaga aktywnego współdziałania ze strony Zachodu...* [The success of Polish reforms requires active cooperation of the West...]. Speech at a meeting with the Commission of the European Communities (April 3, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Farewell letter read at the Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw, at the grave of late Stefan Kisielewski, deceased on September 27, 1991 (October 3, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 266: "I admired your wisdom and I valued your goodness. I wished you could help me and teach me how to exercise my office effectively and with dignity. Dear Friend, you had all the right to do it. By your conduct you proved that you knew life and people. You were adamant towards totalitarian systems – systems of enslavement of individuals and nations. You could enter into disputes with the greatest of this world."

armed resistance. None of them was achieved at that time. Victory “turned out to be a bitter one”, did not bring freedom understood in this way. Poland was liberated, but only for a short time. Soon, life began in the system imposed by force, in complete dependence on a foreign power.²⁰⁰ At this point, it is worth noting three values that were stressed by the President in one of his speeches, and which seem to be constituents of the freedom of a political community: state sovereignty, territorial integration, dignity of a free nation. The imposition of a political system by force and dependence on a foreign power are the negation of freedom, specific anti-values that constitute enslavement. “For fifty years after the terrible war, Poland was being destroyed by communism. It devastated the country and human souls. Compensating for these losses is a task for years, perhaps for generations.”²⁰¹

Poland after World War II is shown in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa as a country not only deprived of sovereignty and condemned to dependence on the USSR, but also subjected to terror and persecution.²⁰² The conference held from February 4 to 11, 1945 in Yalta,

²⁰⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day turned out to be not a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 190.

²⁰¹ L. Wałęsa, *Polska potrzebuje naszej solidarności...* [Poland needs our solidarity...]. Speech at the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers on the fourteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (August 31, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 162.

²⁰² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day did not turn out to be a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 190-191: “Poland that emerged as a result of the Yalta agreements was not a sovereign country. Already in March 1945, the legal authorities of the Polish underground state were underhandedly arrested and deported to Moscow. In our territories – for political reasons – terror and persecution began. Arrests, imprisonment and sending into exile began. Soldiers of the Home Army, Polish patriots, people who had shed blood for their independent homeland, were treated by the communist authorities of Poland as criminals. They were brutally dealt with. The best sons of the nation were humiliated and slandered. Many of them still remember the poster with the inscription: «the Home Army - the wretched moral midget of the reaction». We were not hosts in our own home. We could not decide for ourselves.

Crimea, was the symbol of betrayal Poland experienced from the superpowers that had won World War II.²⁰³ It was attended by Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. As a result of the arrangements made by the "Big Three", Poland not only lost a significant part of its pre-war territories in the East, but found itself in the sphere of Soviet influence, was placed under the "domination" of the USSR, which condemned it to the loss of sovereignty. "The great of this world – recent allies – decided for us. We were placed under the influence of a foreign power. Once again, the doors to freedom were slammed shut for the Poles."²⁰⁴ One of the occasions to recall what condemning Poles to communism meant was

We could not carry out our own foreign policy in accordance with the Polish interests, and our army depended on Soviet generals. Those who say otherwise question our aspirations and pursuit of independence, undermine the historical truth, honour and pride of the Poles."

²⁰³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii... [8th of May is a day of reflection and contemplation on historical verdicts for us...]. Speech at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 194 and 196: "1st and 17th of September 1939, 1st of August 1944, Auschwitz, Katyń, Tehran and Yalta remind us of the suffering of the entire nation. There is blood, pain and humiliation in them; there is trampling on international laws, hypocrisy and cynicism of the great of this world. This was not nullified by the end of the war. Therefore, for us, Poles, 8th of May will always remain a controversial date. The day on which Nazi fascism capitulated was not the first day of freedom for us. One part of Europe celebrated victory and liberation, and the shadow of a totalitarian empire spread over the other. Our nation survived the storm of war, but it did not get out of the dark. (...) Politics does not know sentiments. Therefore, the Warsaw Uprising had to be lost. Therefore, it was agreed in Tehran and Yalta that after the war Poland would be included in the sphere of Soviet influence. A faithful ally was sacrificed for the sake of the world's political balance. At the news of Yalta, Marshal Montgomery good-naturedly joked in conversation with General Stanisław Maczek that he would now be a Soviet general perhaps. A bitter joke. Let the west and the east not be surprised that this bitterness is still in us, even after fifty years. Therefore, 8th of May may not be just a celebration of victory for us. It is a day of reflection and contemplation on the verdicts of history, on the laws governing politics, and on reality."

²⁰⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa... [This day did not turn out to be a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 189.

the funeral of General Stanisław Maczek, who died in 1994. In the text prepared for this ceremony, President Lech Wałęsa wrote: “The 10th Motorized Cavalry Brigade commanded by General Stanisław Maczek was never defeated. Following the orders of the supreme command, it crossed the Polish state border – in formation, under arms and with banners. Then there was the relentless fight “for your freedom and ours”. The French campaign. Formation of the 1st Armoured Division in Scotland. Normandy. Belgium. Netherlands. Valiant service, admiration of the allies, gratitude of the liberated cities and nations. But there was also Yalta. The terrible bitterness of deception that hit the Poles. Western Europe enjoyed victory and peace. People with badges saying «Poland» on their sleeves could not share this joy.”²⁰⁵

President Lech Wałęsa’s narrative, where he speaks about communism, allows for identifying the ways and scale of enslavement of individuals and the entire nation by this ideology. First of all, it should be emphasised that communism, experienced by the Poles was an inhumane system.²⁰⁶ This system depraved characters, demoralised, introduced divisions, even among the closest ones, deprived of dignity, the right to freedom, to normal life, to hope for better times, to life in prosperity and peace.²⁰⁷ It was a system of falsehood and coercion, dictate of ideology over politics and economy, rejection of reason, law and democracy.²⁰⁸ “The communists spoke about friendship, but they made friends only with each other. They put up barbed wire and

²⁰⁵ L. Wałęsa, *A Message at the Funeral of General Stanisław Maczek* (December 23, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 259.

²⁰⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 48.

²⁰⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ich śmierć nie była daremna...* [Their death was not in vain...]. Speech delivered at the unveiling of the Monument to the Fallen Miners of the “Wujek” Mine (December 15, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 51.

²⁰⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Chcemy przyjaznego sąsiedztwa i partnerskiej współpracy – odrzucamy agresję i dominację.* [We want friendly neighbourhood and partner-like cooperation – we reject aggression and domination]. Speech after signing of the Treaty on Friendly and Good Neighbourly Cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation (May 22, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 79.

barriers between nations."²⁰⁹ What is characteristic of the President's texts is that when he talks about communism he associates it with the hypocrisy of the entire system,²¹⁰ including falsification of history.²¹¹ The will to live in a lie did not give way even against the threat to life and health of millions of people. An example of this is the information provided about the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster.²¹² That tragedy had a moral dimension – "It exposed the hypocrisy of the totalitarian system. The hush about the Chernobyl accident was tantamount to contempt for human life and health. Later on, only emergency and fragmentary aid was possible."²¹³

²⁰⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy na nowo zbudować współpracę...* [We need to build co-operation again...]. Speech at the tripartite meeting of the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland (February 15, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 18.

²¹⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) Professor Leszek Kołakowski (January 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 267.

²¹¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day has not turned out to be a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 189-190: "Only now, in a free and sovereign Republic of Poland, we can talk about this in full voice. To show the complex and ambiguous meaning of this anniversary. Reveal the whole truth about it. At the times of the Polish People's Republic (PRL), in enslaved Poland, a different version of history was in force. Official and «the only correct». So, we celebrated 9th of May as the Victory Day. But today, six years after the overthrow of communism, we have a "problem" with this anniversary. It is still unknown whether to treat it as a day of victory or a national defeat. I think that these doubts arise from the fact that we have not settled accounts with the past yet. We did not say loud and clear what the PRL really was; what was a real scope of Freedom; to what extent we were sovereign, and how much we were dependent on a foreign state. Perhaps we lacked courage, determination and imagination. Perhaps there was no political will to answer these questions."

²¹² The nuclear accident that occurred on April 26, 1986 in the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant (currently Ukraine). As a result, radioactive substances were spread. It was the biggest disaster in the history of nuclear power and one of the largest industrial disasters of the 20th century.

²¹³ L. Wałęsa, *Stabilna, demokratyczna i otwarta na współpracę Białoruś jest oczekiwana w Europie...* [Stable, democratic Belarus which is open to cooperation is awaited in Europe...]. Speech at the Belarusian Council of the Republic during an official visit to the Republic of Belarus (June 29, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 113.

The hypocrisy of the entire communist system resulted in hypocrisy at various levels of the functioning of the state and destruction of political culture, which led to disintegration of society. No wonder that as a consequence of the first democratic elections, 29 committees entered the Sejm, of which 11 had only one MP. Lech Wałęsa commented on this state of affairs, speaking in the Senate: "After nearly a half century of communism, the public does not seem to believe anyone. People believe only themselves and that is why we have so many parties. These often have contradictory, incoherent programmes. Everyone wants to create life from scratch, this is the logic of moving from totalitarianism to democracy. It is insurmountable, but on the other hand – in order to protect the state from defeat – Poland cannot be allowed to be ruled by impulse. Chaos and anarchy mean regress."²¹⁴

When speaking on the occasion of receiving a honorary doctor's diploma at Sophia University in Tokyo in 1994, the former leader of Solidarity said that the years after the political changes in Poland had revealed ravage caused by the communist system over the decades. They had also revealed the fact that the damage is larger than previously thought and more universal, affecting almost all spheres of life, including the human psyche.²¹⁵ "Abandoning communism turned out to be a much more difficult task than we had thought. In addition, it leads along a road unknown to anyone. A way that nobody has walked before us. A path of strength and simple violence leads to communism. These are the simplest and most primitive tools. It is not difficult to operate them. A return path, unfortunately, is not a simple reversal of the process."²¹⁶ In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa exiting communism is a process that cannot be limited solely to the legal dimension. Getting out of the old system must be

²¹⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 48.

²¹⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przyznana mi godność jest wyrazem uznania dla wiary w moc ducha człowieczeństwa...* [The honour conferred on me is an expression of appreciation for the faith in the power of the spirit of humanity...]. Speech on the occasion of the honorary doctor's diploma award ceremony at Sophia University in Tokyo (December 7, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 181.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

carried out at the level of changing the way of thinking and functioning of society:²¹⁷ "We are following a path that nobody has walked before us. The entire communist bloc has collapsed. We must rely primarily on our own strengths. We often fail to see these strengths. We fail to appreciate them. We need to shake off lethargy and apathy. Without changing our attitudes, our mentality, we will not extricate ourselves out of the old system."²¹⁸ According to President Lech Wałęsa, Poland's departure from communism has not only a European dimension, but also concerns global security; it involves building a well-ordered world, expanding the sphere of freedom and democracy, the sphere of stability: "The bigger this sphere is, the safer the world will be.

²¹⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech at the inaugural session of the Senate elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 46-47: "Our society is poisoned with one more concern: settling old issues. The emerging rule of law will help self-purification. And here, too, there is a great responsibility resting on the legislative authority. It needs to be realised how hard it is to overcome the old system. In the laws. In economics. In the way of thinking. For the first time, a revolution is taking place by way of evolution, through a compromise. Nobody has had such experience."

²¹⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 43. After this statement of the President, the Senior Speaker of the Sejm at that time, Aleksander Małachowski, took the floor. He mentioned two values – freedom and responsibility: (stenographic record) "For several decades we suffered from the lack of freedom, but also enjoyed some comfort: we could be held innocent for anything that went wrong; it could be blamed on foreign oppressors, unfaithful allies, enemies of our homeland; everyone but us Poles was guilty of everything. Now it will change. We are beginning to take responsibility for our own lives. Yes, we are beginning to take responsibility for our own lives. This applies not only to us in this room, but to all citizens of our country without exception. And I am asking you, Ladies and Gentlemen MPs, on this difficult day of the election of the Sejm Presidium, to remember that these old, beautiful words that Poland has regained independence mean to us above all that Poland expects us to be responsible." A. Małachowski, (speech beginning with the words:) *Thank you, Honourable Mr. President, for all the wise and important words that we have heard from you here...*, in: *Sejm of the Republic of Poland, term 1, sitting 1, day 1 (November 25, 1991)*, a stenographic record, Warsaw 1991, (Archives of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw).

The better the conditions for development and progress. The more certain the future of humanity.”²¹⁹

2.2.2. The Soviet Army on the territory of Poland and the Warsaw Pact

A special form of negating national freedom and enslavement by communism was the presence of the Soviet Army on the territory of Poland (from the end of World War II to 1993) and the signing of the Warsaw Pact in 1955 (the official name was: the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance), i.e. a political-military alliance between the countries of the so-called Eastern Bloc with the leading role of the USSR. After the establishment of the Warsaw Pact, the security issues of Poland, as observed by Jerzy Kajetanowicz, constituted an element of general strategic assumptions of this political and military alliance, supplemented with her own concepts of the defence of the country's territory.²²⁰ The Treaty sanctioned subordination of individual countries of Central and Eastern Europe and their armies that existed since the end of World War II to the USSR. It also contributed to the consolidation of the post-Yalta international order. It was not until February 25, 1991 that an agreement was signed in Budapest to end military cooperation under the Treaty, and on July 1, 1991 the political structures of the alliance were dissolved in Prague. This meant the ultimate dissolution of the Warsaw Pact.²²¹

²¹⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Przyznana mi godność jest wyrazem uznania dla wiary w moc ducha człowieczeństwa...* [The honour conferred to me is an expression of appreciation for the faith in the power of the spirit of humanity...]. Speech on the occasion of the doctor honoris causa diploma award ceremony at the Sophia University in Tokyo (December 7, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 181.

²²⁰ Cf. J. Kajetanowicz, *Strategie bezpieczeństwa Polski w drugiej połowie XX wieku*, “Zeszyty Naukowe WSOWL” 2011, no. 3 (161), p. 238.

²²¹ Cf. Report drawn up in Prague on July 1, 1991 on the loss of effect of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (Journal of Laws 1993 no. 61, item. 289); Government Declaration of May 25, 1993 on the entry into force of the Protocol in Prague on July 1, 1991 on the dissolution of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed in Warsaw on May 14, 1955, and the Protocol to extend its validity, signed in Warsaw on April 26, 1985 (Journal of Laws 1993 no. 61, item 290).

From the point of view of national security of Poland, withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland top priority. A year before his election as the President of the Republic of Poland – in December 1989 – Lech Wałęsa met with the USSR ambassador to Poland, Vladimir Brovikov²²² and firmly expressed the need for urgent withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland.²²³ From the beginning, after assuming the duties of the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Wałęsa made efforts aimed at the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and other countries subordinated to the domination of the USSR.²²⁴ When this fact finally took place on the territory of Poland, in a speech on the occasion of the ceremony he said: "... a certain era in our common history has come to an end. Historical justice has been done. There are no foreign troops in the territory of the Polish state. Sovereignty of the Polish Republic has been finally confirmed. Russian troops have left Poland. The system of oppression, deceit and lawlessness has been defeated. Law, freedom and democracy have won. New Poland and new Russia can be proud of this common victory."²²⁵ In the opinion of the President's Political Office, driving foreign troops out of the Polish territory was the main action in the Republic of Poland at that time aimed at ensuring stability and independence of the country. The meaning of this event is emphasised by the symbolism of the date – 17th of September. The anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Poland (September 17, 1939) became the day when the Soviet army left the Polish Republic

²²² Vladimir Brovikov – Russian: Владимир Бровиков – Soviet ambassador to Poland in 1986-1990.

²²³ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *President Lech Wałęsa 1990-1995*, typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, p. 92, (Archives of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

²²⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy na nowo zbudować współpracę... [We need to build co-operation again...]. Speech at the tripartite meeting of the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland (February 15, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 19: "We do not want foreign troops to be stationed in the territory of our states. We also do not want to stand armed and ready. So, we shall not allow a «cordon sanitaire» to be established here against anyone."

²²⁵ L. Wałęsa, *17 września 1993 roku dopełniła się sprawiedliwość dziejowa... [On September 17, 1993, historical justice was done...]. Speech at the ceremony of ending the withdrawal of Russian troops from Poland (September 17, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 124.

(September 17, 1993).²²⁶ The same text states that one of the main accomplishments of President Lech Wałęsa was that he has made foreign troops leave Poland without bloodshed.²²⁷

The speech delivered by President Lech Wałęsa on July 1, 1991, at the last meeting of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact, helps understand his approach to the functioning of this phased-out military and political force: "Today we are turning a specific page in the history of Europe and our nations. I am glad that we are able to do this with the consent of all parties, in an atmosphere free from mutual objections. Today's decisions confirm compatibility of our views on the future of the Warsaw Pact. However, we retain the right to assess the past on our own. The Warsaw Pact only formally offered equal rights to all its members. This practice discredited it in the eyes of our nations. (...) Today's meeting should also serve to reflect on the past of our relations. We eliminate commitments and structures that no longer correspond with today's realities. By doing away with them, we also reject the philosophy of the division of Europe. Our part of the continent – free from the burdens of the past – can become an example of constructive coexistence; an example of the understanding of our own interests and the interests of our neighbours; an area of peace and security, instead of tensions and fears. Following the decades of tension and coercion, we finally have the right to breathe normally."²²⁸

In the thought of President Lech Wałęsa, the decision to dissolve the Warsaw Pact meant meeting the aspirations for European unity. It corresponded to the changes that took place in individual countries of the Pact and was to become the beginning of sovereign development

²²⁶ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *President Lech Wałęsa 1990-1995*, typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, p. 232, (Archives of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

²²⁷ Cf. *ibid.* p. 147.

²²⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba budować Europę łączącą narody i państwa... [It is necessary to build Europe that unites nations and states...]. Speech at the last meeting of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact (July 1, 1991)*, KPRP, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

of international relations.²²⁹ In a speech delivered at the meeting of the leaders of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in 1994, the Polish politician reminded that the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact was aimed at guaranteeing security of a united Europe. However, in order to do so it is necessary to expand the zone of stability and order, which in a special way is reflected by the economic standard of living of societies. Such operation should also contribute to healing the unpleasant experiences of the past.²³⁰

2.3. Freedom and responsibility

National freedom and independence are values and tasks that arise from responsibility for creating Poland's national security. This is confirmed by the President's words: "Freedom must be combined with responsibility. Without responsibility, democracy could turn into anarchy. This poses a threat not only to democracy, but also to Polish statehood."²³¹ The reflection on freedom and responsibility in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa makes it necessary to take up the topic of Polish struggles for freedom, and also the issue of freedom understood as a permanent task. Drawing attention to the special issue of sacrificing one's life for the freedom of the homeland will conclude the analysis.

²²⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba budować Europę łączącą narody i państwa...* [It is necessary to build Europe that unites nations and states...]. Speech at the last meeting of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact (July 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 36.

²³⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba poszerzyć strefę bezpieczeństwa i stabilności w Europie...* [The zone of security and stability in Europe needs to be expanded...]. Speech delivered at the meeting of the leaders of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (December 5, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 177.

²³¹ L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service for the nation...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 67. Cf. Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.

2.3.1. The Polish fight for freedom

The value of national freedom is revealed in the present, it provides a perspective for the future, but it owes its strength, as if a specific natural weight to its history. The analysis of the past exposes those values that constitute a greater value, in this case – the fight for national freedom. Therefore, at this stage of the research, we are primarily interested in the narrative adopted as the source of statements (texts of President Lech Wałęsa) on the Polish experience of fighting for national freedom. Reaching to such texts is also an attempt to signal a topic that will be developed later on in this monograph – remembrance viewed in the context of the processes of creating national identity. The reflection on the Polish fight for national freedom is an analysis of the processes of creating national security, above all in its defence and military aspects, but it also takes into account the cultural and scientific dimension.

Basing on the speech of President Lech Walesa delivered on November 11, 1993 on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Poland's regaining its independence, it may be concluded that among the values that create national security in terms of what concerns the pursuit of national freedom, it is not so much international agreements and declarations which have an appropriate meaning, but the strength alive in the nation despite its enslavement, and manifested by sacrifice: "In 1918, history offered a helping hand to the Poles. However, it did not bring about Independence for Poland as a gift. Independence was regained by the Poles. We appreciate the friendly declarations of the great powers that were kind to us at that time. However, the declarations were a currency that was too weak to buy independence. Poland was not born out of treaties, but out of the captivity of the nation. With its effort, sacrifice and blood. The treaties decreed only the facts created by the will and power of the nation."²³² However, in order to deepen the reflection in the thematic space defined by such values as the struggle for national freedom and the power

²³² L. Wałęsa, *Wolność nie jest dana raz na zawsze... [Freedom is not given once and for all...]. Speech on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Poland's regaining independence (November 11, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 135

to make a sacrifice of life – “effort, sacrifice and blood” – something much more fundamental should be pointed at. This is the nation’s love of freedom. The statement that most accurately illustrates this state of affairs is perhaps the speech delivered in Moscow on May 22, 1992, after signing the Treaty on Friendly and Good Neighbourly Cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation. President Lech Wałęsa addressed directly the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin: “Blood and tears, and graves, like those in Katyń, divided our nations in the 20th century. Wars fell on our country also from the East. And when our nations joined the fight against Nazism in World War II – this time and the great sacrifices ended up with Yalta. For Poles, this is an infamous name, Mr. President. Yalta brought us a foreign system, foreign domination and bondage for almost a half century. And the Russians know well, if not the best, how great is the love of Poles for freedom.”²³³

The Polish struggle for freedom in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa is connected with the concept of truth, which is why it is legitimate to talk about a “moral victory of the nation”. Such a victory takes place when it is not only a consequence of an opposition to “suppressed freedom”, but also when it is an opposition against depriving the nation of the right to live in dignity, freedom, democracy and truth; finally, when it is an expression of the desire for peace and a “collective sign of remembrance”, “solidary will to fight”. The experience of a moral victory of the national community opens up a prospect for the future, contributes to greater unification, determination and discipline in the struggle for a free and independent homeland. The homeland in which its citizens make an order themselves and

²³³ L. Wałęsa, *Chcemy przyjaznego sąsiedztwa i partnerskiej współpracy – odrzucamy agresję i dominację*. [We want friendly neighbourhood and partner-like cooperation – we reject aggression and domination]. Speech after signing the Treaty on Friendly and Good Neighbourly Cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation (May 22, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 78. Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Presidency of Lech Wałęsa 1990-1995*, typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, p. 60, (Archives of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw): “During the entire term, the President attaches particular importance to the redress for the Katyń crime, treated also as a symbol of Soviet genocide and direct reckoning with the period of Soviet domination over Poland.”

for themselves, build their own democratic country, the state of law and respect for human dignity, the state which they can identify with, want to live in and work for.²³⁴ The fight for national freedom requires that the truth about the nation be both recalled and disclosed with reference to current affairs. President Lech Wałęsa reminded of this dependence between the fight for freedom and the truth in his message to the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe²³⁵ on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its establishment. Already in the first sentences of this very personal text, the Polish politician draws attention to the issue of the truth to which Poles had access thanks to the broadcasts of RFE.²³⁶ The broadcast information on how the people's authorities treat Poles in their homeland had a direct impact on the decisions of society, as well as on what was happening in the country, on the shape of national fate. For many Poles, the broadcast truth was the school, and at the same time the space of independent thinking.²³⁷

²³⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message on the tenth anniversary of the August 1982 Events in Lubin (August 26, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 226-227.

²³⁵ The Polish Section of Radio Free Europe operated in the years 1952-1994 within the structures of Radio Free Europe broadcasting in the Polish language. At the times of the Polish People's Republic it was the most frequently listened to (and systematically jammed) foreign radio station.

²³⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its establishment (May 3, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 221: "I always listened to this radio. I knew that through the crackling and humming of the jammer the truth spoke to me. It is a beautiful and great thing to have someone one can trust, one can believe. We trusted this station here, we believed it, we listened to it. How fortunate that the «Iron Curtain» could not be raised infinitely high. That although the borders were impenetrable to humans, they could be penetrated by radio waves; the truth was seeping through unnoticed by the frontier guards and their dogs, above the minefields, between the barges, next to patrol aircraft and ships,. It could not be stopped. It could not be jammed."

²³⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its establishment (May 3, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 221-222: "Thanks to Radio Free Europe's reporters, we received information about Polish prisoners in Soviet camps. The authorities of the Polish People's Republic did not inquire about these Polish citizens forgotten in the Gulag. The Polish Section of Radio Free Europe did inquire about them. Thanks to that, they came back. It can be said that it was a Polish embassy for the state that could not carry out its own foreign policy. When the democratic opposition emerged, when August events broke out, a year later the sombre December came – at that

It was "a free voice, ensuring freedom",²³⁸ as the last sentence of the text reads.

When discussing the value of struggle for national freedom and, at the same time, thinking about the concept of truth, the importance of academic activity should be emphasised. On the occasion of awarding Professor Leszek Kołakowski with a honorary doctor's degree at the University of Łódź, the congratulatory letter from President Lech Wałęsa read: "With your works and attitude of a man who has perseverantly searched for truth, you showed the contemporaries how to pursue it uncompromisingly, with full awareness of , moral and intellectual challenges that seekers and doubters happen to encounter on this path. People of my generation, which is acknowledged to have made a significant contribution to winning freedom and independence for Poland, are aware of how much they owe to your works, your attitude. (...) Our struggle against totalitarianism has been won also because we were able to draw extensively from the works that you were creating. They have been a reinforcement for those for whom the manifestation of dissent for falsehood, hypocrisy, stupidity and crimes has finally become a natural, everyday duty."²³⁹ The intellectual quest for truth turns out to be an indispensable component of fight against totalitarianism, struggle for freedom and independence of the homeland. It is worth emphasising that in his text the President refers to the language of ethics. He speaks about duty, or a moral duty, i.e. an inner command given to oneself, in opposition to a forced duty, an external stimulus to action resulting e.g. from legal or administrative decisions. The duty referred to here is a civic attitude manifested by defending the homeland. In this case, the defence of the homeland

time – and in all other months of this fight we were accompanied by the Polish section of Radio Free Europe. It was our radio. But it was not just a radio. By reminding the prohibited works of art, it was our ministry of culture. Pointing to economic absurdities – the ministry of economy. Responding live and fast, and above all without lying – the ministry of information. Today, when we have regained freedom, I would like to thank for all this. Thank on behalf of myself and the Polish society."

²³⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Message to the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its establishment (May 3, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 222.

²³⁹ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Professor Leszek Kołakowski (January 8, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 267.

meant “manifestation of dissent for falsehood, hypocrisy, stupidity and crimes”. Falsehood, placed first on the list of several negative concepts, may be read as an antonym of truth stressed earlier in the text. With such an observation, ‘hypocrisy’, ‘stupidity’ and ‘crimes’ listed after the lexeme ‘falsehood’ can be understood not as parallel to the leading ‘falsehood’ but as explanatory, and in a sense complementary, terms. In such a situation, ‘hypocrisy’, ‘stupidity’ and ‘crimes’ become a negation of truth. In the process of creating national security in the dimension of national freedom, dissent for lies, which is a duty, requires resistance not to only crimes, which seems obvious, but also to hypocrisy and stupidity. These two anti-values, just like crimes, may be manifestations or forms of a nation’s enslavement.

2.3.2. Freedom as a constant task

“Freedom is never given once and for all. It is a task that every new generation must undertake”²⁴⁰ – said President Lech Wałęsa in 1991 when speaking on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3, 1791.²⁴¹ Speaking about freedom as a task was well known in Poland, because it had been previously very much present in the social teaching of John Paul II, and also repeatedly reiterated by priests in sermons throughout the country. During his pilgrimage to the homeland in 1987, at a meeting with youth gathered in front of the Bishops’ Palace in Kraków, , improvising a conversation with the assembly the Pope took up the subject of freedom. He said that the present generation of Poles was the one that was reflecting on freedom again and reminded that “freedom can never be possessed. It is very dangerous to possess. Freedom must be constantly earned.

²⁴⁰ L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej... [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...]. Speech on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 (May 3, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁴¹ The Government Act of May 3 – passed on May 3, 1791, regulating the legal system of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was the first modern, written constitution in Europe and the second in the world (after the American Constitution of 1787).

Freedom is an attribute of man; God created people free."²⁴² The influence of the Papal teaching about freedom on the contents of Lech Wałęsa's texts is quite obvious, especially when the President refers to it directly, as he did in a speech delivered in the Gdańsk Shipyard at the general meeting of delegates of the Gdańsk Region of NSZZ "Solidarność" (Solidarity Independent Self-Governing Trade Union) in 1995: "Our Polish Pope instructed us that freedom is a challenge. We have to take up the challenge again and again."²⁴³ In the words of welcome to the Pope at the beginning of his visit to Poland in 1991, the President pointed out that in the times after the fall of communism, it was not so much struggle for freedom that was needed but work for the free homeland. In this national work, the modern thought of the Catholic social teaching would also be useful to the Homeland: "You have been the symbol of the spirit of this nation. A nation that has never reconciled with the system of enslavement. Today, we do not need to fight anymore. We are learning to work for a free homeland. This process is difficult, so we still want to draw from your wisdom. From the wisdom of the Church, which has given Poland so much."²⁴⁴ On the side of these analyses, it could be stated with certainty that speaking about the presence of the Papal thought in the narrative of President Lech Wałęsa, but also successive Presidents of the Third Republic of Poland, is fully warranted. We could probably also mention

²⁴² John Paul II, *Meeting with the Kraków youth – in front of the Metropolitan Curia, June 10, 1987*, in: John Paul II, *Nauczanie społeczne trzecia pielgrzymka do Polski 8-14 czerwca 1987*, Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, Warszawa 1988, p. 79.

²⁴³ L. Wałęsa, *Zaczynamy traktować wolność jako coś oczywistego...* [We have started to take freedom for granted...]. Speech delivered in the Gdańsk Shipyard at the general meeting of delegates of the Gdańsk Region of NSZZ "Solidarność" (May 24, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 208.

²⁴⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach...* [The keys to the homeland are in your hands...]. Welcoming speech to His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 32. In the final part of this speech, the President said (p. 33): "Let me conclude with the words of Your Holiness once preached on this native land of yours: «Here we have always been free. Here, too, we have learned the basic truth about the freedom of a nation: a nation dies when it corrupts its spirit, a nation grows when its spirit is more and more purified». You, Holy Father, can help us in this purification."

the influence of Catholic social science on the widely understood presidential policy in Poland. These themes represent extensive, separate research areas, especially in the field of political science and Catholic social science.

In the case of Poles the fact that national freedom is a constant task, that it must be won in every generation, is not just a theoretical statement, but a fact experienced in history, especially in the period following World War II. The act of surrender of the Third Reich, signed on May 8, 1945, meant the end of war for Europe. It brought about hope of a return to freedom and self-determination of nations. There was a widespread belief that this document brought peace and liberation. Poles also believed that that day meant for them the end of occupation, as well as the beginning of a new, sovereign state. However, it soon turned out that the situation was different. The surrender of the Third Reich did not carry freedom to the nations of Central Europe, including Poland. Speaking in the Polish parliament on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II, President Lech Wałęsa drew attention to the fact that regaining freedom after the German occupation meant a further fight for freedom for Poles: "For Poland, the struggle for independence did not end in May 1945. It lasted for another a half century. It had to be taken up over and over again. We were obliged to that by the «Testament of Fighting Poland»."²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ This was a programme document issued on July 1, 1945 by the Council of National Unity. It was the answer to the situation in Poland after World War II, i.e. brutal sovietisation and murdering of representatives of the anti-communist opposition. At the end of June 1945, information came from Moscow that the leaders of the Underground Poland were convicted in a demonstration trial, as well as the information about the establishment of the Provisional Government of National Unity. The last part of the document of the Council of National Unity is called the Testament of Fighting Poland. It contains, *inter alia*, postulates regarding withdrawal of Soviet troops, cessation of persecution of underground soldiers, a current political programme and postulates regarding democratisation of the country. The full text of the document together with the Testament of Fighting Poland, cf. *Odezwa Rady Jedności Narodowej do narodu polskiego i narodów sprzymierzonych. Testament Polski Walczącej* [Appeal of the Council of National Unity to the Polish nation and allied nations. Testament of Fighting Poland], in: *Testament Polski Walczącej. Ostatnie przesłanie Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Kraków 2015, pp. 13-19.

The last act of the Polish Underground State²⁴⁶ which ordered us to continue fighting. For the honour and dignity of the nation, for its sovereignty and independence. We received this great capital of Fighting Poland in a testament. It was our inspiration. We drew from it the strength to live in the enslaved country. To survive and defend the most precious values. The Polish nation paid a high price for its right to exist as a free and sovereign state. We marked it with the victims of June 1956²⁴⁷, December 1970²⁴⁸ and 1981²⁴⁹.²⁵⁰ It is necessary

²⁴⁶ The Polish Underground State was a clandestine structure of the Polish state existing during World War II and subordinated to the Government of the Republic of Poland in Exile. It operated from September 27, 1939 to July 1, 1945. Cf. A. Chmielarz, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne*, Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, Wojskowe Biuro Badań Historycznych, Warszawa 2007; W. Frączkowski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne 1939-1945 (zarys organizacji)*, Światowy Związek Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej, Fundacja im. Armii Krajowej V Okręgu, Gdańsk – Lublin 1991.

²⁴⁷ The first general strike and street demonstrations in the Polish People's Republic that took place at the end of June 1956 in Poznań. The protests were bloodily suppressed by the army and the militia. A total of 56 people were killed and died as a result of injuries. The Polish People's Army troops (over 10,000 soldiers) were commanded by gen. Stanisław Popławski (Stanislav Poplavsky), formerly a general of the Red Army. Cf. E. Makowski, *Poznański Czerwiec 1956 – pierwszy bunt społeczeństwa w PRL*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2001.

²⁴⁸ Workers' strikes and protests in Poland which took place mainly in Gdynia, Gdańsk, Szczecin and Elbląg in December 1970 and were suppressed by the militia (5,000) and the army (27,000). Tanks and APCs were used against civilians. 41 people were killed. Cf. M. Paziewski, *Grudzień 1970 w Szczecinie*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Szczecin 2013; P. Brzeziński, R. Chrzanowski, A. Nadarzyńska-Piszczeviat, *Zbrodnia bez kary. Grudzień '70 w Gdyni. Przebieg wydarzeń, represje, walka o prawdę*, Oficyna Verbi Causa, Gdynia 2010; A. Strokowski, *Lista ofiar. Grudzień 1970 r. w Szczecinie*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Szczecin 2009; H.M. Kula, *Grudzień 1970. "oficjalny" i rzeczywisty*, L&L, Gdańsk 2006; B. Danowska, *Grudzień 1970 roku na Wybrzeżu Gdańskim. Przyczyny, przebieg, reperkusje*, Bernardinum, Pelplin 2000.

²⁴⁹ It refers to the introduction of martial law in Poland on December 13, 1981. Cf. *Stan wojenny w Polsce 1981–1983*, ed. A. Dudek, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2003; *Stan wojenny w dokumentach władz PRL (1980-1983)*, ed. B. Kopka, G. Majchrzak, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warszawa 2001.

²⁵⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa... [This day has not turned to be a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 191.

to realise that the President, having introduced the theme of “survival and defence of the values most precious for Poland” into his narrative, also spoke about the right of the Polish nation to exist as a free and sovereign state. Then, he illustrated it with examples of freedom revolts against the communist authorities.

Independence and freedom are not given to the nation once and for all; they require efforts that open up the prospect of a good future.²⁵¹ Poland was the first country in Central and Eastern Europe to throw off the yoke of the imposed system. This stage of the struggle for full independence ended in a victory, and at the same time the construction phase began, by which President Lech Wałęsa understood not only the announcement of freedom, but a real entry into the great family of free nations, which in his understanding meant the recovery of the economy.²⁵² In the President’s opinion, Poles did not want to accept that freedom did not provide ready-made solutions, but only opportunities that could be used wisely or stupidly: “To live in a strong, prosperous and safe country, or in a weak and poor one.”²⁵³

2.3.3. Giving life for the freedom of Poland

National freedom is inseparably linked with defending and giving life for the homeland, especially with regard to soldiers. Polish historical experience reminds us that wearing a Polish uniform was sometimes a sufficient argument to be condemned to death: “In violation of all war and human rights, at the behest of Stalin and the Soviet leadership, over twenty thousand prisoners of war were brutally killed. The only guilt of the murdered soldiers and policemen was that they were Poles.

²⁵¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 48.

²⁵² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Jesteście ambasadorami polskiej sprawy...* [You are ambassadors of the Polish cause...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad in Los Angeles during an official visit to the United States of America (March 23, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 20.

²⁵³ L. Wałęsa, *Polska potrzebuje naszej solidarności...* [Poland needs our solidarity...]. Speech at the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers on the fourteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (August 31, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 162.

In Katyń, Kharkiv and Mednoye, the cream of our officer corps was murdered.”²⁵⁴ In his speeches, Lech Wałęsa has repeatedly emphasised the fact, obvious for the Poles, that defence of homeland required readiness to give one's life. He also spoke about willpower and fortitude, which is characteristic of the Polish people who are not afraid of making a generous sacrifice of their blood.²⁵⁵ A unique example of a man characterized by willingness to give his life, confirmed many a time and in various ways, was Jan Karski,²⁵⁶ to whom the President wrote in a letter: “As a sworn officer of the Home Army and a Government Delegation's envoy you faced many dangers in order to tell the world the truth about the fighting in our country where you fulfilled a soldier's duty, too. At the same time, as an ordinary contemporary man, fellow citizen and compatriot, you voluntarily bid the highest stake – your own life – to get a first-hand knowledge about the tragic fate of the Polish Jews in the Bełżec ghetto and camp.”²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii... [May 8 is a day of reflection on historical verdicts for us...]. Speech at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 196.

²⁵⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wolność nie jest dana raz na zawsze... [Freedom is not given once and for all...]. Speech on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Poland's regaining independence (November 11, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 134-135; Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message on the occasion of bringing the ashes of General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski to Poland (July 27, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 247: “General Bór opposed the German invaders with the most remarkable army in the world. The entire city followed it. Few commanders in history had such brave, loyal and exceptionally devoted people. Civilians and soldiers. Determined by the will to fight. Brave and courageous. Fierce in revenge and contempt for death. Eager for victory. Though many times weaker than the the enemy – they decided to give everything for freedom. Also – their own lives. They could not. They did not want to. They would not be able to live without this fight. This most important step in the nation's life at that time – was determined by faith and hope in victory”; L. Wałęsa, *Message on the occasion of bringing the ashes of General Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski to Poland (July 27, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 248: “Without the fight, to which you inspired the nation, without the sacrifice of your soldiers, there would be no free Poland today.”

²⁵⁶ It is worth recalling: J. Karski, *Story of a secret state. My report to the world*, foreword by M.K. Albright, Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC 2013; J. Karski, *Story of a secret state*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1944.

²⁵⁷ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Professor Jan Karski (April 20, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 291.

During World War II, Polish soldiers fought on all fronts, “they fought for London, Paris and Rome. They gave their lives for the freedom of other countries and nations.”²⁵⁸ Fighting and dying outside of Poland, they in a sense sacrificed their lives for the freedom and independence of Poland.²⁵⁹ President Lech Wałęsa reminded this in a speech during the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Monte Cassino in 1994: “The soldiers who died here, who won here, added a golden page to the history of Polish knighthood. They fought for a free and independent Poland. They fought for a place our nation deserves in the family of free European nations. As Allied soldiers they also fought for a free and democratic Europe. The direction of civilizational development. (...) Poland paid for its freedom with graves. More than others. This price must be remembered. It must be reminded. Especially today, when we have enjoyed our freedom only since recently. The grave crosses on Monte Cassino remind us how much it should be valued. They are a reminder and a warning.”²⁶⁰

The Polish love of freedom is at the same time the love of the homeland and the ability to bear the supreme sacrifices, including the sacrifice of life. The value constituting the struggle for freedom is the ability to become a defender of the homeland and, if necessary, a soldier. An example of showing the need to weigh values in the context of the fight for freedom of the homeland is President Lech Wałęsa’s text about a young poet who was killed during World War II in the Warsaw Uprising as a soldier of the Home Army in the “Parasol” battalion – Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński. He had to make a choice, recognise what was the most important thing in life, and what was his utmost duty and obligation. In this way, he placed the service to the homeland

²⁵⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day turned out not to be a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 189.

²⁵⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Witam w wolnym, rodzinnym domu...* [Welcome to the free family home...]. Speech at the First Congress of the Polish Community Abroad (August 19, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 90.

²⁶⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Bili się o wolną i niepodległą Polskę. O wolną, demokratyczną Europę...* [They fought for a free and independent Poland. For a free and democratic Europe...]. Speech at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Monte Cassino (May 18, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 149.

higher than anything he had ever done: "Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński died as a soldier, though he was not a soldier. He made a dramatic choice at the time of trial. He exchanged his pen for a gun. He stood up to fight like his peers. He considered fighting to be the most important thing. His utmost duty and obligation. He put the service to his homeland higher than the service to poetry. It was a cruel, desperate fight. Life-and-death struggle – of the people and the city. Everyone stood up to fight. The old and the young. Boys and girls. They could be artists, scholars, poets. They could work and create. Live. They died prematurely. (...) Remembering Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński today, I pay homage to the great Poet-Soldier. I bow my head down to this generation so tragically and painfully experienced by fate. For their willingness to make the utmost sacrifice. In the name of freedom. In the name of the love of the homeland."²⁶¹

2.4. Conclusions

The narrative of President Lech Wałęsa in which he discusses the subject of national freedom is an important testimony of the processes of creating Poland's national security during the period of the systemic transformation and change. It is national security in its most fundamental form relating to independence and sovereignty of the nation and state. The analysed texts make it possible to start understanding better the value of national freedom that allows the sovereign – the nation to be revealed in all areas of its existence, development and creation of power. The nation is understood not as an ethnic but as a political entity comprised of all citizens. Poland can be recognised as one's own homeland regardless of ethnicity or beliefs. In his statements, Lech Wałęsa combines freedom with democracy, which appears as an expression and guardian of freedom. The analysis of the President's texts provokes formulation of several general conclusions regarding Poland's national freedom from the viewpoint of security studies.

²⁶¹ L. Wałęsa, *Message on the occasion of a requiem mass for the soul of the late Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński, a soldier of the Warsaw Uprising (August 4, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 249.

Freedom and sovereignty are values without which an independent state cannot function. Nurturing and passing them on to successive generations ensured that Poles could regain their independence. These values should be understood and defined as unifying the political community and leading to national and transnational responsibility and solidarity. The experience of Poland makes us remember that freedom and sovereignty are not given to us once and for all. The reminder of both regaining independence in 1918, but also the actions of Polish allies during World War II and the decisions of the “Big Three” in Teheran and Yalta, dooming Poland to dependence on the USSR, are an imperative to constantly cherish freedom and sovereignty. Therefore, all signs of the loss of the pro-independence ethos and acting to its disadvantage should be perceived in terms of threats to national security. The pro-independence ethos should be seen as a part of national heritage requiring to be cared for and financed by the state. The loss of this ethos is a loss of the ability to recognise the threats to freedom and national sovereignty, which manifest themselves in either of the two forms: dissolution in supranational structures or isolationism.

The issue of national freedom cannot be limited solely to the issue of its recovery. For it demands recognition in the everyday existence and functioning of a political community, i.e. where it gains its shape, in the life of the society, in its strengths, which include: culture, family, citizenship, economy, and politics. There, it also demands support from these strengths. This support takes the form of showing the importance of the principle of the rule of law and the principle of pluralism of social life in shaping the social order that really takes into account human nature, also in its social dimension. National freedom should be understood as a space for the development of various freedoms, such as freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, economic freedom. These freedoms, however, do not remain outside the responsibility for national freedom.

National freedom is a value in Poland regardless of one’s affiliation to a particular political option or a current social and economic situation. It is connected with the tangible and intangible good of individuals and the community. It can be thought of in terms of a national,

social and culture-creating event, introducing individuals and communities into spaces larger than those in which they existed before. The history of the struggle for national freedom brought about for Poles the experience of their own subjectivity, which turned out to be a path leading to international relations.

The reflection on Poland's national freedom allows for making a statement that only free entities can be real selves and establish relationships, look for and choose those with whom to establish relationships and value them. Freedom, which is the subject of reflection in thinking about a political community provokes an observation of the need to overcome at least two limitations. First, the one resulting from regional thinking, related to the space delimited in terms of territory. Second, the one being an effect of ethnic thinking related to freedom from strangers. The rules governing national freedom also include certain dependence. The more national freedom becomes an event (a fact and self-revelation of a nation) within a particular political community, the more it is a transnational event which places this political community in the global order. The more national freedom becomes an experience within a political community, the more it becomes external freedom. This does not mean, however, that external freedom of a political community secures freedom within it in a simple and unconditional manner. The same concerns individuals and freedom: an individual may be a free person internally in a totalitarian state, but also a slave of the law under the rule of law.

Freedom and sovereignty of a nation require taking care of the armed forces, defence education of the society, research on national security. They are also an imperative to analyse the organisation of the national security system of the Republic of Poland. This applies both to the legal and organisational dimension, the system of national security management at the central level, the defence system of the state and the nation, protective subsystems, and above all, activities aimed at improving the system of national security.²⁶²

²⁶² This conclusion is a direct reference to Waldemar Kitler's research. Cf. W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Aspekty ustrojowe, prawno-administracyjne i systemowe*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2018.

3. “Today, we are returning to our roots, to our identity, to the values that have shaped us.” National identity in creating national security of Poland

“Moral signposts are necessary also today. In order not to lose the direction of the chosen path, we need models that for centuries have been giving us strength and support, have determined our place among other states and nations. There were attempts to destroy them in the name of an alien ideology. Today, we are returning to our roots, to our identity, to the values that have shaped us.”²⁶³ - President Lech Wałęsa wrote to the participants in the ceremony of consecrating the Home Army soldiers’ burial plot at the Rasos Cemetery in Vilnius.²⁶⁴ The notion of identity is associated not only with values, but also with the models tested in the past, moral principles which one needs to remember in order to be able to follow the right path towards the future. The cited text contains another important piece of content.

²⁶³ L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants in the ceremony of consecrating the Home Army soldiers’ burial plot at the Rasos Cemetery (July 11, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 235.

²⁶⁴ This is one of the main Polish cemeteries, located in Vilnius, Lithuania. It is a resting place of many Poles distinguished in the area of national culture and science. A part of the complex is a military cemetery with graves of officers and volunteers who were killed in the years 1919-1920 in the fights for Vilnius, and soldiers of the Home Army who perished in 1944. There is also the grave of Maria Piłsudska (d. 1884), which contains the heart of her son – Marshal Józef Piłsudski (d. 1935), who was buried at the Wawel Cathedral in Kraków.

Namely that national identity is associated with strength, support and, above all, a place among other states and nations. It should be understood as directly related to the processes of creating national security. Józef Marczak, together with his research team, reckons that one of the strategic threats to national security of Poland in the 21st century is the loss of national identity of the present and future generations of Poles as a result of abandoning the education or erroneous education of young generations of Poles, neglect of tradition, culture and national history.²⁶⁵ The analysis carried out in this chapter is aimed at showing national identity in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa as a value that is one of the pillars of creating Poland's national security. The corpus of reflection is based on two pillars. First, to show the meaning of national identity, and then the methods of its building and nurturing. The latter should be at the same time recognised as the forms of expressing national identity, since the basic means of giving care for national identity is to express it.

3.1. National identity in the state

When asked about the role of national identity in creating national security of Poland, Lech Wałęsa replied: "I used to be a prisoner of the past. My generation, we were wondering how to throw off what had been imposed on us, how to regain what we had had. I was driven by that – the desire to regain what my grandpa had been deprived of."²⁶⁶ During the communist period and then the political transformations, national identity which was supposed to have its share in the processes of creating Poland's national security was a value that had to be regained, just like freedom. This identity has not been taken away from the nation. However, it was necessary to reach to what "grandpa" had; to history, remembrance and tradition.

Despite the fact that one can describe what is characteristic of Polish national identity, it does not know its pure form. The fates

²⁶⁵ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski od X do XX wieku. Wnioski dla Polski w XXI wieku*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2013, p. 92.

²⁶⁶ *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

of nations, especially when understood with regard to the ethnic component, are intertwined. These fates were usually shaped in the context of shifted national borders, often as if regardless of these borders. These fates were shaped even in spite of disputes and wars, fears as well as growing and fading antagonisms. Representatives of nations were influenced by neighbours, subjected to assimilation or they emigrated outside of the area of residence. National identity reveals itself in places where the traditional national centres developed around the seats of their rulers differently than in the borderlands. Poland knows many such borderland areas and areas exposed to various influences. They were known in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which besides ethnic Poles was also inhabited by other peoples. They are also known to residents of areas exposed to political and cultural influences in the times of the loss of independence. Speaking about the national identity of Poles, about Poland within its political borders formed after World War II, what cannot be forgotten is this complex heritage which is permanently present in the Polish thinking which self-identifies the political community. What must not be overlooked either, apart from the heritage which shapes the thinking associated with territory, is the effect of the influence of emigration and emigrant thinking about the national identity of Poles.

The care for national identity is one of political priorities in the creation of state security, which concerns both its internal life and external relations. It is national identity that distinguishes and connects people from a particular political community (internal dimension) and allows a given state to participate in international life, which thanks to otherness allows it to find itself in "between" states. The expression of such thinking seems to be present in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa. He expressed it in the speech at the Belarusian Council of the Republic during his visit in 1993, when he said: "With utmost respect and admiration we follow your patriotic and national aspirations, the deepening of the sense of national identity, concern for the Belarusian language and culture, rejection of the unification imposed by the totalitarian system. I think that Belarusians are very European in these efforts and strivings. They belong to the civilizational mainstream of our continent. Because today's Europe is becoming unity in diversity. A spiritual

treasury of cultural differences. Today, you are adding another value to this treasury, just as the Belorussian culture has been doing for centuries."²⁶⁷ When reading Lech Wałęsa's text, it is worth extracting from it the content that is commonly known in the theory of identity, but should not escape attention, especially in research on the creation of national security, and therefore deserves to be emphasised. Namely, national identity is the reality which, being connected with patriotic and national aspirations, requires deepening. This is done for the sake of a language and culture, which also removes being afraid of other nations' cultures. This means that caring for national identity is one of those acts of the state that should be seen among the activities legitimising it on the international arena. The deepening of national identity, obviously providing it is not built on the foundations of hostility, is a part of the foreign policy of the state. Since it is the distinguishing feature of the state among states, just like the flag or the national anthem are in the objective order.

In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, national identity is connected, above all, with people who historically created culture and fought for national freedom; with family, attachment to land and the Church; with workers' protests and actions of the democratic and independence opposition;²⁶⁸ with the notion of values that constitute it²⁶⁹ and with regional identity associated with the idea of "Europe of small

²⁶⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Stabilna, demokratyczna i otwarta na współpracę Białoruś jest oczekiwana w Europie...* [Stable and democratic Belarus which is open to cooperation is awaited in Europe...]. Speech at the Belarusian Council of the Republic during an official visit to the Republic of Belarus (June 29, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 110-111.

²⁶⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 39.

²⁶⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach...* [The keys to the homeland are in your hands...]. Welcoming speech for His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving with the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 32-33. "We are creating a new reality. We are heading towards Europe, a united Europe. We desire good relations with all our neighbours. We are building democracy and healthy economy. However, we will not give up the values that make up our national identity. From the achievements of the West, we will take what enriches our culture, what contributes to human development."

homelands” referring to culture in the sense of local customs and traditions.²⁷⁰ The subject of national identity includes also the state’s concern for Poles living outside of the Polish borders.²⁷¹ In the context of national identity, Christianity is often a recurring element in the narrative of President Lech Wałęsa. To the extent that speaking about the future constitution of the Republic of Poland he stated: “... the constitution must be based on the coherent system of values recognised in society. These should be the values that take into account Christian identity of the Poles.”²⁷²

The above reflection on national identity seen in the perspective of creating Poland’s national security needs to be complemented by pointing to the idea of continuity in the functioning of the state.²⁷³ President Lech Wałęsa drew attention to this when he wrote about the international agreement between Poland and the Holy See: “Concluding the Concordat is our duty. The termination of the Concordat by the communists was an expression of breaking our history and

²⁷⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the Participants of the Second Kashubian Congress (June 11, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 225: “Today, as the President of the Republic of Poland, I understand how important regionalisation is for the citizens of a state. It means strengthening the sense of community, common action and common assumption of responsibility for the region. Finding identity – understood not as separatism, but as attachment to tradition – helps build the future. Europe is uniting. But at the same time, ‘Europe of small homelands’ is emerging to protect the identity that has grown out of culture, customs and traditions.”

²⁷¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania (September 15, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 264: “I would like to emphasise here that Poland is vitally interested in creating the right conditions for protection and development of the national identity of Poles living in other countries – just as it creates them for national minorities in its territory.”

²⁷² L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our country...]. Speech delivered at the opening of the constitutional conference held at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 38.

²⁷³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Od Was zależy w jakim kierunku zmierzać będzie Polska... [The direction in which Poland will go depends on you...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm (October 14, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 128: “There are matters which are fundamental for the existence of the state, for its development; from the point of view of its interest – indisputable. They require continuity. Great consideration. Special responsibility.”

tradition apart. Negotiating and signing of the new Concordat restores historical continuity. It comprises the aspect of rebuilding our national identity."²⁷⁴ Similarly, when writing about the Order of the White Eagle, the oldest and the highest honour of the Republic of Poland, which was restored in 1992, the President said that it was "the symbol of Polish tradition and historical continuity of our state."²⁷⁵ The idea of continuity seems to be inextricably linked with national identity. In a sense, the idea of continuity is an expression of national identity. Expressing and emphasising national identity is realised in the ideological order through fidelity to national values. For they are revealed with the characteristic force of diachronic unification. Because only the values that have been proven in history, in successive generations, and have been subjected to the test of time, can be the source of the unifying force within a given generation. The uniting force of values synchronising the political community in its "today" demands a prior unifying strength of values in the history of the nation.

The understanding of the role of national identity of Poles should be seen as an important element in the development of the national security policy. National identity, combining values, ideas, symbols and stereotypes preserved in the works of national culture and embedded in people's consciousness, is an element that unites society. The emotional element which accompanies experiencing of national identity in society - providing it is not fueled by hostility to other nations and representatives of political communities - can be an important force constructing the experience of unity, even community in society. And this experience is an irreplaceable force of the subjective sense of security of individuals and an engaging force for activities that build a civil society at the level of its foundations, in a local community remaining in a relation to the entirety of the state. Hence, the manifested common creativity, not only the individual one, needs to be recognised in national identity, seen from the viewpoint of creating national security. For the reflection on identity provokes social groups to make

²⁷⁴ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *His Holiness Pope John Paul II (July 28, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 286.

²⁷⁵ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *His Holiness Pope John Paul II (May 3, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 284.

choices – to determine what is (will be in the future) the “live tradition of the nation”. To this end, social groups must demonstrate not only creativity but also prior knowledge of history. For in order to talk about the “live tradition of the nation”, support it and interpret it, it is necessary to know it first. The discussion about the “live tradition of the nation” is an important area for the growth and emergence of political elites. For it is a privileged space for practicing ideological disputes, not merely economic ones. However, in order for the political elites to mature, they need to refer in such disputes not only to the concept of “our” (as in: different from “foreign”), but also, which needs to be emphasized, to the concept of “good”. Likewise, national identity that focuses on the concept of “our” but does not place this “our” in the light of ethical reflection – on what is “good” – seems to be condemned to parochialism, exclusion from the mainstream of international relations. Since the basic international dialogue requires thinking about “good”, even if it is a subjective good of certain interest groups.

3.2. Care for national identity

“Culture, art, tradition and history are values which we must protect and cultivate. This is a bond that connects Poles.”²⁷⁶ - wrote President Lech Wałęsa in a letter to Professor Karolina Lanckorońska. In the above imperative to care for the values that unite the nation, there should be seen concern for national identity – a great strength in creating Poland’s national security. Despite the fact that the lexeme ‘identity’ is one of the rarely used in the Presidential narrative, it is possible to identify in the analysed texts four thematic areas that are connected with concern for what makes Poles who they are. And these are:

- culture,
- remembrance and history,
- tradition and Christianity,
- patriotism.

These issues also define the framework of the following considerations.

²⁷⁶ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Professor Karolina Lanckorońska* (November 7, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 301.

3.2.1. Culture

National identity could be manifested as a strength in creating Poland's national security because its core is made of culture which serves people through recognition of values, also national values; recognition of what is important in the political community, what is important and should be defended by using the defence capabilities of the nation and the state. On the one hand, national identity needs culture to be revealed in it, and on the other, culture needs a support, a foothold, which is easily found in national identity. Culture plays a role that integrates the elements of national identity in the nation, which are present in: the way of life, experiencing one's own humanity, ideas, remembrance, common experiences, traditions, language, various forms and spaces of art. Culture is a binder of national identity because it is a space of internal communication of the nation at the level of values. It seeks, names and shows what is important, because values consolidate it. For the security of the nation it matters how culture understands man and man's social forms of functioning, because it is culture that helps the individual and society to constitute, name and express themselves. Leon Dyczewski even claims that culture is the world of values which direct human desires and actions and for a basis for the evaluation of everything that a person thinks, desires and does.²⁷⁷

Culture and science are the pillars of the state, which need to be ensured long-term peace and quiet, said President Lech Wałęsa

²⁷⁷ Cf. L. Dyczewski, *Od tożsamości zamkniętej do otwartej w społeczeństwie wielokulturowym i globalnym*, in: *Język, komunikacja i edukacja w społecznościach wielokulturowych*, ed. T. Lewowicki, J. Urban, A. Szczypka-Rusz, Uniwersytet Śląski Filia w Cieszynie, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna ZNP w Warszawie, Cieszyn – Warszawa 2004, pp. 54-63; L. Dyczewski, *Trwałość i zmienność kultury polskiej*, Akademia Społeczna, Wojewódzki Dom Kultury, Lublin 2002; L. Dyczewski, *Więź międzypokoleniowa w rodzinie*, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2002; L. Dyczewski, *Miejsce i funkcje wartości w kulturze*, in: *Kultura w kręgu wartości*, ed. L. Dyczewski, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2001, pp. 29-47; L. Dyczewski, *Najważniejsze są wartości*, in: *Kultura w kręgu wartości*, ed. L. Dyczewski, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2001, pp. 311-313.

at the Gdańsk Shipyard in 1993.²⁷⁸ It is culture that contributes to the spiritual perseverance in the nation.²⁷⁹ It allows Poles living outside their homeland to keep up their Polishness.²⁸⁰ In Lech Wałęsa's texts, Polish culture, along with its centuries-old tradition and heritage, is shown as one of the greatest wealths of the Homeland, a foundation that cements national unity, a determinant of identity, especially in the most difficult moments of history. Culture is the strength of the nation thanks to which in history Polish life and Polish statehood were renewed and reborn after the attempts to annihilate them. Perceiving these values of culture and recognising its role and function in the political community, Lech Wałęsa established the Council for Culture made up of 74 members. The chairman of the Council was the outstanding director, Andrzej Wajda, one of the denouncers of communism through the language of film and theatre.²⁸¹ At this point, the content of the President's message on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the of Polish Actors' Association (ZASP) should be noted. In this text, Lech Wałęsa reminds that it is this organisation that is the peer of Polish independence and has strongly interweaved its destiny with the fate of the homeland. He draws attention to the patriotic attitude of Polish artists during World War II and then martial law, when expressing their opposition

²⁷⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Kraj uporządkować możemy tylko przez wybory...* [We can establish order in the country only through elections...]. Speech at the Gdańsk Shipyard on the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (September 31, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 122.

²⁷⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Professor Andrzej S. Ciechanowiecki* (September 22, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 298.

²⁸⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Nie jesteście sami...* [You are not alone...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad during an official visit to the Republic of Belarus (June 29, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 108.

²⁸¹ Cf. *Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania* [Three Years of Lech Wałęsa's Presidency. Plans and achievements], typescript. Material prepared by the Political Office of the President, Warsaw, January 1994, pp. 60 and 63-64, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw); L. Wałęsa, *Zastanówmy się co możemy zrobić dla polskiej kultury...* [Let us think what we can do for Polish culture...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Council for Culture at the President of the Republic of Poland (September 16, 1992), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, *The Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 93-94.

to the situation, resisting the communist authorities, they refused to appear in the mass media. He wrote: "The actor's role is to play other characters, but it should be done in harmony with psychological, social and historical truth. That is why actors refused to participate in lies and meanness. A thing unprecedented in the history of this profession. Seemingly in contradiction to their mission – they were really great. To do so, the Association have had really great figures in its ranks. And not only the figures of the stage or screen, professional authority figures, but also moral authorities."²⁸²

Thinking about creating national security in Poland and at the same time about national identity and culture, it should be noted what Lech Wałęsa said about national minorities in Poland, which according to him enrich the country, its culture, multiply its material achievements.²⁸³ He also spoke about the numerous manifestations of the influence of the Arab world and Muslim civilisation on Polish culture, customs, language and literature.²⁸⁴

3.2.2. Remembrance and history

The reflection on the subject of remembrance and history in the political community, such remembrance that is related to the processes of creating security, should take into account a whole range of issues including: transfer of values and behaviour models, a sense of collective identity referring to common heroes and symbols. The reflection on remembrance in the political community is by no means indifferent to those who hold the reins of power in the state and for the legitimacy of power. In a sense, history – remembered and recalled – is a part

²⁸² L. Wałęsa, *Message for the 75th Anniversary of the Polish Actors' Association (December 20, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 246.

²⁸³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy... [Our agreement is in the interest of the whole of Europe...]. Speech at a special meeting of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, in the presence of the FRG President, during an official visit to Germany (March 30, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 62.

²⁸⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich... [Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...]. Speech at the headquarters of the League of Arab States during a visit to Egypt (May 17, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 73.

of the national choice which shapes national identity and thus determines the future. A few years before the fall of communism, Józef Tischner wrote about it referring, which should not come as a surprise, to the category of dignity: "Choosing the Homeland, we also choose our history. Choosing one's own history means that we push certain events further away to the background and put others in a special way in front of our eyes as a model. This is of considerable importance. Referring to history, one contributes to the dignity of those whose work one continues."²⁸⁵ From among the Polish studies on collective memory, one should distinguish those of Barbara Szacka who by collective memory understands conscious reference to the past exercised in the current collective life. Therefore, collective memory comprises of a collection of images of members of the community about its past, about people who populated it, and about the events that took place in it, as well as ways of commemorating and passing down knowledge about them, considered to be mandatory equipment for members of this community.²⁸⁶ To better illustrate what such memory is Ireneusz Krzemiński wrote using a simile: "Social memory is something that arises as a collective work, like a great fabric, woven from millions of threads into a plain, simple or more complicated, complex pattern. Individual destinies and experiences, hence also individual memories, are a part of this pattern. Indeed, they are a part of this pattern, whether we want it or not!"²⁸⁷ Collective memory largely contributes to the fact that the political community can be seen as a community, called – a "great fabric" by Ireneusz Krzemiński. This happens on at least three levels: first, the level of integration of the present with the past; second, the level of interpretation of this presence in the present (something that is now is as it is because it already has its own history); third, at the level of activities that are a continuation (it is easier to support institutions that have a history of recognition and admiration).

²⁸⁵ J. Tischner, *Ojczyzna*, in: J. Tischner, *Etyka solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2018, p. 114.

²⁸⁶ Cf. B. Szacka, *Historia i pamięć zbiorowa*, "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" 2003, no. 4, p. 4.

²⁸⁷ I. Krzemiński, *Wstęp*, in: *Solidarność – doświadczenie i pamięć*, ed. I. Krzemiński, Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, Gdańsk 2010, p. 010.

In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, national remembrance seems like a collective obligation. Remembering victims, for example of a war, is an expression of the duty for generations living after the war.²⁸⁸ These generations that live in the times of peace must face the emerging tendency to forget. The memory of what is difficult to recollect, which was sad, requires effort: "A half century ago, Europe's most bloody war in history ended. Over fifty million people lost their lives. The world experienced the horror of genocide. These events were so frightening that one would like to forget about them as soon as possible. Put them out of mind. However, one must not succumb to this instinct. We must remember. Especially us, Poles. After all, the war struck us with particular cruelty."²⁸⁹ As an expression of respect for human death remembrance has an important educational dimension. The task of history is to expose ideologies. Speaking at the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Lech Wałęsa said: "It needs to be remembered – it must not be forgotten! – that the Nazi ideology was at the roots of the Holocaust. The ideology which guided a Nazi executioner's hand – at the moment of shooting a Jewish mother and her child. There are always evil and spiteful thoughts behind a crime. A thought can kill. This is a tragic lesson of the Holocaust."²⁹⁰ The educational value of remembrance mentioned in Lech Wałęsa's texts is particularly clear. He expressed it even at the first meeting with the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence: "History – as they say – is a great teacher of life. One merely needs to be able to draw conclusions from it. Learn from mistakes so as not to repeat

²⁸⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wszystkim ofiarom jesteśmy winni pamięć...* [We owe remembrance to all victims...]. Speech delivered at Birkenau-Brzezinka during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz (January 27, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 184.

²⁸⁹ L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii...* [8th of May is a day of reflection and contemplation on historical verdicts for us...]. Speech at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 194.

²⁹⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Wasza sprawa zwyciężyła...* [Your cause has won...]. Speech at the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (April 19, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 96.

them a second time.”²⁹¹ History should also be remembered to learn from those who showed special heroism in defence of their homeland. Successive generations owe remembrance to those who were faithful to their homeland,²⁹² who remind the people of hope, of the role of truth and freedom. Beginning the speech at the unveiling of the Monument to the Fallen Coal Miners of the “Wujek” Mine,²⁹³ the President said: “Those marching in the procession – for hope – were shot at. They died because they protested against violence, lies, enslavement and humiliation of the nation. Their death was not in vain. The cause for which they died – has won. Poland is free. We live in a country where we enact laws. We answer for ourselves.”²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ L. Wałęsa, *Speech of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at the meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence*, typescript, (Warsaw, August 6, 1992), p. 1, (Archives of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw). Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polskę i Litwę łączy ta sama troska o zapewnienie państwom naszego regionu spokojnego bytu... [Poland and Lithuania share the same concern for ensuring peaceful existence for the states of our region...]. Toast during a formal dinner in honour of the President of the Republic of Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas (February 17, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 186.

²⁹² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Pamięć o ich męce i śmierci, o wierności Rzeczypospolitej, dawała nam siłę wytrwania i moc w walce... [The memory of their ordeal and death, and their fidelity to the Republic of Poland, gave us the strength of perseverance and power in the fight...]. Speech at the grave of Polish officers in Katyń during an official visit to the Russian Federation (May 23, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 82: “Thinking about resurrection, I wanted to say that the memory of the ordeal and death of Polish officers, the memory of their soldier’s oath and loyalty to the Republic of Poland has always accompanied us throughout the last half century. It gave us the strength to persevere and power in the fight. That bloodshed in this alien land was not in vain. Those who lie here are with us. May their souls rest in peace.”

²⁹³ This is a monument unveiled on the tenth anniversary of the pacification of the “Wujek” Coal Mine in Katowice. The monument commemorates the victims of the actions of the communist authorities aimed at those who went on strike against the introduction of martial law in Poland (as of December 13, 1981). As a result of the actions of the army and the militia, 9 miners were killed, and many were wounded. The pacification of the “Wujek” mine is in Poland a symbol of the operation of the communist power against the nation.

²⁹⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Ich śmierć nie była daremna.... [Their death was not in vain...]. Speech delivered at the unveiling of the Monument to the Fallen Miners of the “Wujek” Mine (December 15, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 51.

The memory of the nation is a part of its current policy, not only internally, but also internationally. In the presence of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, President Lech Wałęsa said: "It is true that history cannot be escaped, but to constantly looking back weakens and paralyses. Meanwhile, we need a new look. Free from emotions and resentments. Conclusions should be drawn from history, but it is necessary to look into the future in terms of opportunity. New generations have grown up. Do we have the right to burden them with the past? Will it help them to build the 21st century?"²⁹⁵ The Polish President spoke in a similar tone in the Lithuanian parliament. There, however, he drew attention to the need to involve historians in the relations between the states: "Poles and Lithuanians are the nations entangled in history. We should overcome this entanglement. Look into the future farther than the shadows of the past. The past has to be respected and remembered. Every nation has the right to its own assessment of its history. However, I think that both Poles and Lithuanians must rediscover their history again and again. They must study it insightfully so as not to repeat the mistakes of the past, so as not to judge history on the basis of simplified, common opinions. Therefore, it will be best if investigation of history is left to historians. Let them help us find what connects rather than what divides us."²⁹⁶

The essential content regarding the role of remembrance, history and historical research for the functioning of the state is contained in the text signed by President Lech Wałęsa and addressed

²⁹⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Zjednoczone Niemcy witam z optymizmem i nadzieją... [I welcome united Germany with optimism and hope...]. Toast at a breakfast given by Chancellor Helmut Kohl during an official visit to the FRG (March 31, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 65.*

²⁹⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Polska i Litwa podają sobie dłonie... [Poland and Lithuania are shaking hands...]. Speech in the Lithuanian Parliament during an official visit to the Republic of Lithuania (April 26, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 144. Cf. L. Wałęsa, 8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii... [8th of May is a day of reflection and contemplation on historical verdicts for us...]. Speech at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 196: "Every nation has the right to its own assessment of history. We can understand the reasons why others can see the past differently. We understand how strong a toll has the war taken on the minds of Russians and our other eastern neighbours."*

to the participants of the Fifteenth General Congress of Polish Historians held in Gdańsk in 1995. In this text, history is referred to as the “memory of the nation”. It is a particularly vivid memory, fueled by the incessant fire of shared experiences, permanently driven by the emotions with which Poles, invariably, for generations, have accepted successive historical events. According to the author of the text, it is characteristic of Poles to look for answers to questions about the present in history, both as regards specific matters, such as poverty or violence, and the fundamental ones – Where did we come from?, Where are we heading? This fact results in a “great power” that historians have – “Shaping the views and attitudes of the masses opens up tempting opportunities. So, in our country, history has been a field of multiple abuses; falsified, manipulated, it has been an instrument of political propaganda for years.”²⁹⁷ The truth about the past, disclosed and disseminated, is a guarantee of defence against the processes destroying the self-awareness of a nation. The role of remembrance in a national community is revealed with special force in breakthrough moments. During a transformation, history helps society to live by providing a sense of sovereignty, confirming the awareness of social subjectivity, encouraging independence and responsibility for the future. History strengthens national identity and tradition.²⁹⁸

Assuming power in Poland on December 22, 1990, Lech Wałęsa addressed the Polish President in exile at that time, Ryszard Kaczorowski, who attended the ceremony: “Mr President, through your agency I would like to thank all those who by their steadfastness, fortitude, faith and heroism contributed to the fact that the Polish refugees have never severed their contacts with the country. Those who in the publishing houses, radio stations, organisations and by individual work have been saving the memory of the nation understood as a whole. As a cultural whole and a part of

²⁹⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants of the Fifteenth General Congress of Polish Historians (September 19, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 255.

²⁹⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.

the European civilization.”²⁹⁹ This statement is important, first of all, because of the “memory of the nation” which is of interest to us in the context of this research. It was shown as a reality important for the functioning of the state and requiring action from many people. The statement quoted here, however, has also another meaning. It could be seen as an example of “censorship” of presidential texts,³⁰⁰ which is an important argument for the need to study the beginnings of the Third Republic of Poland. The memory of the nation is a particularly valuable, sensitive space which is prone to manipulation.

3.2.3. Tradition and Christianity

Józef Marczak, together with his research team, consider secularisation of the Polish society which, following the example of the societies of Western Europe, threatens to weaken the spiritual, social and national position of Polish Catholicism and the Polish Church as one the strategic threats to Poland’s national security in the 21st

²⁹⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Speech of the newly elected President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at the ceremony of handing over the presidential insignia at the Royal Castle in Warsaw on December 22, 1990*, p. 114, (Journal of Laws no. 5, item. 64). Legal acts and other documents of the Polish authorities in exile. Archives of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw. (<http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/LDU19900050064/O/LDU19900050064.pdf> access on October 26, 2018).

³⁰⁰ In the official edition (published at the initiative of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland) of the texts of speeches by President Lech Wałęsa, this text is shorter, with the last words missing, the words about the unity of the nation in the Polish lands with its part that lived in exile and about the cultural and civilizational dimension (missing words: “understood as a whole. As a cultural whole and a part of European civilization”). Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polskie władze na uchodźstwie wypełniły swoją misję... [Polish authorities in exile have fulfilled their mission...]. Speech at the Royal Castle after handing over of the insignia of state authority by the President of the Republic of Poland in exile Ryszard Kaczorowski (December 22, 1990)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 11. “Mr President, through your agency I would like to thank all those who by their steadfastness, fortitude, faith and heroism contributed to the fact that the Polish refugee never broke contact with the country. Those who in the publishing houses, radio stations, organisations and by individual work have been saving the memory of the nation”.

century.³⁰¹ This statement seems to be well-placed to introduce the issue of the role of Christianity and tradition in creating Poland's national security, which could be referred to the texts of President Lech Wałęsa.

Tradition is one of the main ways to incorporate what is described by history into the present. It supports memory to a great extent, it co-creates national culture. This inclusion of the past into the present concerns primarily the cultural content, which, thanks to this, can live in the current social awareness and constitute an essential element of consciousness processes. In this way, the memory (history) through tradition influences and co-shapes the fates of societies because it is an important factor in their self-determination. This also applies to these communities which make up nations, and within them what is usually called national tradition. It is precisely through national tradition that nations, as historical communities, express their attitude towards the national past, transform and include the heritage of this past into national consciousness. National tradition is the basis for historical continuity of a nation, its self-understanding, which to a large extent affects its further fate and processes of creating national security. This happens, among other things, through a canon of cultural traditions, which in the case of Poland is particularly visible, and to a large extent remains related to the Catholic traditions.³⁰²

³⁰¹ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsior, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski od X do XX wieku. Wnioski dla Polski w XXI wieku*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2013, p. 93.

³⁰² Cf. A. Tarczyński, *Tradycja. Społeczne doświadczenie przeszłości*, Wydawnictwo MADO, Toruń 2008; L. Dyczewski, *Czy Polacy potrzebują tradycji?*, in: *Czy Polacy potrzebują tradycji?*, ed. M. Mamińska, Fundacja Muzyka Kresów, Lublin 2005, pp. 31-40; L. Dyczewski, *Znaczenie tradycji dla rozwoju narodu i społeczeństwa*, in: *Stare i nowe struktury społeczne w Polsce*, vol. V, *Terytorialne struktury społeczne*, ed. D. Niczyporuk, Wydawnictwo UMCS, Lublin 2004, pp. 217-224; L. Dyczewski, *Wartości podstawą tradycji polskiej*, in: *Nasza tradycja. Wybrane aspekty tożsamości kulturowej społeczeństwa Polskiego*, ed. P.K. Kutty, Nasza Tradycja, Lublin 1996, pp. 77-91; *Nasza tradycja. Wybrane aspekty tożsamości kulturowej społeczeństwa polskiego*, ed. P.K. Kutty, Nasza Tradycja, Lublin 1996; J. Szacki, *Tradycja. Przegląd problematyki*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1971.

In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, the connection between tradition, Catholicism and the activity of the Church in society is clearly visible. In a speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm on November 25, 1991, Lech Wałęsa strongly emphasised the connection between tradition and identity. What is particularly important for the research on creating national security, he presented tradition as the strength of the nation in the times of the loss of independence. He also pointed to the role of religion by defining the Church as a "national institution": "We know where we are going. Without looking back – let us remember where we have come from. This tradition gives us identity. It distinguishes us from others. It helped us survive the years of partitions, occupation and enslavement. When 'homeland was language and speech', the Church was our national institution. It was and it has remained. Because Poland has grown out of the Christian background. Its values have been residing in us for centuries, in culture and in everyday life. These are our roots."³⁰³ In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, the Roman Catholic Church is shown as an entity that "has gained gratitude and respect of the whole of society" not only because it is its spiritual guide and anchor at the most difficult moments, but also because it is the repository of the greatest traditions.³⁰⁴ This applies to the Church's activities both in Poland and abroad.³⁰⁵

To be able to participate in the processes of creating national security of Poland, national identity needs a means in the form of tradition.

³⁰³ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 40.

³⁰⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo...* [The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...]. Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic (February 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 16.

³⁰⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants in the Congress of the Polish Community Abroad in Latin American Countries* (November 3, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 240: "Today, although deeply rooted in the South American soil and most loyally devoted to it – you reach out for your European, Polish roots. For years and generations deprived of closer contacts with Poland – you owe the upholding of the national spirit to the common Catholic faith and glorious activity of our Church."

The customs, views, way of thinking and behaving, the norms of conduct need to be passed down to the next generations.³⁰⁶ In the case of Poland, tradition is to a large extent related to Christianity. It should not come as a surprise that the motif of tradition is present in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa in the context of the narratives referring to Catholicism. This is so strong that, in his opinion, also the Constitution of the Republic of Poland must be based on a coherent system of values recognised in society, which in the case of Poland should unequivocally mean granting preference to the values that take into account Christian identity of Poles.³⁰⁷ The Church's presence in society is one of the forms of learning democracy, which the President recalled only to remind subsequently that the Church is returning to fulfilling its educational functions in public life. After the fall of communism, what had been prohibited so far became possible. Lech Wałęsa saw the special role of Christianity in the transformation of thinking and value judgments in society: "There are large areas of our lives neglected in moral terms. This is where the effort of a democratic state and the Catholic Church should meet. Acting together, we can achieve a lot."³⁰⁸

The changes in Poland that led to the formation of the Third Polish Republic were significantly influenced by the Pontificate of John Paul II, who both in his homeland and on the international arena, very clearly reminded the Christian roots of Polish national identity, the Christian tradition of Poland. President Lech Wałęsa reminded us about this contribution of the Pope during his visit to Rome in 1991: "In our homeland, historical changes have been taking place. The Polish Pope has

³⁰⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [*The entire Polish edifice needs repair...*]. Speech at the inaugural session of the Senate elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47: "I also speak as a father and a grandfather. My children and grandchildren will live here, on the Vistula."

³⁰⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cięży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo...* [*I have a duty to care for our country...*]. Speech delivered at the opening of the constitutional conference held at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 38.

³⁰⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach...* [*Keys to the homeland are in your hands...*]. Welcoming speech for His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 33.

a huge share in these changes. The first pilgrimage of Your Holiness to Poland was the impulse for the August breakthrough. The Pope and the Church were with us in the hopes and fears of 1981, encouraged us during the night of martial law, reinforcing the strength of survival and faith in victory during the long 1980s. The pilgrimages of the Holy Father to his homeland in 1983 and 1987 particularly enlivened Polish hearts and minds. He was with us in thoughts, words and deeds. He was with us in prayer. He is with us now when we have made the effort to revive Poland after years of enslavement. A new Poland is being created. It wants to draw strength from its centuries-old tradition related to Christianity and Western civilization, capable of building strong foundations of a national household, but also strong thanks to spiritual and moral values. Generations of Poles longed and fought for such Poland.”³⁰⁹ In this text, attention should be drawn to the unequivocal linkage of the centuries-old tradition of Poland with Christianity and Western civilization and then the process of building a national household with spiritual and moral values. The President spoke about the strength of centuries-long Christian tradition and the power of values.

Among the “people of the Church”, beside John Paul II, the person indicated by Lech Wałęsa in the context of values was Father Jerzy Popiełuszko – a martyr from Warsaw, murdered on October 19, 1984 by officers of the communist security apparatus of the Polish People’s Republic. Speaking on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of his death, the President pointed to a number of values that should be linked not only to Christianity but also to national security of Poland, which is based on national identity. He spoke of the “effort of improving the nation”, which he linked to such values as courage, responsibility, truth, justice, love of the homeland, peace, freedom, human dignity, honour and loyalty, forgiveness. He reminded that Father Jerzy Popiełuszko was killed for being faithful to values. This is what the president said about Father Jerzy: “He shone the light of hope.

³⁰⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo...* [The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...]. *Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic (February 5, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 15.

He showed the way to another reality. When many doubted, He believed that a better time would come. 'Solidarity' was, is and will be – he repeated time and again. And he prayed for it fervently. And for us, too. His faith was contagious. He defended us against spiritual demise, against our own mediocrity. 'The most important thing is', said Father Jerzy, 'not to be afraid. For fear is the main reason for our enslavement. The path to truth leads through overcoming fear.' He reminded of that because he felt responsible for us. Because he took upon himself the toil of perfecting the nation. That is why, throughout his life, he fought for truth, justice and love in his homeland. For peace and freedom. That is why he spoke so often about human dignity, honour and loyalty. He preached the famous maxim: 'Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good.' He deeply believed that this evangelical principle could become the true social power of our time. A signpost and hope for Poland. Father Jerzy paid the highest price for having been faithful to his values and to himself."³¹⁰ The presidential narrative about Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko warrants pronouncing the significance of the ability of each generation of Poles to understand, interpret, experience and foster the values they have inherited. Each generation is also called upon to enrich these values with its own contribution, first of all, recognising the potential inherent in people, including the capacity for heroic deeds. In this way, national tradition and national identity are able to manifest themselves in society, but not as museum pieces which, being closed in history, are intended for viewing, which ends their relationship with the present. Thanks to tradition, particular values may be updated and consolidated, which seems to be a condition for the development and vitality of national

³¹⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Najważniejsze jest żeby się nie bać... [It is the most important not to be afraid...]. Speech on the occasion of the mass on the tenth anniversary of the death of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko (October 19, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 170-171. On the theme of patriotism in the social thought of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko, cf. C. Smuniewski, "I saw the way the Gospel changes man." *God, man and Homeland in the daily life of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko*, in: *Jerzy Popiełuszko. Son, Priest, Martyr from Poland*, ed. P. Burgoński, C. Smuniewski, Warszawa 2016, pp. 117-134; P. Burgoński, *Polski patriotyzm w dobie komunizmu. Koncepcja patriotyzmu w nauczaniu księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki*, "Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne" XXIII/1/2010, pp. 241-252.

identity. Tradition understood in this way is a dynamic reality, not a stagnation mechanism. It not only protects against chaos in society, but also contributes to building of a sense of security and stimulates development.

The following fragment of the speech by President Lech Wałęsa delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at a solemn meeting of the combined Houses of the Sejm and the Senate on December 22, 1990 may summarise the above discussion about tradition and Christianity seen in relation to national identity of Poles. This was the first appearance of the President after taking the oath prescribed by law. The President's speech, kept on a very high tone, ends with sentences referring to the identity – "being oneself" – of Europe and Poland and then reveals the personal approach to Christian traditions in Poland and the declared faith of Lech Wałęsa: "Europe without Christianity would not be itself. Similarly, Poland does not want to lose its roots when entering Europe. That is why, right after my election to the office of the President, I went to Jasna Góra, the spiritual capital of our nation, to take a vow of faithfulness to the Republic of Poland. To derive strength from there in order to fulfill my mission. I believe that Our Lord will give strength to his people. Our Lord will give his people a blessing of peace."³¹¹

³¹¹ L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród...* [As the first President elected by the entire nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at a solemn meeting of the combined Houses of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 10. The stenographic record in the archives of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland additionally contains one more sentence ending the President's speech: "I believe that we will take advantage of the historic opportunity." Cf. L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Panowie Marszałkowie! Wysokie Izby! Panie, Panowie! Rodacy w kraju i na obczyźnie! Staje przed wami...* [Speakers; Honourable Members of both Houses; Ladies and Gentlemen; Compatriots in the country and in exile. I am standing before you...], (December 22, 1990), in: *The National Assembly of the Republic of Poland, Stenographic report from the meeting of the National Assembly of the Republic of Poland on 21 and 22 December 1990*, Warsaw 1990, column 15, (Archives of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw).

3.2.4. Patriotism

The reflection on patriotism in the first years after the fall of communism in Poland must take into account a number of elements that make up the background of this phenomenon. Talking about the homeland and the love of the homeland “irritated many Poles”,³¹² caused social allergic reactions. Patriotism was associated with pathos and empty wordiness. In the background of this phenomenon, embarrassment about their own nation and an alarmingly low assessment thereof was usually identified – especially among young Poles.³¹³ The years of communism ridiculed the institution of the state, caused the collapse of natural political thinking in society. An additional circumstance shaping the “new times” was the long-awaited prospect of belonging to the political structures of the European Union, in which talking about patriotism seemed to be out of place for at least three reasons: firstly, the historical experience of nationalisms,³¹⁴ and secondly, accentuating what is non-material – spiritual in patriotisms. Meanwhile, Europe appeared to Poles as a material and economic rather than spiritual entity. Thirdly, it seemed to divert attention from the future by focusing on what is past and what constitutes a burden. Dariusz Karłowicz well expressed the social spirit of that time when he wrote after many years: “When in 1989, Poland was slowly coming round, it was initially thought that she did not have to remember what she was; she did not have to wonder what shaped her political customs, reflexes, habits, her axiology, aspirations, way of thinking, unique lifestyle, unique form. Many people thought that it was enough for Poland to know what she would like to be, and the rest were ‘substitute

³¹² Cf. J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, Wydawnictwo W drodze, Poznań 2005, p. 7.

³¹³ Cf. *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Jesteście częścią wielkiej polskiej rodziny... [You are a part of the great Polish family...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad in Ukraine, during an official visit to the Republic of Ukraine (May 26, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 99: “[In the modern world – CS], religious and national, racial divisions become of secondary importance. The borders are becoming permeable. The time of nationalisms has passed, although the word nation has not lost in importance. By remaining Poles, you build the future of your homeland – this land on the foundation of humanity.”

topics'. (...) The partitioners and occupiers taught [Poles] to despise [their] own past so effectively that, in the opinion of many, remembrance and identity were the chief enemies of freedom, individualism and modernity. Patriotism rhymed with chauvinism, community with xenophobia..."³¹⁵ During the presidency of Lech Wałęsa, speaking about the love of the homeland seemed to out of date. On the one hand, patriotism seemed to be something from the past, and on the other a manifestation of sentimental attitudes that could be accepted by societies that do not have to deal with economic problems. Being driven by patriotic values and related argumentation seemed more adequate for Poles living outside of Poland.³¹⁶ No wonder that the argumentation referring to patriotism was included in the speech at the First Congress of the Polish Community Abroad: "I know that we can count on your earnest patriotism. Although we live in different countries – we must act together, united by the thought of Poland as our common goal. The goal which brings the distant ones closer, connects the feuding, unites the divided. There is only one Poland. We work for her. Everywhere. Wherever we live. We create a common policy and a strong lobby for the interests of our country. Unity gives strength. United we stand. Our future depends on the understanding of this truth."³¹⁷

References to patriotism in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa are usually confirmed in the context of the contents alluding to history. An example may be a letter addressed to the participants in the ceremony of consecrating the burial plot of soldiers of the Home Army at the Rasos Cemetery in Vilnius. In this text, patriotism is shown as a heroic and underestimated attitude, which at the same time is what connects the defenders of the homeland: "We bow our heads to the soldiers of the Home Army. The army of the conquered but invincible nation; the uncommon army, a draft card to which was the voice of the heart, the strongest bond of which was the love of the homeland;

³¹⁵ D. Karłowicz, *Polska jako Jason Bourne*, Fundacja Świętego Mikołaja, Teologia Polityczna, Warszawa 2017, p. 13.

³¹⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Professor Karolina Lanckorońska (November 7, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 301.

³¹⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Witam w wolnym, rodzinnym domu... [Welcome to a free family home...]. Speech at the First Congress of the Polish Community Abroad (August 19, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 91.

the army whose soldiers, after the war – the victorious one – were ‘rewarded’ for their combat actions with years of imprisonment and gulags, sometimes death.”³¹⁸ Patriotism, however, is such an attitude that cannot be closed in the past. For many decades, Poles had to prove their patriotism by fighting, resistance and conspiracy. After the fall of communism, according to the President, they should document the same patriotism with their everyday work.³¹⁹

Building attitudes characteristic of the true love of the homeland in society is inseparably linked with the upbringing of young people. Addressing the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces, the President said: “I also think that building the national defence system without any programme of patriotic education for young people, without defining the role and place of paramilitary organisations will be imperfect. ‘Such will be the Republics as the upbringing of their youth’ – this old thought is still valid.”³²⁰ A special place where patriotism is fostered are the scouting organisations, which especially during World War II turned out to be the forge of Polish national heroes, defenders of Poland and national identity. In Polish history the Warsaw Uprising remains a special example of the scouts’ activity for independence. After the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Uprising, the President wrote to Polish scouts: “I would like to thank you most sincerely for your beautiful and industrious service during all the celebrations connected with the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising. (...) As girl and boy scouts – you are the spiritual heirs of the insurgents – defenders of the Homeland: soldiers, paramedics, liaisons. Heroes of these celebrations. They all are a pride of our nation. I think those wonderful people are proud of you. You are their grandchildren, and your service

³¹⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants in the ceremony of consecrating the Home Army soldiers’ burial plot at the Rasos cemetery (July 11, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 234.

³¹⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message at the opening of the 22nd Congress of Polish Technicians (November 27, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 228.

³²⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana... [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 155.

has proved that you are also their younger fellows."³²¹ Patriotic education remains in direct relation to historical and cultural education. However, it cannot mean only education in the nationwide dimension, as education regarding local culture, related to the so-called "small homeland" is no less important. The point is to arouse "regional patriotism", interest in the immediate environment, to make people aware of the value of their own local culture, to promote concern for the tradition of their own land and the achievements of the generations that inhabited it. Regional patriotism, among other things, is about protecting what is local, what is a part of the heritage, what determines the belonging of an individual and is sometimes threatened by what is global. Whether a person will find oneself in the sphere of world culture is largely conditioned by one's earlier rootedness in what one received in the "small homeland", what one learned in the local environment.³²²

For a more complete picture of the content concerning patriotism in the texts of Lech Wałęsa, a speech delivered in Israel should be taken into account. Speaking at the Knesset during an official visit to Israel, the Polish President said: "I am very impressed by Israeli achievements. From you, who are more experienced, we can learn not only patriotism, but also the ability to put ideas into action. In over forty years, you have created a strong, democratic state despite enormous threats and numerous difficulties. Your experience will be useful to us."³²³ In the background of this statement, one should probably recognise, first of all, the political will of the Polish side to arrange the best relations between Israel and Poland in the international arena, and secondly, appreciation for the heritage of Biblical Israel. This refers to a biblical message about the love of the homeland which undoubtedly influenced the Polish patriotic thought, the only difference being that it was done through Christian interpretation of the biblical idea of a nation, and especially the chosen people.

³²¹ L. Wałęsa, (List) *Girl and boy scouts of Warsaw (August 5, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 297.

³²² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants of the 5th Congress of Regional Associations of Culture (September 22, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 258.

³²³ L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się... [The future lies in getting to know each other...]. Speech at the Knesset during an official visit to Israel (May 21, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 29.

Recognising patriotism as an important force creating national identity of Poles is one of the conditions for effective management of the processes of creating Poland's national security. Patriotism manifests itself in every generation as the need for axiological education. It results from an important fact – nations are more and more clearly revealed in human life as an axiological event, as a set of values recognisable in the meeting of an individual with a political community. Such a statement has far-reaching consequences. It means that human beings have an inalienable right to understand national heritage broadly. This, in turn, entails that those who enjoy rights also have an entire range of duties towards the good in the form of a nation as a political axiological community. The main duty towards this good is to accept it, which should be ensured by a public system of education. Accepting this good is, of course, one of the forms of caring for national identity. To be enrooted in this good also appears as a condition for openness and understanding of the socio-cultural otherness and for building transnational forms of cooperation, such as economic cooperation, and international security.

3.3. Conclusions

The texts of President Lech Wałęsa, in which he discusses topics concerning national identity, are an important testimony to the processes of creating Poland's national security in the period of the transformation and systemic change, but also a reflection on the value that was particularly exposed to the process of destruction by the partitioners and occupiers. This value is national security in its most fundamental form associated with what is the inner strength of a nation and a state. The analysed texts allow us to better understand the value of national identity that allows a nation and a state to exist independently among other nations and states, to develop their own culture, their own way of life. The analysis of the President's texts provokes one to formulate several general conclusions regarding national identity from the perspective of the processes of creating Poland's national security.

In the analysis of the processes of creating national security, when referring to the strategies of these actions, a statement that reverberates

like a refrain is that every generation of Poles must rethink and draw conclusions from what allowed our ancestors to survive the most difficult moments of our history despite various activities taken up firstly by the partitioners and then the occupiers. Bearing in mind that generalisation is an important step in conducting research, the following conclusion could be formulated at this stage of the analysis: building Poland's national security requires preserving and expressing her own national identity as a source of strength to oppose hostile ideological, economic, spiritual and military enemy powers intellectually and with arms in hand, as a support against the pressure of enemies, a set of moral signposts for the future, a determinant of the place among other states and nations.

Reflecting on national identity in the first place turns out to be a reflection on culture. What made Poles survive the most difficult moments of history was national culture. Created by successive generations, it also turned out to be their shaping power. It was the place of creating and experiencing community with other people on different levels: family life, work, local community, opposing threats, expressing concern for others and brotherly love, recognising and building the common good, admiring beauty and wisdom, contempt for ugliness, stupidity, selfishness, hatred and evil. Polish culture has been shaped on the basis of Christian values, in the service of the good of the community, and as such it has proved to be a space confirming and expressing national freedom and sovereignty. In this way, national culture is revealed as a fundamental common good. By distinguishing Poles as a nation, culture has allowed them to become a political community. It has determined political boundaries that were frequently much stronger than military power. The future of the nation and the state depends, therefore, on a culture that is nurtured and expressed, which allows individuals to be more human, wanting to live among others and with others, a culture that shapes the identity of individuals and the political community, gives courage and promotes relationships despite differences. If in the process of creating national security every generation of Poles should ask themselves questions about the source of strength in building national power, this means that culture which co-creates national identity is one of the most

important issues to be asked about. It is necessary to reflect on culture and identity, and thus on the Polishness which is being shaped. Such a reflection should be an inspiration for the debate on the cultural subjectivity of the Polish society in the political community and the processes of creating national security. The experience of building the common good which gives strength to the nation, should be placed at the heart of such a debate.

Because national security depends directly on national culture, therefore national cultural sovereignty is one of its fundamental rights. This sovereignty implies respect for the right of the nation to express its own culture and care for it; it must be recognised as a prospect for man's development, which is expressed in culture, creates it and somehow owes itself to it. Disrespect for this right is a blow aimed not only against the nation, but also against an individual who, by being deprived of the right to culture, is excluded from society, condemned to loneliness and death. Respect for cultural sovereignty of a nation is not a form of nationalism, but a basic and permanent element of human experience and development of individuals living in a community. It is a form conducive to the development of patriotic attitudes, which should be safeguarded by dignity and rights of all individuals, as well as by the public authorities, remembering that the basic reason for its existence is the pursuit of the common good.

Creating national security needs remembrance. A national community lives largely thanks to memory. And it is not the sum of individual memories. The memory of the political community is something more and something different than individual memories. National memory carries the stories of meetings and relationships. To a large extent, national memory is about creating meetings and relationships, but not only at a given time, not just between people from one generation. The point is that those who live in "today" meet in some way and even enter into a relationship with those who are already a part of history – with national heroes, creators of culture, political, spiritual and military leaders. However, this is still not enough. It is also important for those who live in "today" to want to meet those who will come after them, to want to be a part of the future memory. The strength and beauty of creative national memory, i.e. being able to form the foundations

of national security, is revealed when individual people from a given political community discover that in order to understand themselves they need other people, they need a community that strengthens and confirms their individual experiences. At the same time, however, a reverse is needed on the part of the political community towards the individual, an interest in individual experience. The strength and beauty of creative national memory needs such a political community which wants to understand itself through individuals thanks to their memory and history. In a sense, this is how the courage of a political community is shaped when it is not afraid of the memories and history of individual people, but even wants this experience to become a space for the confrontation of individual memories and social memory. The courage of such political community is also shaped along with the consent for coexistence of inter-connected memories. A nation must not be afraid of either individual memories or common memory.

Remembrance and national history, among other things, live in such a way that they awaken and shape human consciences and precisely in this way define the national ethos that is necessary in the processes of creating national security – decisively opposing incoming threats and creatively building the future. However, this life of remembrance and history shaping consciences and defining the national ethos requires tradition; in a sense, it uses it as a form closest to the individual. Tradition is one of the main ways of putting what is described by history into the present. It is a dynamic process, activating contemporary individuals by putting a person into past situations, which affect the today's life of individuals and the community, rather than only describing them. The strength of tradition lies, among other things, in the fact that in one act, e.g. a celebration of an event, it allows individuals to experience both history and community, also a community in the form of a nation. In this sense, national tradition as a form of disseminating historical content becomes a form of community integration, a form that does not shy away from emotional experiences. For they have incessantly been an important unifying force in history. That is why it is so important for the customs and holidays to be celebrated in a proper setting which society cares for and engages in, knowing that they allow to reveal the content recognised as values.

This means that emotional and cognitive elements are present together in the experiencing of tradition. Of which the latter is primal. Bearing in mind that in the case of tradition it is its transfer that focuses the entire process, it should be assumed that being a cognitive element the recognition of values is a basis for the development and functioning of tradition. After all, if a nation has no sense of values, does not recognise them, it will not transfer them.

In the case of Poland, in its way of experiencing her own identity, the tradition of the national community and the Christian tradition have merged into one on many levels. They have become indissoluble, as is the case even with the celebration of August 15, which is one of the most popular Catholic holidays in Poland – the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and also the Polish Army Day celebrated each year to commemorate the victorious Warsaw Battle of 1920 fought during the Polish-Bolshevik war. It is worth noting that this military holiday was introduced by an act signed by President Lech Wałęsa.³²⁴

As a value in creating Poland's national security national identity manifests itself particularly clearly if it is assumed that remembrance does not mean living in the past, but that one of its functions is to explain the present and to make forecasts. National memory serves, among other things, for us to be able to ask "today" what worked "yesterday" in creating national security, what has a proven value, what should be promoted in the process of building a civil society, consciously responsible for the common good of the national and state community. This leads to patriotism. In the process of creating national security, the ethical tie of love and responsibility is a knot of patriotism and citizenship. The development of patriotic attitudes should be recognised as a privileged way of strengthening civic virtues and attitudes. Such patriotism will be a force which co-creates security as long as it is a value that is not only inherited but also discovered and expressed in the creation of the community.

³²⁴ Cf. *The Act of 30 July 1992 on the establishment of the Polish Army Day* (Journal of Laws of 1992 no. 60, item. 303).

4. “We are building structures of a fully democratic state.” The role of the state in creating national security of Poland

“We are building structures of a fully democratic state”,³²⁵ said President Lech Wałęsa at the inaugural meeting of the Senate elected in 1991. The reflection on the value of the state in the process of creating Poland’s national security means directly following the idea contained in the source material, which is the basis of the analysis. It is the state that requires the duty of care because it is a common good; it is also identified with the homeland, which, in turn, requires the imperative of feeling responsible for the state.³²⁶ Recognising the state as of the key values for creating national security is also an attempt to extract what is an axiom in the field of security for Polish researchers, and what Waldemar Kitler expressed directly: “The state is still the best and for a long time will be the most effective means to secure the survival of society and ensure the undisturbed conditions for national existence and development.”³²⁷ This Warsaw scholar ranks this principle very

³²⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47.

³²⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo...* [I have a duty to care for our state...]. Speech at the opening of the constitutional conference held at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 37.

³²⁷ W. Kitler, *Organizacja bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej...*, op. cit., p. 15.

highly, providing that it refers to a democratic state, which is an object of concern for its citizens, but at the same time a state that protects them.³²⁸

This part of the monograph will address two main topics that stand out in the source material. First of all, the texts referring to the state in the period of systemic transformation will be analysed, and then those concerning national unity.

4.1. The state in the period of systemic transformation

One of the conditions for effective creation of national security is to take into account the political and economic situation, as well as the public mood in the state. Although this claim could be considered subject of common knowledge, it becomes especially significant in the context of reflection on systemic transformation in Poland, as one of its elements was the transformation of the system of security.³²⁹ In a speech to the officers of the Polish Army, President Lech Wałęsa spoke about the situation in the country: "Local conflicts cannot be ruled out. They may be triggered by the processes of political transformation, economic crises, or political conflicts."³³⁰ Systemic transformation initiated in Poland in the legal dimension in the 1980s embraced almost all areas of social life. It owed its strength to the grassroots activities of the people who disagreed with that way of living and functioning of the state, and above all such living of the political community. Because of the extent of systemic transformation, we can actually

³²⁸ Cf. Ibid.

³²⁹ Cf. *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa* [Assumptions for the Polish security policy], op. cit., p. 5, p. 74: "We are currently undergoing a profound transformation adapting defence structures to the needs of a sovereign, medium-sized European country like Poland" (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

³³⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana...* [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Army (June 30, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 154.

distinguish two transformations: systemic³³¹ and economic³³² one. These, however, require social transformation focused on man, with their mentality, how they perceive the role of the state, the system, the economy.³³³ Due to the thematic scope of systemic transformation relating to the issues of Poland's national security and values emerging in this area, it is necessary to present the following issues: the imperative of systemic reforms, economic transformation, threats to reforms, legal changes and the understanding of authority in the state. These topics, which are of key interest to us in this monograph, are accompanied by a discussion of two issues facilitating better understanding of the Polish situation and the problem of security and values. These are science and education as well as religion in the state, which in the Polish conditions is mainly related to the description of the role played by the Roman Catholic Church.

³³¹ Legal documents of special importance on the path of political transformation included: *The Act of 7 April 1989 on the Amendment of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic* (Journal of Laws of 1989 no. 19, item 101) known as the "April Amendment"; *the Act of 29 December 1989 on the Amendment of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic* (Journal of Laws no. 75, item 444) known as the "December Amendment"; *The Constitutional Act of 17 October 1992 on mutual relations between the legislative and executive powers of the Republic of Poland and on local governments* (Journal of Laws 1992 no. 84, item 426) known as the "Small Constitution of 1992", signed by President Lech Wałęsa. Cf. G. Rydlewski, *Rządy i rządzenie w Polsce 1918-2018. Ciągłość i zmiany*, Dom wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2018, pp. 257-294.

³³² Legal documents of special importance in the course of economic transformation included: *The Act of 23 December 1988 on economic activity* (Journal of Laws 1988 no. 41, item 324) known as The Wilczek Act (Mieczysław Wilczek – the minister for industry in the government of Mieczysław Rakowski); *The Act of 14 June 1991 on companies with foreign participation* (Journal of Laws 1991 no. 60, item 253. Cf. T. Kowalski, *Polska transformacja gospodarcza na tle wybranych krajów Europy Środkowej*, "Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny" 2009, no. 2, year LXXI, pp. 253-278.

³³³ Cf. *Polityka bezpieczeństwa i strategia obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [The security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland], op cit., p. 2, p. 76: "Progress of change is inhibited both by inefficiency of some parts of the state apparatus, as well as by deliberate opposition from the apologists of the former order and extremist forces. There are public awareness blockages that are the result of long-term sovietisation, making adaptation to new conditions difficult."

4.1.1. The imperative of political reforms

The imperative of reform was one of the main threads present in the narrative of President Lech Wałęsa, especially when he spoke about the functioning of the state in the period of transformation and political changes. This imperative was exceptionally strong in the situations when the Polish politician used such phrases as: "We live in a time of great repair of the Polish Republic. (...) We have been given a historical chance. (...) We boldly undertake the task of repairing the Polish Republic. All the more we are responsible to God, history and future generations."³³⁴ These remainders are usually accompanied by arguments. The expansion of the statement "We need to remodel the structure of the state"³³⁵ is the expression of the need to decentralise the state in such a way so that as many decisions as possible are made at the grassroots, in places where people live and know their problems. The imperative of remodelling the structure of the state requires legal changes and financial outlays.³³⁶ The political transformation should open up the prospect of normal life to citizens, which is implied by the appeal: "We must build a democratic, independent and prosperous Poland. A Poland with a clear political and economic system."³³⁷

From the President's point of view, the functioning of the state in the times of political transformation required fundamental legal changes at the level of the constitution, namely such changes that would ensure durability of reforms, prove to be a solid foundation that would

³³⁴ L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej...* [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...]. Speech on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 (May 3, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

³³⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród...* [As the first president elected by the entire nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at a solemn meeting of the combined Chambers of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 9.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Polskie władze na uchodźstwie wypełniły swoją misję...* [The Polish authorities in exile have fulfilled their mission...]. Speech at the Royal Castle after receiving the insignia of state power from the President of the Republic of Poland in exile Ryszard Kaczorowski (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 11.

be resistant to all shocks and serve as support for the citizens, society and the authorities. It was clear that this would not happen as a result of minor changes to the “Stalinist constitution” of 1952,³³⁸ whose time passed together with the political forces that formed the previous system. The development opportunities created by the Round Table were also exhausted.³³⁹ Such a state of affairs, in the President’s opinion, inhibited national aspirations. Therefore, he expressed the imperative of legal changes in a direct way: “These blockades must be taken down. A new law should be created, on which we will base the constitution of the Third Polish Republic.”³⁴⁰ The problem of legal changes was also related to the fact that in the so called Contract Sejm,³⁴¹ as Lech Wałęsa put it, “not everyone realised the necessity of rebuilding the state, the scale of this reconstruction and the pace of this work. Many thought that the renovation, not even an extensive one – will do. Today we see the consequences,”³⁴² At this point, it should be noted that in the opinion of the President’s Political Office the first and principal goal of Lech Wałęsa’s legal and political initiatives in the first three years of his presidency was: “Striving to create

³³⁸ “Stalinist Constitution” or “July Constitution” – this is how the Constitution of the Polish People’s Republic is referred to in Poland. Cf. *The Constitution of the Polish People’s Republic adopted by the Legislative Sejm on July 22, 1952* (Journal of Laws 1952 no. 33, item 232).

³³⁹ The Round Table – negotiations conducted from February 6 to April 5, 1989 by representatives of the communist authorities with the democratic opposition in the presence of the Church side (representatives of the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession). The event marked the beginnings of systemic changes in the Polish People’s Republic, including partially free parliamentary elections in 1989.

³⁴⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our state...]. Speech at the opening of the constitutional conference held at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 37.

³⁴¹ The Contract Sejm is the name adopted for the Sejm of the Polish People’s Republic elected as a result of the political agreement of the Round Table in 1989, though still under the 1952 Constitution of the Polish People’s Republic. This parliament was dissolved in 1991, which allowed for carrying out fully democratic parliamentary elections.

³⁴² L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

an efficiently functioning system in which law will be the 'art of applying what is good and right'. Justice and state institutions should serve the whole of society and individual citizens, not politicians, the authorities and their representatives."³⁴³ The quoted text contains a reference to the legal maxim formulated by a Roman lawyer Celsus (Lat. *Ius est ars boni et aequi*). This fact is particularly meaningful in a reflection on values. This principle refers to the fundamental moral aspects of law. It means that the values of good (*bonum*) and equity (*aequum*) are fundamental for a system of law. In the analysis of the President's activities, the value of the subsidiary character of the system of justice and state institutions was also distinguished.

In the imperative of the indispensable transformation of the political system and the pace of changes seen from the perspective of security studies, the value of a "strong state" in the making sounded particularly powerful. It is thanks to a strong state that Poland can occupy its rightful place in the family of free nations. It must be strong and efficient so that the necessary economic transformation could take place in the wake of consistent political reforms.³⁴⁴

4.1.2. Economic transformation

The consistent political reform forming the framework of the systemic transformation had to be followed by the necessary economic transformation. It was the legacy of the decades of a system based on economic fiction, indebtedness, backwardness of industry, lack of capital, lack of trade and production links with the developed countries.³⁴⁵ In his narrative President Lech Wałęsa time and again

³⁴³ Chancellor of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania* [Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. Plans and achievements], typescript. Material prepared by the Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw, January 1994, p. 1, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

³⁴⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej...* [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...]. Speech on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 (May 3, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 27

³⁴⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Jesteście ambasadorami polskiej sprawy...* [You are the ambassadors of the Polish cause...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community

reiterates the relationship between the success of the reforms and economic strength and security of the state and its sovereign presence in international relations.³⁴⁶ The assumptions for the Polish security policy adopted in 1992, which were essentially the national security strategy at that time, included the following statement: “We can overcome our civilisational backwardness and become an equal partner of the developed states only by quickly and efficiently including Poland in the process of economic and political Western European integration.”³⁴⁷

The economic transformation requires a number of activities, among which President Lech Wałęsa distinguished five basic tasks:

1. Fast, universal and equitable civic privatisation, an ownership revolution.
2. Remedying the state economy by amending the laws relating to state-owned enterprises.

Abroad in Los Angeles during an official visit to the United States of America (March 23, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 20.

³⁴⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród... [As the first president elected by the entire nation...]*. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at a solemn meeting of the combined Chambers of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 9; L. Wałęsa, *Powodzenie polskich reform wymaga aktywnego współdziałania ze strony Zachodu... [The success of Polish reforms requires active cooperation of the West...]*. Speech at a meeting with the Commission of the European Communities (April 3, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 24-25; L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami... [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing for us...]*. Speech at a Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (February 4, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 56; L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi... [The supreme purpose has been lost – the service for the nation...]*. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 70; L. Wałęsa, *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność i demokrację... [American democracy has helped us in our fight for freedom and democracy...]*. Speech during a meeting with the residents of Warsaw at the Castle Square in the presence of the US President George Bush who came to the ceremony of placing the ashes of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral (July 5, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 85-86; *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

³⁴⁷ *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa [Assumptions of the Polish security policy]*, op. cit., point 2, p. 73 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

3. Establishment of the institution of the State Treasury. A precise definition of the concept of ownership and responsibility, which will make privatisation and restructuring possible.
4. The reform of the banking, tax and customs system due to the need to improve the circulation of money, and thus to provide the budget with a stable income and protect the Polish economy against unfair competition.
5. Building a new social security system and creating a transparent credit system.³⁴⁸

The economic transformation, which was to contribute to the creation of state security, required, as the President put it, a "concept for Poland."³⁴⁹ This meant the need to create a plan of economic reform, evaluation and inventory of national assets, which would allow for their correct utilization. In the texts of Lech Wałęsa, there is a manifest dilemma between creation of a free market economy and the fact that the state authorities should not be directly involved in managing the economy, as well as the need for economic order and indispensable participation of the Polish state in defining the systemic framework for economic transformation.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *W zgiełku politycznych potyczek na dalszy plan schodzą polskie reformy...* [In the hustle of political battles, Polish reforms are put on the back burner...]. *Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (July 23, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 88. The same five demands were made by President Lech Wałęsa in a letter for the inaugural meeting of the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka. Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Letter to the members of the Council of Ministers at the inaugural meeting of the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka – with the participation of the President of the Republic of Poland (July 14, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 279-280; Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania* [Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. Plans and achievements], typescript. Material prepared by the Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw, January 1994, pp. 9-10, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw); G. Rydlewski, *Rządy i rządzenie w Polsce 1918-2018...*, op. cit., pp. 285-288.

³⁴⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service for the nation...]. *Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 69.

³⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

4.1.3. Threats to the reform

The creation of a new economic and state order of independent Poland was a pioneering task. Lech Wałęsa repeatedly mentioned that he was not adequately prepared for or experienced in such matters, but he had to face this unique reality. Looking back, he confessed in one of interviews: “The victory was too great, and programmes were non-existent. Improvisation was a must. As a blue-collar worker, I was convinced that those who encouraged us to fight would pull the solution out of the drawer when freedom came. And then I saw that there was nothing. How was the country to be ruled? There was nothing. I jumped over the fence and it turned out that there was nothing.”³⁵¹ As the President of the Republic of Poland, speaking at the opening of the constitutional conference held in 1991, he said that the difficulties should not come as a surprise and the obstacles encountered by the reforms as a discouragement in the state which experienced its moment of crisis, anarchy and chaos, and even temporary breakdowns. However, this should not cripple the state, and pathology cannot become the norm.³⁵² Six months later, in a message to the National Council of the Republic of Poland in London, on the occasion of the ending of its activity in exile, the President wrote: “Today, we want to erase in Poland the traces of the unwanted half-century as soon as possible. The Third Republic is to be a state based on new political principles, with the free market economy and an uninhibited initiative of citizens who take responsibility for their actions. We are facing the problems that we already know, and we know that they are not easy to resolve, but also a lot of difficulties that we do not know yet. We have the unbreakable will to overcome them. Even with utmost effort.”³⁵³

³⁵¹ Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018, op. cit.

³⁵² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our state...]. Speech at the opening of the constitutional conference held at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 37.

³⁵³ L. Wałęsa, *Postanie do Rady Narodowej w Londynie z okazji zakończenia przez nią działalności na emigracji [Message to the National Council in London on the occasion of the end of its activity in exile (December 8, 1991)]*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 220.

An analysis of source materials allows us to identify three basic threats to reforms mentioned in the presidential thought. The first, which required many years to change, were the limitations of society resulting from the entanglement on the mental level in the rules of a totalitarian state which had perverted social life. The second, was the lack of sufficient investment support from Western countries.³⁵⁴ The source of this state of affairs was, in Lech Wałęsa's opinion, outdated and unrevised assessments made by some Western governments which placed Poland in the high investment risk area.³⁵⁵ The third threat was the passage of time and the cumbersome work of successive governments, especially regarding legislative changes.³⁵⁶ The presidential narrative reverberates with such statements as: "we simply will not make it. Society will not take it";³⁵⁷ "The most urgent matter – for the Sejm and the state – is the legal order (...). We must act quickly";³⁵⁸ "Changes are too slow";³⁵⁹ "We cannot afford to waste time anymore! We must be dynamic".³⁶⁰ It is not difficult to notice that in some of the above-mentioned constructions, the impressionistic function of the language is clearly present. It might be concluded that the third threat is at the roots of the presidential concept of granting him the right to issue decrees with the force of a law, for which he

³⁵⁴ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

³⁵⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie*, "European Parliamentary Year Book 1994/95", edition of the Polish original text KPRP, op. cit., p. 213.

³⁵⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 48.

³⁵⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Intencją złożonego przeze mnie projektu „małej konstytucji” jest, by rząd był silny poparciem prezydenta i parlamentu...* [The intention of the "small constitution" draft I put forward is for the government to be strong with the support of the President and the parliament...]. Speech at the first sitting of the Sejm on the occasion of presenting the draft constitutional act on the establishment and dismissal of the government and other changes concerning the supreme state authorities (December 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 49.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service for the nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 68.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 70.

sought the support of subsequent governments.³⁶¹ Such a legal solution should be associated with the fact that the President repeatedly expressed his conviction that the initiatives undertaken by the parliament and the government in the field of political transformation are excessively subordinated to the changing configuration of political forces. In this state of affairs, the initiatives were chaotic, incoherent and dispersed, did not create a foundation for the future systemic “master plan”.³⁶² The impotence of the legislative authority became a destabilising factor for the state.³⁶³

The subject of threats to the state reform was particularly pronounced in the last year of Lech Wałęsa’s presidency. The statements, being a part of his electoral campaign, were characterised by harsh criticism of the then parliament, government³⁶⁴ and another candidate in the presidential elections Aleksander Kwaśniewski – representative of the left.³⁶⁵ The fact that the state offices were held by people of the “old system” was a threat to the reforms and security of the country.

³⁶¹ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995* [*Lech Wałęsa’s presidency 1990-1995*], typescript, Warsaw, September 1995, p. 235, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw); *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

³⁶² Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania* [*Three years of Lech Wałęsa’s Presidency. Plans and achievements*], typescript, Material prepared by the Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw, January 1994, p. 6, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

³⁶³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *W zgiełku politycznych potyczek na dalszy plan schodzą polskie reformy...* [*In the hustle of political battles, Polish reforms are put on the back burner...*]. *Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (July 23, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p.88.

³⁶⁴ The parliamentary elections in Poland in 1993 ended with the victory of the left-wing parties (SLD – Democratic Left Alliance). It was headed by the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) which was a descendant of the communist party – the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR).

³⁶⁵ Aleksander Kwaśniewski – President of the Republic of Poland in 1995-2005. During the PRL period, he was an activist of the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR) (in 1977-1990), and also served as a minister in the communist government in 1985-1989.

Lech Wałęsa saw them as "wolves dressed in sheepskin, but still having wolfish appetites."³⁶⁶

4.1.4. Law in the state

In the period of the systemic transformation the state was particularly susceptible, both in terms of internal order and sovereignty in the international arena. It urgently needed the new law. The old system lay in ruins, but the life of society and the functioning of the state remained constrained by its law. What was needed were legal and systemic solutions that would guarantee sustainability of Poland as a state organism.³⁶⁷ In his vision of the state, President Lech Wałęsa called for a combination of civic respect for civil rights and obligations as well as recognition of the state and the law as a common good by society. According to him, what unites these elements should be the law that would be understandable, stable and above all enacted in a new constitution.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zaczynamy traktować wolność jako coś oczywistego...* [We have started to treat freedom as something obvious...] Speech delivered at the Gdańsk Shipyard at the general meeting of the delegates of the Gdańsk Region of NSZZ "Solidarność" (May 24, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 207.

³⁶⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej...* [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...]. Speech on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 (May 3, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 27; L. Wałęsa, *Intencją złożonego przeze mnie projektu „małej konstytucji” jest, by rząd był silny poparciem prezydenta i parlamentu...* [The intention of the "small constitution" draft I put forward is for the government to be strong with the support of the President and the parliament...]. Speech at the first sitting of the Sejm on the occasion of presenting the draft constitutional act on the establishment and dismissal of the government and other changes concerning the supreme state authorities (December 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 49; L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service for the nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 68; L. Wałęsa, *Polsce potrzebne są mądre prawa...* [Poland needs wise laws...]. Speech at the inaugural session of the Senate (October 15, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 129.

³⁶⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

Poland urgently needed a constitution that would carry the entire construction of the Third Polish Republic, create a new legal order in the state. In the opinion of President Lech Wałęsa, it should be such a constitution that would allow to build a modern, democratic and independent state. And, accordingly, it should:

- Vest the supreme authority in the Polish Republic in the people;³⁶⁹
- Be based on a common and coherent universal system of values, which would also take into account the Christian and national identity of Poles;³⁷⁰
- Be based on civil guarantees of rights and freedoms, and guarantee those rights and freedoms;³⁷¹
- Comprise standards that make up a democratic state and civil society, enabling citizens' broad and active participation in public life, as well as ensuring their real impact on the course of affairs in the state;³⁷²
- Guarantee that the interest of the state as a whole supersedes the interests of social groups;³⁷³
- Ensure stability of the executive authority and the possibility of its change without violating the functions of the state and the economy;³⁷⁴
- Ensure effectiveness of the system of defence and public safety;³⁷⁵
- Ensure that the rights of each citizen are respected;³⁷⁶

³⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁷⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our state...]*. Speech at the opening of the constitutional conference convened at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991), KPRP, *op. cit.*, p. 38; L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy... [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]*. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm, elected in the first free, democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³⁷¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our state...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 38; L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy... [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 38; L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy... [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³⁷³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej... [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland too...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

³⁷⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

³⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

- Provide a basis for creating a new legal order in the state;³⁷⁷
- Ensure the division of powers between executive, legislative and judiciary authorities, which must take into account the need for stability of the state.³⁷⁸

The goal of the constitution, spoken of by President Lech Wałęsa, was to confirm in the international arena Poland's belonging to the family of free nations and democratic states that respect natural human rights. In turn, from the perspective of security within the state, it would be a clarification of civil rights and their constitutional guarantees, which in the President's opinion should prove to be an important factor uniting the nation. The thought of the unifying power of the constitution should permeate the mode of its development. Therefore, in Lech Wałęsa's view, a manifestation of the society's influence on the most important issues in the state should be the interaction of three elements necessary for the creation of the constitution: representatives of the theory of state and law, leaders of political parties, and public opinion.³⁷⁹

The Constitution, which is called the basic law, is intended, among other things, to fundamentally define the systemic model of the state, to introduce a legal order in the state. If poorly developed, though, it can cause chaos and anarchy. This is the fundamental document – the "cornerstone" that creates a legal basis for building national security and power of the state.

4.1.5. Power in the state

In creating an efficient system of national security, power in the state and the way it is exercised should be recognised as one of the supreme values. In the period of systemic transformation, with a view to security of the nation and state, it was necessary to change the way

³⁷⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our state...]*, op. cit., p. 37.

³⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

³⁷⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 38; L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 42.

of understanding the functioning of power in society. This is how the President explained it in one of his speeches: “The Polish political scene has been changing. The parliamentary elections have been another lesson of democracy. A difficult lesson, without textbooks and without teachers. For many years, we lived in a system based on falsehood. Far from the democratic order and the system of values developed by democracy and Polish tradition. Some names were an empty sound, institutions – props, declarations – rustling paper.”³⁸⁰ Lech Wałęsa recalls that even before the fall of communism the question of power was part of his dilemma: “I only wanted to overcome the system. And when it was achieved – to drop all this and go fishing. (...) I was wondering, ‘Damn, we are not prepared to rule at all’. No political plans, no economists, no personnel. Nothing.”³⁸¹

It was a very important element of the systemic transformation for the people to enter the path of change mentally and recognise the sovereign in themselves so that they could identify with those who exercise power in the state and perceive state institutions as entities acting on their behalf. That is why in his narrative President Lech Wałęsa very often mentions service for the nation. This concerned, above all, the democratically elected President and parliament which faced the challenge of gaining citizens’ trust.³⁸² Referring to the argument that

³⁸⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...], op. cit., p. 40.

³⁸¹ *Ja / z Lechem Wałęsą rozmawiają Andrzej Bober, Cezary Łazarewicz*, op. cit., p. 162.

³⁸² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród...* [As the first President elected by the whole nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at a solemn meeting of the combined Chambers of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 10; L. Wałęsa, *Przejmujemy bezpieczeństwo narodu we własne ręce...* [We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council (February 13, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 17; L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...], op. cit., p. 42; L. Wałęsa, *Intencją złożonego przeze mnie projektu “małej konstytucji” jest, by rząd był silny poparciem prezydenta i parlamentu...* [The intention of the “small constitution” draft I put forward is for the government to be strong with the support of the President and the parliament...]. Speech at the first sitting of the Sejm on the occasion of presenting the draft constitutional act on the establishment and dismissal of

the people had the supreme power in the Republic was an important part of the President's policy.³⁸³ He also believed that a good system of power is one in which those who hold the reins have great capability and great responsibility. For such rules of governance do not allow politicians to be passive and hedge their bets, to waste time in barren disputes and party scuffles. A good system of democratic power is also one in which it is clearly defined what belongs to whom and who is responsible for what.³⁸⁴ "We have to make choices. Is the President supposed to be merely a "figurehead", fulfil only his representative function? Then, the entire executive power would be in the hands of the government. It would share its weakness, fall with the collapse of the cabinet. Or shall we advocate a strong presidency that can guarantee the reforms. The reforms that the parliament will indicate for implementation."³⁸⁵ The process of restoring people's awareness that they are the sovereign in the state of necessity had to lead not only through the reform of the central administration, but also through appropriate actions aimed at creating strong local governments.³⁸⁶ On

the government and other changes concerning the supreme state authorities (December 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 50; L. Wałęsa, Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi... [The main purpose has been lost – the service for the nation...], op. cit., p. 67; L. Wałęsa, Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]. Television address delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 172; L. Wałęsa, Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa... [This day has not turned out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 190.

³⁸³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Możliwości twórczego działania Sejmu uległy wyczerpaniu... [The possibilities of the Sejm's creative activity have been exhausted...]. TV appearance after the dissolution of the Sejm (May 31, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 102.*

³⁸⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]. op. cit., p. 172.*

³⁸⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi... [The main purpose has been lost – the service for the nation...], op. cit., p. 71.*

³⁸⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Istotą demokracji jest uczestnictwo obywateli w decydowaniu o ich sprawach... [The essence of democracy is the participation of citizens in deciding their affairs...]. Speech at the Second National Conference of Presidents and Mayors of Polish Cities, Towns and Communes (April 30, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 98; L. Wałęsa, *Reformy samorządowej nie doprowadziliśmy do końca... [We did not complete the local government reform...]. Inauguration of the activities of the presidential Council for Local Governments (April 12, 1994),**

the basis of the analysis of his statements, it can be clearly stated that during the period of holding the highest office in Poland Lech Wałęsa was a supporter of strong state authority. In it he saw a value that could be one of the elements contributing to national security.³⁸⁷ What, according to the President, influenced the strength of the authority, was the ability of the most important bodies in the state, especially the government and the President, to cooperate.³⁸⁸ Recalling this cooperation years later, he said: "I won the elections, and then only watched. Sometimes, I irritated those in government on purpose. If they got angry, they would get down to work – I thought."³⁸⁹

KPRP, op. cit., p. 142: "Major state institutions must respect the independence of local government structures. This does not mean, however, that local authorities are to be left only to themselves, also with problems surpassing local possibilities. The needs of municipalities, towns and regions are the needs of citizens. Voices and opinions of local governments must, therefore, be carefully listened to in central offices. (...). It is in the interest of the state that as many citizens' matters as possible should become the competence of local governments. It would relieve public offices, and administrative decisions would be more accurate. Polish democracy would be strengthened. Democracy in the local dimension is the most authentic, practically instructive in the sense of civic activity in the community."

³⁸⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]*, op. cit., p. 173: "The Polish home must have a good housemaster. Strong state power. Democratic and law-abiding, but effective. The President may be the master. Or the Prime Minister. The President will then fulfil a representative function. It does not matter what we call this master. It is important that this master could rule in an uninhibited and effective manner. Let the nation know in whose hands the key to change lies. Let the nation watch how the master uses this key. Then, it will be clear if the one who governs deserves gratitude or should be held accountable. Such a system would protect the authority against unjust allegations. It would also not allow them to escape the blame for real mistakes."

³⁸⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Letter to the members of the Council of Ministers at the inaugural meeting of the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka – with the participation of the President of the Republic of Poland (July 14, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 279: "Three types of coexistence are possible: hostility, ignoring each other, and cooperation. The first causes that the energy of the government and the President burns out in mutual disputes. The second makes the initiatives of both institutions double each other, and twice as much work is done than needed. The first is deadly for the state, the second is harmful. Only the third option, cooperation, is beneficial for Poland."

³⁸⁹ *Ja / z Lechem Wałęsą rozmawiają Andrzej Bober, Cezary Łazarewicz*, op. cit., pp. 181-182.

For obvious reasons, Lech Wałęsa's presidency was a time of democracy learning.³⁹⁰ This concerned both the elected representatives of various levels of state authority as well as the general public, as they had to realise that they had a real influence on who and how exercised power,³⁹¹ and that the principle "nothing about us without us" really applied.³⁹² Polish democracy appears in the analysed texts as a great victory for the nation, a value won together, which cannot be exposed to danger,³⁹³ because "it can be good or bad, effective or ineffective. If it does not contribute to more bread being available, it is a bad democracy. If it deals with itself and not with people's problems, it is ineffective."³⁹⁴ It is significant that President Lech Wałęsa associated the concept of democracy with the Christian social teaching. He claimed that it should be based on the Decalogue and universal values, in the spirit of the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church.³⁹⁵

Speaking at the Belarusian parliament, he sensitised Poland's eastern neighbours that democracy is a challenge, a space of necessary

³⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 177: "I have deeply believed that if democracy prevails, it will be all easier. We will choose better, govern smarter."

³⁹¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *W wyborach powinna wygrać Polska... [Poland should win the elections...]*. TV appearance after the founding of the Non-Partisan Block for Supporting Reforms (BBWR) (July 13, 1993), KPRP, *op. cit.*, p. 116: "It is difficult for me to understand those who do not intend to go to the polls at all. My guess is that they want to express dissatisfaction in this way. Disappointment with the rule of democracy. It is a bad way. It made sense in the previous era. Absence at the ballot box was a form of protest. People's votes did not affect the layout of the parliament. Today it is different. The law ensures that no authority determines the results of the election. Only you decide which people will sit in the parliament. You have the right to vote. Democracy gives it to you."

³⁹² L. Wałęsa, *Bez działań nie powiodą się reformy... [Reforms will not succeed without actions...]*. Speech to the Second National Congress of Polish Entrepreneurs (July 5, 1993), KPRP, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

³⁹³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi... [The main purpose has been lost – the service for the nation...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

³⁹⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

³⁹⁵ L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! The current pace of changes in our country makes... Meeting in the Theological Seminary in Radom (October 16, 1995)*, p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 658/95, p. 102, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

vigilance against the threats of arbitrariness and anarchy. It requires joint effort and activity of all citizens, political pluralism, multiplicity of views and programmes, freedom of action. Like the free market economy, it is the resultant of many forces and tendencies: "It is like a stream that finds the best way, although it flows through bends in a zigzag pattern. Building a democratic system is often accompanied by the temptation to draw a shortcut, create incomplete and semi-democratic solutions. With time, however, we discover that these are temporary solutions threatening the stability of the state. They make social dissatisfaction pile up. Our Polish experience indicates that democracy must be trusted."³⁹⁶ The President also spoke about democracy in a similar way in the Lithuanian parliament. He showed it as a system guaranteeing human rights, preservation of peace in the world, prosperity of nations, communities and individuals, the guardian of the rights of individuals, groups of people and minorities.³⁹⁷ Just as the President suggested to Belarusians and Lithuanians to make use of Polish experience in learning democracy, he did not hide that Poland is learning the same from the US: "Today, we are building our Polish democracy drawing on the American experience. We are also using the moral and material support of the great American nation."³⁹⁸

The election of Lech Wałęsa as the President of the Republic of Poland was a particularly important moment in the process of political transformation. The significance of this event – unprecedented in the history of the nation and the state – was presented by

³⁹⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Stabilna, demokratyczna i otwarta na współpracę Białoruś jest oczekiwana w Europie...* [Stable, democratic Belarus which is open to cooperation is awaited in Europe...]. Speech at the Belarusian Council of the Republic during an official visit to the Republic of Belarus (29 June 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 111.

³⁹⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska i Litwa podają sobie dłonie...* [Poland and Lithuania are shaking hands...]. Speech in the Lithuanian Parliament during an official visit to the Republic of Lithuania (April 26, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 146.

³⁹⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Polacy zza oceanu byli zawsze wiernymi synami starej ojczyzny...* [Poles from across the ocean have always been faithful sons of the old homeland...]. Speech at the meeting with the Polish Community Abroad in Chicago during the visit to the USA (March 24, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

MP Maciej Bednarkiewicz³⁹⁹ during the ceremony of President's taking the oath before the National Assembly: "For the first time in Polish history, the nation has elected the President in the universal, equal, direct elections, in secret ballot, in the elections that were fully democratic. And it was a historic necessity, after years of bondage and enslavement, for the election of the President to take place in this form. Because this choice is the best proof of democratisation of public life, we must recognise that this choice cannot divide us, it can only, like any manifestation of democracy, unite us, build the unity of the nation."⁴⁰⁰ The President's election was inextricably linked with Poland's national security in its military dimension. Speaking during the ceremony of assuming the command over the armed forces of the Republic of Poland, Lech Wałęsa said: "As the head of the armed forces, I solemnly declare that I will devote all my strengths and skills to the affairs of the country, its development and defence. When it comes to the fate of the entire nation, I will be guided by the law and the heart, prudence and reason."⁴⁰¹ On the basis of President's texts, the assumptions regarding the role of power associated with the highest office in Poland can be determined. Lech Wałęsa believed that the President of the Republic should:

- Stand by its cause, defend the Polish reason of state, defend the dignity and honour of the Poles;⁴⁰²

³⁹⁹ Maciej Bednarkiewicz (1940-2016) – lawyer and dissident, MP from 1989 to 1991. Actively involved in the activities of the Catholic Church in Warsaw and social service. On the day of Lech Wałęsa's taking an oath he spoke in the parliament as the rapporteur of the National Electoral Commission.

⁴⁰⁰ M. Bednarkiewicz, (speech beginning with the words:) *Honourable Speakers! Honourable Members of the National Assembly! Each of us is aware that we are today participating in a historical event...* (December 22, 1990), in: *The National Assembly of the Republic of Poland, Stenographic report from the meeting of the National Assembly of the Republic of Poland on December 21 and 22, 1990*, Warsaw 1990, column 9, (Archive of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw).

⁴⁰¹ L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych... [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...]. Speech at the ceremony of assuming the command over the armed forces of the Republic of Poland after being sworn-in as the President of the Republic of Poland (December 22, 1990)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 14.

⁴⁰² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa... [This day has not turned out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a*

- Unite the society;⁴⁰³
- Be an arbitrator and act regardless of political divisions;⁴⁰⁴
- Be a guardian of democracy who co-participates in its shaping and defending it against threats, especially in difficult moments of political crises;⁴⁰⁵
- Make order in Poland with an iron fist, remembering that above there is only the nation and the constitution, the principles of democracy and law.⁴⁰⁶

The exercise of power in Poland during the period of political transformation and ensuring security in its various dimensions required determined actions of the parliament. According to President Lech Wałęsa, the most important issue in the field of actions of this body in the state, which he spoke about in the opening speech at the Sejm elected in the first free and democratic elections, was building coalitions and programmes for Poland, and only then, dismantling the existing structures, which – in his opinion – would ensure stability of the state and

joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 193.

⁴⁰³ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Możliwości twórczego działania Sejmu uległy wyczerpaniu...* [*The possibilities of the Sejm's creative activity have been exhausted...*]. TV appearance after the dissolution of the Sejm (May 31, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 101.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu...* [*Poland is not moving forward...*]. op. cit., p. 173. In this statement the President said: "My concept is clear and transparent. The president chosen in general elections really governs and is really held accountable. (...) I think that in this way we can escape the Polish vicious circle. Get out of the mud onto hard ground. That is why I am in favour of the presidential system." In the interview carried out for this study, Lech Wałęsa said that as President he was inclined to govern with the use of decrees. He believed that this way of exercising presidential power was – at the time of the systemic transformation – the most effective and the fastest one. Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

the government.⁴⁰⁷ As a side note to these reflections it should be recalled that due to the parliamentary break-up, the arduous process of shaping a ruling coalition began. This eventually led to the formation of the government headed by Jan Olszewski.⁴⁰⁸ However, his government was dismissed in the after midnight voting on June 5, 1992 as a result of actions taken by Lech Wałęsa. This was a consequence of the efforts of the government of Prime Minister Olszewski to conduct the lustration of people holding top positions in the country.⁴⁰⁹ The accusation of collaboration with the Security Services also concerned President Lech Wałęsa.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...], op. cit., p. 45. On the subject of the then political situation and the course of events until the dissolution of this Sejm, cf. Ł. Zamecki, *Dzieje polityczne Polski po 1989 roku*, in: *Spółeczeństwo i polityka. Podstawy nauk politycznych*, vol. IV, *System rządów w Polsce (instytucje polityczne w latach 1989-2018)*, ed. K.A. Wojtaszczyk, E.M. Marciniak, W. Jakubowski, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, Warszawa 2018, pp. 20-23.

⁴⁰⁸ Jan Olszewski (1930-2019) – politician and lawyer. During World War II and the Nazi occupation – a soldier of the Grey Ranks and a participant in the Warsaw Uprising. In the times of the Polish People's Republic he was an activist of the democratic opposition and a legal counsel in political lawsuits. Prime Minister in the years 1991-1992 and MP at the Sejm of the 1st, 3rd and 4th term, adviser to the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński.

⁴⁰⁹ On the subject of the evaluation of those events from the point of view of Lech Wałęsa, cf. *Ja / z Lechem Wałęsą rozmawiają Andrzej Bober, Cezary Łazarewicz*, op. cit., pp. 195-202.

⁴¹⁰ How Jan Olszewski was perceived by the circles of the presidential palace becomes clearer in light of one of the memos prepared for the President by the employees of his office (President's Political Office): "Formation of a strong parliamentary opposition to the right. Olszewski's speech in the Sejm. Predictable inclusion of Macierewicz's fraction. Catchy slogans of lustration and de-communisation. Merger of PC [Centre Agreement], KR [Republican Coalition] and parts of KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] into a political "salon des refuses" can be anticipated. The strongest club in the Sejm. All this will drive the unsatisfied and frustrated people under the wings of Movement for the Republic. This danger should not be underestimated. The fascist or communist movements were once ignored with a well-known result." The text is a fragment of the document *Zakrzewski for the President. Topics for the President for the current week*, BOPP - 168 - 92, typescript, Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Przemówienia 1992, folder 1, p. 189, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw). Antoni Macierewicz – minister

The parliamentary mandate is an expression of social trust, entrusting the power of law-making and a great honour. Above all, however, it is a huge responsibility for the nation and the state, for stability and security, for the development of state structures that will serve the prosperity of the entire nation, of all citizens. It is also a responsibility before the nation, and not just its part – one's own electorate.⁴¹¹ The efficiency and effectiveness of exercising power by the parliament in a democratic state depends to a large extent on the ability to select a lasting majority in the Sejm. Otherwise, it turns out to be a helpless body, despite noble intentions of MPs, even if they were the best representatives of the nation and the most outstanding individuals.⁴¹²

4.1.6. Science and education in the state

An analysis of the texts of President Lech Wałęsa clearly shows that science and education are important pillars of the state.⁴¹³ The functioning

of internal affairs in Jan Olszewski government in 1991-1992. By way of a parliamentary resolution of May 28, 1992 (so-called lustration resolution), he announced a list containing the names of well-known politicians (among others, the then President Lech Wałęsa) registered by the communist security service as its secret informants; PC – Centre Agreement, a political party whose leader was Jarosław Kaczyński; KR – Republic Coalition, a political party in the years 1991-1992 (without seats in the parliament), which then merged with the newly formed conservative party led by Aleksander Hall, which was an MP at that time; KPN – Confederation for an Independent Poland a political party whose leader was Leszek Moczulski; Zakrzewski – Andrzej Zakrzewski was at that time (from November 26, 1991 to June 30, 1993) Undersecretary of State in the Chancellery of the President Lech Wałęsa.

⁴¹¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Od Was zależy w jakim kierunku zmierzać będzie Polska...* [It is up to you in which direction Poland will go...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm (October 14, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 127; L. Wałęsa, *Polsce potrzebne są mądre prawa...* [Poland needs wise laws...]. Speech at the inaugural session of the Senate (October 15, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 129.

⁴¹² Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Letter to the members of the Council of Ministers at the inaugural meeting of the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka – with the participation of the President of the Republic of Poland (July 14, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 280.

⁴¹³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (speech starting with the words:) *Mr Rector! Honorable Senate! Dear students! The beginning of a new academic year is celebrated today at many Polish universities...* Speech at the inauguration of the academic year at

of society and creation of security in its various dimensions need development of science and systematic development of education as well as reflection on its content. President Lech Wałęsa said in the Sejm: "It is necessary to develop science and education. Without them we shall wander blindly. (...) We must do everything to develop and change Polish science. To be a scholar is an honour, but also a service. For the nation and for the state."⁴¹⁴ Analysing the texts of Lech Wałęsa, one should remember that he is not an educated man in the academic sense, but on various occasions he emphasises the influence of intellectuals on his political thought. An example is a letter addressed to Bronisław Geremek⁴¹⁵ on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Sending his greetings, the President recalls Geremek's visit to the Gdańsk Shipyard during the strike, stressing that it resulted in a historic alliance of Polish workers with intellectuals – "Seemingly alien to each other – we quickly communicated on the basis of mutually shared values, which we have been advocating together ever since. And, as it has turned out, effectively."⁴¹⁶ It is significant that what united the workers and scholars during the communist period were the values they shared with each other and which they advocated in the life of the political community. According to the President, science has an important role to play in the development of the country. It was thanks to science that Poland managed – in the first years of the systemic transformation – to break the crisis faster and achieve a significant economic

Warsaw University (October 2, 1995), pp. 1-2, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 630/95, pp. 68-69, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw); L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! Today's ceremony brings together scholars and academic teachers... Professorial nominations* (November 8, 1995), p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 673/95, p. 125, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴¹⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]*, op. cit., p. 44.

⁴¹⁵ Bronisław Geremek (1932-2008) – historian and politician, professor of humanities, minister of foreign affairs in the years 1997-2000, MP of the 10th, 1st, 2nd and 3rd term, from 2004 until death deputy to the European Parliament of the 6th term. Close associate of Lech Wałęsa.

⁴¹⁶ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Professor Bronisław Geremek* (March 11, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 272.

growth in a short time. It is also thanks to the achievements of science that an opportunity to overcome barriers and shorten the distance to the highly industrialised countries of the West was revealed. This fact should prove to be an imperative of politicians' decisions and actions. They should not only remember the achievements of science for the state, but also treat it seriously and far-sightedly, with special care and support. It is in the interest of the Polish reason of state to invest in education, in education for the whole of society.⁴¹⁷

An important source of information on the role of science and education understood as values in creating national security of Poland are the texts of President Lech Wałęsa on the occasion of awarding professorial nominations. These speeches are concise, and their content is often repeated. However, they contain important issues from the point of view of the processes of creating Poland's national security. People of science, academic teachers are shown in them as the ones who understand the needs of Poland and are deeply involved in public affairs.⁴¹⁸ Science, on the other hand, is shown as a reality present in almost every area of human life and necessary to almost every one of them. Without support of the people of science, without their knowledge and competence, no reforms are possible in the state: "Without your knowledge, experience, without your particular sensitivity, we shall not build a modern state. Poland needs innovative concepts, bold ideas and solutions. It needs wise, educated people who serve the country with their knowledge."⁴¹⁹ In another speech addressed to newly appointed

⁴¹⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (speech starting with the words:) *Mr Rector! Honourable Senate! Dear students! The beginning of a new academic year is celebrated today at many Polish universities... Speech at the inauguration of the academic year at Warsaw University (October 2, 1995)*, p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 630/95, p. 68, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴¹⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! Today's ceremony brings together scholars and academic teachers... Professorial nominations (November 8, 1995)*, p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 673/95, p. 125, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴¹⁹ L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! The group of scholars and artists... Professorial nominations (October 5, 1995, at 12.00)*,

professors, Lech Wałęsa said – "The Polish Republic needs you."⁴²⁰ He argued and stressed that scholars play a responsible social role, because science is a search for truth, teaching is a transfer of knowledge essential for every society, and upbringing is the formation of minds and attitudes.⁴²¹ He postulated the need to increase the percentage of people with higher education in society: "The tasks faced by our country are enormous. We cannot carry them out without professionally trained personnel. Without the development of scientific research."⁴²² However, for science and education, which are values from the point of view of the state interest and national security, to be able reveal their strength, other values are also needed: "Real science can be practiced only in the atmosphere of freedom and truth. Wherever these values are manipulated, there are no new ideas and no real solutions. The captive and depraved mind does not serve the public. It does not serve the nation. Because – in a nutshell – where fundamental values are cynically trodden down, where lies replace the truth, there is no development or progress."⁴²³

One of the concrete actions for the development of science in Poland was the establishment on July 9, 1992 of the "Council for Science" operating at the presidential office, whose first chairperson was professor Andrzej Kajetan Wróblewski, professor of physics, who was at that time Rector of Warsaw University. The Council dealt with, *inter alia*: scientific policy of the state, the future of higher education in Poland, the links between science, technology and economy.⁴²⁴

page 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 637/95, p. 79, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴²⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Nasza epoka potrzebuje ludzi mądrych i wykształconych... [Our age needs wise and educated people...]. Speech on the occasion of professorial nominations (January 12, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴²¹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴²² L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! Today's ceremony brings together scholars and academic teachers...*, op. cit., p. 1, p. 125.

⁴²³ L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! The group of scientists gathered for today's ceremony... Professorial nominations (December 8, 1995)*, p. 1, Press Office of the Republic of Poland, III / 688/95, p. 147, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴²⁴ Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. [Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency]*, op. cit., p. 62.

One of the components of the processes of creating security of the nation and the state is to support the development of science and care for education. In the area thematically delimited by the concepts of science and education, an important function of the state should be revealed in building its present and future. Science and education should not only refer to such issues as basic human rights and universal values. From the point of view of national interest they are manifestations and forms of social and economic investment. They affect the systemic transformation in the country. Knowledge and education are values that co-create Poland's national security.

4.1.7. Religion in the state

Religious motifs, cooperation with the clergy, the influence of Christianity on society are among the most frequently recurring themes in Lech Wałęsa's speeches when he talks about national life, the overthrow of communism, times of the systemic transformation, and even directly about security issues. In one of the interviews, he mentions the circumstances preceding the signature of documents in Moscow, by him and Boris Yeltsin, on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland: "One had to pray. We took with us the image of the Mother of God. Cybula⁴²⁵ celebrated a mass in the Kremlin and we prayed. We prayed all night. And there, the treaties were lying on the table, just waiting for signature, and I cannot do it. Light, when a thought occurred to me. That I will not wait, but when I meet Yeltsin, I will make

⁴²⁵ Alfred Franciszek Cybula – Catholic priest, chaplain of President Lech Wałęsa who remembers the clergyman as follows: "Before the wedding, I had some sins, because I had not been to confession for two years or more. And I came upon him. I must say that he led me to this marriage nicely. He was a very intelligent priest. He did not bother me for various little sins. I liked it very much, that is why I chose him as my confessor. Later, he became my chaplain in Warsaw. At that time, I needed to have such support. The conditions were so difficult that in order not to get lost, I needed a moment of shutdown, peace. The church and daily masses allowed me to put my mind to rest. There was only God and me. This is very good for inner hygiene, for self-control, for self-reflection. And Father Cybula was good at these matters, he sensed me, he sensed my needs. He did it nicely." *Ja / z Lechem Wałęsą rozmawiają Andrzej Bober, Cezary Łazarewicz*, op. cit., pp. 253-254.

my offer to him immediately."⁴²⁶ The strong emphasis Lech Wałęsa put on the issue of Catholicism has a double source. Above all, faith. He has emphasised his faith and belonging to the Church many times, even called himself a faithful son of the Church.⁴²⁷ The second source is the experience of the life of the political community: "The Roman Catholic Church in Poland gathers the vast majority of the nation. The Church is their spiritual guide, a trustee of the greatest traditions and a mainstay at the most difficult moments. It has gained the gratitude and respect of the whole of society."⁴²⁸ This approach to Catholicism does not mean that there were no representatives of other Christian denominations in Poland, different religions or people defining themselves as non-believers, as well as those who sought to atheize social life. The presence of the latter is not surprising when we remember that after World War II Poles were inundated with the doctrine of communism that fought against all manifestations of religious life. The presence of non-Catholics in Poland was mentioned by President Lech Wałęsa in the Senate of the Republic of Poland: "Tolerance is a characteristic trait of the soul of the Polish nation. A multinational culture was born in the Republic. Various nationalities and denominations met within its borders. These experiences enriched our homeland."⁴²⁹

⁴²⁶ Ibid, pp. 187-188.

⁴²⁷ A special expression of faith and attachment to Catholicism, and at the same time the hallmark of Lech Wałęsa, is the image of Mary, Our Lady of Częstochowa, worn by him in the lapel of his jacket, which he combined with his involvement in social life. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 79: "I will always wear it as long as I am engaged in social activities. I said it in front of the cameras of the entire world. (...) I have always worn it because I have given the word. If I took it off, they would suspect that something was not ok, that I wanted to sin. I framed myself in this way! But I am happy as a believer."

⁴²⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo...* [*The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...*]. Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic (February 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 16.

⁴²⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [*The entire Polish edifice needs repair...*]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47. Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [*The future lies in getting to know each other...*]. Speech at the Knesset during an official visit

The activity of priests and the pursuit of the application of the Catholic social thought in the life of a political community by the communities of believers have had a long tradition. This was particularly evident in the period of the systemic transformation, but also earlier – before 1989, at the time of workers' strikes and the emergence of Solidarity. Lech Wałęsa often mentioned, for example, various aid that he received from bishops and priests. He said that when he had been fired from the Shipyard and had had no means of subsistence, he had received money from Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński,⁴³⁰ Primate of Poland at that time.⁴³¹ The entire ideological transformation and, in particular, the ideological thought shaping the "Solidarity" movement was influenced by a philosopher from Cracow, professor Father Józef Tischner,⁴³² who wrote, among other things, about the ethics of solidarity,⁴³³ and also by Father Jerzy Popiełuszko from Warsaw – brutally murdered by representatives of the communist security apparatus. President Lech Walesa spoke about him: "He was extremely modest. He never flaunted his priesthood, either. He tried to be one of us. Our friend, brother, confidant. His vision of the Church was very concrete. He

to Israel (May 21, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 28. "Today, we are building free and democratic Poland, we are creating a state that is home to all citizens regardless of their origin and religion. Which gives everyone equal rights and opportunities. The independent Polish Republic refers to the best Polish traditions;" L. Wałęsa, *Nadszedł czas usuwania fałszywych schematów myślowych...* [The time has come to remove false thought patterns...]. Speech at a meeting with representatives of the Israeli organisation of Jews from Poland during an official visit to Israel (May 23, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 31: "Today, overcoming enormous difficulties, we are building a free Republic. We return to the best Polish traditions. These traditions include tolerance and equal rights for all citizens, regardless of their origin and religion."

⁴³⁰ Stefan Wyszyński (1901-1981) – Catholic priest, cardinal, Primate of Poland. Spiritual leader of the Polish nation. Persecuted and imprisoned during the communist period. A friend of John Paul II.

⁴³¹ Cf. *Ja / z Lechem Wałęsą rozmawiają Andrzej Bober, Cezary Łazarewicz*, op. cit., p. 49.

⁴³² Józef Tischner (1931-2000) – Catholic priest, philosopher, publicist. His texts on solidarity have, to a large extent, defined the Polish understanding of this concept.

⁴³³ Cf. J. Tischner, *The Spirit of Solidarity*, transl. by M.B. Zaleski and B. Fiore, Harper & Row, San Francisco 1984; J. Tischner, *Marxism and Christianity: the Quarrel and the Dialogue in Poland*, transl. by M.B. Zaleski and B. Fiore, Georgetown University Press, Washington DC 1987.

perceived the Church in the dimension of ordinary human needs and matters. That is why he wanted to be with people. Listen to them, talk to them, share experiences. He was accessible and open. Ready to help at any time. We loved him and we respected him. All of Warsaw and all of Poland came to him. Adults and youths, workers, writers and actors, scientists and journalists. With his priestly heart, he took in all the painful affairs of the nation."⁴³⁴

Thinking about the clergy who influenced the shape of political changes in Poland and the political decisions of Lech Wałęsa, Pope John Paul II cannot obviously be overlooked with his great significance for social processes, freedom and security of the Eastern bloc's nations and countries, and later, the fall of communism. According to President Lech Wałęsa, religion, and especially the Roman Catholic Church, had a particularly important role to play in the period of the systemic transformation in Poland. For society experienced confusion and doubts, difficulties in finding themselves in a new reality, dilemmas in distinguishing between good and evil, truth and lies: "In this difficult time, the role of the Church is particularly increasing. It is the Church that teaches humanism and respect for the individual. It makes our world more humane. It indicates the patterns of dignified life and conduct. It is the Church and its teaching that make the truth and love, justice and freedom, peace and forgiveness permeate our existence. They give it a meaning and deeper dimension and restore the unique value of the individual."⁴³⁵ President Lech Wałęsa encouraged the Church's active participation in the work of building the Third Polish Republic, in what concerns the shaping of conscience of individuals and conscience of the political community. As it did before, in the thousand-year history of the nation.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Najważniejsze jest żeby się nie bać... [It is most important not to be afraid...]. Speech at a mass on the tenth anniversary of the death of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko (October 19, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 170.*

⁴³⁵ L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! The current pace of changes in our country makes... Meeting in the Theological Seminary in Radom (October 16, 1995), p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 658/95, p. 102, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).*

⁴³⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

Referring to Polish experiences aimed at overthrowing communism, Lech Wałęsa claimed that thanks to the involvement of the Roman Catholic Church it was possible to oppose the power of the totalitarian system without resorting to violence. For communism was overcome by the power of will, faith and spirit, a common desire to live in a sovereign country, free from lies and injustice. Poles did this without a single shot, without one drop of blood, showing the world that dialogue and agreement are the best way to solve difficult problems and social conflicts. In these activities, the role of Christianity is undisputed according to the President: "I wish to emphasise with all my heart that this great act would not have been possible without moral support of the Church. Without its profound wisdom and evangelical principles instilled in the nation by its thousand-year-long teaching in Poland. In the most difficult moments, it offered us courage and strength, it encouraged and confirmed the right path. Today, when we enjoy freedom and democracy in Poland, the Church is still indispensable in our lives. Its role in building a new Poland remains enormous. For it reminds people of such values as truth, good and love. It calls for tolerance and dialogue, respect for human dignity and rights. It proclaims the need for social justice and interpersonal solidarity as a condition of harmony and inner peace."⁴³⁷ The Polish experience of the Church's involvement in the life of the nation and the strength of the Christian message empowered Lech Wałęsa to formulate an appeal to the leaders of states of all continents to base their political, economic and social activities on the Decalogue and to promote the values that it brings. For the law itself, without reference to morality, remains empty and does not fulfil its social purpose.⁴³⁸

The legal expression of normalisation of the presence of the Roman Catholic Church, but also of other Christian denominations and other religions in the new situation, i.e. after the collapse of the old

⁴³⁷ L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Peace be with you! Thank you for your invitation... Address at the Ninth International Meeting for Peace in Florence (October 22, 1995)*, pp. 2-3, typescript, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 666/95, pp. 116-117, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴³⁸ Cf. *ibid.* p. 3, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 666/95, p. 117.

system, was the beginning of activities aimed at signing the concordat between the Polish Republic and the Holy See and its conclusion in 1993.⁴³⁹ In the context of this event, President Lech Wałęsa reminded that the Church must be present in public life through concern for the moral health of society, teaching what is good and what is evil, what is righteous and what is sinful.⁴⁴⁰ As a legal document the concordat defines, among other things, general rules regarding the activities of the military ordinariate and ministry in the army. It obliges the Church side during the proclamation of conscription and war to send additional priests to perform the function of chaplains in the army, as well as deacons, alumni and conventuals to sanitary or civil defence service. The concordat signed by Poland was the first agreement of this type concluded with the Holy See by a country liberated from communism.

The speech of President Lech Wałęsa in Israel in 1991 at a meeting with Jews from Poland is the testimony to the understanding of the presence and role of religion in the state. The text reads: "Our meeting today is an opportunity to emphasise the role and importance of religion in the life of societies. Thanks to religion, Israel and Poland survived. The Jewish religion, faith in one God allowed Jews to survive without a state, find the strength to build Israel. While the Christian religion allowed Poles to continue to strive for independence. God allowed us to survive over a hundred years of partitional bondage and last a half-century of the system imposed by force."⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ Cf. *The Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland, signed in Warsaw on July 28, 1993* (Journal of Laws 1998 no. 51, item 318). The Concordat was ratified in 1998.

⁴⁴⁰ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *His Holiness Pope John Paul II* (July 28, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 286.

⁴⁴¹ L. Wałęsa, *Nadszedł czas usuwania fałszywych schematów myślowych...* [The time has come to remove false thought patterns...]. *Speech at a meeting with representatives of the Israeli organisation of Jews from Poland during an official visit to Israel* (May 23, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 30.

4.2. National unity

One of the basic threats to the security of the state is the breakdown of national unity, destructive polarisation in society. The time of the systemic transformation provided many forces conducive to this process. The divisions resulted from political beliefs: on the one hand, there was a solidarity camp, and on the other – a post-communist one. They were also visible in the economic context – those who got richer quickly and those who were unable to find a place for themselves in the free market economy. Grzegorz Rydlewski claims that the progressive process of diversification of the political environment of Solidarity and breaking up of the political scene became a factor of fundamental importance.⁴⁴² This state of affairs was additionally intensified by a quick process of legal changes and uncertainty, characterising almost every space of social life. Unity within the state and unity with the Poles in exile appear to be distinctive values in creating national security of Poland in the period of the systemic transformation.

4.2.1. Unity within the state

A special manifestation of unity within the state is the ability to cooperate with people of different political views, representing different milieus, but together forming the parliament. For Lech Wałęsa, a dialogue between the politicians and of the politicians with the public is a particularly privileged form of pursuing the policy of governance.⁴⁴³ He spoke about it in the following words in the Sejm: “You sit in different benches, but from each you can see the Polish eagle – the emblem of our state. Consolidation for the sake of implementing common matters, for building the state will be a test of our patriotism. Let us give up our feuds. Let us talk about our reasons. Let us remember about them but let us listen to each other. Party options and matters are certainly important but let us remember that stubbornly persisting with them can divide us, and consequently – divide the nation. We must not

⁴⁴² Cf. G. Rydlewski, *Rządy i rządzenie w Polsce 1918-2018...*, op. cit., p. 259.

⁴⁴³ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

divide the nation and separate ourselves from it."⁴⁴⁴ Such an approach, which could be said to have been an integrating one, did not mean, according to the President, the desire to blur the differences in political views. He claimed to be an advocate of free expression of views and dispute. At the same time, however, he emphasised that there must be something that is above these conflicts, and which requires speaking in one voice – the good of the homeland, the Polish reason of state. It was in the Polish reason of state that he saw the power that would unify Poles.⁴⁴⁵ Arguments in Lech Wałęsa's political narrative that referred to the notion of reason of state are particularly evident in the statements regarding Polish foreign policy and economy.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 41.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach...* [Keys to the homeland are in your hands...]. Welcoming speech to His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 33. More on the Polish reason of state, cf. *Suverenność i racja stanu Polski w perspektywie 2025. Scenariusze*, ed. B. Grenda, P. Grochmalski, H. Świeboda, Wydawnictwo Akademii Sztuki Wojennej, Warszawa 2018; *Kryterium etyczne w koncepcji racji stanu*, ed. A. Krzynówek-Arndt, Akademia Ignatianum, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2013; *Polska racja stanu*, ed. Sz. Hatłas, Collegium Civitas Press, Warszawa 2010; A. Rzegocki, *Racja stanu a polska tradycja myślenia o polityce*, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, Kraków 2008; *Racja stanu w dobie transformacji ładu europejskiego: implikacje dla Polski*, ed. J. Stefanowicz, I. Grabowska-Lipińska, Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa 1995.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Od Was zależy w jakim kierunku zmierzać będzie Polska...* [It is up to you in which direction Poland will go...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm (October 14, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 128: "There are matters fundamental for the existence of the state, for its development, from the point of view of its interest – indisputable. They require continuity. Great consideration. Particular responsibility. It is dictated by the Polish reason of state. Among them, there is undoubtedly Polish foreign policy. Also, to a large extent, the economy"; L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day has not turned out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 192: "Do I need, in this group, to remind you that in foreign policy it is necessary to speak in one voice? For it is not about the interest of a coalition or a party, but about the good of the Republic, about the Polish reason of state."

In the presidential narrative on cohesion within the state, one can distinguish a thought associated with symbols important to the nation, somehow contributing to the unification of society. Such a sign is the Polish Emblem, whose archetype is the dynastic coat of arms of the Piast dynasty, the first rulers of Poland. The sign of the White Eagle united people of various positions, professions and ages who fought for God, Honour and Homeland.⁴⁴⁷ Also the graves of those fallen in defence of the homeland and the crosses standing on them have a symbolic significance for Poles.⁴⁴⁸ The Royal Castle in Warsaw was also referred to by Lech Wałęsa in terms of the symbol of many centuries of history, national tradition and identity, when he recalled the adoption of the Constitution of May 3, a second (after the American one) modern constitution in the world.⁴⁴⁹ National symbols (emblem and flag), graves of heroes, religion, monuments of culture, and law, especially the constitution, can be easily recognised as the powers unifying the nation.

Poland has a long and special tradition of thinking about unity in the state. An example that is particularly significant is *Liberum veto* – a constitutional principle that allowed deputies to break the Sejm and annul the adopted resolutions. It should be remembered, however, that it was founded on the principle of unanimity, and this in turn – derived from the community character of the Republic. Dariusz Karłowicz reminds that “by focusing on the ‘free veto’, we turn

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wolność nie jest dana raz na zawsze...* [Freedom is not given once and for all...]. Speech on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Poland's regaining independence (November 11, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 134.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Pamięć o ich męce i śmierci, o wierności Rzeczypospolitej, dawała nam siłę wytrwania i moc w walce...* [The memory of their suffering and death, and fidelity to the Republic of Poland, provided us the strength of perseverance and strength in the fight...]. Speech on the grave of Polish officers in Katyń during an official visit to the Russian Federation (May 23, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 81.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność i demokrację...* [American democracy has helped us in our fight for freedom and democracy...]. Speech during a meeting with the residents of Warsaw at the Castle Square in the presence of the US President George Bush who came to the ceremony of placing the ashes of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral (July 5, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 83.

our eyes away from the idea of the Sejm's unanimity standing behind it."⁴⁵⁰ One should agree with the Warsaw philosopher when he claims that the political advantages of unanimity cannot be overestimated, especially in cases requiring a very strong mandate, or when a tribal conflict could be dangerous for the state. Thanks to the consensus, no one can distance oneself from the decisions made and no entity is the victim of the majority.⁴⁵¹

4.2.2. Unity with the Poles in exile

On the very first day of holding the supreme office in the state, the newly sworn President Lech Wałęsa spoke about unity with the Poles in exile: "Without the work of unnamed Poles, without a sense of community stretching across borders, it would not be easy to tear down the walls that separate us. You carried the banner of freedom proudly. You have fulfilled the greatest patriotic duty towards the Homeland."⁴⁵² In the same speech, the Polish leader spoke about unification of moral and political power in the new circumstances – in sovereign Poland, and about Poland's future belonging to the economic and political European community: "Today, when moral and political power is being united, I believe that the many years of struggle of Polish emigrants and refugees will bear fruit. I believe that we will all live in a common European home. The Polish authorities in exile have fulfilled their historic mission worthily and victoriously."⁴⁵³ In history, fate often

⁴⁵⁰ D. Karłowicz, *Polska jako Jason Bourne*, op. cit., p. 66.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 67.

⁴⁵² *Announcement – Speech of the newly elected President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at the ceremony of handing over the presidential insignia at the Royal Castle in Warsaw on December 22, 1990* (Journal of Laws no. 5, item 64). Legal acts and other documents of the Polish authorities in exile. Archive of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw. (<http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/LDU19900050064/O/LDU19900050064.pdf> access on October 26, 2018).

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.* It is worth noting here that in the official publication of the texts of President Lech Wałęsa his speech was "censored". The words "worthily and victoriously" were crossed out. In the official edition it reads: "The Polish authorities in exile have fulfilled their historic mission" (L. Wałęsa, *Polish authorities in exile have fulfilled their mission... Speech at the Royal Castle after handing over the*

forced Poles to leave their own country. Emigrants from the subsequent generations wandered around the world in search of bread and a place to live. It happened that separation from the homeland was final, because they did not return to their family home anymore. Rarely, however, it was a complete separation. Strong spiritual bonds, memories, family contacts and the memory of the roots remained. They usually left their native land for economic reasons or because of the desire for freedom. Over the years, the new land became their homeland, the homeland of their children.⁴⁵⁴ The communist period with the iron curtain separated the Poles living in the country especially from those who lived in the western world. That is why Lech Wałęsa emphasised that the goal of his actions was to make contacts between Poles from Poland and abroad very frequent and authentic. He declared that the Polish diaspora organisations, whose goal was the good of the Polish cause in the country and in the world, would be supported by the Republic.⁴⁵⁵ Meetings with groups of Poles during foreign visits provided an opportunity to express thanks to those communities for their constant, maintained even in the most difficult times, communication with the Homeland and material assistance provided for years to Poles and to Poland.⁴⁵⁶ They were also an op-

insignia of the state authority by the President of the Republic of Poland in exile Ryszard Kaczorowski (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 12). The record "Polish authorities in exile have fulfilled their historic mission worthily and victoriously" is consistent with the actual statement made by President Lech Wałęsa, confirmed in the audio-visual recording of the ceremony at the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Witam w wolnym, rodzinnym domu... [Welcome to a free family home...]. Speech at the First Congress of the Polish Community Abroad (August 19, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 90; L. Wałęsa, Message to the participants in the Congress of the Polish Community Abroad in Latin American Countries (November 3, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 240.*

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Jesteście ambasadorami polskiej sprawy... [You are the ambassadors of the Polish cause...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad in Los Angeles during the official visit to the United States of America (March 23, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 21.*

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 20: "I am bringing you greetings from the Old Country. I am also bringing thanks for everything that you have done for it. For words of comfort, for solidarity – especially during martial law, for the help you have offered us – a sincere God bless you!"; L. Wałęsa, *Polacy zza oceanu byli zawsze wiernymi*

portunity to consolidate activities uniting Polish communities around tradition and culture.⁴⁵⁷ They were also an opportunity to advocate the rights of Poles living abroad.⁴⁵⁸ At the same time, visits of representatives of other states to Poland, especially national and political leaders, provided an opportunity for Lech Wałęsa to remind the need of the right treatment of Poles in the countries from which the guests came. An example of this is the President's statement during the visit of the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to Poland: "I believe that the citizens of free Ukraine of Polish nationality will enjoy the same rights as do the Poles of Ukrainian nationality in independent Poland."⁴⁵⁹ It should be remembered that as a result of the divisions on the map

synami starej ojczyzny... [Poles from across the ocean have always been faithful sons of the old homeland...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad in Chicago during the visit to the USA (March 24, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 22: "For us, Poles in the country, the existence of such a large Polish Community in the United States of America has always been a source of encouragement. We knew that Poland has people to count on in need. The Polish Community in America has never failed this hope. Poles from across the ocean have always remained faithful sons of the old homeland. With great devotion they have supported it morally and materially. (...) Here, in Chicago – the most Polish of all American cities – you have cultivated your love for the homeland and attachment to Polishness. We are grateful to the whole Polish community abroad, to all organisations and to the clergy for maintaining the Polish spirit and Polish national traditions."

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Nadszedł czas usuwania fałszywych schematów myślowych... [The time has come to remove false thought patterns...]. Speech at a meeting with representatives of the Israeli organisation of Jews from Poland during the official visit to Israel (May 23, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 30: "I am touched by the fact that you are still cultivating the Polish language and culture. I am thinking about Polish-language magazines, literature, translations from Hebrew and into Hebrew. I have in mind the Association of Authors writing in Polish and the Israeli Frederick Chopin association founded last year."*

⁴⁵⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy... [Our agreement is in the interest of all of Europe...]. Speech at a special meeting of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, in the presence of the German President, during the official visit to Germany (March 30, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 62: "At the same time, we want Poles living in Germany to be able to fully enjoy their rights. I mean all those who admit their connection with the language and culture of Poland. These people should have a legal right to preserve their own identity."*

⁴⁵⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Jesteśmy sobie zbyt bliscy, aby być obojętni... [We are too close to be indifferent to each other...]. Toast at the reception in honour of the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk during his official visit to Poland (May 18, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 77.*

of Europe after World War II and as a result of the deportation of Poles by the communist authorities to the East, many of them found themselves outside of Poland.

“Wherever you are and live – you share a sense of Polishness,”⁴⁶⁰ said the President during the First Congress of the Polish Community Abroad. The recovering of sovereignty by Poland opened up the possibility to experience unity with the Poles in exile in a new way, but also activated Polish community abroad with a new strength and towards new goals, for better implementation of common interests and plans.⁴⁶¹ In the archival materials of the Political Office of President Lech Wałęsa, summarising the first three years of his presidency, when talking about contacts with the Polish community abroad during the foreign travels of the head of state, the following statement was found: “The topic which the president referred to very often was the incentive to come to Poland and establish Polish business ventures here.”⁴⁶²

Actions for the creation of national security in the case of Poland require multifaceted measures aimed at promoting the unity with the Polish community abroad scattered around the world. Experience

⁴⁶⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Witam w wolnym, rodzinnym domu... [Welcome to a free family home...]. Speech at the First Congress of the Polish Community Abroad (19 August 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 90.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants in the Congress of the Polish Community Abroad in Latin American Countries (November 3, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 241.

⁴⁶² Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania* [Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. Plans and achievements], typescript. Material prepared by the Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw, January 1994, p. 57, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw). Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Postanie do Rady Narodowej w Londynie z okazji zakończenia przez nią działalności na emigracji [Message to the National Council in London on the occasion of the end of its activity in exile (December 8, 1991)]*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 220: “I hope that you will support us with your knowledge and experience in building democracy and transforming the economy. We are creating a new system in Poland, legal system, free market mechanisms. We lack specialists. Your advice on how to reorganise the tax system, banking, and management will be invaluable. The Polish economy needs investment and new technologies. I believe that you will help us transform Poland into a modern state.”

shows that during wars, the loss of sovereignty and independence, Poles who lived in exile were an important force. It is in Poland's interest to maintain lively contact with them, to support activities promoting Polish culture and traditions abroad. During the systemic transformation, the Republic of Poland especially needed to experience unity with Polish emigrants to the West, even to learn modern democratic principles, to strengthen its own sovereign position on the international arena. These contacts were also aimed at supporting the economic transformation.

4.3. Conclusions

The following statement of President Lech Wałęsa still remains valid – "Only a strong state can be the state of free people."⁴⁶³ The texts of President Lech Wałęsa, in which he deals with topics related to the state and its functioning, are an important testimony to the processes of creating Poland's national security in the period of political changes, but also the reflection on the value of the state to the nation. The analysed content allows us to understand this value, that is a state which is able to constitute its own laws, carry out necessary reforms, develop the economy, take care of education, ensure religious freedom and build national unity. However, what seems to be important from the point of view of the state's interest is the value of being able to be effective, the specific effectiveness of the state, especially in the legislative dimension. This value, in the opinion of Lech Wałęsa himself, was not achieved during his presidency. Consequently, there were difficulties at the level of the economic transformation which did not allow for meeting the expectations of society and building a strong and secure state. In the opinion of the Political Office of the President, Lech Wałęsa pursued his own vision of the Polish State through actions in five areas:

- Directional concepts,
- Legislative activity,
- Activity on the parliamentary and government forum,

⁴⁶³ L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]*. Television speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 172.

- Meetings with representatives of various states and national professional communities,
- Activity in the mass media.⁴⁶⁴

The same office positively sums up five years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency and states that he was heading towards "de-communisation of the institutional order of the state, not its façade. So understood de-communisation was expressed by the President's desire to: restore the dignity and rights of the Sovereign to Poles; ensure the settlement of accounts with the past and satisfaction of justice in the moral and economic sphere; ensure security and independence by undertaking the role of a mediator in disputes between citizens and the Government and by making foreign troops leave the territory of our country."⁴⁶⁵ It needs to be mentioned at this point that in later years Lech Wałęsa was repeatedly criticised for failing to carry out de-communisation and for superficial activities in this area.

The President's statements provoke formulation of several general conclusions regarding a democratic state understood as a value from the perspective of the processes of creating Poland's national security. First of all, a state that realizes the principle of a democratic state of law is an important element of the common good, but not its foundation. The basis are individuals with their human dignity and rights, living in the community and creating this community. The state is obliged to serve individuals and the communities which they create above all by providing security in such a way that the individuals and the community can develop. This means that the state should create such laws that guarantee the right to self-rule at the lowest levels as far as possible.

The answer to the question posed from the point of view of security studies: "what above all must be reformed in the state?" is also a part of the answer to questions about values in creating Poland's national security. In the systemic reforms of the state, not only the question "what to do?" is important, but also the next one – "in which

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Presidency of Lech Wałęsa 1990-1995*, op. cit., p. 227, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 233.

order to do it?". "What to do?" is a question about what is important, what has value. While the question "in which order to do it?" reveals the dilemma of the hierarchy of values.

Developing a permanent, efficient and law-abiding state organism requires action not only in the dimension of law-making and economic development, but also in science and education. Negligence of the latter two in the long-term perspective of the life of the political community leads inevitably to a legal collapse (law becomes incomprehensible) and economic degradation (the economy cannot develop due to the lack of local technology and qualified staff). This state of affairs sets the direction to the loss of sovereignty in the legal dimension, because it is necessary to employ foreign solutions not necessarily matching the Polish mentality, and in the economic dimension, that is economic dependence and descent to the level of a consuming rather than a producing country. With regard to science and education, the primacy of the humanities should be emphasised, which allow nations to cultivate their own culture and identity, and thus their own political tradition which best suits the spirit of the nation. The humanities that "practically" translate into education at its various levels enable society to observe the political scene critically. The greatness of the humanities in the perspective of creating national security and state power is their potential to build a civic society, a natural ability to evoke attitudes favourable to the development of the common good and care for national culture. Science and education seen in this way do not fulfil their mission if they are detached from morality. The constant threat to the political community is the separation of politics from morality, which is usually done by favouring the effectiveness of actions, and not their good, or by marginalising the individual and losing sight of individual rights in the perspective of the strength of society.

5. “The Polish people see the army as a guarantor of the sovereignty of the state and democratic freedoms of its citizens.” The army in creating national security of Poland

“The Polish people see the army as a guarantor of the sovereignty of the state and democratic freedoms of its citizens,”⁴⁶⁶ said Lech Wałęsa on the first day of his presidency, during the ceremony of assuming command over the armed forces of the Republic of Poland. These words can be considered symbolic, but also surprising. Symbolic because they were uttered by the President elected in a democratic election at the beginning of the Third Polish Republic. It is insofar also surprising as the army at that time was still bound by the rules of the Warsaw Pact, and Soviet troops were stationed in Poland.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych...* [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...]. Speech at the ceremony of assuming the command over the armed forces of the Republic of Poland after being sworn in as the President of the Republic of Poland (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴⁶⁷ On the Warsaw Pact and the presence of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe cf. P. Tomek, *Life with Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia and after their Withdrawal*, “Folklore” 2017, v. 70, pp. 97-120; L. Crump, *The Warsaw Pact Reconsidered: International Relations in Eastern Europe, 1955-69*, Routledge, London 2015; S. Kotkin, M.R. Beissinger, *The Historical Legacies of Communism: An Empirical Agenda*, in: *Historical Legacies of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe*, ed. M.R. Beissinger, S. Kotkin, Cambridge University Press, New York 2014, pp. 1-27; M. Kramer, *The Demise of the Soviet Bloc*, “Europe-Asia Studies” 2011, v. 63, no. 9, pp. 1535-1590; S. Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted. The Soviet*

However, in the speech of the head of state, one can hear an expression of a living desire in the nation – for its own and independent army that can freely serve its state, its sovereignty and democratic freedoms of its citizens. Such an understanding of the events taking place at the meeting point between the army and the President is evident in the light of another statement made by Lech Wałęsa. In the first month of exercising command over the Polish Armed Forces, during a meeting with the then civilian vice-minister of national defence for education and social issues,⁴⁶⁸ Bronisław Komorowski, Lech Wałęsa said: "I know the army and I know that soldiers are not indifferent to what army they serve in. Serving in the sovereign and democratic Polish army is a tough but really honourable duty. We must continue the efforts to fully restore the army to the people; to make it a modern force that is not only loyal to the state, but also sincerely committed to defending this range of freedom that has been won in recent years. Work is under way on the reform of the Polish army. Its tasks, shape and place within the structures of the state are changing. So, I set great store by the continuation of the work already initiated in the field of patriotic education in the army."⁴⁶⁹ In the events of those weeks, the beginning of shaping new understanding of Poland's national security can be recognised,

Collapse 1970–2000, Oxford University Press, New York 2008; D.R. Marples, *The collapse of the Soviet Union: 1985-1991*, Pearson, New York 2004; J. Hal-
 lenberg, *The demise of the Soviet Union: analysing the collapse of a state*, Rout-
 ledge, London 2002; G. Lundestad, 'Imperial Overstretch', *Mikhail Gorbachev,
 and the End of the Cold War*. "Cold War History" 2000, v. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-20;
 L. Rühl, *Offensive defence in the Warsaw Pact*, "Survival" 1991, v. 33, no. 5,
 pp. 442-450; H. Faringdon, *Strategic geography: NATO, the Warsaw pact, and
 the superpowers*, Routledge, London, New York 1989; J. Simon, *NATO-Warsaw
 Pact. Force Mobilization*, National Defense University Press, Washington DC
 1988; Z.K. Brzezinski, *The Soviet bloc, unity and conflict*, Harvard University
 Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1967.

⁴⁶⁸ Bronisław Komorowski – historian and politician, President of the Republic of Poland in 2010-2015. Previously, he was vice-minister and minister of defence, Deputy Speaker and Speaker of the Sejm.

⁴⁶⁹ L. Wałęsa, (the statement starting with the words:) *I know the army and I know...*, typescript, Information of the Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw (January 16, 1990), BRP 082, cat. A, Press Office Statements, December 12 – May 9, 1991, folder 1, p. 25, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

and at the same time the beginning of the path that Poland will go from strategic incapacitation, through creating strategic independence, to membership in NATO and the European Union.⁴⁷⁰

The aim of the analysis carried out in this chapter is to present the Polish army in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa as a value that is one of the pillars of creating Poland's national security. The body of reflection was built around three issues: service for security, defence capabilities and international military cooperation.

5.1. Service for security

Speaking at a meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence on August 6, 1992, President Lech Wałęsa argued that "among the state institutions, [the army] enjoys utmost confidence and authority. This is evidenced by numerous public opinion polls."⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. S. Koziej, *Obronność Polski w warunkach samodzielności strategicznej lat 90. XX wieku*, "Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe" no. 21, I – 2012, pp. 19-30.

⁴⁷¹ L. Wałęsa, *Speech of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at a meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence (Warsaw, August 6, 1992)*, p. 2, typescript, Press Office of the President, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 3, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw). In the Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw, I did not identify the sources used to prepare the President's speech which allowed him to talk about the trust in the army when referring to "numerous public opinion polls". Perhaps the data used was obtained from the Public Opinion Research Centre, from surveys carried out between 1-3 May 1992, according to which 68% of the society believed that the army served the public well (disapproval – 12%, hard to say – 20%). In the same study, the President was assessed as follows: approval – 36%, disapproval – 52%, hard to say – 13%. Public Opinion Research Centre, Social and political institutions – changes in social perception. Survey report, Warsaw, June '92, p. 2 (https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/1992/K_037_92.PDF - access 26/10/2018). For a full picture, the remaining part of the President's statement needs to be quoted: "People believe you. People say – it is our army. Because these are not the same people as before. Those who helped to pacify factories a decade ago. It is not the same army as three years ago." It is difficult to agree with Lech Wałęsa's opinion, because during the three years mentioned in his statement, the officer corps were not changed. Anyway, it would be impossible in such a short period. Decommunisation of the army was just initiated during the presidency of Lech Wałęsa and lasted for the next decades.

Notwithstanding, the systemic changes in Poland also required changes in the army, starting with its command. This part of the study presents, first, issues concerning the army as a value in a sovereign state, in the reality of the systemic transformation, followed by the content concerning military leaders and values they should represent. These considerations will be supplemented with a reflection on peace in the context of creating national security, taking into account the international context.

5.1.1. The army in a sovereign state

The analysis of Lech Wałęsa's texts regarding the armed forces allows to distinguish the content which shows the value of the army in a sovereign state. The army is an entity which serves one goal – national security. In a speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council, the President said that "we are creating a new, fully sovereign Polish state. Our fate is finally only in our hands. The state authorities represent the nation and serve it. The same applies to the army. It is to ensure security of the nation."⁴⁷² The context of the systemic changes determined the presidential reflection on the role of the armed forces in the country. Lech Wałęsa believed that it was the structure and strength of the army that should be an important argument supporting the policy leading to integration with the structures of Western Europe.⁴⁷³ This is well illustrated by the content of one of the interviews with the politician. When asked: "What place should the army occupy in free, democratic Poland? What role will the army play in the structures of the state?" the President replied: "The reality has changed. We are building a new system. Changes should also

⁴⁷² L. Wałęsa, *Przejmujemy bezpieczeństwo narodu we własne ręce...* [We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council (February 13, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 17.

⁴⁷³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polityka obronna Polski* [Polish Defence Policy], Statement by the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa for "Tygodnik Literacki", p. 1, typescript, Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 1, p. 176, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

take place in the army. Before, the army played the role of a bogey. The communist authorities treated it as the support of the system. There were cases when they appealed to its strength. And today? In democratic Poland, the army has other tasks to fulfill than those that previously tried to be imposed. These tasks include the defence of state sovereignty and security. There is, therefore, an urgent need to build the army in a new political model, adapt it to the new reality.”⁴⁷⁴ This state of affairs was reflected in the document of a strategic character – *Assumptions for the Polish security policy* of November 2, 1992. It refers to the issue of defence in the following way: “We are currently undergoing a profound transformation adapting the defence structures to the needs of a sovereign, medium-sized European country like Poland. The fundamental element of the defence system are the armed forces that are constantly ready to engage in combat and be deployed in case of war.”⁴⁷⁵ This provision was preceded by an introduction which reported that Poland had its own military and state defence capabilities and that Poles were determined to defend their own “sovereignty and territorial integrity and oppose any aggression.”⁴⁷⁶ It is worth emphasising that the military potential and defence system of Poland can be understood in this sense as useful values in relation to other values – sovereignty and territorial integrity. Therefore, whatever is aimed against the values of sovereignty and/or territorial integrity could be considered aggression. It should be noted that the defence system understood as a value receives a just preference in relation to military potential. For the armed forces are an “element of the defence system” which – defined as “fundamental” – fulfils its function in so far as it remains in “constant readiness to engage in combat and be deployed in case of war”.

An analysis of the presidential texts allows one to conclude that the army is more than a military defence force of a sovereign state.

⁴⁷⁴ *Wojsko to nie zabawa w klocki Lego [The army is not a Lego game]*, interview with L. Wałęsa by A. Łoj-Sadowski, p. 1, typescript, Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 1, p. 63, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴⁷⁵ *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa [Assumptions for the Polish security policy]*, op cit., point 5, p. 74 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

For Lech Wałęsa talked about the Polish Army as a "guardian" of state sovereignty and a "guarantor" of its independent existence. This means that the armed forces in the "today" of the nation are its hope and constitute an anticipation of a safe future. Hope understood as a virtue relating to the future is one of the most important values shaping the lives of individuals and societies. The Polish Army is in the "today" of the nation the hope of a secure tomorrow. This is what the former head of the Polish Armed Forces had to say: "In the history of our nation, the Polish Army was always a guardian of state sovereignty, it was a guarantor of its independent existence. Often it was the only visible sign of the existence of the Polish Republic. You are heirs to these noble traditions. (...) I expect you to duly fulfill your duty to defend the homeland. Soldiers are not only the defence advance guard of Poland. They are also its moral advance guard. Military service is a civic service, which is why it belongs to the most honourable and reputable duties in the state."⁴⁷⁷ This text can be interpreted in the perspective of ethical or even axiological thinking. For it talks about "duly fulfilling the duty to defend the homeland", that is in a way that recognises and takes into account the value of the subject, above all the person. In this case, what is meant is both the dignity of the soldier and the dignity of the homeland. The argument for the possibility of an ethical interpretation of the presidential narrative is also the fact that it speaks of a "duty", which in this case should be understood as a necessity of a moral nature. No wonder that the statement continues in the following way: "Soldiers are not only the defensive advance guard of Poland. They are also its moral advance guard". The lexeme advance guard (Fr. *avant-garde*), twice attested to in the text of a statement addressed to army representatives, has a clearly defined meaning in the military language.⁴⁷⁸ In this way, our ethical and philological deliberations have

⁴⁷⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych...* [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...]. Speech at the ceremony of assuming the command over the armed forces of the Republic of Poland after being sworn in as the President of the Republic of Poland (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴⁷⁸ The advance guard is a detachment protecting e.g. a marching column, being in front of the main forces of the tactical unit (brigade, division), that is, the organisational unit of the army dedicated to conducting joint combat operations.

turned a full circle. Well, the armed forces understood as “guardian” and “guarantor” are an inclination towards a safe future, and even its anticipation. While soldiers are a “moral advance guard”, those who, being the “advance guard” (*avant-garde*) of Poland, go in front of its main forces, that is the nation. However, they are the first to enter the safe future, they are the heralds of security for the nation. Therefore, society has the right to see the army as the hope for their future. No wonder that, saying that the military service is a civic service, the President made it even clearer by saying that “it belongs to the most honourable and reputable duties in the state”.

The ethical core of military service gains additional clarity when those presidential statements are taken into consideration in which he speaks about loyalty, prudence and responsibility of the military, their actions to shape the sovereign and national character of the armed forces, a worthy representation of the honour of the uniform of the officer of reborn and free Poland.⁴⁷⁹ The ethical dimension is also visible when references are made to the memory of national heroes, the honor and good name of the fallen soldiers, and loyalty to the motto God – Honour – Homeland not only in combat, but also in the time of peace.⁴⁸⁰

According to Lech Wałęsa, one of the fundamental threats to the good and efficient functioning of the armed forces as a serving entity in relation to state sovereignty were the attempts to politicise the army. This is an issue that indeed remains in the space that requires constant vigilance and ethical verification. The President believed that the army should fulfil its tasks “regardless of current political configurations, stand above all divisions. Therefore, it is important to restore the Polish Army to its national character and to shape the defence doctrine in accordance with the Polish reason of state.”⁴⁸¹ Lech

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wolność trzeba umacniać każdego dnia... [Freedom needs to be consolidated every day...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (November 8, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 133.*

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants in the ceremony of consecrating the Home Army soldiers' burial plot at the Rasos Cemetery (July 11, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 235.*

⁴⁸¹ L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych... [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...], op. cit., p. 13.*

Wałęsa believed that it would be a threat to the functioning of the army to allow the grouping of the staff not according to professional but political criteria.⁴⁸² "One does not politicise in the army. Here, the issues most important for the homeland are discussed matter-of-factly and with great care. This is how it should be. The army must stand above all divisions. Its task is to defend the interests of the entire nation, not individual political parties."⁴⁸³

The above considerations should be supplemented with the content related to the tasks of chaplains in the Polish Army. In the light of President Lech Wałęsa's texts, their presence in the army is clearly defined through the service for the people of the army who carry out their duties for national security. The clergy, to whom soldiers have free access, constitute a kind of *signum temporis* of the period of state sovereignty, the nation and its army. It is a reference to the tradition of the Second Polish Republic. At that time, chaplains who accompanied soldiers both in peace and in the battlefield "promoted the most beautiful values in the young generation: love for the home country, the need to serve the nation, selfless readiness to make sacrifices. They proved themselves in the years of the hardest test. Chaplains accompanied Polish soldiers on all fronts of World War II. They supported combatants in partisan units with words of encouragement and hope. They carried their priestly service to fighters in the Warsaw Uprising. Today, after years of the communist system, we return to these best traditions. The role of the military ministry has not changed, because the values it serves are timeless and universal."⁴⁸⁴ It is worth noting that the President speaks directly about the values important for the pro-

⁴⁸² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Speech of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at a meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence (Warsaw, August 6, 1992)*, p. 2, typescript, Press Office of the President, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 3, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴⁸³ L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana... [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 155.

⁴⁸⁴ L. Wałęsa, (speech starting with the words:) *Dear Chaplains! You have chosen a difficult path of priesthood.... Meeting with chaplains at the Presidential Palace in Warsaw (October 17, 1995)*, p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic

cesses of creating national security. The listed triad of values – love for the home country, service for the nation, selfless readiness to make sacrifices, which “proved themselves in the years of the hardest test”, was expanded by the President. The reality of the transformation period required to appreciate also another group of values: moral order, social justice and interpersonal solidarity. Such a set of values needs double support, so that it can bear fruit in the life of the nation and creation of its security – shaping human consciences and the activity of the Church. In this work, military chaplains turn out to be irreplaceable. According to the President, they should show the values to which one should remain faithful, and help young people find the true meaning and dignity of life, be their friends and spiritual guides in the hardships of soldierly service.⁴⁸⁵

In sovereign Poland, the army has tasks to fulfil at various levels. It is, of course, a defensive force that should be ready to meet threats, especially those aimed against sovereignty and territorial integrity. Soldiers should be a moral example for the nation, which undoubtedly contributes to the social sense of security and the image of state in society. One of the serious threats to the functioning of the armed forces is their submission to influences emanating from political discussions and disputes. For the army requires stability, which is guaranteed by decision-making continuity which goes beyond political terms. After all, the service of soldiers, especially professional ones, often lasts much longer than the parliamentary activity of politicians. No wonder that defence strategies are prepared for the longest possible time perspective.

5.1.2. Military leaders

Speaking to generals, commanders and superiors in the army, Lech Wałęsa emphasised: “It is in your hands that, the homeland puts the obligation to secure the peaceful life of the nation. It is in your hands that she puts her sons, whom you are to prepare for the defence

of Poland, III / 660/95, p. 104, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

of the homeland in the ranks of the Polish Army. I believe that you will perform these duties honourably."⁴⁸⁶ An important message addressed to military leaders should be recognised in these sentences. In the context of referring to the ethical categories of "obligation" and "duty", they are shown as people of trust in their homeland, on whom the life of the nation depends. It should not be forgotten that the nation is understood in this case personalistically – it is not a mass of individuals, but it consists of "sons of the homeland". The ethical overtone of the text is even stronger if the reference to honour is taken into account and thus the sense of personal dignity and the value of a good reputation.

People who create security, as well as those who did it in history, are a value in the state. In the history of Poland, they are the creators of independence, military leaders, insurgents, soldiers and martyrs, those who were engaged in political activities and diplomatic efforts for the benefit of their homeland. The memory of them is an important element of shaping modern leaders, also the military ones.⁴⁸⁷ In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, two military leaders – Marshal Józef Piłsudski⁴⁸⁸ and General Stanisław Maczek⁴⁸⁹ are shown as representing constructive thinking about creating national security of Poland. Referring in this place to those figures is intended to show the characteristics of a military leader, and in the case of the Marshal – also the leader of the nation.

In their pursuit of independence, Poles were given the undisputed helmsman in the person of Józef Piłsudski. The man who never lost

⁴⁸⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Z mocy prawa zostałem zwierzchnikiem sił zbrojnych...* [I have become the head of the armed forces by virtue of law...], op. cit., p. 14.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wolność nie jest dana raz na zawsze...* [Freedom is not given once and for all...]. Speech on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Poland's regaining independence (November 11, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 134.

⁴⁸⁸ Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935) – social activist, soldier, politician. Through political and military actions, he contributed to regaining independence by Poland in 1918. He was the chief commander of the Polish Army, the head of the state, the marshal of Poland, the prime minister.

⁴⁸⁹ Stanisław Maczek (1892-1994) – general of the Polish Army. He fought in World War I and II. Persecuted by the communist authorities of the Polish People's Republic. In the Third Polish Republic, he became one of the symbols of loyalty to independent Poland.

faith in the strength of the nation. Despite the tragic insurgent experience during the partitions, he believed that only Poles themselves could rebuild Poland.⁴⁹⁰ President Lech Wałęsa referred to Marshal Józef Piłsudski not only as the helmsman of the nation believing in its strength, but also as a great Pole, a victorious leader, an outstanding statesman, a symbol of freedom of the state and the nation, a symbol of the stubborn and tireless struggle for independence of the homeland and its persistence in force and dignity, a man of fight and action, a romantic in planning its objectives and a realist in a stubborn quest for their accomplishment, believing in Polish victory, realistically assessing the chances and ways to implement the planned objectives,⁴⁹¹ a political genius, someone who knew how to stir up the energy of the nation,⁴⁹² a man of irrepressible will, a great patriot, a victorious head of state.⁴⁹³ The above sequence of epithets is very meaningful, but undoubtedly deserved. The Marshal already during his lifetime was both adored, and also hated, but he persisted “in the adamant awareness that the supreme good – Poland – is worth the highest price”.⁴⁹⁴ According to Lech Wałęsa, despite the passage of years and the disparity between the contemporary circumstances and those from years ago, it is worth reaching for the universal values of Piłsudski’s legacy, his seriousness and disinterestedness, and when necessary – ultimate courage in the struggle for what is the good of Poland, Poles and all humankind.⁴⁹⁵

In the list of Polish military leaders, a special place belongs to General Stanisław Maczek. The participation of the 1st Armoured Division

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wolność nie jest dana raz na zawsze... [Freedom is not given once and for all...]*, op. cit., p. 134.

⁴⁹¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message for the celebration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Marshal Józef Piłsudski (December 5, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 230.

⁴⁹² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message for the celebration of the eightieth anniversary of the march of the First Cadre Company of the Polish Legions (August 6, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 250.

⁴⁹³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Professor Zbigniew Wójcik (September 22, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 290.

⁴⁹⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Message for the celebration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Marshal Józef Piłsudski...*, op. cit., p. 230.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

under his command in the fights in Normandy passed down in the history of not only the Polish army and played a decisive role in closing the "Falaise Pocket" as part of the Operation Overlord. This operation largely blocked the escape of German units from the encircled area. General Stanisław Maczek was the only one of Polish commanders to accept surrender of the German wartime port of Wilhelmshaven. After the end of World War II, as a major general, he commanded the 1st Polish Corps in the British Isles. He remained in exile, unable to return to Poland ruled by the communists who in 1947 deprived him of Polish citizenship. President Lech Wałęsa wrote about it in a letter addressed to him on the occasion of his hundredth birthday: "You have become a symbol of an outstanding commander who never lost a battle. The memory of you was also alive in the country where, for your subordinates and the younger generation, you were the model of a Polish officer, for whom the most important purpose was to serve the homeland."⁴⁹⁶ General Stanisław Maczek, who was called the "model officer" by the President, possessed the features that allowed him to be a distinguished military leader. He was characterised by modesty and simplicity, faith, righteousness and valor, serving the homeland with devotion and fervor, loyalty to the oath despite adversities, listening to the voice of one's conscience and orders of the superiors, not losing time for political divagation, stability and faithfulness.⁴⁹⁷ In a message for the funeral of General Stanisław Maczek, President Lech Wałęsa wrote, drawing attention to the leadership skills of the faithful soldier: "His entire life explains to us what a duty to God, Honour and Homeland means. (...) He was upright – just because he was a man of a great spirit and heart. 'Yes' meant 'yes' to him. 'No' meant 'no'. Such commanders are loved and admired by soldiers. Such leaders are put to a hard test by history."⁴⁹⁸ General Stanisław Maczek is a model of a military leader who showed with his life that

⁴⁹⁶ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *General Stanisław Maczek (March 31, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 276.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message for the funeral of General Stanisław Maczek (December 23, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 259-260.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 259.

there is no going back from the rules, and the service for the Republic and honour constitute an inseparable unity for an officer.⁴⁹⁹

As a side note of the above thoughts, it should be mentioned that research on military leadership is an important current of analysis and research in security studies. It draws on experiences described in the history of the army and military operations, but remains in direct relation to psychology, sociology, political science and management sciences. A proper appreciation of the role of leadership in the army requires appropriate institutionalisation of scientific interests in leadership, in the hope that in the future they will boast adequate analyses and proposals for solutions that can be incorporated into the everyday functioning of the Polish armed forces.⁵⁰⁰

5.1.3. Activities for peace

Studies on the creation of national security and values associated with it demand to undertake the issue of peace. This is a special topic in the narrative of President Lech Wałęsa, who, taking it up relatively often, reminded at the same time that he spoke about peace because he was a Nobel Peace Prize laureate and as the leader of “Solidarity” led to the fall of communism without bloodshed.⁵⁰¹ The President

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 260.

⁵⁰⁰ Research conducted by Anna Zygo should be mentioned here, which resulted in the development of: *Przywództwo wojskowe w warunkach bojowych*, typescript, Warsaw University, Faculty of Political Science and International Studies, Warszawa 2018 (Warsaw University Library). Cf. A. Zygo, *Przywództwo wojskowe in-extremis*, in: *Przywództwo – etyka – polityka*, ed. E.M. Marciniak, J. Szczupaczyński, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2018, pp. 139-186.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. George Bush, President of the United States of America (January 8, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 263; L. Wałęsa, *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich...* [*Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...*]. *Speech at the headquarters of the League of Arab States during the visit to Egypt (May 17, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 75; L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants in the World Conference on Human Rights (June 15, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 232; L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Peace to you! Thank you for your invitation... Address at the 9th International Meeting for Peace in Florence (October 22, 1995)*, pp. 1-3, typescript, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 666/95, pp. 115-117, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

believed that being the head of state following the path of peace, he was obliged to build a future free from violence, prejudice and hatred. He encouraged peaceful negotiations,⁵⁰² the search for a just and lasting peace,⁵⁰³ solidarity and peaceful struggle leading to victory.⁵⁰⁴ He also argued that international politics should deviate from looking for security in terms of the balance of power in favour of joint efforts aimed at peace and stability.⁵⁰⁵ He claimed that crime and violence cannot solve anything,⁵⁰⁶ as opposed to brotherhood between people and between nations.⁵⁰⁷ He associated a successful future with the desire for peace, security and prosperity.⁵⁰⁸

Peace in the global dimension is connected with cooperation between nations, which are somewhat in a dichotomy: they will either follow the path of peace or they will destroy themselves. It is a choice between the existence of humanity, building a common home, a safe and friendly place for everyone, and selfishness, hatred and particularist interests. It is the duty of all to care constantly to eliminate the seeds of possible conflicts, oppose the divisions into the rich North and

⁵⁰² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants in the World Conference on Human Rights...*, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

⁵⁰³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [The future lies in getting to know each other...]. Speech at the Knesset during the official visit to Israel (May 21, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 29.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich...* [Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...]. Speech at the headquarters of the League of Arab States during the visit to Egypt (May 17, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 75.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) Mr. Bill Clinton, *President of the United States of America* (September 23, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 300.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wszystkim ofiarom jesteśmy winni pamięć...* [We owe memory to all victims...]. Speech delivered at Birkenau-Brzezinka during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz (January 27, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 183.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Dorobek naukowy małżonków Curie otworzył przed nauką nowe horyzonty...* [The scientific achievements of the Curies opened up new horizons before science...]. Speech at the ceremony of the official placing the ashes of Maria and Piotr Curie in the Paris Pantheon (April 21, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 188.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich...* [Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...], op. cit., p. 75.

the poor South, into the East and the West.⁵⁰⁹ “For peace is a value that does not know divisions. It satisfies the hopes and aspirations of all nations. Therefore, it is important for the people responsible today for political decisions and the future of the world to be aware that ONLY ONE PEACE is possible. Universal and permanent, based on universal human values.”⁵¹⁰ Lech Wałęsa expressed the conviction that peace should be built on solid foundations, that the road to it leads through human hearts and minds, by changing the way of thinking, and for him it was connected with religion and the Christian system of values. He reminded the actions of John Paul II for peace and the contribution of the Church to peaceful changes in Poland. He believed that thanks to Christian values we open ourselves to others, we see fellow human beings in other people, we feel solidarity with them.⁵¹¹

This approach to the issue of peace does not mean that Lech Wałęsa identified himself with the pacifist tendencies denying at any cost any possibility of using force or military means. Speaking on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, he said that “World War II was caused by concession to evil”.⁵¹² Recalling the circumstances of those times, he clearly dissociated himself from submission to violence: “Pacifist moods cannot come as a surprise. We all want to live in peace. War is always something terrible, dying is always terrible. But one cannot escape challenges. One must face them. With action. A blow for a blow. Leaflets cannot be an answer to bombs. When the war in Poland was already reaping a bloody harvest, when the first mass executions of civilians started – there was silence on the Western Front. Silence shrouded the trenches. A “phoney war” continued. And yet those who did not want to die for Gdańsk later

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Peace to you! Thank you for your invitation... Address at the 9th International Meeting for Peace in Florence (October 22, 1995)*, p. 1, typescript, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 666/95, p. 115, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 2, p. 116.

⁵¹² L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii... [May 8 is a day of reflection on historical verdicts for us...]. Speech at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995)*, KPRP, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

had to die for Paris and London. Let this be a lesson for all of us for the future. For Europe and the world. Those who think that it is worth abasing themselves so as not to annoy the beast, sooner or later become its victims."⁵¹³ An analysis of the presidential texts allows us to observe a tendency to polarise his views about peace. In the international narrative addressed to the audience from abroad, his distancing himself from resorting to military methods of solving tensions and conflicts is visible. However, when he talks about the Polish situation, Polish experiences, and especially when he appeals to the military, he explicitly supports the need to develop the army and the readiness to use it.

The non-pacifist tendency is well illustrated by the Polish strategic thought developed during the presidency of Lech Wałęsa. The document entitled *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland* (1992) concerns, among other things, the external aspects of the security policy and disarmament. It reads: "Poland supports disarmament initiatives and will continue to actively participate in relevant negotiations. We consider negotiations and the resultant agreements on reduction of the armed forces, including in particular conventional forces in Europe to be particularly important."⁵¹⁴ After this declaration presenting the then position of Poland on the issue of disarmament, the authors of the document include the contents mapping out future goals. They state that, first of all, Poland will strive to create a new military order in Europe which could eliminate the possibility of launching unexpected surprise attack and large-scale offensive operations. Secondly, our country advocates strict adherence to the principle of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and reduction of nuclear arsenals.⁵¹⁵ It is significant that in the narrative about disarmament, the authors of the document do not use the word peace. Further on in the *Security policy...* (1992), writing about the assumptions for the defence strategy of the Republic its authors present the Polish position regarding the resolution of disputable issues. Unambiguous preference is given to activities conducted through negotiations, mediation,

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 3, p. 76.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

conciliation, international arbitration or judicature, as well as other methods used by the UN, CSCE and in the future also by other organisations that Poland will be a member of. At the same time, the text contains a reservation that “in the event of an inability to prevent an armed conflict, which the Republic of Poland will be a party to (or a participant in, if it results from international agreements), we shall actively oppose the armed aggression while continuing diplomatic efforts to end the conflict.”⁵¹⁶ Similarly, just as in the case when disarmament was mentioned, also here, when it concerns “negotiations, mediation...”, the authors of the document do not mention peace. This state of affairs results from the fact that the defence strategy of the Republic of Poland, which does not assume the existence of a specific opponent and a fixed scenario of military operations, is aimed at “controlling and resolving crisis situations of a military character”.⁵¹⁷

Peace in the thought of Lech Wałęsa, being a reality in the scope of international and internal goals, requires a change of the human being, the way of thinking, a kind of conversion. This does not mean, however, that military means should be naively rejected or the possibility of using force denied in the processes of creating security. Being the head of the armed forces in Poland, the President explicitly advocated their development and necessary modernisation, sustained readiness to use them. The following statement could be a summary of the above considerations: “Peace means safety for individuals, and harmonious coexistence for the community. For the entire world it means order.”⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., point 5, p. 79.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ This statement was formulated in the Political Office of the President. It is a draft “definition” of peace prepared for Lech Wałęsa for the unveiling of the monument “Light of Peace” designed in New Orleans. Lech Wałęsa was asked to present a definition of peace by the mayor of New Orleans, Sidney J. Barthelemy. Cf. *Definicja słowa „pokój” dla miasta Nowy Orlean [The definition of the word “peace” for the city of New Orleans]*, (Warsaw, June 19, 1992), typescript, BOPP-147-92, Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 1, p. 149, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw); S.J. Barthelemy, *Letter addressed to President Lech Wałęsa on June 4, 1992 (to the Chancellery of the President of Poland, June 11, 1992)*, typescript translated into Polish, Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 1, p. 150.

5.2. Defence capability

Poland's defense capability appears as a value from the point of view of national security.⁵¹⁹ This value in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa consists in the ability to identify threats, draw on the experiences of the country's location on the European geostrategic axis, build the army as the main defence force, multiply combat capability of the armed forces, develop the economy in defence related aspects, especially the arms industry.

5.2.1. Ability to identify threats

One of the fundamental elements of the security policy and defence strategy is to identify existing and potential threats to the security of the country.⁵²⁰ It clearly follows from the texts of President Lech Wałęsa that in this practice Poland should use both the experience of history, even in what refers to totalitarianisms,⁵²¹ and the watchful observation of modern times. Despite the fact that the neighbours of the Polish Republic in the 1990s did not put forward territorial claims and did not threaten with an armed attack, it was understandable how important defence policy was for the sovereignty of the nation and the state. In the Polish leader's opinion, potential dangers at that time were: bad economic situation, local conflicts between neighbours, local conflicts caused by troops of the former USSR stationed in Germany,

⁵¹⁹ Cf. *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 6, p. 79: "To counter war threats and to accomplish external and internal defence tasks, the defence system of the Republic of Poland is maintained in the time of peace and deployed in the time of threat and war."

⁵²⁰ Ibid., point 1, p. 75.

⁵²¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii...* [*May 8 is a day of reflection on historical verdicts for us...*], op. cit., p. 195: "The conviction that liberal democracy does not have to face the challenge of fascism and Stalinism turned out to be a tragic mistake. That by means of cabinet agreements it will be possible to prevent a deadly threat to Europe and the world. That a brown and red fist can be disarmed by caressing it. World War II was caused by acquiescence to evil."

Poland or across the eastern border, a wave of people from the East whose influx could destabilise the country.⁵²²

As for internal threats, the state organism may be exposed to attempts at subversion, terrorism, ecological disasters.⁵²³ The situation in the entire region and on the continent is important for national security in Poland. The President, speaking in February 1992 at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, expanded the catalogue of potential threats: "We are witnessing the events that are a warning. The vision of a peaceful Europe is falling apart. Yugoslavia is an example of this. When the West is integrating, the East is dividing. Aggressive nationalisms, even chauvinisms, rise to the surface. We, due to our historical experience, know what to fear. We are in the middle and Poland can again be on the 'front line'. This is what we fear. We want peace. Freedom is not going hand in hand with long-awaited wealth. Conflicts can destroy young democracies. The replete Europe may be surprised by destabilisation. This threat needs to be seen."⁵²⁴ It should be noted that the final part of this statement should be interpreted in the context of Polish efforts to obtain subsidies for economic changes, for example through investment.⁵²⁵ Speaking less than two months later, during an official visit to Germany, at a meeting of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, Lech Wałęsa confirmed the need to recognise security threats in economic problems: "Europe is changing. Barriers are raised, cordons removed, and barbed wires wound up. Borders change its function. They stop dividing. They start to connect. However, new divisions are rising. Europe is today diversified with respect to the standard of living of societies. We see a great threat in this. Free democracy must be accompanied by economic develop-

⁵²² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polish Defence Policy*, op. cit., point 1, p. 176; *Wojsko to nie zabawa w klocki Lego* [The army is not a Lego game], interview with L. Wałęsa..., op. cit., p. 1, p. 63.

⁵²³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przejmujemy bezpieczeństwo narodu we własne ręce...* [We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council (February 13, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 17.

⁵²⁴ L. Wałęsa, L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami...* [Rich and prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...]. Speech at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (February 4, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 57.

⁵²⁵ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa of December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

ment. Welfare and a sense of security must follow. Otherwise people will lose confidence in democracy and will abandon it for seemingly easier solutions. All totalitarian movements of the 20th century were the result of great economic crises. Let us not forget this fact."⁵²⁶ Due to the location in which the address was delivered, referring to totalitarianism could be regarded as a particularly meaningful argument in favour of the need for changes in German economic policy.

One of the fundamental threats to state's defence capabilities is to let down one's guard which is necessary to recognise threats.⁵²⁷ Lech Wałęsa, speaking as the head of the Polish Armed Forces to the officers of the Polish Army, reminded: "The modern world is still not free from threats. Some are gone, but others have emerged. Security matters on our continent are still unresolved. Gunshots can be heard in Europe. Some say that it is far away, that it does not concern us. Today our borders are safe. Yet, is the conflict closer to Poland really impossible? We must remember that freedom is not given once and for all. It needs to be consolidated every day."⁵²⁸ In the following year, also speaking to the active list officers, the President commented on the threats to the Republic of Poland. He said that by observing the changes taking place in the world, it could be said that it was unlikely that the global conflict would be transferred to Poland in the near future, and that there was no indication that we would become the aim of an armed attack by one of our neighbours. He remarked, however, that one should

⁵²⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy...* [Our agreement is in the interest of all of Europe...]. Speech at a special meeting of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, in the presence of the German President, during an official visit to Germany (March 30, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

⁵²⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Zaczynamy traktować wolność jako coś oczywistego...* [We have started to treat freedom as something obvious...] Speech at the Gdansk Shipyard at the general meeting of the delegates of the Gdańsk Region of NSZZ "Solidarność" (May 24, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 206: "Sometimes I think that we have started taking the great victory for granted. We have started to treat freedom as something obvious. Something that we will always have, because we deserve it. We have stopped to see threats."

⁵²⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Wolność trzeba umacniać każdego dnia...* [Freedom needs to be consolidated every day...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (November 8, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 131.

not forget about the armed forces of considerable sizes maintained by the neighboring states, which would certainly continue in the future. Turning in his speech directly to the issue of threats, he stressed that local conflicts whose source might be the system transformation processes, economic crises or political conflicts could not be ruled out. These threats might arise from the totalitarian regime reborn in some states or from nationalist tendencies: "The potential detonator also lies in nationality problems related to the pursuit of statehood. Poland does not have to be directly involved in them. However, they can seriously affect its security."⁵²⁹

One of the fundamental threats to the sovereignty and integrity of the nation and the state is the loss of the ability to recognise threats. This ability should not be limited to military or territorial issues. Defence policy calls for the vigilance of many ministries in terms of adequately responding to the emerging threats. Undoubtedly, they must cooperate with each other in increasing the effectiveness of the national security system.

5.2.2. Location of the country on the European geostrategic axis

In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, an important determinant influencing the understanding and undertaking of adequate actions regarding creation of Poland's national security in what concerns defensive capabilities is to take into account its geostrategic position. The document of 1992, entitled Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland, begins with a statement: "The geopolitical position of Poland is particularly convenient for maintaining close contacts with many European countries. At the same time, however, the location of our country on the European geostrategic axis makes the problems of defence and security a key issue of the Polish reason of state."⁵³⁰ The historical experience of Poles living between Germany and Rus-

⁵²⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana...* [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 154.

⁵³⁰ Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland, op. cit., point 1, p. 75.

sia are very meaningful in this case. This fact is clearly described by Polish researchers gathered around Józef Marczak: "It is precisely this neighborhood that made the entire Polish history a struggle of the Polish nation to survive against constant political, cultural, economic and military pressure exerted by Germany and Russia – aiming not only at overthrowing and subjugating the Polish nation but at its complete Germanisation and Russification, and even physical destruction of the nation that we experienced in the 20th century."⁵³¹ The memory of the twentieth-century cooperation of its – eastern and western – neighbours, which led to the invasion of Poland on September 1 and then September 17, 1939, is alive in society. For the President, the establishment of the Third Polish Republic is the accomplishment of the goal that motivated Poles when they undertook to defend their country during World War II. Only the overthrow of communism gave a real victory – free and sovereign Poland, in which its citizens can decide about their fate. In building the defence capabilities, the experience gained in wars and various efforts to gain independence cannot be ignored. Speaking to Members of Parliament, Lech Wałęsa said: "Freedom is not given once and for all. Every state needs to watch and guard it. It needs to be nurtured. It is the basic and most important duty of every free authority. Especially in a country like Poland, situated between two powerful neighbours. Especially today, when Europe is re-organising its affairs and building its new order."⁵³²

⁵³¹ J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski od X do XX wieku. Wnioski dla Polski w XXI wieku*, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2013, p. 30.

⁵³² L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa... [This day was not a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 191. Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana... [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 153: "We are a country located in the strategic centre of Europe. For centuries, the interests of many states and coalitions have clashed here. This situation means that Poland's security is conditioned not only by the regional, but also by the global balance of power. For in our close neighbourhood situated are such important subjects of this balance as the European Union, NATO, Germany and Russia."

The geostrategic position of Poland should permeate the national security policy and determine its essential elements. In Poland's location, it is necessary to recognise the geographical area which is crucial for the security of Europe. The Polish Republic is located in the vicinity of two powerful nations (German and Russian) which display a constant pursuit of external expansion, in which the tendency to dominate Poland is the common national interest of both these powers.⁵³³

In the light of Lech Wałęsa's words expressed at a special session of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, in the presence of the German President Richard von Weizsäcker, one may speak, however, about the positive prospects of the Polish location in the heart of Europe: "Once, geopolitics was the curse of Poland. Our misfortune was to be located between the great powers – Germany and Russia, between the West and the East. Now geography is offering a chance for Poland. We do not want to be a 'bulwark', we want to be a bridge."⁵³⁴ A similar content is included in Lech Wałęsa's statement given the next day in the presence of Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of Germany: "We also realise that we will receive support for our interests when we take into account the interests of our partners. It is obvious and understandable. Germany has serious economic and political interests in the east. It is not in our interest to frustrate these plans. Conversely, we can become a bridge between the East and the West. A conveyor belt of ideas and values, modern standards of civilisation and technology."⁵³⁵

Important contents regarding creation of Poland's national security, including what results from its geographical location, can be found in the letters of President Lech Wałęsa addressed to US President Bill Clinton. The context of this correspondence is primarily

⁵³³ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsior, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski od X do XX wieku...*, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

⁵³⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy...* [Our agreement is in the interest of all of Europe...]. Speech at a special meeting of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, in the presence of the German President, during the official visit to Germany (March 30, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 61.

⁵³⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Zjednoczone Niemcy witam z optymizmem i nadzieją...* [I welcome united Germany with optimism and hope...]. Toast at the breakfast given by Chancellor Helmut Kohl during the official visit to the FRG (March 31, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 65.

Polish efforts to strengthen cooperation with NATO, ultimately intending to join the Alliance, but also Russia's opposition to this issue. Lech Wałęsa wrote about the Russian policy in the following way: "It seems to be based on a disturbing assumption that Russia's rapprochement with NATO is a good thing, while Poland's rapprochement is bad."⁵³⁶ Two texts of the Polish leader are particularly important here. The first one written in June 1994, in which the Polish side declares its support for the strengthening of NATO's cooperation with Russia, stating, however, that it cannot be interpreted as a departure from expansion of its membership by including Poland declared by the Alliance. This reservation should be interpreted taking into account the anti-Russian policy sometimes attributed to Poland. Therefore, Lech Wałęsa, arguing the opposite view, wrote that in his opinion none of the Central European governments offered Russia an equally ambitious programme for the development of economic, cultural and interpersonal relations as the Polish government. Polish actions were caused by the fear of having the status of a "grey zone" imposed, which is expressly unacceptable. The Polish leader's letter reads: "As a 'grey zone, a 'buffer' between Russia and Germany and the rest of Western Europe, Poland would not be a factor of peace, but vice versa – a potential factor of destabilisation; not a way to liquidate the division, but vice versa – a confirmation of the division of Europe, an invitation to compete."⁵³⁷ In another letter to Bill Clinton written in September 1994, reaffirming the will of Poland's accession to NATO in order to broaden the zone of stability represented then by the main states of the European Union and the Alliance, Lech Wałęsa, again spoke about Poland situated between Russia and Germany in terms of a "grey zone" and thus a front-line state: "Poland as a 'grey zone', as an object of competition having its internal and external sources, will not be a factor of European stability. We do not want Poland's entry into NATO to establish new lines and new divisions in Europe. I fully share your repeatedly expressed concern for this not to happen. We do not strive to become a front-line state. Security and economic

⁵³⁶ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America (June 8, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 293.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

considerations obviously speak against this. Our geographical proximity to Russia means that there is probably no other country more interested in both the full success of historical changes taking place in that country and good relations with it.”⁵³⁸ The Polish leader also regretted that Poland’s interest in constructive cooperation had so far not been met with the equally determined desire on the part of Russia. Meanwhile, it is in Poland’s interest for Russia to become an inseparable part of a global security and economic system.⁵³⁹ In the texts of President Lech Wałęsa, the context of Polish efforts to establish the best possible relations with Russia resounds firmly, which should be in favour of our country’s joining of NATO. Seeking support in this matter from the US was a natural move.

The position of the Polish Republic between the two powers, with a very historically determined burden and an uninterruptedly important lesson for subsequent generations of Poles, should become a subject of careful reflection in the efforts aimed to create and improve the Polish national security system. The development of cooperation, economic, scientific, military and cultural ties with Russia and Germany continues to be an important task not only for successive presidents of the Republic of Poland, but also for individual ministries. However, pursuing the Polish national interest in this matter requires constant support in its active historical policy, both internal and external, especially in European countries.

5.2.3. Armed forces in defence of Poland

It is clear from the texts of Lech Wałęsa that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland are a fundamental value in the state because of their readiness to defend the nation. This value, however, requires to be supplemented with three other values: international agreements, patriotism and readiness to make the highest sacrifices. It was explicitly expressed by the President at the meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence: “Our country must

⁵³⁸ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America* (September 23, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 299-300.

⁵³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 300.

be ready to face any threat, to resist any aggression. This is the purpose of the package of international agreements we have concluded. But above all, what serves this purpose is our defence readiness, as well as your love of the homeland and readiness to make the highest sacrifices."⁵⁴⁰ An analysis of the statements by Lech Wałęsa leaves no doubt as to the value of the army for the nation and the state. The price of this value is self-sacrifice on the part of the nation and the need to stand up to the opposing views. Speaking to the officers of the Polish Army, the President very clearly emphasised these issues: "The Polish army is and will remain the guarantor of our sovereignty. In the current situation, we must emphatically recall this truth. The truth, which is obvious, though not always accented and understood sufficiently. Therefore, defence matters, including the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland, must be the concern of the entire nation. It must be understood that even some sacrifices are necessary to strengthen Poland's security. In these matters, we must not be guided by emotions. What is needed is a warm heart, but a cool head."⁵⁴¹ This approach of the President to the issue of the Polish Army understood as a guarantor of sovereignty is coherent with the content of the *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland* (1992).

In the section dealing with the defence system this document states that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland, having a national character and acting in accordance with the Polish reason of state, guard the sovereignty and independence of the Polish Nation as well as its security and peace.⁵⁴² It is justified to conclude that the indicated military entity is predisposed to defend four values: sovereignty, independence, security and peace. It should be noted that the fact

⁵⁴⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Speech of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at the meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence* (Warsaw, August 6, 1992), p. 4, typescript, Press Office of the President, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 3, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁵⁴¹ L. Wałęsa, *Wolność trzeba umacniać każdego dnia... [Freedom needs to be consolidated every day...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces* (November 8, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 132.

⁵⁴² *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 6, p. 79.

that security is not identified with peace in a document of a national and strategic character is an important content for the developing research in the field of irenology. Further on in the *Security policy and strategy...* the authors explicitly define the main task of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland: “immediate opposition to any military aggression”.⁵⁴³ The implementation of this task, however, requires cooperation with other structures of the defence system. It is significant that in this part of the text, which speaks of disarmament, one of the basic conclusions was as follows: “Having our own defence potential is one of the basic attributes of our sovereignty.”⁵⁴⁴ This potential in the time of peace should be maintained in combat and mobilisation readiness, ensuring its efficiency in the event of the need for its operational use.⁵⁴⁵

On the basis of Lech Wałęsa’s texts, it is possible to create a catalogue of matters requiring changes as regards the effectiveness of the army as the defence force of the Republic of Poland. Their necessity resulted directly from the systemic transformation and a new understanding of Polish sovereignty. In the first period of being in office, the President, acting as an advocate of changes in the army, saw their implementation as a process spread over time.⁵⁴⁶ After some time, however, he came to the conclusion that failing to make changes fast works to the detriment of the Polish defence capabilities. Speaking

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., point 3, p. 76.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, point 6, p. 80; L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana...* [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. *Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the military senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994)*, KPRP, *op. cit.*, p. 152: “History is offering us a unique chance today. Today our borders are safe. We are taking advantage of it and we are not wasting time. The army cannot be organised when threats emerge. When the situation ceases to be stable.”

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Speech of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa at the meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defence (Warsaw, August 6, 1992)*, p. 2, typescript, Press Office of the President, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 3, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw): “A lot has changed. There is still a lot to be changed. Nobody, literally, no one has a magic wand which can change the personnel with one touch, adjust the equipment to new tasks, change the structure. With the help of such a wand, new facilities will not be built, equipment will not be purchased, people will not be educated, they will not be tested at any level of command.”

in November 1993, during the training briefing with the military leadership, he criticised the use of time by the army in the period following the collapse of communism: "Poland is not sufficiently prepared to defend its sovereignty. To face a potential crisis. Neither can we be sure that someone will support us in hard times. The four years we have been given by history have not been made full advantage of. They should have been used to build our own efficient defence system, corresponding with the current and future needs. We spent four years on barren disputes and conflicts caused by ambition. This needs to end. And it will end! We have started to build a defence system. I hope that the newly elected Sejm, the Senate and the government will consider this to be a priority task. I see a strong need to speed up legislative work on the amendments to legal provisions in the field of security. This applies mainly to the provisions in the new Constitution and the amendment to the Act on the General Obligation to Defend the Republic of Poland."⁵⁴⁷ When interpreting the text of Lech Wałęsa's speech, the political background should be taken into account, especially the tension between the President and the parliament. The raised issue of the lack of the "amendment to the Act on the General Obligation to Defend the Republic of Poland" was again taken up by the Head of State more than six months later, in a speech also addressed to the senior military staff. The catalogue of matters requiring changes was expanded, however, with another issue relating to the need of legal regulations in the area of the division of competence and power to decide: "There is no clear division of competence between the institutions responsible for state security, leading and command of the Armed Forces. Appropriate provisions in the Constitution are necessary. As well as detailed regulations important for the security of Poland. These matters cannot wait any longer. For the defence system to be effective, it needs to be well managed. A person responsible for the decision making must be clearly identified."⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Wolność trzeba umacniać każdego dnia... [Freedom needs to be consolidated every day...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (November 8, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 131.*

⁵⁴⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana... [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers*

Matters that required continuation of subsequent changes with respect to the efficiency of defence operations of the armed forces included, according to the President, modernisation of the Polish army by supplying it with modern equipment and military exercises jointly with NATO.⁵⁴⁹ Lech Wałęsa believed that Poland should strive to create a professional army, made up of voluntary enlistment, the head of which should be the President of the Republic of Poland. He justified the submission of the army to the head of state with the fact that this institution was more stable than governments. Whereas Poland needed stabilisation of defence policy which would facilitate planned activities.⁵⁵⁰

5.2.4. The economy for defence and the arms industry

The defence capability of the nation and the state is directly related to the economic development and the arms industry. After the collapse of communism, the processes of economic transformation, which were painfully endured by society, had an impact on the processes of creating Poland's national security, especially in its aspect which pertains to defence, as well as the financial outlays on the armed forces.

The echo of the then problems is the following statement by Lech Wałęsa: "The real problem is the lack of funds for the changeover and the current functioning of the army. (...) Poland faces many economic and social challenges. National defence must be ranked high among them, but in a situation whereby peaceful economic competition is of paramount importance it cannot be given a privileged position. For, ultimately, our defence capabilities will depend on the strength of the economy and society as well as the effectiveness of state bodies."⁵⁵¹ Two years later, the President claimed that he was with anxiety observing the state of armament of the Polish army, progressing technical degradation of the army, insufficient defence expenditure, lack

during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 152.

⁵⁴⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America (June 8, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 295.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polish Defence Policy*, op. cit., point 1, p. 176.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, point 2, p. 177.

of sufficient funds to purchase even the products of the domestic arms industry. He saw a double advantage in finding solutions allowing to stop this process. Above all, it was the advantage for the armed forces, but also for the economy, which, thanks to greater spending on armaments, could increase production, and thus contribute to reducing unemployment.⁵⁵² It was the necessity of the time to transform the army into a sovereign power, adapted to the then situation in Europe and the world. According to Lech Wałęsa, one of the key tasks was to carry out this process so as to implement the changeover of the army, and, at the same time, avoid what happened in the past – dependence on one supplier.⁵⁵³ Therefore, the President talked about new tasks facing the Polish arms industry, which in his opinion should be the main source of supply of modern equipment to the national armed forces. Polish technical thought and Polish economic potential should give employment to people and ensure security of the country.⁵⁵⁴

The Polish leader's approach to the issue of economic and defence aspects of the security policy was consistent with the then adopted *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland* (1992). The document stipulates that from the point of view of national security, the basic task of the economy is to satisfy the material defence needs of the state. This task is implemented, in particular, through:

- Ensuring optimum conditions for maintaining and training of the armed forces during peacetime;
- Preparing the base for the army to carry out its tasks in the period of a threat to state security and during war;
- Creating conditions for the survival of the population in extreme situations.

⁵⁵² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana...* [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 153.

⁵⁵³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polish Defence Policy*, op. cit., point 1, p. 176.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Wolność trzeba umacniać każdego dnia...* [Freedom needs to be consolidated every day...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (November 8, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 132.

The same document provides that the main source of equipment for the armed forces as well as institutions and bodies appointed to take care of national security is domestic industry.⁵⁵⁵

From the point of view of the processes of creating Poland's national security, the economic development of the state is an unquestionable value. In a sense, this fact had to be rediscovered in the Polish security policy, gradually becoming independent from the rules which applied in the Warsaw Pact states. The idea was that their own economy should be able to maintain the defence infrastructure of states, provide funds for defence preparations of society. In the space of the national economy, own arms industry is seen as a special value in creating national security.

5.3. International military cooperation

"We need to transform our army from being a Warsaw Pact element into an independent army of a sovereign state."⁵⁵⁶ - said President Lech Wałęsa. According to him, one of the fundamental processes in transforming the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland for the needs and tasks of the new times was military cooperation with the West: "It is most important from the point of view of the long-term national security policy to strengthen the ties with international institutions such as the EEC or NATO, actively participate in the work of the Council of Europe and CSCE."⁵⁵⁷ Among the issues concerning military cooperation raised by the Polish leader, three topics can be distinguished: Polish experience of international cooperation in the field of security, striving for membership in international organisations, and anticipated benefits of international military cooperation.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 4, p. 78.

⁵⁵⁶ *Wojsko to nie zabawa w klocki Lego [The army is not a Lego game]*, interview with L. Wałęsa..., op. cit., p. 2, p. 64.

⁵⁵⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Polish Defence Policy*, op. cit., point 1, p. 176.

5.3.1. Polish experience of international cooperation in the field of security

The time of World War II constitutes a great page in Polish international military cooperation. Lech Wałęsa referred to this experience when he spoke about the future of cooperation in building European security, but in a sense also global security.⁵⁵⁸ He reminded that Poles fought on all fronts of the Old Continent from the first to the last day of World War II: Narvik, France, Battle of Britain, Tobruk, Lenino, Monte Cassino, Normandy, Belgium and the Netherlands, Warsaw Uprising, fights for the Pomeranian Wall, the storming of Bologna. A significant symbol of the Polish contribution is the fact that only three flags were flown above captured Berlin – a white capitular flag, the red one, and the Polish white-and-red flag. The Polish armed forces constituted the fourth largest army in the Allied ranks.⁵⁵⁹ Describing the involvement of Poles, the President pointed out the values for which they died: "We have given a huge tribute of blood. We explicitly declared ourselves in favour freedom and democracy, against enslavement and totalitarianism. We fought not only for ourselves, but for the whole of Europe."⁵⁶⁰

The Polish experience of international armed cooperation, which was at the same time a struggle for values, was described by Lech Wałęsa in a letter to President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin. The text has the form of an elaborate invitation to the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich...* [Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...]. Speech at the headquarters of the League of Arab States during a visit to Egypt (May 17, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii...* [May 8 is a day of reflection on historical verdicts for us...]. Speech at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 195.

⁵⁶⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day did not turn out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at the joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 191.

Uprising.⁵⁶¹ The Polish leader reminded that World War II was not just a war for territories, but also for principles. Not only the new division of the world depended on its result, but also its ideological colours, whether the world would be dominated by the totalitarian ideology or whether democratic thought would prevail; whether social and international relations would be determined by force or by broadly understood freedom of individuals and nations.⁵⁶² A special moment of World War II, and at the same time a significant example of the struggle for values was the Warsaw Uprising. Lech Wałęsa wrote to the Russian leader: “The Warsaw Uprising must be seen in two dimensions: the fight against the invader and the struggle for national independence and democratic order. The Warsaw Uprising was a defeat, because these two goals – paradoxically – turned against the insurgents the forces that were too great. With all their ruthlessness, the Nazis suppressed the uprising, with the passive attitude of the nearest Allies. The German army broke the insurgents’ resistance not to give up the land. Stalin remained indifferent, because his goal was not a democratic order in Poland. In this sense, the Allies formally became the opponents in the war for the political shape of this part of Europe. Stalin’s vision of the world, against all appearances, turned out to be – as it may be observed after the lapse of a half century – unsuccessful, if not disastrous, also for the nations of the former Soviet Union, including the Russians. For almost a half century, our part of Europe remained under a totalitarian system, which hampered economic and civilizational development. The democratic world outwent us.”⁵⁶³ In the light of such arguments of the Polish President, it is clear that the Warsaw Uprising should be seen not only as a fight for the Polish cause, but also for the international order in this part of Europe, universal values, democracy; a fight against the imperial vision of the world.

⁵⁶¹ Warsaw Uprising (August 1 – October 3, 1944) – armed resistance against the German troops occupying Warsaw. It was militarily targeted against the Germans and politically against the USSR and the Polish communists subordinated to it. Its dimensions and number of victims are second to none in the history of World War II.

⁵⁶² L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Boris Yeltsin President of the Russian Federation (August 9, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 288.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-289.

In the context of the Polish experience of international cooperation, the involvement in the UN peacekeeping operations and the CSCE peace missions should be included in what is directly related to the creation of security. Lech Wałęsa many times referred to these experiences, positively evaluated in the world, showing them as an argument for Poland's accession to NATO.⁵⁶⁴ The President called for the creation of a European military peace-serving entity, in which Poland could participate: "As I have repeatedly emphasised, European peacekeeping forces are needed. Coordination between the CSCE, the UN, the North Atlantic Alliance and the Western European Union is necessary in this respect. The choice of the organisation will depend on the circumstances. The corps of the European forces could carry out their mission in particularly vulnerable places."⁵⁶⁵ In Lech Wałęsa's opinion, the situation in the Balkans at that time reminded of the need to look for new solutions for creating security in Europe.

5.3.2. Striving for membership in international organisations

The period of Lech Wałęsa's presidency is a time of intensive actions of the Republic of Poland on the international arena aimed at gaining membership in international organisations working for the creation of security. These included: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Western European Union (WEU), Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), later transformed into the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In these actions, it is necessary to recognise not only the will to "replace" what

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana...* [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers during a training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 155; L. Wałęsa, (Letter) Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America (September 23, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 299.

⁵⁶⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność i demokrację...* [American democracy has helped us in the fight for freedom and democracy...]. Speech during the meeting with the residents of Warsaw at the Castle Square in the presence of US President George Bush who came to the ceremony of placing the ashes of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral (July 5, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 85.

the Warsaw Pact's and Moscow's supervision had given. Cooperation with NATO, WEU and CSCE provided Poland with a prospect to function in the space of an international order based on the foundation of values different from those that the Soviet Union had proposed to the states of the Eastern Bloc.⁵⁶⁶

Lech Wałęsa saw the international organisations of the western world as integrating groups which served peace and stability, opened up the prospect of creating a common home for all inhabitants of Europe. The area delimited by these values, in the President's opinion, should have been expanded, which was probably in the interest

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. R. Kupiecki, *"Raport Harmela" i lekcje dwutorowości strategii NATO*, "Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny" 2018, no. 1, pp. 57-70; R. Kupiecki, *Akcesja Polski do NATO – okiem historyka i uczestnika*, "Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe" 2014, v. 29, pp. 41-76; A. Ciupiński, *Wspólna Polityka Bezpieczeństwa i Obrony Unii Europejskiej. Geneza, rozwój, funkcjonowanie*, Difin, Warszawa 2013; V. Pouliot, *International security in practice. The politics of NATO-Russia diplomacy*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2010; Z. Brzezinski, *An agenda for NATO: Toward a global security web*, "Foreign Affairs" 2009, pp. 2-20; J. Simon, *Poland and NATO. A study in civil-military relations*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Lanham 2004; R. Zięba, *Instytucjonalizacja bezpieczeństwa europejskiego. Koncepcje – struktury – funkcjonowanie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa 2004; R. Zięba, *The CSCE/OSCE and Polish Security Policy*, in: *Poland's Security Policy 1989-2000*, ed. R. Kuźniar, Scholar Publishing House, Warsaw 2001, pp. 321-346; M.C. Williams, I.B. Neumann, *From alliance to security community: NATO, Russia, and the power of identity*, "Millennium" 2000, v. 29, no. 2, pp. 357-387; R. Zięba, *Europejska tożsamość bezpieczeństwa i obrony. Koncepcja – struktura – funkcjonowanie*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa 2000; R. Kupiecki, *Miejsce i zadania Polski w NATO*, "Sprawy Międzynarodowe" 1999, no. 1, pp. 109-124; R. Kupiecki, *Od Londynu do Waszyngtonu. NATO w latach dziewięćdziesiątych*, Askon, Warszawa 1998; R. Zięba, *Funkcjonowanie zachodnioeuropejskiego mechanizmu bezpieczeństwa*, "Studia Europejskie" 1998, v. 1, pp. 47-65; T. Ołowski, *Polska w procesie integracji z NATO i Unią Zachodnioeuropejską 1991-1998*, Adam Marszałek, Toruń 1998; P. Świtalski, *OBWE w systemie bezpieczeństwa europejskiego. Szanse i ograniczenia*, Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych Instytutu Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa 1997; H.F. Hurlburt, *Russia, the OSCE and European security architecture*, "Helsinki Monitor" 1995, v. 6, no. 2, pp. 5-20; *The changing functions of the Western European Union (WEU): introduction and basic documents*, ed. A. Bloed, R.A. Wessel, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht 1994; Ch.L. Glaser, *Why NATO is still best: Future security arrangements for Europe*, "International Security" 1993, v. 18, no. 1, pp. 5-50; J. Delors, *European integration and security*, "Survival" 1991, v. 33, no. 2, pp. 99-109.

of the entire continent. He combined his postulates and expectations with the European search for new security solutions, which should include a place for newly emerging states creating their own sovereign armed forces, and at the same time wanting to participate equally in the collective systems. Despite the fact that the President clearly recognised the Polish army as the guarantor of sovereignty of his own country, he claimed that "Poland is unable to defend its sovereignty on its own. In the face of potential threats, we must not stand alone."⁵⁶⁷

An important part of Polish efforts to become member of NATO was the presentation of a coherent and convincing narrative about the groundlessness of Russian fears in this matter. This is well illustrated by the content of a lecture given by Lech Wałęsa at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. The President commented on the objections of some members of the Alliance opposing the expansion of NATO to the East and justifying their stance with the opposition of the Russians to such an action by Western countries. Firstly, he stressed that treating Russian fears about their own security seriously could not mean that negotiations on the admission to NATO would take place with the participation of states other than those directly concerned. However, the most serious accusation against the expansion of the Alliance to the East was a thesis that the admission of Central European states would mean a new division of Europe.⁵⁶⁸ "Meanwhile, our goal" – said the Polish President – "is to liquidate the existing ones, not to create new divisions. The enlargement of the Alliance, bringing NATO closer to the Russian borders will – in the opinion of critics – be

⁵⁶⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana...* [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 154. Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie* [Poland in Europe], "European Parliamentary Year Book 1994/95", issue of the Polish original text KPRP, op. cit., pp. 214-215; L. Wałęsa, *Wolność trzeba umacniać każdego dnia...* [Freedom needs to be consolidated every day...]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (November 8, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 132.

⁵⁶⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej...* [Central Europe's security dilemmas...]. Lecture at the International Stockholm Peace Research Institute during an official visit to the Kingdom of Sweden (March 30, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

conducive to the growth of tension. Return to the policy of confrontation. The importance of the nationalist and militarist forces in Russia which will justify the reconstruction of the military-industrial complex by the threat posed by enlarged NATO will be increased. The expansion of the Alliance may – in their opinion – lead to isolation of Russia and consolidation of anachronistic Cold War structures. It could also undermine the chances of building a pan-European security system. It can render meaningless the agreements reached in recent years with an aim to restore balance in the field of conventional weapons, between the NATO states and the former members of the Warsaw Pact and the states of Central Europe.”⁵⁶⁹ In Lech Wałęsa’s opinion, the logic of such reasoning can only be based on a false assumption that nothing has changed in Europe, that NATO is the same as before, only bigger, that Europe is still divided, only the lines of this division run elsewhere, closer to Russia. “Meanwhile – everything has changed, except for the awareness that does not keep up with these processes.”⁵⁷⁰ According to the Polish President, “everything” is comprised of two issues. First of all, NATO is different, and the transformation process of the Alliance, which began with the end of the Cold War, will be accelerated thanks to the admission of new states. Secondly, Russia is different, and likewise is the attitude of its neighbours and Western powers to it, manifesting greater confidence towards it than ever before in modern history. The only anxiety on the part of the Alliance that is warranted are neo-imperial trends reviving in Russia. “Russia must break with this tradition. Accept the fact that there are democratic states on its western frontier that sovereignly decide about themselves.”⁵⁷¹ An additional argument which Russia should have taken into account in assessing the accession of Poland and other Central European states to NATO, but also to the EU and the WEU, was the fact that in this way this part of the continent will become for it and states created after the break-up of the Soviet Union a stronger and more interesting partner.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 201.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 202.

Polish activities aimed at expanding NATO to the east included efforts made in relations with leaders of other countries, especially the USA and Russia, but also, for example, Lithuania. For Russia, expansion of NATO to the east meant that the Alliance would approach its borders, hence an attempt to overcome Russia's resistance in this matter required special undertakings on many levels of relations. During Boris Yeltsin's visit to Poland, raising his glass in toast to the health of the guest and his wife, Lech Wałęsa said: "Going forward our own ways, we will remain close partners. I am aware that Russia, just like us, sees its place in the uniting Europe, that it wants to tighten the relations with it."⁵⁷³

The content of the correspondence addressed by Lech Wałęsa to Bill Clinton before his visit to Russia and the talks with Boris Yeltsin is significant. The Polish President explained the position of his state in the following words, referring both to the relations with the Alliance and with Russia: "Poland wants to join NATO. Our position is absolutely clear and based on a broad consensus of both society and the main political forces. However, I would like to emphasise once again that this was not and is not aimed against Russia. We are not looking for favouritism. We want solid and durable guarantees of security. Taking into account the tragic experiences of my nation, this pursuit must be fully understood."⁵⁷⁴ In the opinion of the Polish leader, expanding the Alliance to include the interested states that share its values and goals, should have been the objective pursued simultaneously with the establishment of constructive cooperation between NATO and Russia and the creation of Europe without divisions.⁵⁷⁵ For geographical, historical and strategic reasons, the Polish undertakings could not fail to include an agreement with the Republic of Lithuania. Addressing President Algirdas Brazauskas, who visited

⁵⁷³ L. Wałęsa, *Toast on the occasion of the dinner in honour of President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin during his official visit to Poland (August 25, 1993)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 120.

⁵⁷⁴ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America (September 23, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 299.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America (June 8, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 293; L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America (September 23, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 300.

Poland, Lech Wałęsa clearly outlined the principles of neighbourly cooperation, one of the main goals of which was to support jointly the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty to include Central and Eastern Europe states.⁵⁷⁶

Obtaining full membership in NATO was presented by Lech Wałęsa as the implementation of Poland's strategic goal, the consequence of a conscious choice made by Polish society, advocating such values as stability and security, collective defence, strengthening of democracy, security of Europe's relationship with North America, serving the international community by improving the effectiveness of the UN and OSCE's political decisions. According to the President, the expansion of NATO to the east was an action that should have been understood by the states forming the Alliance as one of their own goals at the time, the implementation of which would determine whether it would remain a strong, internally consolidated and effective organisation. The Polish leader reminded that the mission for which NATO had been established was not yet completed, while a new mission of historic significance emerged: the liquidation of the political barriers erected as a result of World War II and the Yalta agreements.⁵⁷⁷ Speaking at the Danish Foreign Policy Association in 1995, the Polish leader mentioned five key elements of this goal:

1. NATO should be expanded to the east, to the area given up to communism in Yalta. The societies of Central and Eastern Europe have unequivocally rejected the alien ideology and the political system based on it, while accepting and implementing the principles prescribed for in the Washington Treaty. They are ready to defend common core values with determination. Shifting the Alliance's border to the east has a strategic value, since, in the political dimension, it means elimination of the zone of limited security, the so-called no-man's zone.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polskę i Litwę łączy ta sama troska o zapewnienie państwom naszego regionu spokojnego bytu...* [Poland and Lithuania share the same concern for ensuring a peaceful existence for the states of our region...]. Toast delivered during the formal dinner in honour of President of the Republic of Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas (February 17, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 187.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Dlaczego NATO powinno być rozszerzone...* [Why should NATO be expanded...], op. cit., p. 203.

2. The cooperation potential latent in the "partnership for peace" must be made the maximum use of. It is beneficial to increase the number of joint military exercises, including staff exercises, to develop direct contacts between officers, exchange information on planned defence-related activities. In this way, partnership can become a reality, as well as the necessary practice for Europe to cooperate for common security. In the space of these activities, there should be room for an additional declaration that NATO will cooperate with such countries as Russia or Ukraine. However, this should mean confirmation of partnership and openness also on their part.
3. A new look at the role of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) is needed. The forum where the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and National Defence meet should not be dominated by *ad hoc* disputes, but should serve the debate on strategic issues related to the architecture of Euro-Atlantic security.
4. It is necessary to strengthen the role of the OSCE, the key task of which is to develop measures to build trust and transparency in security activities.
5. In the emerging Europe of regions, there should be a place not only for pan-European and bilateral, but also for regional means of strengthening security and trust.⁵⁷⁸

Speaking of the beginnings and assumptions of the Polish road leading to joining NATO, it is worth recalling Lech Wałęsa's proposal to create NATO no. 2 put forward in 1992. The main reason for establishing joint military forces under the aegis of NATO was the strategic isolation of the states after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. The troops were to include deployed armed units from Central and East European states. This concept, however, ceased to be feasible with the creation of the Partnership for Peace programme.⁵⁷⁹ The proposal to create this programme was put forward by the American side in October 1993

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 203-205.

⁵⁷⁹ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995 [Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995]*, op. cit., pp. 61, 68, 98 and 242.

during the conference of defence ministers of NATO member states in Travemünde, Germany.

The period of Polish actions aimed at the membership in international organisations of the Western world was the time of encouraging allies to military cooperation. Lech Wałęsa spoke about it in the following words: "For now, in the short-term plan, we must adopt a policy of simultaneous deterrence and encouragement. Detering potential aggressors so that they have the sense what would be the price of a potential attack. Encouraging allies to engage in military cooperation with a state that has not only a good geographical location, but also an army recognised in Europe, as well a stable foreign policy aimed at consolidating international security."⁵⁸⁰ It should be noted that the policy of encouraging allies mentioned in the text is accompanied by a policy of deterring a potential aggressor, which should be recognised as an important – also today – element of creating Poland's national security.⁵⁸¹

The content expressed by Lech Wałęsa regarding Poland's aspirations to become member of international organisations was reflected in the main strategic document of the Republic of that period. NATO is defined there as the main factor of stability and security in Europe, and the US military presence on this continent as indispensable, and as having positive influence on the processes of political transformation in the post-communist region and stabilising the situation on the entire continent. seeking to become a member of the Alliance, Poland will, on one hand, continue to expand its own contacts, cooperation and political consultations with various NATO structures, and work to create a network of bilateral agreements with individual members of the Alliance in matters of defence and

⁵⁸⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Polish Defence Policy*, op. cit., p. 1, p. 176. Cf. *Wojsko to nie zabawa w klocki Lego [The army is not a Lego game]*, interview with L. Wałęsa..., op. cit., p. 2, p. 64.

⁵⁸¹ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski...*, op. cit., pp. 13-14, 24, 34, 36, 48-49, 55-56, 60, 62, 83, 95, 97-99, 103; A. Beaufre, *Introduction to Strategy*, trans. by R.H. Barry, with a pref. by B.H. Liddell Hart, F.A. Praeger, New York 1965.

security, on the other.⁵⁸² The Polish side deemed the idea of creating multinational armed forces and its own participation in them worth developing, as well as it deemed it possible to create mixed military units together with the neighbouring states. Poland also declared its will to send Polish troops to participate in the UN Peacekeeping Forces or in other missions of the UN, CSCE, NATO, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council or the Western European Union.⁵⁸³

5.3.3. Expected benefits of international military cooperation

The basic advantage of Poland's military cooperation with NATO, and then its full membership in the Alliance was to meet the need for stability in Europe. In Lech Wałęsa's opinion the situation in which the centre of the continent was treated as a "grey zone" posed a threat. This situation encouraged the great powers, and especially the neighbours of our country, to compete for influence in the region. This, in the President's opinion, could become the cause of confrontation. Meanwhile, the expansion of Western security structures to Central Europe seemed as one of the means that could contribute to both internal and external stability of these states. Also, bringing NATO closer to the Russian borders was aimed at including Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic states in the uniting Europe and facilitating the processes of democratisation and building a security system across the continent. The expected economic benefits resulting from the impact on economic reforms in the countries of Central Europe also constituted an argument for expanding NATO. As for Poland, it was to strengthen its international position and attract further foreign capital investments.⁵⁸⁴ It was not without significance, either, that Lech Wałęsa saw the future membership in NATO as having a beneficial influence on the Polish-German and Polish-Russian relations.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸² Cf. *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 3, p. 77.

⁵⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, point 3, p. 76.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej... [Central Europe's security dilemmas...]*, op. cit., pp. 200-202.

⁵⁸⁵ *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa [Assumptions for the Polish security policy]*, op. cit., point 3, p. 74 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

In the narrative of Lech Wałęsa strengthening of security in Europe appears to be an important advantage of international military cooperation. During the meeting of the Presidents of the Visegrad Group with President Bill Clinton, the Polish leader said: "We do not treat our accession to NATO as crossing to the other side of the front. Therefore, we believe that it should be also open for other new members. We regard the shift of the North Atlantic Treaty border as an obvious stage in the process of building one stable, democratic and secure Europe. Europe of states wishing to build their future in the conditions of peace and partnership with other countries. In harmony and mutual respect. This is our vision of Europe."⁵⁸⁶ A few months after this statement Lech Wałęsa wrote to the President of the United States that by joining NATO Poland wants to contribute to the expansion of the stability zone represented mainly by the states of the European Union and NATO. It also offers friendly relations with all its neighbours regulated by treaties, contributes to regional cooperation in Central Europe and around the Baltic Sea as well as to pan-European cooperation.⁵⁸⁷ International military cooperation in Europe is, according to Lech Wałęsa, an important step towards the unification of the Old Continent. This constitutes a clear prospect for individual countries and nations, regions and economic systems to create a political and economic body that ensures equal security and development opportunities for all. It is a chance to rebuild a single, integrated and safe continent: "Building a united, but also diverse Europe. Rich in spiritual and material heritage of the nations that make it up. Our task is to prepare such a European security system of the 21st century in which every state and every nation will have its place, in line with their aspirations and readiness to accept the principles resulting from the partnership."⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Od naszych partnerów oczekujemy faktów, nie tylko samych słów i deklaracji...* [We expect facts from our partners, not just words and declarations...]. Toast during an official banquet on the occasion of the meeting of the Presidents of the Visegrad Group with President Clinton (January 12, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 140.

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America* (September 23, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 299.

⁵⁸⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Dlaczego NATO powinno być rozszerzone...* [Why should NATO be expanded...], op. cit., p. 203.

The benefits of international military cooperation led through the adoption in Europe of the idea of indivisibility of security, which appears as the foundation of a realistic security system across the continent.⁵⁸⁹ "Expansion of the European structures" – said the Polish President – "will support democratic and market reforms not only in the states that will gain full membership in them, but throughout Central and Eastern Europe. The idea of indivisibility of security in new Europe means that strengthening it in one country is not a threat to others. On the contrary, it serves to strengthen peace across the continent."⁵⁹⁰ The starting point for its implementation is the recognition, acceptance and commitment to a single area of security, instead of opposing blocks. Rejection of the understanding of Central and Eastern Europe as a "buffer" or "foreground" protecting the West. Such perception assumes division and moves away the vision of unification.⁵⁹¹ In Lech Wałęsa's thought, indivisibility of security, shaping the future of the entire continent, is also associated with the strengthening of cooperation and shared values.⁵⁹² Presidential reflection on the benefits of international military cooperation and indivisibility of security was consistent with the content of the document *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, which stated: "It is in Poland's interest to shape an international security system that will effectively eliminate military threats and be conducive to building the balance of interests and cooperation in solving global problems and challenges. The basic principle of the external security policy of our state is to treat Europe and North America as a unified area of security. The gradually emerging system of European security may become the main guarantor of sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Poland

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej... [Central Europe's security dilemmas...]*, op. cit., p. 202.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba budować Europę łączącą narody i państwa... [It is necessary to build Europe that unites nations and states...]*. Speech at the last ever meeting of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact (July 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁹² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba poszerzyć strefę bezpieczeństwa i stabilności w Europie... [The zone of security and stability in Europe needs to be expanded...]*. Speech at a meeting of the leaders of the states forming the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (December 5, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 178.

in the future.”⁵⁹³ It should be noted here that indivisibility of security calls for closer good-neighbourly cooperation between states and within regions. This cooperation, at the level of military relations, aimed at all states’ adapting a model of non-confrontational military doctrine, assuming the increase of security not only of a given country, but also the security of others, especially neighbouring states, requires political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. It also requires reflection, within individual states as well as internationally, on the values that create or may create global security.

5.4. Conclusions

The texts of President Lech Wałęsa, in which he deals with topics related to the armed forces and their functioning, are an important testimony to the processes of creating Poland’s national security in the period of political changes, but also the reflection on the value of having own army for the nation and the state. The analysed content allows to understand the value of the army and defence potential of the sovereign Republic of Poland. An analysis of the Polish leader’s statements entitles one to formulate the main conclusions regarding the research area in question.

The nation’s specific ability to organise actions to defeat the enemy and regain freedom and sovereignty proved to be a value in creating Poland’s national security in its history. During World War II, this ability manifested itself clearly in the functioning of the well-organised Polish Underground State and the Home Army, which was the largest in occupied Europe and efficient military structure. These historical experiences are not without effect on the present day. The combat capability of the army is influenced not only by the training of soldiers and the equipment of troops with modern weapons and gear, but above all their high morale and discipline rooted in the national tradition, supported by the example of the attitude of military leaders.

The privileged way to resolve armed conflicts and face up to their possible occurrence is the international dialogue, as well as dialogue

⁵⁹³ *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 3, p. 77.

within individual states. The willingness to compromise and the will to agree and refrain from harmful actions on the part of all parties involved have proved to be its strength. International efforts for peace requires respect for individual rights and transformation of thinking both in individual and social dimension. Religions have the ability to serve peace, which is particularly evident in the activities of the Roman Catholic Church on the international arena and in individual countries. Lech Wałęsa's narrative about peace and commitment to peaceful solutions to existing conflicts does not assume in any way the disarmament of the Polish armed forces or questioning the legitimacy of their existence and financing.

The defence of the Republic of Poland is implemented by:

- Promoting patriotic attitudes in society,
- Developing the ability to identify threats to national security,
- Constructive use of the country's location on the European geostrategic axis,
- Preparation, development and maintenance of the state's defence infrastructure,
- Development of the arms industry,
- Defence preparation of the economy and society,
- Development of international military cooperation,
- Concluding international agreements and affiliation to international organisations working for security.

A characteristic feature of Lech Wałęsa's security policy was its preventive character. It manifested itself in the rejection of thinking about European security in terms of the idea of opposing blocks. The President insisted on the international arena to expand the stability zone in Europe by moving the NATO border eastward. He saw admission of new members to the Alliance as an evidence that the secret arrangements from Yalta ceased to apply and that the actual process of uniting the continent's security was set in motion based on sound principles that respect subjectivity of individual nations and states. The preventive character of the President's actions was also revealed in his support for the transparency of activities relating to security issues, especially international military cooperation. He believed that in Europe each state should be guaranteed the level of participation

in the international structures that a given state expected and was prepared for. This principle should also apply to Russia, because it is in the interest of Europe's security to strengthen democratic transformations in that country.

The strategic goal of Poland in the early 1990s was membership in NATO and the Western European Union. This goal was attained through the development of relations with the Alliance, mainly through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. From the point of view of the national interest of Poland in that period, the basic elements determining the security in Europe included:

- Politically, economically and defensively integrated West,
- Military and political presence of the United States of America in Europe,
- International organisations whose activities favoured the creation of a pan-European collective security system,
- The situation in the unstable and disintegrated East, where Russia played a dominant role.

The West of Europe, with the established development strategy, politically and economically connected with the United States, with mechanisms ensuring the coordination of actions and effective cooperation, appeared as a guarantor of Poland's security and a natural strategic partner.

In Poland's accession to NATO Lech Wałęsa clearly saw benefits that went beyond Poland's immediate interests. He believed that this act would be an effective force working to create a new security architecture throughout Central Europe. The basic bilateral treaties and military cooperation agreements concluded by Poland with all its neighbours also served this purpose.

6. "No longer a division into opposing political and military blocs is burdening international relations."
International relations in creating national security of Poland

The presence of the Republic of Poland in the international arena is an important area of research in the field of international relations, political science and security studies.⁵⁹⁴ During the transformation

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. J. Gryz, *Państwo w systemie bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego*, in: *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa współczesnego państwa (podmioty). Implikacje*, ed. J. Pawłowski, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2015, pp. 89-119; J. Czaputowicz, *Theory or practice? The state of international relations in Poland*, "European Political Science" 2012, v. 11, no. 2, pp. 196-212; M. Barwiński, *Stosunki międzypaństwowe Polski z Ukrainą, Białorusią i Litwą po 1990 roku w kontekście sytuacji mniejszości narodowych*, "Studies in Political and Historical Geography" 2012, v. 1, pp. 139-166; M. Stolarczyk, *Stosunki Polski z sąsiadami w pierwszej dekadzie XXI wieku*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2011; L. Chappell, *Poland in transition: implications for a European security and defence policy*, "Contemporary Security Policy" 2010, v. 31, no. 2, pp. 225-248; M. Stolarczyk, *Zbieżność i różnice interesów w stosunkach polsko-niemieckich w latach 1989-2009*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2010; N. Copsey, K. Pomorska, *Poland's power and influence in the European Union. The case of its eastern policy*, "Comparative European Politics" 2010, v. 8, no. 3, pp. 304-326; A. Adamczyk, *The Role of Poland in the Creation Process of the Eastern Partnership*, "Yearbook of Polish European Studies" 2010, v. 13, pp. 195-204; R. Zięba, *Czy w stosunkach polsko-rosyjskich możliwe jest przejście od "polityki historycznej" do "polityki perspektywicznej"*, "Przegląd Zachodni" 2009, v. 3, pp. 179-190; A. Szeptycki, *Stosunki Polski z Ukrainą*, "Rocznik Polskiej Polityki Zagranicznej" 2006, pp. 130-143; K. Longhurst, *From security consumer to security provider - Poland and transatlantic security in the*

period, Poland had to answer important questions about her future and security: how to reinforce the country's place in the world? Above all, how to be a part of Europe in which the West was uniting, and the East was searching in great uncertainty for its political shape? How to build relationships with the neighbours who have diverse goals? Answers to these questions reveal the values that shape Poland's national security. Describing the changes in the international arena in the late 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, Lech Wałęsa said: "The world is changing. Ideological divisions are disappearing. No longer a division into opposing political and military blocs is burdening international relations. This does not mean, however, that all problems have been solved. New challenges are arising.⁵⁹⁵ Among new problems he included, *inter alia*, political and economic issues requiring a new look and pragmatic approach, both in relations between individual states and on the international arena. The President's statement that "ideological divisions

twenty-first century, "Defence Studies" 2002, v. 2, no. 2, pp. 50-62; O. Osica, *In search of a new role: Poland in Euro-Atlantic relations*, "Defence Studies" 2002, v. 2, no. 2, pp. 21-39; M. Zaborowski, *Power, security and the past: Polish-German relations in the context of EU and NATO enlargements*, "German Politics" 2002, v. 11, no. 2, pp. 165-188; R. Kuźniar, K. Szczepanik, *Polityka zagraniczna RP 1989-2002*, Askon, Warszawa 2002; F. Steves, *Poland and the international system. External influences on democratic consolidation*, "Communist and Post-Communist Studies" 2001, v. 34, no. 3, pp. 339-352; L. Gardner Feldman, *The principle and practice of 'reconciliation' in German foreign policy: Relations with France, Israel, Poland and the Czech Republic*, "International Affairs" 1999, v. 75, no. 2, pp. 333-356; G. Ekiert, J. Kubik, *Contentious Politics in New Democracies: East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, 1989-93*, "World Politics" 1998, v. 50, no. 4, pp. 547-581; J. Kukułka, *Traktaty sąsiedzkie Polski odrodzonej*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1998; J. Stefanowicz, *Central Europe between Germany and Russia: A View from Poland*, "Security Dialogue" 1995, v. 26, no. 1, pp. 55-64; T. Snyder, *National Myths and International Relations: Poland and Lithuania, 1989-1994*, "East European Politics and Societies" 1995, v. 9, no. 2, pp. 317-343; S.R. Burant, *International relations in a regional context: Poland and its eastern Neighbours—Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine*, "Europe-Asia Studies" 1993, v. 45, no. 3, pp. 395-418; J. Dienstbier, *Central Europe's security*, "Foreign Policy" 1991, no. 83, pp. 119-127.

⁵⁹⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich...* [Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...]. *Speech at the headquarters of the League of Arab States during a visit to Egypt (May 17, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 74.

are disappearing” should be understood literally, taking into account the grammar of the text. The divisions ‘have not disappeared’ but ‘are disappearing’. He perceived ideologies not only as a threat to the internal order of nations and states, but also to the order in the global dimension. The Polish experience of the communist ideology was particularly clear and strong in him. It naturally shaped Lech Wałęsa and his immediate environment’s way of thinking. It taught that by draining and changing self-awareness of individuals, nations and states, their sovereignty and security, communism, aimed at changing the international order. That is why the President’s foreign policy and activity for the sake of Poland’s external security constitute an inseparable unity. This fact is well illustrated by the goals pursued in the President’s foreign policy. The first and the second are as follows: “1. Cancellation of Poland’s former political and military connections resulting from the Yalta order. 2. Permanent incorporation of Poland into a new, international security system.”⁵⁹⁶ Speaking about Lech Wałęsa’s policy in the field of Poland’s relations in the international dimension, one should note the accomplishments of professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who was minister of foreign affairs in the period of 1989-1993, and thus in the governments of: Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Jan K. Bielecki, Jan Olszewski, and Hanna Suchocka. Krzysztof Skubiszewski’s answer to the question about the role of foreign policy in ensuring security of the state is significant. He replied: “This is not just about one of the functions of politics, but about the reason of state, which I see above all in terms of security.”⁵⁹⁷ The normalisation in the period of the transformation of Polish relations with the USSR and then the Russian Federation, as well as Germany, which guaranteed recognition of the border on the Oder and Neisse, should be attributed to the activities of this minister of foreign affairs.

This part of the monograph will address three themes that stand out in the source material concerning Poland’s presence in the world

⁵⁹⁶ Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania* [Three years of Lech Wałęsa’s presidency. Plans and achievements], op. cit., p. 49.

⁵⁹⁷ *Krzysztof Skubiszewski – dyplomata i mąż stanu*, ed. R. Kuźniar, Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, Warszawa 2011, p. 475.

and creation of national security. First of all, the analysis will cover texts about Poland in the world, the understanding of international relations and own priorities in these relations. Secondly, the issue of Poland's presence in Europe will be discussed; beginning with global issues, through matters within the continent, leading to the presentation of the third problem – Poland's relations with its neighbours.

6.1. Poland in the world

In President Lech Wałęsa's texts, it is very clear that politics must be pursued globally,⁵⁹⁸ that national security of Poland as well as other states is directly dependent on the way they are present in the world, which comprises diplomacy, international agreements and membership in international organisations, foreign visits, hosting representatives of other states, meetings not only with political and social leaders, but also people of culture, science, religion and representatives of the business world. A characteristic feature of Lech Wałęsa's security policy was to demonstrate in the world that Poland was a free and sovereign country, that it was no longer separated from the world, that it wanted to establish its relations internationally in a friendly way, seeking mutual benefits. This political going out into the world, a kind of opening to the world, was an important social event shaping a new way of thinking of the Poles. It also had a visible economic aspect. It was a search for investors to transform the economy: "We crushed the iron curtain that had divided Europe. We decide about our fate independently. The international economic situation is favourable. The most powerful Western countries declare their friendship and support."⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność i demokrację...* [American democracy has helped us in the fight for freedom and democracy...]. Speech during a meeting with the residents of Warsaw at the Castle Square in the presence of the US President George Bush who came to the ceremony of placing the ashes of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral (July 5, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 86.

⁵⁹⁹ L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej...* [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...]. Speech on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 (May 3, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 27.

The clear goal of Lech Wałęsa's foreign and security policy was to make Poland attractive to trade partners, to capital, to regular guests from around the world. In one of the speeches in the Sejm, he said: "We opened the door, but it is not enough. It is just the beginning. Friendly – as never before – relations connect the Republic of Poland with the United States, France and the United Kingdom, Italy and Scandinavia, also with Japan. But not only with 'the great of this world', also with other states of different continents and different regions."⁶⁰⁰ Lech Wałęsa's foreign policy was not limited to his own region, to Europe, but in a changed situation, the new geopolitical arrangement, he tried to tighten Polish contacts, as he himself said, even "with the entire world".⁶⁰¹ One of the main obstacles in implementing the so outlined horizon of activities was the negative impact of internal policy on Poland's external activity. The situation in which foreign policy is included in the cross-party play in the country is harmful to the interests of the state, tarnishes its reputation and, as Lech Wałęsa claimed, ridicules it in the eyes of the international community. This obstacle appeared to be particularly powerful given the need to consolidate sovereignty and in the urgent prospect of joining NATO and the European Union. "We will blight this chance if our foreign policy is not consistent and coherent. We will recklessly and at our own request undo the foregoing attempts to gain membership in these structures."⁶⁰² – said the President to the parliamentarians.

In light of the President's texts, worthy and peaceful coexistence of nations should be created jointly and severally. By which he understood that individual states should accept the right of other states to sovereignty and their own identity, and at the same time improve

⁶⁰⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 43.

⁶⁰¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants of the Congress of the Polish Community in Latin American Countries* (November 3, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 241.

⁶⁰² L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day was not a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at a joint meeting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 193.

themselves in using the language of cooperation.⁶⁰³ It should not come as a surprise that the leader of "Solidarity" used the notion of solidarity as a kind of a manifesto in the international dimension. He believed that this concept should be broadly applied – in the human and global meaning. It should be an instrument for shaping peaceful international relations, a response to lawlessness in the world, enslavement of the weaker by the powerful, disproportions between the poor and the rich, contempt for the human being and non-compliance with international law, which ultimately leads to wars. He, therefore, saw solidarity as a chance to protect humanity from destruction affecting both individual people and entire communities as well as nature.⁶⁰⁴ He said about his own country: "Poland will be guided by the principles of solidarity in her actions within the great family of states and nations."⁶⁰⁵

A specific model for Lech Wałęsa in creating foreign and security policy was the United States of America, without which, he claimed, global politics was impossible. In the President's narrative, the United States is the clearest example of the state which showed the world what a country of free people means and what possibilities it offers. It was also America that gave an example of how to combine freedom and responsibility, activity with effectiveness and respect for law, and was able to create an example of combining political freedom with economic freedom.⁶⁰⁶ Perhaps the idealistic perception of the United

⁶⁰³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba poszerzyć strefę bezpieczeństwa i stabilności w Europie...* [The zone of security and stability in Europe needs to be expanded...]. Speech at the meeting of the heads of states forming the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (December 5, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 178.

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo...* [The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...]. Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic (February 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 16.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.; cf. L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach...* [The keys to the homeland are in your hands...]. Welcoming speech to His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 33: "Europe is also the East. In the conditions of freedom, we want to contribute to the integration of our eastern neighbours with Europe. Be a bonding factor, not a dividing one. This is how we understand the democratic, universal ethos of 'Solidarity'. This is how we understand responsibility for our continent."

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność*

States by the Polish leader is to some extent an effect of the strong myth of free and rich America vivid in the mentality of the Polish society in the period of the Polish People's Republic. The development of this myth was largely influenced by Polish emigrants to the USA.⁶⁰⁷ In a sense, Poland's espousing America was the most obvious direction of seeking support at that time. With the rejection of the communist vision of the world, the West was an obvious alternative. It was headed, what should be recalled, especially considering the point of view relevant for security studies, by the military potential of the United States, the power which participated in the Cold War, showed by the Americans to the entire world. This power with which Poles connected their coveted safe future was the result of the benefits of combining the values of citizens' freedom with responsibility, activity with effectiveness and respect for law, political freedom with economic freedom.

Israel was an example of a non-European state with which Lech Wałęsa particularly wanted to establish good relations. The arguments therefor were historical and economic in nature. The President reminded that it was the Jews from Poland who made a significant contribution to the Israeli political, economic and cultural life.⁶⁰⁸ For history intertwined the fate of both nations. Jews came to Poland from all over Europe to find hospitality and a climate of tolerance. They also found a sense of security and conditions for the development of their great culture. There were outstanding Jewish scholars and spiritual leaders in Poland. Poland was a common home for Poles and Jews. For centuries, these nations lived in peace next to each other. Disagreement began only when Poles did not have their own state and the Russian Tsar expelled tens of thousands of Jews from Russia to the Polish lands,

i demokrację... [American democracy has helped us in the fight for freedom and democracy...]. Speech during a meeting with the residents of Warsaw at the Castle Square in the presence of the US President George Bush who came to the ceremony of placing the ashes of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral (July 5, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 86.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America* (June 8, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 293.

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Nadszedł czas usuwania fałszywych schematów myślowych... [The time has come to remove false thought patterns...]. Speech at a meeting with representatives of the Israeli organisation of Jews from Poland during an official visit to Israel (May 23, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 30.*

unleashing anti-Semitism.⁶⁰⁹ Speaking during a visit to Israel, the Polish leader reminded that "the enlightened Poles have always renounced anti-Semitism and fought against it."⁶¹⁰ In the same speech, he noticed that during World War II, both Jews and Poles were victims of Nazism. While Polish-Jewish relations were the worst when Poland was under the foreign invasion during the partitions or under the communist oppression after the war.⁶¹¹ The way to overcome historical events, according to the President, led through the development of long-term educational programmes, mutual visits, especially of young people, as well as cultural, scientific and economic cooperation.⁶¹² These statements are consistent with the content of the document describing the national security strategy of Poland in the period of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. It states that the Republic of Poland is in favour of facilitating all interpersonal contacts that ensure a free flow of information, intermingling of cultures and elimination of nationalistic prejudices.⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [The future lies in getting to know each other...]. Speech at the Knesset during the official visit to Israel (May 21, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 28; L. Wałęsa, *Wasza sprawa zwyciężyła...* [Your cause has won...]. Speech at the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (April 19, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 95: "Those who died here were Polish citizens. Co-inhabitants of the Polish land. They lived with us here for almost a thousand years. They enriched our land and our culture. They created their own tradition and culture. Jews – as well as other nations – were welcomed by us with hospitality. They lived safely. It was here that they protected themselves from persecution. They came here having been exiled from other European countries. This land was hospitable to them. We have had periods of good cohabitation. We have also had moments of difficult coexistence. Mutual prejudices. Deeds not always worthy. Actions not always laudable. However, we believe, being wiser today, because experienced, that our land is also the land of hope. Hope that difficulties will be overcome. And humiliation will be surmounted."

⁶¹⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Przyszłość leży we wzajemnym poznaniu się...* [The future lies in getting to know each other...], op. cit., p. 28.

⁶¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁶¹² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 29; L. Wałęsa, *Nadszedł czas usuwania fałszywych schematów myślowych...* [The time has come to remove false thought patterns...], op. cit., p. 31.

⁶¹³ Cf. *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 3, p. 77.

An important issue for the Polish foreign policy and security policy were questions related to the economic transformation of the state, the need for economic integration with the West.⁶¹⁴ The way to build a free, sovereign and democratic Republic of Poland led through searching for the possibility of beneficial economic cooperation, the need to increase trade, developing industrial cooperation, and investments of external capital. Political changes needed to be accompanied by economic changes. Lech Wałęsa described the contemporary economic situation in Poland at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1992. He tried to show that economic development in Poland would also have a bearing on the profits of Western countries: “Free, democratic Poland is experiencing a severe and specific economic crisis. We must build everything from scratch. Sometimes completely differently. Transform the planned communist economy into a free market. It is like turning a river. It has proven to be difficult. We are counting on the West. On your interest. On a wide stream of big capital. We count on investment capital, supporting our enterprises in modernising their production. We know your requirements. We accept them. But the benefits should be mutual. For you – business, for us – development. Our country is grateful for the write-off of some debts, but we still have a lot to pay back. This requires maintaining a high level of taxes. It is a great burden for our society. It is blocking the developmental mechanisms of the economy.”⁶¹⁵ In the subsequent part of the speech, the Polish leader presented a series of accusations addressed to the West barring Polish products, yet easily exporting their products to the East. This process was described by Lech Wałęsa as draining of the Polish market: “Polish shops have been flooded with your products. You have done business on the Polish revolution. We were good as an instrument to break up the old system that threatened Europe. Have we lost your liking today?”⁶¹⁶ In the opinion of the President, Europe understood as one of the great global eco-

⁶¹⁴ Cf. *Assumptions for the Polish security policy*, op. cit., point 2, p. 73 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

⁶¹⁵ L. Wałęsa, L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami... [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...]. Speech at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (February 4, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 56.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

conomic regions competing with such centres as North and Central America or the Asian Far East, needed Poland and Eastern Europe. He believed that this part of the continent could not be treated only as a market outlet, but its potential demanded to be discovered so that it could contribute to Europe's competitiveness internationally. One of Lech Wałęsa's texts reads: "Throughout the centuries and millennia, even despite discords and bloody wars, Europe has become a special spiritual community. But the spiritual bond of the European nations, the common roots growing out of the Mediterranean culture and Christianity are not enough for Europe as a civilizational centre to be able to meet the high requirements of global economic competition. European countries and nations should combine their development potentials to stimulate the technologically advanced production and create a large free trade market."⁶¹⁷ It should not escape our attention that the President combines in his statement a historically proven potential of the value of a spiritual community with the requirements of global economic competition. Unfortunately, the changeability of the political programmes of individual governments during the presidency of Lech Wałęsa and the tension in the relationship between the presidential palace and the parliament undermined the prospect for political stability of the state. This fact did not encourage investments of Western capital in Poland.⁶¹⁸

The new demeanour of the Polish Republic in the global arena required consistent steps, both on the part of Poland and other international entities, both in politics and the economy. In the background of this new presence was Polish gratitude to many states and organisations for moral and financial help shown in the times

⁶¹⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie [Poland in Europe]*, "European Parliamentary Year Book 1994/95", issue of the Polish original text KPRP, op. cit., p. 209.

⁶¹⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy... [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]*. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 48: "We are beginning a common, hard work. Today, we need quickly to introduce economic models tested in the world. We must be credible and serious. Programmes cannot be changed as often as one changes clothes. If we are not consistent, no one will treat us the way we really deserve or want to deserve. In the world economic policy, those who keep their word, who guarantee political stability count. We need such stability."

of struggle against communism.⁶¹⁹ In the new demeanour of the Polish Republic in the world, one should recognise hope, having the value of the strength to co-create the national security of Poland. At the same time, however, this presence was conditioned by cohesiveness of policies, especially of European states, by a specific need for a common, coherent and convergent recognition of truth and good by the western, central and eastern parts of the continent.

6.2. Poland in Europe

After the collapse of communism, the natural geostrategic course of Poland's activities was integration with the countries of the West of Europe, with their political, economic and military structures. Lech Wałęsa claimed: "One of the basic contexts of Poland's integration with the European Union is the issue of security. We want to participate fully in the construction of sustainable foundations of collective security on our continent. We share the philosophy of the Western European military-defensive structures."⁶²⁰ After 1989, Poland had to ask herself questions about her presence in Europe, how to integrate with the West and ensure security of the region.

6.2.1. Presence of Poland in Europe

From the Polish point of view, its affiliation to the circle of the Western European civilization is ages long.⁶²¹ Reaching back to the begin-

⁶¹⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej... [Central Europe's security dilemmas...]. Lecture at the International Stockholm Peace Research Institute during an official visit to the Kingdom of Sweden (March 30, 1995)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 198; L. Wałęsa, *Jesteście ambasadorami polskiej sprawy... [You are the ambassadors of the Polish cause...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community in Los Angeles during an official visit to the United States of America (March 23, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 20.

⁶²⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie [Poland in Europe]*, op. cit., p. 214.

⁶²¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zjednoczone Niemcy witam z optymizmem i nadzieją... [I welcome united Germany with optimism and hope...]. Toast at the breakfast given by Chancellor Helmut Kohl during an official visit to Germany (March 31, 1992)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 64-65: "Poland is situated in the middle of Europe. Between the East and the West. It is impossible to ignore it when thinking about

nings of its statehood. "Sovereign, free and democratic Poland is and will be a member of the European family, a member that looks into the future."⁶²² Polish culture, legal and political institutions have been related to western models. For centuries, Poles have been co-creating and defending Western European civilization, as for example in 1683 when under the leadership of Polish King John III Sobieski they fought a victorious battle against the Turkish power threatening Europe. The soldiers of Europe, freedom and democracy should be recognised in the Poles who fought in World War II and the Warsaw insurgents who in 1944 paid a toll of blood in defence of universal European values grasped by brown and red totalitarianisms.⁶²³ Therefore, the urge, reiterated time and again after 1989 in the political, social, cultural and economic narration, that "Poland must return to Europe" is true as long as it is remembered that it has been present in Europe continuously. And this concerns not only geographical, but cultural presence. For it is culture that has created values stemming from the Christian civilization, spiritual community, ensuring Poland its place in Europe.⁶²⁴ "If we must 'come back to Europe' today - wrote Lech Wałęsa - it is because we experienced a totalitarian communist system that trampled law and freedom, and by trying to impose central control on the economy, led to a profound economic crisis. However, that system was imposed on Poles by force. We never accepted it. Communism was only an episode in Polish history. The order that has shaped the Polish tradition is democracy and freedom of economic activity. Upon the fall of the 'iron curtain', the unification of Germany and the revival of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, an exceptionally friendly ground for creating pan-European unity was created.

integration and common European future. We have always been civilisationally and culturally in Europe. Today, we want to join it economically."

⁶²² L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii...* [May 8 is a day of reflection on historical verdicts for us...]. Speech at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 197.

⁶²³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie* [Poland in Europe], op. cit., pp. 210-211.

⁶²⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

In this historic breakthrough, the achievements of Poles and the victory of Solidarity played, as I believe, a vital role.”⁶²⁵

The presence of Poland in Europe should not have been perceived by Western states as a new reality. “Poland has always been in Europe. In cultural and civilizational terms. Now, after the peaceful revolution, it has joined Europe politically.”⁶²⁶ Lech Wałęsa emphasised that it was equally important to restore Poland to Europe as to restore Europe to Poland.⁶²⁷ This presence, which the President spoke about when addressing the officers of the Polish Army, concerned primarily the prospects of a real participation in European political and economic life.⁶²⁸ At the same time, however, it assumed an already existent presence at the level of “values underlying European civilisation”.⁶²⁹ Drawing the models of democracy and economy from the West was not supposed to eliminate what formed the foundations of national security – “We do not give up the values that make up our national identity. We shall take from the achievements of the West whatever enriches our culture, whatever contributes to human development.”⁶³⁰ What was essential for the presence in Europe was the prospect of contributing

⁶²⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie [Poland in Europe]*, op. cit., p. 211. Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Powodzenie polskich reform wymaga aktywnego współdziałania ze strony Zachodu... [The success of Polish reforms requires active cooperation from the West...]*. Speech at a meeting with the Commission of the European Communities (3 April 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 24.

⁶²⁶ L. Wałęsa, L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami... [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...]*. Speech at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (February 4, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 55.

⁶²⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Powodzenie polskich reform wymaga aktywnego współdziałania ze strony Zachodu... [The success of Polish reforms requires active cooperation from the West...]*, op. cit., p. 25.

⁶²⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Większość problemów sił zbrojnych nie została rozwiązana... [Most problems of the armed forces have not been resolved...]*. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (June 30, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 154.

⁶²⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Dorobek naukowy małżonków Curie otworzył przed nauką nowe horyzonty... [The scientific achievements of the Curies opened up new horizons before science...]*. Speech at the ceremony of the official placing the ashes of Maria and Piotr Curie in the Paris Pantheon (April 21, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 188.

⁶³⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach... [The keys to the homeland are in your hands...]*. Welcoming speech to His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

to the construction of a stable and competitive Europe, which for Poland was to mean fast economic growth.⁶³¹

According to Lech Wałęsa, Poland's presence in Europe should mean that the entire continent needs to recognise her potential not only with respect to population – of almost forty-million – but also for the security of the region and the entire continent: "Poland feels as a part of Europe, and our political, economic and military structures are promising the growth of a strong organism between the Oder and the Bug rivers. Polish potential is great, [and] Western countries should use it for the sake of our common well-being."⁶³² The new form of Poland's presence in Europe – political, economic and military – increasingly manifested itself as the need to recognise such presence of other states. Because Poland's experience has inspired other countries in the central and eastern parts of the continent. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Soviet Union and other states have translated the scenario of the Polish road to freedom. They adopted and implemented it as far as their strengths, possibilities and aspirations allowed.⁶³³

As a side note to the above considerations regarding Poland's presence in Europe, one should note a specific statement of President Lech Wałęsa made at a meeting with the Commission of the European Communities at the beginning of his presidency: "No issue is more important for Poland today, and will be tomorrow, than membership in the EEC. The community is pursuing the age-long dream of the Europeans: it is building a multinational state without borders for people, goods and services. A state with a common currency and economic

⁶³¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Powodzenie polskich reform wymaga aktywnego współdziałania ze strony Zachodu...* [The success of Polish reforms requires active cooperation from the West...], op. cit., p. 25.

⁶³² L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie* [Poland in Europe], op. cit., p. 215.

⁶³³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami...* [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...], op. cit., p. 55; L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day did not turn out as a day of victory for everyone...]. Speech at the joint sitting of the Sejm and the Senate on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II (May 8, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 191-192: "Our country's merit in overthrowing communism on our continent has been forgotten. The changes that we started in the 1980s (p. 192:) in Europe cannot be reduced only in the unification of Germany. Their goal was to unite the entire continent."

policy. Poland must take part in this work.”⁶³⁴ While it is possible to agree with the purpose of membership in the European Economic Community for Poland at that time (the EEC changed its name to the European Community in 1992), the question of building a “multinational state” is problematic. The President’s statement should be treated as an unfortunate manifestation of Euro-enthusiasm. Eighteen months after this statement provision designating a different course of action – independent statehood may be found in the Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland. The document reads: “Striving to join the European Communities gives rise to the greatest hopes for Poland to consolidate its independent statehood, democracy and prosperous economic development. This is a geo-strategic direction not only of political and economic rapprochement, but also of Poland’s participation in the effective Western system of collective security.”⁶³⁵

6.2.2. Polish contribution to the unification of Europe

The unification of Europe appears in the texts of Lech Wałęsa as the final closure of the issue of World War II and the divisions which caused it, which emerged during the war and which torn the continent afterwards: “The ultimate fruit of the victorious war must be a united, prosperous and secure Europe. This is a Europe that the Poles wish for themselves and for others. This is a Europe that we are looking out for on the horizon of the new millennium.”⁶³⁶ After the fall of communism, the process of unification of Europe is also an important period from the point of view of shaping the new Polish thinking about national security. The Polish Republic found itself in an unprecedented situation and at the same time became a model for other Eastern bloc countries. Lech Wałęsa directly connected the unification of Europe with the idea

⁶³⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Powodzenie polskich reform wymaga aktywnego współdziałania ze strony Zachodu...* [The success of Polish reforms requires active cooperation from the West...], op. cit., p. 24.

⁶³⁵ *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 2, p. 75.

⁶³⁶ L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii...* [May 8 is a day of reflection on historical verdicts for us...], op. cit., s. 197.

of solidarity and Christian values. The Polish leader spoke about them in the following way: "There is only one Europe. Together with its central and eastern parts, it is today at the turning point of history. We must accept the challenge so that the Christian values that have for centuries shaped this continent are not pushed away. We need diversity and coexistence, not a fight for life and death."⁶³⁷ According to the President, spiritual values should become the strength that unites Europe. This unity should be based on trust, mutual respect and good will of its inhabitants.⁶³⁸

The idea of solidarity has a special place in Lech Wałęsa's thought. It was included in the programme assumptions of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity". It contributed directly to the fall of communism and then guided the systemic transformation in Poland. It had the potential that could affect the whole of Europe in the process of its unification.⁶³⁹ Solidarity became the slogan of resurgent and free Poland.⁶⁴⁰ Solidarity should be recognised as one of the two ideas,

⁶³⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 47.

⁶³⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! Without reconciliation, nations cannot develop properly and happily...* Meeting with the participants of the mass in the church of Saint Joseph the Worker in Zgorzelec (October 14, 1995), p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 653/95, p. 96, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

⁶³⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie* [Poland in Europe], op. cit., p. 211; L. Wałęsa, *Message to the participants in the World Conference on Human Rights* (June 15, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 232.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo...* [The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...]. Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic (February 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 16; L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej...* [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...]. Speech on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 (May 3, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 26; L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach...* [The keys of the homeland are in your hands...]. Welcoming speech to His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 32; L. Wałęsa, *Zaczynamy traktować wolność jako coś oczywistego...* [We have started to treat freedom as something obvious...]. Speech at the Gdańsk Shipyard at the general

alongside charity, that has spread from Poland all over the world. The range of the impact of the idea of solidarity, just like charity, can be described as global.⁶⁴¹

Speaking in Germany at the Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee, the President pointed to the specific ideological complementation of two contemporary European symbols, namely Solidarity and the Berlin Wall: "Changes in our part of the world are [taking place] under the aegis of two symbols. One symbol is the Berlin Wall. The symbol of division and unity, the symbol of enslavement and victory. It fell under the pressure of the Berliners, but before it fell – people who wanted to cross it fell from the bullets. It was a symbol of the split. The second symbol is Polish "Solidarity". It tells the truth about the combined effort. If many people want something, if they are solidary enough, they will definitely achieve their goal. They will definitely win. They only need to get rid of aggression and brutality. We are the guardians of these symbols. Such a deposit obliges. We must prove worthy. The lesson of the wall teaches us how deadly divisions are. The "Solidarity" lesson shows that unity and joint effort lead to victory."⁶⁴² The victory of the idea of solidarity and the fall of the Berlin Wall, which brought about freedom and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, did not mean an automatic political, economic and military unification of the continent. The period of Lech Wałęsa's presidency was marked in Polish consciousness

meeting of the delegates of the Gdańsk Region of NSZZ "Solidarność" (May, 24 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 207.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. D. Karłowicz, *Miłosierdzie i solidarność*, "Teologia Polityczna" no. 10, 2017-2018, pp. 15-21; J. Salij, *Nie ma solidarności bez miłosierdzia*, "Teologia Polityczna" no. 10, 2017-2018, pp. 35-40; Z. Stawrowski, *Solidarność, miłosierdzie, sprawiedliwość*, "Teologia Polityczna" no. 10, 2017-2018, pp. 41-49; J. Grzybowski, *Mistyczka i ojczyzna. O narodowych i politycznych przesłaniach Dzienniczka świętej siostry Faustyny Kowalskiej*, "Teologia Polityczna" no. 10, 2017-2018, pp. 103-123. These texts are the result of the conference "Solidarność i Miłosierdzie" [Solidarity and Charity] (November 28-29, 2016), the originator of which was Dariusz Karłowicz, a lecturer at the War Studies University in Warsaw at that time.

⁶⁴² L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy...* [Our agreement is in the interest of all of Europe...]. Speech at a special meeting of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, in the presence of the German President, during an official visit to Germany (March 30, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

by the experience of a new separation from Western Europe, perceived as a zone of security and prosperity.⁶⁴³ This situation was far from the ideal of solidarity that wanted to shape ties between states based on the principles of neighbourliness: understanding, openness and cooperation. That is why, talking about uniting Europe and seeking economic help for Poland, the President spoke in Germany about the contribution of Polish "Solidarity" to the changes in that country: "Poland has a significant share in major changes on our continent. In order for Germany to unite, in order for the wall in Berlin to fall, the flowers on the wall of the striking shipyard in Gdańsk were necessary. In order for Germany to unite, the Polish bloodless revolution was needed. And we have won. For your freedom and ours."⁶⁴⁴

Since Poland has been a part of Europe from its beginning, it was natural to strive to participate in the political and economic structures of the continent, including NATO and the European Union. In Lech Wałęsa's opinion, no state recognising values in NATO and the European Union has the right to interfere with another state's aspirations. For Poland, participating in the creation of these values and at the same time drawing on their resources meant primarily duties and responsibilities. It was also a way to unite Europe, the prospect of breaking old divisions and the chance to exclude the possibility of new ones.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie [Poland in Europe]*, op. cit., p. 210: "The border of united Europe cannot stop on the Oder. Integration should be shifting from the West to the East. It should be emphasised that this is not only in the interest of the states aspiring to membership in the Union, but in the interest of all of Europe. The Union cannot be an exclusive club jealously defending itself against the accession of others. It would then oppose its political and economic mission. The "iron curtain", which, fortunately, is now history, should not be replaced by a "glass curtain", tightly separating the areas of prosperity and poverty. We want the coming century to be an era of cooperation, not of new conflicts."

⁶⁴⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy... [Our agreement is in the interest of all of Europe...]*, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba poszerzyć strefę bezpieczeństwa i stabilności w Europie... [The zone of security and stability in Europe needs to be expanded...]*. Speech at the meeting of the heads of states forming the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (December 5, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 178.

6.2.3. Creating security in Central and Eastern Europe

After the fall of communism, Poland had a special role in the work of unifying Europe and creating security. "Let us be aware" – Lech Wałęsa wrote – "that here, in the middle of Europe, the future of our continent will be largely settled. The future of pan-European economic, communication and ecological cooperation. The future of continental peace and security."⁶⁴⁶ The geographical position of Poland between the two powers has often proved to be its drama in history. Today, it can become a source of benefits.⁶⁴⁷ It is the location of the Polish Republic that makes it a bridge between the East and the West, it connects two lungs of the same European organism, as the President said. It also has a historical responsibility because of the thousand-years of history and culture, and today also the educated society. He perceived such a situation as an imperative to demand that Poland should be treated as an equal partner in Europe which is not a representative of the "third world" but merely had no chance for normal

⁶⁴⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie [Poland in Europe]*, op. cit., pp. 215-216.

⁶⁴⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]. TV speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 176: "History has given us a great opportunity. Between friendly Germany and Russia which is striving for democracy, Poland can be a free and prosperous country. A stable part of the European Union and NATO. A strong and safe country."; L. Wałęsa, *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej... [Central Europe's security dilemmas...]*, op. cit., p. 199: "Central Europe has been treated so far as an area of both German and Russian expansion. Especially in the case of Poland, its location east of Germany and west of Russia has had a key geostrategic meaning. Many times, with tragic consequences for us. I want to emphasise with all strength that this location – between the two powers – can become a source of significant benefits, both political and economic. Especially in a new, favourable international situation."; L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii... [May 8 is a day of reflection on historical verdicts for us...]*, op. cit., p. 197: "There are many reasons to look into the future with hope. The Polish-German and Polish-Russian reconciliation which is taking place has a historical dimension. (...) Poles, Germans and Russians today are connected by common, friendly relationships. New, democratic and united Germany is one of our most important partners. We want a comprehensive, lively and friendly co-operation with the new Russia which is pursuing democratic order. Right now, the gates behind the war and the Cold War past may be shut."

development.⁶⁴⁸ Speaking in 1995, the President clearly stated that he was not satisfied with the then model of Europe: "We were supposed to build a new, better Europe. Europe of free, sovereign and democratic nations. (...) Europe is still divided into the superior and the inferior, the poor and the rich, the more or the less privileged. The affairs of small states and nations are still sacrificed for the sake of great imperial interests. Their subjectivity is disregarded in the international arena."⁶⁴⁹ The criticism of the Polish leader directed towards the Western states resulted from impatience caused by their attitude.⁶⁵⁰ It was aimed at pointing to Poland as a serious partner not only to participate in informal talks about the future, but above all, to co-decide about the future of Europe. Lech Wałęsa emphatically expressed this by stating: "Poland has the historical, moral and political right to co-decide about the fate of Europe. About its present and future. About its security and stability."⁶⁵¹ In his opinion, disregarding Polish goals and aspirations not only did harm to Poland but also disrupted the interests of the entire continent. For the empire being restored in the East was a threat to Europe's security. Therefore, it was not surprising that such determination was expressed by the President of the country that was located between this power which is building up its strength and the West which is isolating itself.⁶⁵² He vividly described Poland

⁶⁴⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [*The entire Polish edifice needs repair...*], op. cit., p. 47.

⁶⁴⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [*This day did not turn out as a day of victory for everyone...*], op. cit., p. 192.

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie* [*Poland in Europe*], op. cit., p. 212: "The integration of Poland and other Visegrad countries with the EU must be a process spread over time, but it cannot drag on forever. The great threat to the success of this process is that the EU Member States refuse to set a precise integration calendar. So, we are in a situation of an applicant who is waiting in front of an office window, but who has not been informed when it shall open. While it is in the interest of both parties to settle the matter positively, I do not underestimate the importance of all the necessary formalities, but I also appeal for imagination and the sense of passing time."

⁶⁵¹ L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [*This day did not turn out as a day of victory for everyone...*], op. cit., p. 192.

⁶⁵² Cf. *ibid.*; L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Bill Clinton President of the United States of America* (September 23, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 300: "Establishing a solid partnership between NATO and Russia, which we hope will happen, should not

located in the middle of the continent as a “keystone of the European vault”. This meant that the wrong solutions in building integrated Europe are those that try to ignore or circumvent Poland. Whenever in the past attempts were made to do so, this led to imbalances on the continent, to conflicts and destabilisation. Therefore, cooperation in the unification of Europe assumed pursuing as quickly as possible the basic objective of Polish foreign policy at the time – entering the military and economic structures of Europe.⁶⁵³

The security of Central and Eastern Europe largely depended on development of the economy. Democratisation of political life in the countries of this area did not bring about rapid economic changes. Europe was no longer separated by the wall in Berlin but by the level of economic life, a clear distinction between the rich and the poor countries. “We, citizens of a poorer Europe” – said Lech Wałęsa at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe – “have an impression that rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us. It is becoming an exclusive club. For the wealthy and the stable. Poland, located between the self-absorbed West and the changing Soviet state, faces a time without friends. Indeed, it concerns not only Poland, but also our neighbours. In the south and in the east.”⁶⁵⁴ From the point of view of creating national security of Poland, the situation defined as “time without friends” was truly alarming. What the President described in 1992 as the “changing Soviet state” three years later would be called the “empire which was being restored”.

President Lech Wałęsa spoke concisely on the subject of creating security in Central and Eastern Europe in March 1995 in a speech delivered at the International Stockholm Institute for Peace Research during an official visit to the Kingdom of Sweden. It should be noted that at that time the director of the Institute was a Pole – Professor Daniel Rotfeld. It is significant that the Polish leader did not speak about the Polish armed forces to the experts in the field of security

mean marginalisation of Central Europe. The states of this area should have a chance to determine their place, including accession to NATO.”

⁶⁵³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ten dzień nie dla wszystkich okazał się dniem zwycięstwa...* [This day did not turn out as a day of victory for everyone...], op. cit., p. 192.

⁶⁵⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami...* [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...], op. cit., p. 55.

and peace research and the Swedish political elite. Instead, he addressed topics relating to the understanding of Europe's unity, threats to its security resulting from the collapse of communism, and cooperation between states. The value that contributes to creating security in Europe is its unity. The foundation of this value are other values: respect for democratic institutions, human and civil rights, rule of law, and private ownership. The secure future of Europe, free of antagonisms, requires building of an international order based on spiritual and material wealth, created through cooperation of states and nations.⁶⁵⁵ In the new circumstances created upon the fall of communism, new, previously absent or disregarded security threats were revealed: "The end of the Cold War unfroze animosities of national and ethnic origin. Changes in Central and Eastern Europe have become the cause of instability on our continent. For transformation generates unemployment and longing for a 'protective' state of the communist era. It creates favourable conditions for irresponsible populist policies. This promotes development of organised crime and corruption, drug and radioactive materials trafficking, and many other negative phenomena."⁶⁵⁶ Preventing the threats from arising or being revealed and, at the same time, responding to the needs of security processes, in Lech Wałęsa's opinion, required, first of all, international goodwill and gradual opening of Western structures to new members from Central Europe. Secondly, it required success of economic and political reforms in post-communist countries.⁶⁵⁷

6.3. Relations with neighbours

The new situation in which Poland found itself after 1989 brought about new security threats and required rethinking of relations with its neighbours. The confrontational East-West system came to an end. One needs to agree with Grzegorz Rydlewski, who says: "The future was vague and uncertain, it was not known what threats the ongoing

⁶⁵⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej... [Central Europe's security dilemmas...]*, op. cit., p. 198.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 198-199.

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Ibid., p. 199.

changes would entail. A powerful arsenal of means, including atomic and mass destruction weapons was at the disposal of those who became great losers of history, which justified the questions about their reaction to the events.”⁶⁵⁸ Speaking in Tokyo in 1994, President Lech Wałęsa described Poland’s actions associated with the arrangement of relations with neighbouring states by combining these undertakings with the creation of security throughout Europe: “We have arranged the best possible relations with our neighbours. We do everything to make our region peaceful and stable. To enlarge Europe that is safe, democratic, prosperous and peaceful.”⁶⁵⁹ Below, the general principles of arranging Poland’s relations with neighbouring states and then with the Federal Republic of Germany, the Russian Federation and other neighbouring states will be presented first. The preference granted to Germany and Russia results from unambiguous complexity and intensity of relations with these states as well as the quantitative difference in the analysed source material. It is precisely the relations with Russia and Germany that from the point of view of creating Poland’s national security seem to be the value shaping a significant part of the Polish foreign policy in the statements of President Lech Wałęsa.

6.3.1. Relations with neighbours in general

After 1989, a number of qualitative changes took place in the international situation in the areas closest to Poland. Along with the “Autumn of Nations”, Brezhnev’s doctrine adopted in 1968, in accordance with which the USSR had the right to intervene, also militarily, in the affairs of other socialist states, ceased to apply. In March 1990, a declaration of independence was announced by Lithuania. In October 1990, Germany united. Across the western border of Poland, there was no longer the German Democratic Republic but the Federal Republic of Germany. In August 1991, Ukraine and Belarus proclaimed independence.

⁶⁵⁸ G. Rydlewski, *Rządy i rządzenie w Polsce 1918-2018...*, op. cit., p. 257.

⁶⁵⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Przyznana mi godność jest wyrazem uznania dla wiary w moc ducha człowieczeństwa...* [The honour conferred on me is an expression of appreciation for the faith in the power of the spirit of humanity...]. Speech on the occasion of the honorary doctorate award ceremony at Sophia University in Tokyo (December 7, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 181.

In December 1991, the USSR collapsed. Individual republics gained or regained independence. Since January 1993, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist, replaced by two separate states – Slovakia and the Czech Republic – across the southern border of Poland. One of the important effects of changes in Europe caused by the fall of communism for Poland and its security was the “increase” in the number of neighbours that emerged on the map of the continent. It was urgent to re-arrange friendly and good-neighbourly relations with our closest neighbours and confirm the mutual borders, which was aimed at preserving integrity of the territory. It was in Poland’s interest to develop friendly relations and cooperation with its neighbours based on respect for the norms and principles of international law. At the very beginning of his presidency, Lech Wałęsa spoke about the relations with Poland’s neighbours in the following words: “Independent Poland wishes to be part of the peaceful order in Europe. It wants to be a good neighbour. We share centuries of common history with Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. This also applies to Germany, in which we want to see a friendly path to Europe. Being culturally connected with the West, we also want to build a spirit of good will and cooperation in our relations with Russia.”⁶⁶⁰

The document of strategic importance – Assumptions for the Polish security policy – signed by Lech Wałęsa in 1992, stated that the collapse of the USSR and the establishment of new independent states, besides Russia, especially Ukraine, created a chance for a lasting increase in security in Eastern Europe. However, an assessment of the security situation at that time, underlined a number of specific threats. “Currently, it is a politically unstable region. There is considerable military potential in its area. The possibility of an outbreak of local conflicts is a serious threat. In the case of expansion to a larger area, they could also cover Poland. Armed conflicts may cause a great wave of refugees from the East, threatening our security, as well as cutting

⁶⁶⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród... [As the first President elected by the entire nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at the solemn meeting of the combined Chambers of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 9.

off or significantly reducing the supply of strategic raw materials.”⁶⁶¹ The intention of Poland’s strategy to reduce these threats was, first of all, Poland’s cooperation with Ukraine, Russia and Belarus based on bilateral treaties encompassing both economic cooperation and cooperation in the field of security, including certain military areas. Secondly, regional cooperation with Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia developed by Poland was to contribute to reducing threats. Thirdly, Poland declared that it would strive to effectively include the states of Central and Eastern Europe into the Euro-Atlantic security system.⁶⁶²

The Polish President clearly stated that his country did not threaten anyone, that he wanted to establish friendly relations with all neighbours and develop beneficial cooperation,⁶⁶³ and that it had no territorial claims towards other states.⁶⁶⁴ The new times required a new opening, not looking for enemies but friends.⁶⁶⁵ He expressed the differences between the old and the new times in the following words: “For the new opening! Communists spoke about friendship, but they made friends exclusively with each other. They mounted

⁶⁶¹ *Assumptions for the Polish security policy*, op. cit., point 4, p. 74 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

⁶⁶² Cf. *ibid.*; L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami...* [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...], op. cit., p. 56: “We are building ever better contacts with all our neighbours. Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary have been bound by a cooperation agreement. We have proved that we can work together, overcome stereotypes and prejudices. We have ratified the bilateral treaty with Germany. We are negotiating similar treaties with the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.”

⁶⁶³ Cf.; L. Wałęsa, *Przejmujemy bezpieczeństwo narodu we własne ręce...* [We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands...]. *Speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council (February 13, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 17.

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. *Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 44.

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej...* [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...], op. cit., p. 27: “United Europe will emerge soon. We have no enemies on our borders. On the contrary, we can develop friendly, mutually beneficial cooperation with all neighbouring states.”

barbed wire fences and barriers between nations. Our task is to eliminate them, to pluralise and socialise mutual relations."⁶⁶⁶ An analysis of Lech Wałęsa's texts on relations with neighbours clearly indicates that he saw Poland's fundamental contribution to the continent's security in friendly relations with the neighbouring countries. He admitted that this was not an easy process because the past left many wounds and burdens. In order to heal resentments, traumas and stereotypes, the will of reconciliation was needed. He said with satisfaction that in the case of Poland and its neighbours, a lot has been attained in the reconciliation process by common effort.⁶⁶⁷

The Political Office of President Lech Wałęsa summarised his activities regarding relations with neighbours in the following way: "Poland is a fully sovereign country, it has regulated the relations with all neighbouring countries by treaties (...). We are an increasingly desirable economic partner and Poland counts in the regional policy of Central Europe. Competition with the neighbours from the south is clearly evolving into a solid long-term partnership. In the east, we can count on respect, and in some countries - also on friendship."⁶⁶⁸

6.3.2. Federal Republic of Germany

In creating national security of Poland during the presidency of Lech Wałęsa, relations with the Federal Republic of Germany played a special role. The Westward direction received an unrivalled priority in Polish foreign policy.⁶⁶⁹ Germany was the largest and most

⁶⁶⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy na nowo zbudować współpracę...* [We need to build cooperation anew...]. Speech at the tripartite meeting of the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland (February 15, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 18.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba poszerzyć strefę bezpieczeństwa i stabilności w Europie...* [The zone of security and stability in Europe needs to be expanded...]. Speech at the meeting of the heads of states forming the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (December 5, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 178.

⁶⁶⁸ Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995* [Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995], op. cit., p. 99.

⁶⁶⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy...* [Our agreement is in the interest of all of Europe...]. Speech at a special meeting of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, in the presence of the German President, during an

developed neighbour. Cooperation with this state proved to be one of the main routes leading Poland to integrated Western Europe. Also, development of the Polish economy needed partnership connections with the German economy.⁶⁷⁰ In creating this relationship, it was necessary to follow the path of reconciliation.⁶⁷¹ It was easier as it had been already largely determined by the actions of such politicians as Konrad Adenauer and Willy Brandt, as well as the dialogue of the Catholic and Protestant circles, Polish and German episcopates.⁶⁷²

official visit to Germany (March 30, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 61: "The reunification of Germany was also in the interest of Poland (...). The division of Germany meant the closure and encirclement of Poland in a totalitarian bloc. As long as the GDR existed, we were cut off from Western Europe, which we have always historically belonged to. The unification, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the crushing of the 'iron curtain' opened up the road to the world of freedom and democracy for Poland. This road – I want to emphasise it with all strength – runs through Germany."

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 60; *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., p. 75.

⁶⁷¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]*, op. cit., p. 43: "Remembering the wrongs, let us leave, however, prejudices and distrust behind. With the good will on both sides – I have no doubt about it – we will not have to wait long for the results of cooperation."; L. Wałęsa, *Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej chyli przed Wami czoło... [The President of the Republic of Poland is bowing his head before you...]*. Speech at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising (August 1, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 159: "We do not absolve the murderers of Warsaw, but we do not transfer these feelings onto the German nation. We want and we can live with you in friendship. As good neighbours."; L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! Without reconciliation, nations cannot develop properly and happily... Meeting with the participants of the mass in the church of Saint Joseph the Worker in Zgorzelec (October 14, 1995)*, p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 653/95, p. 96, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw): "Without reconciliation, nations cannot develop properly and happily. We must remember what was because it is our history, but we must also build the present and the future. A safe today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. The foundations of reconciliation between Poles and Germans have already been laid."

⁶⁷² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy... [Our agreement is in the interest of all of Europe...]*, op. cit., p. 59; L. Wałęsa, *Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej chyli przed Wami czoło... [The President of the Republic of Poland is bowing his head before you...]*, op. cit., p. 159: "Praise be those who

In the interview carried out for the purpose of this study, Lech Wałęsa recalls that as President he tried to build good-neighbourly relations with Germany, showing them that it is in their interest from the point of view of security and prospects of economic development. For security, it should have been important whether Poles become increasingly richer.⁶⁷³ He shared a similar content during his visit to Germany in 1992: "Individuals are always interested in what is happening close to their home. This applies to peoples and nations as well. It is not a matter of sheer curiosity, but a natural need for security. A neighbour cannot be indifferent to how his neighbour lives and what he does. We understand, therefore, that Germany is interested in a stable and prosperous Poland. After all, an unstable and poor Poland is a source of threats. Not only on the Vistula, but on the Oder and on the Rhine as well."⁶⁷⁴ According to Lech Wałęsa, good neighbourly relation between Poles and Germans should be based on three principles:

- Partnership, which requires equality, as neither party can be privileged or disadvantaged;
- Reciprocity, which means respect for the other side's interests and meeting each other halfway;
- Cooperation, which is the ability to combine efforts to achieve common goals.⁶⁷⁵

During Lech Wałęsa's presidency, rapprochement between Germany and Poland was revealed as a special value because it was

had the courage to say the first words: 'We forgive and ask for forgiveness'." In October 1965, the West German Evangelical Church appealed for reconciliation and recognition of the borders on the Oder and the Neisse rivers. In response to the German step, in November the same year, Polish Catholic bishops (including Archbishop Bolesław Kominek, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Archbishop Karol Wojtyła) sent a message saying that they "forgive and ask for forgiveness". The activities of the episcopates of Poland and Germany at that time were considered the most important stage of Polish-German reconciliation after World War II. The effect of the message of the Polish bishops was the stepped up persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland by the authorities of the Polish People's Republic.

⁶⁷³ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa of December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

⁶⁷⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy...* [Our agreement is in the interest of all of Europe...], op. cit., p. 60.

⁶⁷⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 59.

a manifestation of the convergent interests of both sides. Poland lay on the path of German, mainly economic, activities directed to the East. On the other hand, Germany lay on the path of Polish ventures, first of all political, towards the West. Mutual openness, which is a requirement of the logic of history and the need of the moment, aimed at bringing mutual benefits. However, it was not dictated solely by the particularism of both parties' interests. The President claimed that the best possible Polish-German relations are needed for the whole of Europe, they are the best guarantee of stability on our continent.⁶⁷⁶

6.3.3. Russian Federation

Relations between the Polish Republic and the USSR, and later the Russian Federation are embedded in the context of historical experiences marked by the struggle for Polish independence and sovereignty as well as sovietisation after World War II.⁶⁷⁷ The political dictatorship maintained at the level of ideological propaganda, education, law and culture was secured by the presence of Soviet troops on Polish

⁶⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 60; L. Wałęsa, *Zjednoczone Niemcy witam z optymizmem i nadzieją...* [I welcome united Germany with optimism and hope...]. Toast at a breakfast given by Chancellor Helmut Kohl during an official visit to Germany (March 31, 1992), KPRP, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁶⁷⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *8 maja jest dla nas dniem refleksji i zadumy nad wyrokami historii...* [May 8 is a day of reflection on historical verdicts for us...], *op. cit.*, p. 196: "No one in Poland questions the fact that the Red Army played a major role in the defeat of fascism. And that it drove the Nazi army from the Polish lands. We will always honour the graves of Soviet soldiers, respecting the sacrifice of the fallen and the majesty of death. We cannot, however, forget about the essence of the Stalinist system. It had nothing to do with freedom and democracy. The NKVD formations entered Polish territories following the frontline troops. Soviet henchmen took power. Persecution of Polish patriots began. The Stalinist night started, followed by the drama and farce of the Polish People's Republic. And we will not be silent about it just because it does not suit someone's historical concept."; L. Wałęsa, *Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej chyli przed Wami czoło...* [The President of the Republic of Poland is bowing his head before you...], *op. cit.*, p. 159: "Russia is burdened with the fault, wrongs and crimes of the Soviet empire. It also includes the wrong of the insurrectionary Warsaw. This burden hurts and mutually repels. Our two nations are aware of this."

territories.⁶⁷⁸ With the initiation of political changes in Poland, relations with the USSR – the previous “guardian” – were naturally in a crisis. The Polish side demanded that the crimes committed during World War II, a flagship example of which was the murder of Polish officers in Katyń, be finally resolved.⁶⁷⁹ An important event in the arrangement of relations between the states was the visit of the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski to Moscow in the autumn of 1990, where he signed a declaration on friendship and good-neighbourly cooperation. This document facilitated further action on the Polish side. Talks were initiated on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Republic of Poland. Relations with Russia during Lech Walesa’s presidency were influenced not only by historical issues, but also by economic crises in both states in the transition period, the issue of gas supplies to Poland,⁶⁸⁰ support for democratic changes by Poland in the former Eastern Bloc countries, and cooperation with NATO with an unambiguous goal – membership in the Alliance.

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Chcemy przyjaznego sąsiedztwa i partnerskiej współpracy – odrzucamy agresję i dominację*. [We want a friendly neighbourhood and partner-like cooperation – we reject aggression and domination]. Speech after signing of the Treaty on Friendship and Good Neighbourhood and Friendly Cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation (May 22, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 78-80.

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Pamięć o ich męce i śmierci, o wierności Rzeczypospolitej, dawała nam siłę wytrwania i moc w walce...* [The memory of their passion and death, and fidelity to the Republic of Poland, gave us endurance and strength in the fight...]. Speech on the grave of Polish officers in Katyń during an official visit to the Russian Federation (May 23, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 81: “People of other nationalities, even Russians, do not understand why this place has such a special meaning for Poles. There are other mass graves on this earth. There are also such in which there is no shortage of Polish bones. However, Katyń is the symbol of the truth about our relations. Also, the symbol of sincerity between our nations. The matter of these graves, the matter of the truth about them, served as a pretext for breaking the relations between the Soviet and Polish government in 1943. The lie about these graves served to strengthen first in Lublin, then in Warsaw, the imposed government.”

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. A. Zawisza, *Gaz dla Polski. Zarys historii sektora gazu ziemnego w ostatnich dwóch dekadach w Polsce*, Instytut Sobieskiego, Warszawa 2011; W. Kołbuk, A. Kołbuk, *Gazprom na polskim rynku paliw w latach 1989-2014*, “Roczniki Ekonomii i Zarządzania” v. 6 (42), 2014, no. 2, pp. 131-152.

Safeguarding national security of Poland, including the possibility of conducting political and economic changes, is an essential goal emerging from the texts of President Lech Wałęsa in what concerns Polish-Russian relations: "Negative experience from the past, especially from the last half-century, should not be an obstacle to understanding and cooperation. They will not obscure the future. Future is most important. (...) We want a friendly neighbourhood and partner-like cooperation. We reject aggression and domination."⁶⁸¹ Cooperation was to involve not only clarification of historical issues,⁶⁸² but those related to the economy and its necessary development in both states. In Particular, it was to embrace agriculture, construction, transport, trade in industrial goods and natural resources. According to Lech Wałęsa, it should have been based on the principle of equality and economic logic, reciprocity, partnership and equal benefits. These rules should apply both to the states as well as to individual enterprises.⁶⁸³

The values that should guide Polish-Russian relations were truth, rationality, law and democracy. Lech Wałęsa also saw them as a force leading to peaceful, neighbourly coexistence, mutual respect and good will, beneficial cooperation to multiply prosperity, well-being of both nations.⁶⁸⁴ Economic cooperation with Russia, which for Poland was a value for creating its national security, had to be balanced with another value, which was also a priority for Poland's national security. This value was membership in NATO. Polish efforts in this matter were repeatedly criticised by Russia, shown in the international arena as even a threat to the security of the Russian Federation.

⁶⁸¹ L. Wałęsa, *Chcemy przyjaznego sąsiedztwa i partnerskiej współpracy...* [We want a friendly neighbourhood and partner-like cooperation...], op. cit., p. 78.

⁶⁸² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Pamięć o ich męce i śmierci, o wierności Rzeczypospolitej, dawała nam siłę wytrwania i moc w walce...* [The memory of their passion and death, and fidelity to the Republic of Poland, gave us endurance and strength in the fight...], op. cit., pp. 81-82.

⁶⁸³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Chcemy przyjaznego sąsiedztwa i partnerskiej współpracy...* [We want a friendly neighbourhood and partner-like cooperation...] op. cit., p. 80; L. Wałęsa, *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej...* [Central Europe's security dilemmas...], op. cit., pp. 199-200.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Chcemy przyjaznego sąsiedztwa i partnerskiej współpracy...* [We want a friendly neighbourhood and partner-like cooperation...], op. cit., p. 78-79.

6.3.4. Other neighbouring states

In addition to Germany and Russia, Poland has land borders with Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. In Lech Wałęsa's narrative about relations with these countries the convergent topic is common experience of the domination of the USSR, although in different forms.⁶⁸⁵ What also connects these narratives is the need to engage jointly in the processes of creating security in Europe.

Poland recognised Lithuania's independence in August 1991, and diplomatic relations between the states were established in the following month. In April 1994, Lech Wałęsa, visiting in Vilnius, signed with Algirdas Brazauskas a treaty on friendly relations and good-neighbourly cooperation. Gaining independence created new prospects for the development of Lithuania and the need to specify the principles of mutual relations between states. For the Polish side, the Lithuanian principles regarding treatment of the Polish minority and protection of their national identity were a matter of concern. Since the letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland of August 1991 remained without a response from the government of the addressee, Lech Wałęsa personally engaged in this matter when he wrote about the situation to the President of the Republic of Lithuania: "I am asking again for a solution to this matter which does not depart from international law and accepted international practice. (...) It is necessary to solve these difficult problems in the spirit of dialogue and understanding. Satisfying the needs and aspirations of the Polish minority in accordance with the generally accepted international standards is in the common interest of Poles in Lithuania, the Lithuanian state, as well as Poland. I would like to reassure you that Poland is ready for a far-reaching cooperation with the Republic of Lithuania. Problems concerning national minorities should not become a factor that

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Jesteśmy sobie zbyt bliscy, aby być obojętni...* [We are too close to each other to be indifferent...]. Toast on the occasion of the reception in honour of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk during his official visit in Poland (May 18, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 76; L. Wałęsa, *Polska i Litwa podają sobie dłonie...* [Poland and Lithuania are shaking hands...]. Speech in the Lithuanian Parliament during an official visit to the Republic of Lithuania (April 26, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 144.

would clinch the content of the Polish-Lithuanian relations.”⁶⁸⁶ Lech Wałęsa’s narrative about neighbourhood with Lithuania concerns not only the issues of Poles living in Lithuania, but also security. Friendly relations between these countries are shown as an indispensable condition for stability in Central and Eastern Europe, playing an important role in the process of shaping a new European order.⁶⁸⁷

After Belarus declared independence in August 1991, Poland officially recognised this state in December the same year. The basic document is the Treaty on Good Neighbourhood and Friendly Cooperation of June 1992. Lech Wałęsa saw the independence of Belarus as a new beginning of real neighbourly dialogue and cooperation between Slavic nations. What linked Poland and Belarus was that they regained freedom and sovereignty, gained liberty to decide about themselves and choose their own ways of development. Speaking in June 1993 in the Belarusian parliament, the Polish President explicitly referred to the Russian influence on the political life of Belarus and its foreign contacts, including military cooperation. He said: “Neighbours do not need intermediaries to communicate. What will guide us from now on are reason and heart, not foreign dictate.”⁶⁸⁸ The words of the Polish leader did not bring about, however, the expected effect, which was non-participation of Belarus in the military alliance of the Tashkent Treaty (formally an Agreement on Collective Security of the Commonwealth of Independent States) concluded in May 1992 between Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan. Six months after Lech Wałęsa’s visit to Minsk and his speech in the parliament, Belarus officially joined military cooperation with the signatories

⁶⁸⁶ L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania (September 15, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., pp. 264-265.

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Polskę i Litwę łączy ta sama troska o zapewnienie państwom naszego regionu spokojnego bytu...* [Poland and Lithuania share the same concern for ensuring a peaceful existence for the states of our region...]. Toast during a formal dinner in honour of the President of the Republic of Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas (February 17, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 186.

⁶⁸⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Stabilna, demokratyczna i otwarta na współpracę Białoruś jest oczekiwana w Europie...* [Stable and democratic Belarus which is open to cooperation is awaited in Europe...]. Speech at the Belarusian Council of the Republic during the official visit to the Republic of Belarus (June 29, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 110.

of the Tashkent Treaty. After Alexander Lukashenko became President of Belarus in 1994, his military cooperation with the Russian Federation became even more intense.

Poland was the first country to recognize Ukraine's independence proclaimed in August 1991. According to the Polish President, this act was an expression of the Polish will to have a good, friendly neighbour, and the neighbourhood should mean closeness, mutual assistance, cooperation, and often common interests. An important issue was to explain the painful historical past and to build economic cooperation: "We have a common history. Full of dramatic moments, but also glorious ones. We fought many times against each other under different banners, but sometimes we fought together, under one banner. Often injuries go deeper into the consciousness of nations than the memory of mutual good. (...) We need to cooperate. The cooperation so far has been based on incorrect rules. That needs to change. A new economic bond needs to be built. The bond that will replace old connections. They were broken with the collapse of the old system. It should be based on the new logic, which will be determined by the free market economy."⁶⁸⁹ The Polish President claimed that the first step towards the development of economic cooperation should be cross-border cooperation, so that the border is not an obstacle in the movement of people, ideas and goods. Lech Wałęsa emphasised that friendly arrangement of good relations with Ukraine is not directed against anyone, and that good relations serve everyone and are in the interest of all.⁶⁹⁰ The Polish side saw the relations with Ukraine as important from the point of view of building the region's security in Europe: "In particular, Poland's cooperation with Ukraine should become an important factor of stability in our region."⁶⁹¹

The Polish-Czech and Polish-Slovak relations are regulated by the agreement concluded on October 6, 1991 between the Republic of Poland and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic on good

⁶⁸⁹ L. Wałęsa, *Jesteśmy sobie zbyt bliscy, aby być obojętni...* [We are too close to each other to be indifferent...], op. cit., p. 76.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

⁶⁹¹ *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 3, p. 78.

neighbourhood, solidarity and friendly cooperation signed in Kraków by Presidents Lech Wałęsa and Václav Havel. More than six months earlier, addressing, among others, representatives of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (this was the official name in 1990-1992) at the last meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact, the Polish leader said: "We should settle as soon as possible all disputable problems that are the heritage of the times past. Poland declares its willingness to cooperate with the countries participating in today's council. We treat bilateral relations as an important element of the political map of Europe. We are guided by the principle that they cannot be directed against anyone. The preparations for signing treaties with Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary are advanced. We are counting on similar regulations with other interested states."⁶⁹² In Lech Walesa's narrative on international relations, when the Czech Republic and Slovakia are mentioned, Hungary is also usually listed, too. This is understandable, especially in the context of the association of Central European states formed in 1991 as the Visegrad Group, which was aimed not only at deepening cooperation between themselves, but also cooperation in matters of accession to the structures of the European Union and NATO.⁶⁹³ Accelerated economic development was in the common interest of these countries: "We must tell the world – we want to get rich, we want to catch up with the West! And that requires security and peace. In the region and in the world."⁶⁹⁴ The idea of common international policy was at that time to open to the West and not to close to the East, acting together with the southern neighbours. So as, in this way, to create a common regional structure that could contribute to economic growth and creation of European security.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹² L. Wałęsa, *Trzeba budować Europę łączącą narody i państwa...* [It is necessary to build Europe that unites nations and states...]. Speech at the last ever meeting of the Advisory Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact (July 1, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 35.

⁶⁹³ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...], op. cit., p. 44.

⁶⁹⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy na nowo zbudować współpracę...* [We need to build cooperation anew...], op. cit., p. 18.

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

6.4 Conclusion

President Lech Wałęsa's texts in which he deals with issues relating to international relations, especially those associated with the involvement of Poland or affecting its situation, are an important testimony to the processes of creating Poland's national security during the political transformation, but also a reflection on the relations with other states and with various international entities that constitute a value for the nation and the state. The analysis of the Polish leader's statements warrants formulation of the main conclusions regarding the area of research in question.

The recovery of sovereignty by Poland involved taking full responsibility for the foreign policy of the state, which was manifested by a clear and radical pro-western orientation in the international arena. The goal was as fast as possible, most efficient and lasting integration with the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance. From the Polish perspective, the implementation of this policy was negatively affected by instability of its own political scene, changeability of coalition arrangements in the parliament. On the other hand, looking also from a broader, West European perspective, the implementation of this Polish policy was negatively affected by certain inertia of the European structures. In the Polish perception, during the first years after the fall of communism, the structures of Western Europe tried to act as if the "Soviet empire" had not collapsed. Poland, together with other countries of the Eastern bloc, which expressed a strong pro-Western political tendency, had an impression that they were left to themselves, and a belief that they were becoming a "grey zone". For Poland, it was important that the Western became convinced that the security of Europe is indivisible, that creating a "grey zone" in the middle of the continent is a very serious threat to its existence. The imposed policy of playing the role of a buffer zone between the former USSR and the united Germany was unacceptable for Poland. It was in Poland's interest to be a member of NATO on regular terms. It was a particularly dangerous moment for Poland. It seems also hard to determine to what extent it was used to the detriment of Poland by its enemies, the enemies of its culture and national identity.

For Poland, it was difficult to accept that it was perceived in international relations as if only through the prism of the post-war period, its contamination with communism. Later, along with the passing of years after the collapse of the old system, it was seen as if only through the prism of the last few years of the reforms. It was also unacceptable. Meanwhile, Poland was not a new entity. Poland not as much wanted to enter Europe as to make it known that it was in it, that it had fought for it, that Poles had died for it. Poland was convinced that it was a falsified image of the nation. The Polish “*curriculum vitae*” contained and contains a much more important and older content, deeply rooted in the mentality and way of acting of the Poles than what was brought about by post-war communism and the first years of the systemic reforms after 1989. Polish national identity was weakened though not overpowered by communism; Polish culture was polluted by destructive collectivist thinking about man and society, but it did not disappear; the Polish political sense was infected with alien and deadly ideology, but it did not kill it.

The most important elements of creating Poland’s security in whatever concerns international relations was systematic determination of an independent position of Poland in the world. It was presentation of the Polish Republic as a sovereign, free and democratic state that was making first and important steps on the road to building one’s own position and relevant power. Lech Wałęsa’s extensive and numerous contacts in the world, foreign travels and hosting of guests from the world representing foreign states served this purpose. The internationalisation of the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising and the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II also served this purpose. This was also the objective of activities aimed at recognizing the Katyń crime as a symbol of Soviet genocide.

The activities of the “Solidarity” social movement and lasting national values of the Poles contributed to disintegration of the post-Yalta order. In this way, Poland regained its own freedom and sovereignty, and in the international dimension, the division of Europe and the world into two opposing political and military blocs ceased to have such a strong impact as before. At the same time, however, the former security system collapsed and the network of economic ties

on the continent was broken. Europe and the world were at that time intensively seeking new structural elements, a new international order.

Upon the fall of communism, the process of creating Poland's national security led through gradual integration with Western Europe and its political and social structures. This involved the need to build new relations in the international order. Poland concluded consecutive treaties with the closest states on good neighbourhood and friendly cooperation. Agreements with other countries of Europe and the world, and the establishment of the Visegrad Group served the same purpose. In this way, Poland wanted to show in the international arena not only its presence and sovereignty but also the ability to perform various tasks in the European order. First of all, that it could and should play the role of a stabiliser in the political, economic and military dimension in its region.

The Polish foreign policy reflected the in-depth political transformation. It favoured the respect for human values and international law. It recognised democracy and cooperation of sovereign nations and states having their own territories as values in the process of creating Poland's national and international security. From the point of view of Poland, a value was to strive to secure an unequivocal position of other states as regards respect for Polish borders. Poland's position regarding the borders of its own territory was very clear. The Republic of Poland treats its borders as inviolable and has no territorial claims against its neighbours. At the same time, it respects the sovereignty of other states and renounces the use of force, including any threat to use it, in bilateral relations with other states, supports greater transparency and construction of international trust in the military area. It negatively assesses creation of an atmosphere of uncertainty and mutual suspicion in the international arena, recognising such actions as an effective conflict-generating factor. At the same time, it wishes to cooperate closely with the neighbouring states, thus contributing to the creation of safe Europe, which in practice means a democratic, prosperous and peaceful one.

The regulation of partner-like relations with Germany and Russia was a practical priority for the implementation of the national security strategy. And it was not just about signing agreements regarding

the borders and declared will of friendship and cooperation. It was also about something much deeper – seeking in German, Russian and Polish societies their ability to make effort for the sake of reconciliation. Without reconciliation between nations, it is difficult to talk about their internal freedom which offers flexibility to make decisions about cooperation. Especially at the time when Poland had a clear orientation towards integration with Western Europe, towards which Germany was a natural, geographic route, and Russia could turn out to be a natural geographical burden pulling back from behind. From the Polish point of view, it was necessary to attain reconciliation which could pass in silence the wrongs suffered by the nations in their history and the truth about the evil and pain inflicted upon other nations. Only reconciliation deeply penetrating the thinking of societies would open up the way to political and economic cooperation, above all cooperation in creating security in the military dimension. Because on the military level, where the price of security may be the death of soldiers, to expect that they will die fighting in the name of common interests of different nations and states without prior reconciliation with other nations, is a fatal naivety.

Experience taught Poland that in creating relations with other states, especially the neighbouring ones, the human factor should be taken into account, the good of individuals belonging to different nations and those living in states in which they form a national minority. For it is a mistake to think that one can separate people and their feelings and desires with state borders, especially in the times of development of communication technologies. That is why Poland - declaring respect for national minorities in its own territory - expected adequate support compatible with international law for Polish minorities in the world, expecting at the same time that they would be supported by the states in which they lived.

The Political Office of the President summarised Lech Wałęsa's international policy, including creation of Polish security from the perspective of international relations, in the following words: "It is difficult to weigh how much in this balance could be attributed to the President personally, how much to the offices subordinated to him, and how much to other structures of the state. However, it could be assumed

that in the last five years foreign policy can be counted to the category of successes of the President of the Republic of Poland. There are no infallible people, but in the matter of international relations Lech Wałęsa made relatively few mistakes. One may point out illegibility of certain statements, excessive caution in the activities in the east. A large part of these activities resulted from the President's dynamic. Also, the factor of his personal popularity. It is difficult to balance, but the fame of a Nobel Prize winner and the man who overthrew communism opens up a lot of doors in the world to the Polish President and therefore also to our country. Perhaps a future historian will balance the international part of this presidency with the statement: 'Lech Wałęsa served the Polish Republic well.'⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁶ Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995 [Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995]*, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

7. "Defence and security of a country
are not an exclusive matter of the army.
This is a duty of all citizens, of every Pole."
Safe society in creating Poland's
national security

It is an axiom that the defence of a nation – and more broadly – the processes of creating security cannot be reduced solely to the tasks of the armed forces. Only a nation that understands itself as an entity responsible for its own security, prepared to defend itself and involved in defence is invincible.⁶⁹⁷ Lech Wałęsa expressed this principle, saying: "The matters of defence, including those of the armed forces of the Republic of Poland, must be the concern of the entire nation. (...) Defence and security of the country are not an exclusive matter of the army. This is a duty of all citizens, of every Pole. As President, I shall act in to make sure that this truth has reached everyone."⁶⁹⁸ The texts of the Polish President clearly include the idea of free and strong Poland,

⁶⁹⁷ Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski...*, op. cit., p. 56; J. Marczak, *Spółeczeństwo w tworzeniu bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski*, ed. R. Jakubczak, J. Marczak, K. Gąsiorek, W. Jakubczak, Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2008, pp. 98-109.

⁶⁹⁸ L. Wałęsa, *Wolność trzeba umacniać każdego dnia...* [*Freedom needs to be strengthened every day...*]. Speech to the officers during the training briefing with the senior staff of the Polish Armed Forces (November 8, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 132.

which should become the idea of every Pole who is concerned with the good of the homeland.⁶⁹⁹

This chapter is aimed at showing Polish society in the perspective of the ability to participate in creating national security of Poland. During the period of systemic transformation this ability required a systematic assessment of internal security and the process of economic transformation shaping the condition of the state. The involvement of the general public for the sake of the common good turned out to be an especially necessary value. It was extremely important to ensure order in the state and create social security.⁷⁰⁰

7.1. Condition of society

Among contemporary challenges faced by societies in the global order, and at the same time related to the problems of security, Lech Wałęsa included poverty, diseases, unemployment, devastation of natural environment. He claimed that the world cannot cope with the, because there are no clearly outlined perspectives on how to make human life more satisfying and worthy. What vision of the development of the world should be proposed to modern people so that it could meet their needs and aspirations, so that it did not diminish their humanity? These problems should become subject of universal concern, in particular of: scholars, thinkers and humanists, as well

⁶⁹⁹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej...* [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...]. Speech on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 (May 3, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 27.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. J. Gierszewski, *Bezpieczeństwo społeczne jako dziedzina bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, "Historia i Polityka" no. 23(30)/2018, pp. 21-38; J. Gierszewski, *Bezpieczeństwo społeczne. Studium z zakresu teorii bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, Wydawnictwo Difin, Warszawa 2013; A. Skrabacz, *Bezpieczeństwo społeczne. Podstawy teoretyczne i praktyczne*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2012; M. Leszczyński, *Bezpieczeństwo społeczne a współczesne państwo*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Marynarki Wojennej" LII no. 2 (185) 2011, pp. 123-132; M. Leszczyński, *Bezpieczeństwo społeczne a bezpieczeństwo państwa*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego Jana Kochanowskiego, Kielce 2009; M. Leszczyński, *Bezpieczeństwo socjalne a bezpieczeństwo państwa*, "Securitologia" 2008, no. 2, pp. 12-22.

as heads of states, parliaments and governments. We should require them to offer wise, far-sighted ideas and effective actions; expect them to provide the best solutions and answers to the challenges and questions raised by today's complex reality.⁷⁰¹ This global view can lead to a direct reflection on Polish society, in which Lech Wałęsa held the highest office. The Polish problems, however, had their specific character in connection with social changes in the state. Poles experienced impoverishment of society, inefficiency of the health care system, shortage of jobs and lack of respect for the natural environment. Unemployment and the accompanying impoverishment were related to an increase in crime.

The changes that took place in Poland after 1989 were the effect of the efforts of a society oppressed by enslavement and lies, by the experience of a system that destroyed the freedom of individuals and the national community and failed to bring about the expected economic results. Upon the initiation of political changes, the people awaited with enthusiasm not only the freedom they had dreamed of in its various dimensions, for instance existential freedom, freedom of speech, but also development of the economy associated with economic freedom, so as to catch up with the countries of Western Europe in time. The expectations of the people were also marked by the hope that the state would show its support in the form of a new social order and social benefits. The situation prevailing at that time was aptly described by Jarosław Gowin who claimed that liberalism proved itself as a technique of departing from communism but failed as a therapy in transition from communism to capitalism.⁷⁰²

Since society was experiencing impoverishment and discouragement, it is hardly surprising that Lech Wałęsa tried to comfort his audience: "We still need to wait a bit longer for the effects of freedom

⁷⁰¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Postanienie z okazji Obrad Międzynarodowej Konferencji na temat Zaludnienia i Rozwoju w Kairze* [Message on the occasion of the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo] (August 24, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 252.

⁷⁰² Cf. J. Gowin, *Nędza liberalizmu, czyli o perspektywach ładu liberalnego w Polsce*, "Przegląd Polityczny" 4 (17) 1992, pp. 49-55.

in the economy.”⁷⁰³ It is not without significance that he uttered those words when welcoming the Pope in Poland. It looked as if he wanted not only not to hide the situation in the country, which John Paul II knew perfectly well, but rather to ask the people who listened attentively to each word in such solemn circumstances of the Pope’s visit, to be patient. A few months later, the President expressed a similar idea, when he spoke in the Sejm: “There is a strong pressure to take quick actions that give economic results immediately, ‘off hand’. But it is not as easy as it seems. We often forget that rich countries have long worked for their prosperity. Progress came not without difficulties. It was paid for with sacrifices. Our dilemma lies in the fact that longing for economic success, we want to take immediate advantage of all social benefits of highly developed countries. However, many of these states are now considering whether they can afford to perform all welfare functions. We shall not achieve a high standard of living of free market countries while fulfilling all social promises that the communist propaganda fed us with until recently.”⁷⁰⁴ It is necessary to recognise in Lech Wałęsa’s statements not only that he was well aware of people’s impatience, but was also pointing at another important issue. Patience of the people can be perceived as a value that should be taken into account in the processes of designing security in its various dimensions. Society’s patience requires constant observation and systematic polling of moods in the state. A significant part of the effectiveness of political activities depends on this patience.

Such condition of society was also reflected in the Assumptions for the Polish security policy. The document of a strategic character and meaning mentions the growth of internal threats, which are presented as an inevitable periodic consequence of the radical systemic transformation. These include “non-military political and socio-economic threats. They weaken the structure of the state and increase its

⁷⁰³ L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach... [The keys to the homeland are in your hands...]. Welcoming speech to His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 32.

⁷⁰⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę... [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm, elected in the first free, democratic elections (November 25, 1991)*, KPRP, op. cit., p. 42-43.

susceptibility to external pressure. The effects of the decay of the so-called socialist economy and the inevitable social costs of changes aimed at the market economy – especially unemployment – are conducive to the spread of frustration, alienation, emigration, crime and other pathological social phenomena. The situation is aggravated by threats resulting from the ongoing degradation of natural environment.”⁷⁰⁵ The authors of the document were aware that patience of society is particularly important for the success of not only the entire transformation process in the state, but also for creation of internal security, and above all, development of methods to counter the emerging threats. Therefore, the first method to limit the negative effects of the above-mentioned phenomena that was pointed out was the shortening of the transition period – the systemic transformation. At the same time, it was emphasised that the success of the transformation depended largely on the successful course of the privatisation process and the effectiveness of the initiated administrative reform, strengthening the structure of state governance and improving the efficiency of the functioning of the authorities enforcing the application and observance of law.⁷⁰⁶ It should be noted here that Lech Wałęsa unequivocally associated the sudden increase in crime in Poland at that time with the influx of people from across the eastern border

⁷⁰⁵ *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa* [Assumptions for the Polish security policy], op. cit., point 6, p. 74 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa* [Assumptions for the Polish security policy], op. cit., point 6, p. 75 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa); *Polityka bezpieczeństwa i strategia obronna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland], op. cit., p. 2, p. 76: “Radical systemic transformations always cause a periodic increase in internal threats. These are primarily non-military political, socio-economic and ecological threats that weaken our state and increase its susceptibility to external pressure and infiltration. The inevitable social costs of the crisis of the centrally planned economy and of the reforms carried out, especially the recession and unemployment, are conducive to the spread of frustration, alienation, mass emigration, crime and other pathological social phenomena. A social atmosphere is created that allows the dangerous chauvinistic tendencies to spread. The main means of counteracting these threats is the maximum acceleration of the process of reforms and the shortening of the transition period. Prolonging the period of remodelling would inevitably bring about the deepening of tensions and social disturbances.”

to Poland⁷⁰⁷ and the presence of Soviet troops in the country. In one of his speeches, he stated: "The country will be fully free soon, and all Russian soldiers will be withdrawn. It will be necessary to clean and organise the country. No gangsters will run rampant like this. We will sweep everything out."⁷⁰⁸

Lech Wałęsa directly connected growing impoverishment with the threat to national security not only of Poland but also of West European countries.⁷⁰⁹ He portrayed the poverty of citizens as a potential force that could cause conflicts not only locally, but also across national borders, so therefore he sought material help from West European countries: "We are making a huge effort, but it will be hard for us to manage on our own. We need your help. Our interests are common. Let us cooperate! Our well-being will support your confidence of tomorrow. Our difficulties may prove to be a bane to all of Europe."⁷¹⁰ Polish efforts to obtain financial assistance could not be supported with an important argument which could have been used by the states of the former Eastern bloc having nuclear weapons at their disposal. Speaking at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Lech Wałęsa addressed the audience with apparent objections: "Western diplomacy is making effort to neutralise the nuclear forces of the former USSR. In exchange for food aid, it expects military disarmament. In this way, countries that have nuclear warheads can request Western economic aid by using a nuclear threat. But not all countries of the former Soviet bloc have such arguments. Poland does not. Let me remind you. It was the Polish revolution that stretched behind the walls of the Kremlin. Together with others, we tore communism apart. We liberated the Western world from the menace of Soviet totalitarianism. Gently, in velvet gloves, without bloodshed. We risked

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Kraj uporządkować możemy tylko przez wybory...* [We can establish order in the country only through elections...]. Speech at the Gdańsk Shipyard on the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (September 31, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 122.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 122-123.

⁷⁰⁹ Cf. *Interview with Lech Wałęsa on December 12, 2018*, op. cit.

⁷¹⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami...* [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...]. Speech at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (February 4, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 58.

a lot. Today, we are facing a difficult task of building a new system.”⁷¹¹ It is impossible not to hear in the speech of the Polish leader the great determination present in the efforts to improve the material standing of the Poles, but also the bitterness because of the existing helplessness in the face of increasing social dissatisfaction.

Alongside the progress of the reforms in Poland after 1989, the situation deteriorated. The longing for the forms of social life from the times of the People's Republic of Poland revived. The consequence of this was the outcome of 1993 parliamentary elections, which were won by the left-wing groupings which were largely rooted in the ruling party of the communist era. The new government began operating in October 1993, and its leader was Waldemar Pawlak, member of the Peasant Party. A year later, in a television speech the President dramatically described the condition of the state, also with respect to internal security: “Poland is weak today. No one rules Poland. We have created a system that generates quarrels. Every party, every office. The things that are most important for Poles do not move forward. The number of housing units is not growing. Unemployment is not diminishing. Wages and pensions cannot catch up with inflation. Science, education, culture and health care struggle with deprivation. Gangsters and thieves threaten Polish homes. Scandals and corruption pull out billions of zlotys from the public purse. (...) We want to join NATO, but probably without the army, as spending on the army and modern weaponry is so meagre. Legal regulations are still missing. There is no idea what to do with millions of hectares of fields of former state-owned farms.”⁷¹² Farmers are repeatedly told that they must reform themselves. However, no one is reforming the farm produce collection centres, dairies and food processing plants, even the co-ruling Peasant Party. State enterprises lack good management. There is no State Treasury. Banks are still not prepared for free market rules. The people have not been granted ownership rights. Privatisation

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

⁷¹² State-Owned Farms operated in Poland from 1949 to 1993. These were a form of socialist ownership of land, the owner of which was the state. They were created in the years after World War II as a result of collectivisation of peasant farms and taking away land by the state from pre-war landowners whom communists deprived of ownership.

is progressing at a snail's pace."⁷¹³ In light of the above, it could be unequivocally concluded that the destruction of social life was a process experienced in their everyday life by almost all citizens.

There is a visible discrepancy in Lech Wałęsa's texts from that period. His statements addressed to fellow citizens describe the dramatic situation of society. However, when he addressed the audience from outside Poland, especially in statements in the context of Poland's efforts to intensify cooperation with Western Europe and join its structures, he described the situation in the country in a positive light. In one of the publications he wrote: "The scale of reforms we have undertaken in Poland is unprecedented. Within a few years we have achieved considerable successes. We have built the foundations of a democratic state of law. We have consolidated political stability within and without the country – by concluding treaties with all our neighbours. We are fundamentally reforming the economic system, giving real value and practical convertibility to the zloty, privatising and commercialising state-owned enterprises, introducing a tax system which is modern and corresponds with the western standards. Our productivity is increasing. There is a growing share of the private, which already employs more than fifty percent of working Poles. (...) Foreign investments in our country are growing."⁷¹⁴ In light of the above, it may be concluded that the reforms in Poland have been progressing very well, almost exemplarily. Such a conclusion, however, is not so obvious when one takes into account Lech Wałęsa's narrative in which he addresses the Poles. An example here could be his statement made in a place of special importance for him and addressed to his closest environment. At a meeting with delegates of "Solidarity" which took place at the Gdańsk Shipyard. This is what the President said: "Poles are disappointed with what the incomplete reforms have brought. We wanted democracy and a market economy in order to live better and more justly. The Third Republic, however, hardly resembles a country of our expectations, needs and dreams. Democracy serves as a veil to quarterback party interests. Poland lacks a host. We have

⁷¹³ L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu...* [Poland is not moving forward...]. Television speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

⁷¹⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie* [Poland in Europe], op. cit., p. 213.

not created a system in which it would be clear who is in charge and who is responsible for what. I am more and more convinced that this system and legal mess is not a coincidence. The parties and cliques draw benefits from it. They make sure that the water stays muddy. So that their machinations with power and money are not visible. The free market is really free only by name, because it is still controlled by crowds of officials. To be sure, we hear about numbers and charts that show that the economy is developing beautifully. However, ordinary people's life is hard. The current system most often rewards sharp practice and connections. Much less often – hard work, good ideas and honesty. Machinators pull out billions from the public purse. Our national wealth is wasted. Entrepreneurship and self-governance are suppressed.”⁷¹⁵ The interpretation of the above statement by Lech Wałęsa must take into account the fact that the term of office of his presidency was ending, and yet he intended to run for re-election. The statement at the Gdańsk Shipyard is part of his electoral campaign. However, it did not bring him victory in the election, which was won by Aleksander Kwaśniewski, the leader of the major left-wing grouping in the parliament. This fact shows that the people were not only impatient, but also disappointed with the reforms, that they experienced a series of new threats. The state's activity in creating internal and social security did not meet citizens' expectations. The values that led to the fall of communism and gave power in the state to the people of “Solidarity” in the first years of the systemic transformation were no longer so fascinating in the face of experiencing a difficult life situation in society. The deteriorating financial situation of Poles, and in many cases mental inability to discover themselves in the new economic reality, influenced political decisions made in the parliamentary and presidential elections. This situation also had a bearing on the understanding of national security.

⁷¹⁵ L. Wałęsa, *Zaczynamy traktować wolność jako coś oczywistego...* [We have started to treat freedom as something obvious...]. Speech delivered at the Gdańsk Shipyard at the general meeting of the delegates of the Gdańsk Region of NSZZ “Solidarność” (May 24, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 206-207.

The situation in the first years after 1989 in Poland in what is related to internal and social security did not remain without effect on the processes of modernisation of the armed forces and social attitudes regarding the allocation of money by the state for defence. This is clearly evidenced by Lech Wałęsa's statement from the television speech quoted above: "We want to join NATO, but probably without the army, as spending on the army and modern weaponry is so meagre."⁷¹⁶ The impoverished and hopeless people preferred other values over defence, which is a value for the nation and the state. First of all, they preferred those values that might prove to be a strength in coming out of unemployment, corruption, growing crime, dysfunction of health care and social welfare, lack of prospects for becoming richer. In these circumstances, the narration of President Lech Wałęsa about the need for the entire society to engage in the processes of creating security in its various dimensions is, in every way, obvious.

7.2. Involvement of entire society

Throughout the entire period of his presidency, Lech Wałęsa spoke about the need for commitment and responsibility of entire society for common life, including the processes of creating security in its various dimensions, and about his personal conviction that Poles were capable of doing it. Speaking in the Sejm, he stated: "I believe in the ability of the Polish society to self-organise. I believe that as soon as society has a necessary framework for this process, it will be able to help itself. It will show initiative in organising small business. It will develop activities in local governments and non-governmental organisations. It will take part in privatisation and will show care for national property. Let us just create a legal framework for it."⁷¹⁷ The essence of democracy was seen by the President precisely in the activity and participation of citizens in deciding about their daily affairs. At the same

⁷¹⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu...* [Poland is not moving forward...]. Television speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 173.

⁷¹⁷ L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service to the nation...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

time, he emphasised the need to decentralise many areas of authority, take them down to local communities, villages as well as towns and cities where the real future of the country was resolved. The previous system did not allow for such social involvement because almost everything was decided by the central exercise of power in the state referring to the will of the ruling Communist Party. In this way, in Poland in the post-war period, the traditional structure of local authorities was shattered, the remnants of independence were taken away from local communities also in matters relating to the economy and creation of social security.⁷¹⁸ Speaking to the presidents, mayors and heads of Polish cities, towns and municipalities, Lech Wałęsa said the following words about building a civic, responsible and committed society: "In the political sphere, we are giving back to citizens the natural right to decide about themselves. The role of state administration is narrowing down. It will mainly create principles, rules of the game, focusing on matters of major importance for the country. Citizens must learn to fight for their own fate, make decisions themselves."⁷¹⁹

Observing the discouragement of the people, Lech Wałęsa reminded that grumbling and passivity would not build the future of Poland. It is possible only through the determination of their own will and activity, joint effort and the sense of shared responsibility, the awareness characteristic of reasonable and responsible managers.⁷²⁰ Speaking on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Poland's regaining independence and undertaking topics directly relating to creation of national security in history and in the times of the systemic transformation, the President proclaimed solemnly: "Freedom is not given once and for all. When it was necessary, we fought for it with

⁷¹⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Istotą demokracji jest uczestnictwo obywateli w decydowaniu o ich sprawach...* [The essence of democracy is the participation of citizens in deciding their affairs...]. Speech at the Second National Conference of Presidents, Mayors and Heads of Polish Cities, Towns and Municipalities (April 30, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 97.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., p. 98.

⁷²⁰ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Możliwości twórczego działania Sejmu uległy wyczerpaniu...* [The possibilities of the Sejm's creative activity have been exhausted...]. TV appearance after the dissolution of the Sejm (May 31, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., pp. 103-104.

arms in hand. Now, every day, each one of us must strengthen it with wisdom and work. Acting for the supreme good, that is our Republic."⁷²¹

In light of the above, the statement which appeared in the document summarising five years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency with respect to activities associated with creation of social security seems obvious: "Social policy serves as much to care for citizens as to encourage them to get involved in independent activities."⁷²² The effectiveness of the efforts made at that time to activate citizens to act independently was indeed weakened by the moral condition of society consumed by economic scandals, double-dealings and various pathologies of social life. It was permeated with the mentality characteristic of a socialist state, in which self-organisation of citizens in acting for the benefit of society or development exposed them to a number of adversities including surveillance. After all, in a country with totalitarian tendencies, a citizen "standing out" from the ranks is desirable in as much as the state explicitly recommends it. The discouragement that the people experienced with respect to the fast-paced economic stratification must have had a strong impact, too. The division into the poor and the newly rich became more and more distinct.

7.3. State's care for society

Ensuring society's living and development conditions despite the economic crisis and frequently changing law, its incoherence and ambiguity, became a priority for the state in the systemic transformation period, and even a condition for maintaining sovereignty. A specific disarray in the state which manifested itself in corruption and crime, the crisis in health care and social welfare, unemployment and poverty of citizens posed a particular threat.⁷²³ Therefore, the success

⁷²¹ L. Wałęsa, *Wolność nie jest dana raz na zawsze...* [Freedom is not given once and for all...]. Speech on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Poland's regaining independence (November 11, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 135

⁷²² Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995* [Presidency of Lech Wałęsa 1990-1995], op. cit., p. 226.

⁷²³ On the connection between the issues in the field of social problems and security, cf. A.J. Efe, *Entrepreneurship education: A panacea for unemployment*,

of the transition in Poland and the creation of its security conditioned the provision of: internal security, health care and social welfare, jobs, economic development and prospects of prosperity.

7.3.1. Citizen safety and prevention of crime

The time of systemic changes, and especially of legal and economic reforms, regrettably witnessed an increased crime rate, including organised crime, and corruption.⁷²⁴ In the opinion of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, the systemic change turned out to be extremely criminogenic. Circumstances proved to be particularly conducive to economic crime. Such dealings were furthered, on one hand, by changing laws, a kind of confusion in the legal order, and by liberating a large-scale economic initiative on the other. In developing business and concluding transactions legal gaps were taken advantage of or the law was even totally ignored.⁷²⁵

The activities of Lech Wałęsa regarding the security of citizens in the state (which assumes prevention of crime) were guided by the following main objectives:

- Building an effective law enforcement apparatus for economic crimes and quick referral of detected crimes to court;

poverty reduction and national insecurity in developing and underdeveloped countries, "American International Journal of Contemporary Research" 2014, v. 4, no. 3, pp. 124-136; M. Neocleous, *From social to national security: On the fabrication of economic order*, "Security Dialogue" 2006, v. 37, no. 3, pp. 363-384. An example of Polish research on the connection between unemployment and security is a doctoral thesis written by Marian Chalimoniuk regarding the problem in a defined area in Poland. Cf. M. Chalimoniuk, *Zjawisko bezrobocia a bezpieczeństwo obywateli w województwie łódzkim*, typescript, Uniwersytet Przyrodniczo-Humanistyczny w Siedlcach, Siedlce 2017 (supervisor – Marian Cieślarczyk).

⁷²⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej... [Central Europe's security dilemmas...]*, op. cit., pp. 198-199.

⁷²⁵ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania [Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. Plans and achievements]*, op. cit., p. 25.

- Preventive effect of punishments meted out for economic crimes, as well as for crimes against health and life of citizens, after being subjected to strict judgment;
- Care to increase the detection of crime.⁷²⁶

The last goal was additionally annotated by the presidential palace circles. Namely, it was emphasised that this care regarding the increase in the detection of crimes was of particular importance in the times of impoverishment of the people. In the further part of the argument for increasing the detection of crime, helplessness of the authorities as regards the scale of crime and increasing economic polarisation in society can be heard: "The elementary sense of justice requires showing that the state is doing everything to make sure that individuals do not get rich in a way that is against the law, at the expense of other citizens. The sense of justice is one of the components necessary to build the rule of law."⁷²⁷ It is impossible to identify any erroneous assumptions in such understanding of the principles of building the culture of the common life. The summary of the President's activity allows to conclude that the "sense of justice" is more valued than justice itself, and the actions of those in government aim at showing (emphasis added by CS) that the state is doing everything, not at actually doing everything to build the rule of law.

According to the assessment contained in the summary of the first three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency in Poland, new types of crimes and criminals appeared in the transition period. Among them, the following dominated: arms, drug and strategic raw materials trafficking, as well as smuggling developed on a large scale. At the same time, protection against these crimes was not sufficient. Law enforcement agencies responded too slowly to the new phenomena and did not learn quickly enough how to identify those threats and effectively eliminate them.⁷²⁸ In view of this situation, the following words were used to describe the condition of society: "Citizens lack the sense of security

⁷²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 26.

and justice. Without this sense, they will not accept any changes taking place in the political system.”⁷²⁹

The *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland* included statements about serious threats to health and property of the people, not directly related to armed operations, in the form of criminal offenses. It was noted that preventing them, as well as revealing and eliminating them, is the primary statutory duty of all specialised services subordinated to the Minister of Internal Affairs. While it is the citizens' legal and moral obligation towards the state and their own environment to help in the implementation of these tasks.⁷³⁰

7.3.2. Health care and social welfare

Lech Wałęsa treated health care and social welfare as a second pillar in the state, after science and culture, supporting its functioning (he mentioned external and internal security as a third one).⁷³¹ In the area delimited by the issues of health care and social welfare, the question of a social security system should be taken into account. The President said that it needed to be built as a new system, permanent and independent of the current condition of the public purse.⁷³²

At the inaugural meeting of the “Council for Health Protection”,⁷³³ Lech Wałęsa said: “In this group, the state of our health care is well-known. We know that it is poor.”⁷³⁴ The essential problem of the health

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

⁷³⁰ Cf. *Security policy and defence strategy of the Republic of Poland*, op. cit., point 6, p. 80.

⁷³¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Kraj uporządkować możemy tylko przez wybory...* [We can establish order in the country only through elections...]. Speech at the Gdańsk Shipyard on the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (September 31, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 122.

⁷³² Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service to the nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 69.

⁷³³ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania* [Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. Plans and achievements], op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁷³⁴ L. Wałęsa, *Przyspieszając rozwój Polski, nie możemy zaniedbywać spraw ludzi słabych, chorych, niepełnosprawnych...* [Accelerating the development of Poland, we cannot neglect the affairs of the weak, the sick, the disabled...].

care system emphasised by the President was one – lack of funds in the budget for the development of medical facilities and decent remuneration for doctors, nurses and medical personnel. In the President's opinion, this problem was aggravated by the lack of coherent programmes and actions of subsequent governments aimed at introducing necessary structural changes. The necessary reform should encompass not only the issue of financing health care, but also central management of the entire entity, administrative indolence and operational inefficiency. Special attention should be paid, in his opinion, to the effects of political changes, accelerated development in Poland, which might affect the health care system, and thus the weak, the sick and the disabled. Addressing the specialists appointed to the Council, the Polish leader said: "It is time to end unproductive discussions and create concrete solutions. After all, it is our health and the health of our families that is at stake here. (...) I hope that you will develop a health insurance plan, consistent with the expectations of society. I hope that you will propose a way to privatise some of the hospitals and clinics, as well as new organisational solutions for health care, satisfying both employees and patients. I count on your support in solving these difficult problems. Without your knowledge, professional experience, commitment, we will not be able to build modern, efficient healthcare. It is a common task, common interest."⁷³⁵

The texts of Lech Wałęsa show that the presence of people who take care of the needy, the sick and the disabled is a value in society. Addressing people working with the disabled, he said: "I am glad that there are people of great heart in Poland, people full of passion and sensitivity to the fate of the most vulnerable and the neediest. You serve others with your work, experience and knowledge, bring back their joy and smile, help the disabled to find a place among us. You facilitate their return to normal life. In your daily professional activity, you set before yourself noble and lofty goals. For this effort, for your beautiful attitude towards another human being, I would like to sincerely thank you. I am convinced that your work – flowing from

Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Health Protection Council at the President of the Republic of Poland (June 25, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 105

⁷³⁵ Ibid., pp. 105-106.

the bottom of your heart and respect for human values – serves well those who need it most.”⁷³⁶ The President drew attention to the sensitivity to people in need of help and helping them when writing a letter to John Paul II . The reason was the decision to award the Pope – as the first person after the collapse of communism – with the Order of the White Eagle, which is the oldest and highest state distinction in the Republic of Poland. Lech Wałęsa drew attention in this unique text to those values that in times of destruction and violence shake the consciences of people, save the moral face of humanity. He counted among them love of fellow human beings, solidarity, and compassion.⁷³⁷

In the context of health care and social welfare considerations, the issue of ecology should be mentioned, which in Lech Wałęsa's statements, however, is not one of the frequently discussed topics.⁷³⁸ The problems relating to ecology were to be solved by the “Ecological Council” established at the President of the Republic of Poland by Lech Wałęsa, operating as an advisory body and composed of specialists enjoying authority in their environment.⁷³⁹ A special statement

⁷³⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Message to the Third General Meeting of the National Council for the Disabled* (November 26, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 245.

⁷³⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, (Letter) *His Holiness Pope John Paul II* (May 3, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 284.

⁷³⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo...* [The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...]. *Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic* (February 5, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 16; L. Wałęsa, *Przejmujemy bezpieczeństwo narodu we własne ręce...* [We are taking the security of the nation in our own hands...]. *Speech at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Council* (February 13, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 17; L. Wałęsa, *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich...* [Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...]. *Speech at the headquarters of the League of Arab States during a visit to Egypt* (May 17, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 74; L. Wałęsa, *Message on the occasion of the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo* (August 24, 1994), KPRP, op. cit., p. 252; L. Wałęsa, *Dlaczego NATO powinno być rozszerzone...* [Why should NATO be enlarged...]. *Lecture at the Danish Foreign Policy Association during an official visit to Denmark* (April 27, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 205; L. Wałęsa, *Polska w Europie* [Poland in Europe], op. cit., pp. 215-216.

⁷³⁹ Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, *Trzy lata prezydentury Lecha Wałęsy. Zamierzenia i dokonania* [Three years of Lech Wałęsa's presidency. Plans and achievements], op. cit., pp. 66-67.]

by Lech Wałęsa on ecology is a fragment of his speech delivered at the Belarusian Council of the Republic in June 1993. He spoke then of the need for international cooperation in the area of environmental protection. He recalled the nuclear disaster that occurred on April 26, 1986 at the Chernobyl power plant in the territory of the then USSR, and which the communist authorities tried to hide. The effects of this accident also affected the health of some Polish citizens. "Environmental protection is a special form of cooperation. We must preserve our beautiful and unique nature for future generations. It is threatened. These are the effects of the mistakes and irresponsibility from the previous era. They led to an unprecedented tragedy. For the Chernobyl tragedy struck Belarus terribly. It brought about death and chronic diseases to people. It contaminated the soil. It destroyed the environment. It also had a moral dimension. It exposed the hypocrisy of the totalitarian system. The silence about the Chernobyl disaster was a manifestation of contempt for human life and health. After that, only interim and fragmentary help was possible."⁷⁴⁰ It is worth noting here that the issue of ecology is nowadays an increasingly important topic in research on creating security.⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴⁰ L. Wałęsa, *Stabilna, demokratyczna i otwarta na współpracę Białoruś jest oczekiwana w Europie...* [Stable and democratic Belarus which is open to cooperation is awaited in Europe...]. Speech at the Belarusian Council of the Republic during an official visit to the Republic of Belarus (June 29, 1993), KPRP, op. cit., p. 113.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. *Współczesne bezpieczeństwo ekologiczne*, ed. M. Kubiak, M. Lipińska-Rzeszutek, Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, Warszawa-Siedlce 2017; M. Leszczyńska, *Bezpieczeństwo ekologiczne*, Wydawnictwo LIBRON, Kraków 2016; C. Smuniewski, *Człowiek i przyroda. Z badań nad tworzeniem bezpieczeństwa*, in: *Ekologia wyzwaniem dla teologii*, ed. J.M. Lipniak, "Opera Theologiae Systematicae" v. 6, Wrocław 2016, pp. 147-160; K. Górską-Rożej, *Bezpieczeństwo ekologiczne w ogólnym systemie bezpieczeństwa państwa*, "Obronność – Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Zarządzania i Dowodzenia Akademii Obrony Narodowej" 2013, no. 4(8), pp. 85-100; R. Kuźniar, *Tradycyjne zagrożenia dla bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe*, ed. R. Kuźniar et al., Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar Warszawa 2012, pp. 40-58; A. Dobosz, *Diagnozowanie stanu bezpieczeństwa ekologicznego*, in: *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, v. IV, P. Sienkiewicz, M. Marszałek, H. Świeboda, Warszawa 2012, pp. 454-475; ed. G.E. Machlis, T. Hanson, *Warfare Ecology*, in: *Warfare Ecology*, "NATO Science for Peace and Security Series C: Environmental Security", G.E. Machlis, T. Hanson, Z. Špirić, J.E. McKendry, Springer

7.3.3. Work and prosperity

The security of the nation and the state in the texts of Lech Wałęsa is directly related to the economy, entrepreneurship and work. The basis for peace and well-being is prosperity. The gaining of democracy must be followed by development and economic prosperity – “Only a person who is well fed and in good health feels safe.”⁷⁴² The effectiveness of the processes of creating national security, which is built with the use of military means, is affected by the state economy and its effectiveness. Speaking in July 1992, Lech Wałęsa referred to the example of the situation in the Balkans. He spoke not only of the need for intervention by international forces, but also of the conflict-inducing nature of economic problems. He gave priority to the strength of economic development in actions aimed at eliminating threats and building peace before strictly military operations: “Economic stability is, however, a condition for security. Well-being is a guarantee of peace – the economic crisis fosters unrest. I think that the Stabilisation Fund could play a huge role in ensuring economic stability of the region. It seems that the sooner it starts to operate, the earlier it will yield results. Europe is finally breathing with both its lungs – the eastern and western one.”⁷⁴³

A specific principle regarding the relationship between the security of a nation and the state and the economy and economic development is also evident in the texts of Lech Wałęsa in which he talks about the situation in Poland. During one of his speeches in the Sejm,

Netherlands, Dordrecht 2011, pp. 33-40; M. Hodson, S. Marvin, *'Urban ecological security': a new urban paradigm?*, “International Journal of Urban and Regional Research” 2009, v. 33, no. 1, pp. 193-215; M. Pietraś, *Bezpieczeństwo ekologiczne w Europie. Studium politologiczne*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2000; S. Dalby Simon, *Security, modernity, ecology: the dilemmas of post-cold war security discourse*, “Alternatives” 1992, v. 17, no. 1, pp. 95-134; D. Deudney, *The case against linking environmental degradation and national security*, “Millennium” 1990, v. 19, no. 3, pp. 461-476.

⁷⁴² L. Wałęsa, *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami... [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...]*, op. cit., p. 56.

⁷⁴³ L. Wałęsa, *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność i demokrację... [American democracy has helped us in the fight for freedom and democracy...]*, op. cit., p. 85.

he presented his own diagnosis of the expectations of Polish society. In the first place, he indicated improvement of the financial situation. The understanding of this simplest and most common social expectation by politicians should be an imperative for them to act immediately.⁷⁴⁴ The document *Assumptions for the Polish security policy* signed by the President included the following statement: "Voluntary isolation and failing to take advantage of the opportunity for fast development would inevitably lead to marginalisation of the Polish economy and impoverishment of society, which would entail the risk of losing freedom and sovereignty."⁷⁴⁵ To counteract such a threat and at the same time address these values that are fundamental for national security meant, in the Polish realities, the need to cope with privatisation.

In his first speech after taking the oath, the President, talked about the great task of "mass privatisation": "Poland should become the nation of owners. Everyone can become an owner of the national property, a part of our homeland. It is the simplest, proven path to responsibility. Only in this way will we multiply our goods and learn good management."⁷⁴⁶ The process of reforms in the state, shown in Lech Wałęsa's texts, especially in the part that was connected with privatisation, was difficult and could raise doubts in society as to its sense. Poles' judgement was affected by corruption accompanying the economic reforms in Poland. Meanwhile, the President was determined to accelerate the pace of changes.⁷⁴⁷ He maintained that only

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service to the nation...], op. cit., pp. 68-69. L. Wałęsa, *Polska nie jedzie do przodu...* [Poland is not moving forward...], op. cit., p. 175.

⁷⁴⁵ *Założenia polskiej polityki bezpieczeństwa* [Assumptions for the Polish security policy], p. 2, "Przegląd Rządowy" 1992 no. 12 (18), pp. 73-74 (document signed by President Lech Wałęsa).

⁷⁴⁶ L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród...* [As the first President elected by the entire nation...]. Speech delivered in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at a solemn meeting of the combined Chambers of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990), KPRP, op. cit., p. 10.

⁷⁴⁷ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service to the nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 68: "The economic situation requires immediate solutions (...) it is necessary to accelerate privatisation and restructuring of the economy. Even – an ownership revolution. Meanwhile, changes in the economy are too slow."

privatisation, extensive and determined, would offer development opportunities to Poland and would make it similar to the western economy.⁷⁴⁸ He explained the resistance of society not only by the conviction of corruption he was aware of, but also by the mentality rooted in communism: "We are building a system based on private property, but people are not prepared for being owners after so many years of being deprived of ownership. They are afraid of it. For some, it is, unfortunately, a value in itself. For others – a value above all else."⁷⁴⁹ The repair of the Polish economy along with privatisation required, according to the President, efficient government actions and a long-term plan. Increasing the private ownership space in the state was an action affecting social stability, a measure for building a civic community, and guaranteeing future income for the state.

The privatisation process was related to another issue, namely, growing unemployment, which had a clearly destructive impact on social security in Poland during the transition period. "Poland cannot afford unemployment. There is work in Poland and for Poland for generations."⁷⁵⁰ – said Lech Wałęsa in the Senate of the Republic of Poland. Meanwhile, unemployment encompassed an increasing number of people, often the young ones. In the President's opinion, many of those who had jobs received too slender remuneration for it. A large number of Polish families lived below the subsistence level.⁷⁵¹ In the opinion of the President's Political Office, it was reasonable for the state in the first period of transition to be particularly active in solving unemployment problems, both with organisational and protective measures. At a later stage, the activities of state authorities should have been supplemented or replaced by the activity of trade unions, local

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy...* [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...] Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991), KPRP, op. cit., p. 46.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid. The registered unemployment rate according the Central Statistical Office in Warsaw at that time in Poland increased as follows: January 1991 – 6.6, January 1992 – 12.1, January 1993 – 14.2, January 1994 – 16.7, January 1995 – 16.1.

⁷⁵¹ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Zagubiony został cel nadrzędny – służba narodowi...* [The main purpose has been lost – the service to the nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (May 8, 1992), KPRP, op. cit., p. 70.

governments and private entrepreneurs.⁷⁵² The rapid increase in unemployment in Poland after the collapse of communism was a consequence of departing from the previous understanding of work and its importance for the life of the individual, the nation and the state. In 1989, the eminent philosopher Józef Tischner wrote about work in the Polish realities of the beginning of the transition: "The past time imposed not only a definite structure of work on society, but also a specific concept: it created a huge amount of illusory work and forced out recognition of this illusion as genuine work. As a result, people got tired. In the modern world of normal work, a job that does not produce and multiply capital is not work; the criterion of work is the increase of capital. If an action takes time, requires effort and even sacrifices, but it does not contribute to capital growth in any way, and even consumes capital – it is not work in the strict sense of the word. We are facing a vital step: the transformation of apparent work into real work."⁷⁵³ It should be remembered that "Solidarity", without which it is impossible to talk about the collapse of communism in Poland and throughout Central and Eastern Europe, originated among workers demanding respect for their work, changes in the understanding of work and its meaning in the state. Among other things, the idea was that work should have sense and value, that it should serve people and that the good which it brings about and which it serves could be revealed.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵² Cf. Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland. Political Office of the President, *Prezydentura Lecha Wałęsy 1990-1995* [*Lech Wałęsa's presidency 1990-1995*], op. cit., p. 226.

⁷⁵³ J. Tischner, *Dokąd prowadzi ta droga?*, in: J. Tischner, *Etyka solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2018, p. 159.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. L. Wałęsa, *Niech to miejsce stanowi wieczną przestrożę dla żywych...* [*May this place be an eternal warning to the living...*]. Speech at Oświęcim during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz (January 27, 1995), KPRP, op. cit., p. 185: "Coming here, we all passed through the gate of this camp. As once its victims, we were greeted by the inscription: 'Work makes you free'. I have always respected human work. Once, when I worked in the shipyard, I thought that through work and at work, people fulfilled themselves. I thought the same when I stood at the head of 'Solidarity'. And I think the same now, when I hold the highest office in the Republic. If I did not know over what gate this inscription was hanged, I would say it was true. That this is work that makes one free and full. Here, it is different. This inscription was meant as a mockery. Here the work served as a special torment. Here and in hundreds, in

7.4. Conclusions

The texts of President Lech Wałęsa, in which he deals with issues relating to the security of society, everyday life experience of people forming a political community, are an important testimony to the processes of creating national security in the period of systemic transformation, but also a reflection on the value of internal and social security for the nation and the state. The analysis of the Polish leader's statements makes it possible to formulate conclusions regarding the area of research in question.

Changes in the economic policy in the early 1990s focused to a large extent on limiting the role of state authorities, striving to break up state monopolies and autotomising state-owned enterprises, as well as privatising state property. In these circumstances, not only the commitment of the general public to the common good through assuming responsibility for this good, but also a kind of social patience proved to be a particularly needed value. The effects of economic changes did not come quickly. New political circumstances gave hope to Poles for development of economic sovereignty, both individual and collective. It was this sovereignty that was one of the greatest novelties which came with the fall of communism. Poles were discovering basic rights of the individual and political communities – the right to economic initiative, enabling creative and diverse expression of their own subjectivity in entrepreneurship. Economic sovereignty also brought about a clear perspective of reflection on the common good and undertaking actions for its development. Economic sovereignty should be also recognised as the power to develop the national community and the source of means that can serve to create national security.

During the transition, healing of the economy was a condition for the efficiency of actions relating to creation of internal, social and national security, as well as creation of a broadly understood comfort of citizens' life. A strong and growing economy can create a framework for the reforms of other areas of state and social life. However, the economic sphere cannot be subject of concern only of the state. The point

thousands of camps around the world, work was the shortest path to death. It was meant to suck out strength from a human being.”

is for the public to recognise in it the space appropriate for everyday activity as well as individual and common development.

The ability of society to participate effectively in creation of national security requires ensuring internal and social security in the state. It is in the state's interest to look not only after the comfort of society, but also to point out real threats in various areas of life. Just ensuring internal and social security, supported additionally by conditions for economic development, without reminding about threats may lead to reduced vigilance of society.

The significance of economic changes was becoming increasingly clear and urgent along with growing unemployment and progressing social pauperisation. The development of the market economy should have been based on individual initiative and entrepreneurship, and Poles were only learning these skills. It should have been also supported with appropriate legal solutions, for example, in the banking sector that would allow obtaining loans. Poland of the transformation period did not protect the economy against corruption and various crimes. The state economy turned out to be the main source of social tensions, a criminogenic space. In social perception, this fact undermined the entirety of the systemic reforms.

The early 1990s was the time when Polish society was subjected to radical changes with the simultaneous influence of liberal values, which appeared as if naturally and were the simplest antithesis to the values that had constructed the communist state. Autocratic authorities were replaced with democratic ones, state ownership – with private property, centrally controlled economy – with the free market. However, the actions were inconsistent, the law was unable to keep up with social events and expectations. Polish society felt how much the process of creating welfare by resorting to state interventionism was far from economic liberalism. It quickly turned out how difficult it was to reconcile limitation of the role of the state authorities in social policy with creation of social security and how industrious efforts were required to implement the solidarity ideal of helping the unemployed, the sick, the disabled and the elderly.

Legislative processes failed to keep pace with reality, and the enacted regulations were incoherent and full of loopholes. It increasingly

turned out that law was an instrument of exercising power and deriving personal and group benefits from it. Such law could not ensure rapid economic development of the state capable of coping with, for instance, unemployment, nor could it contribute to creation of internal security; finally – it was unable to solve social problems even in the area of health care and social welfare.

An increasingly clearer crack occurred in society. Those less resourceful felt rejected under the new circumstances. On the other hand, a group of those who were overly resourceful quickly emerged, and their very quick enrichment caused irritation in society. It also quickly turned out that many people in that group were rooted in the previous system. It gradually became obvious that the political elite had not been replaced, and a significant number of Polish United Workers' Party activists found a safe haven in business and various companies, as well as in state administration and the parliament.

The processes of creating national security need society as much as they should serve society. For a political community, a state capable of defending and creating security is a value, just as from the point of view of creating security, a society capable of defending itself and engaging for the common good, creating the power, invincibility of the nation and the state is a value. It is necessary to make a distinction between what constitutes the effectiveness of these abilities, what is their source, and what circumstances favour their development:

- The effectiveness of these abilities requires constant monitoring and evaluation of the economy in the state, the effectiveness of the legislative process, the state of internal and social security, social moods.
- The source of these abilities are values rooted in society and consolidated in the education process that encourage cultivating the ethos of individual and collective work, entrepreneurship and honesty, sacrifice for the common good, seeking solutions in difficult situations that are the result of consultation, solidary perception of people who need support.
- The circumstances conducive to the development of these capabilities are civil liberty, strong family ties, health care and

social welfare, good education, protection against violence,
strong social ties.

Conclusion

The purpose of this monograph was to reflect upon what is essential and what appears to be a value in the processes of creating the national security of the beginnings of the Third Republic of Poland basing on the statements of President Lech Wałęsa. It is also aimed at learning what content constructs the narrative of this leader of the nation concerning things that are essential for national security. The analysis of the texts and statements of Lech Wałęsa, both published and kept in the President's Archive in Warsaw, turned out to be a fundamental matter. Therefore, the aim was to look at the sources in such a way so as to be able to identify and describe what appears to be a value in creating Poland's national security. It is not difficult to notice that with such a purpose, the research was focused on issues fundamental to the processes of creating security and the functioning of the political community.

Because many conclusions, thanks to the synthesis used, were introduced in parallel with the presented analysis, what will be presented here are the conclusions resulting from the entire study. The most important ones include:

1. Despite the influence of ideologically diverse sources and the impact of different political forces on the narratives of President Lech Wałęsa, it can be stated that at the level

of recognizing national security as a value, his message is essentially coherent and transparent. The analysis of the axiological foundations of the processes of creating national security of Poland in his texts makes it possible to discover that the axiology revealed in them is not eclectic. It contains clear, absolute rules regarding protection of human rights, the rights of the nation and the state, because it recognises the objective foundations of values and law. Every human being is a value for the national community and has the right to live and develop, while Poland is the supreme value and good for the Poles. Such axiological foundations directly reveal the main values with respect to the creation of national security of Poland, which are: 1) freedom, 2) national identity, 3) the state, 4) own armed forces, 5) beneficial international relations, 6) society ready to defend the nation and the state.

2. Values in creating national security of Poland are matters (entities and states of affairs) – both actually existing and potential; both self-existent and having the character of features – constructing the way of thinking and actions in the public sphere, above all – in politics. As such, they are important and desirable for creating security, which implies that they should become the subject of reflection and actions of the nation and the state for the sake of their preservation and development. So understood values can be defined as national security assets. Therefore, the research on values in national security should aim at identifying, naming and valorising what is important, whether it is an idea, a legal status, a material thing or a moral question. The aim is to know and point out prospects for the development of what is (or should be) the concern for any citizen, for all citizens and for people holding the reins of power in the state, when they think about the safe existence and development of the nation.
3. The policy of internal and external security of the state described in the texts of President Lech Wałęsa includes two levels: army and police structures as well as the directions and character of foreign policy. At the first level, the army

is considered as an essential element capable of guaranteeing sovereignty and integrity of the state. The strength of the army is ensured, among other things, by one command centre – the General Staff, as well as a non-monopolised types and sources of armament. At the second level, the goal was to reduce debt, regain financial credibility, and membership in international security building organisations. In light of the above, the value in creating Poland's national security is to gain double security, primarily from its own army playing a deterring and defensive role, and, simultaneously, thanks to a partner-like foreign policy aimed at defining and strengthening Poland's position in the international arena.

4. The time of Lech Wałęsa's presidency in Poland was characterised by the tension between the focus on development and future, and the past and traditions of independent, republican and Christian Poland. These times were also characterised by a kind of relish for the models of life and understanding of the values promoted in Western Europe, which until then had appeared to the Poles as the world of free people and prosperity. The people, experienced by communism, increasingly wanted to belong to the political and military structures of the Western world. Probably because of these circumstances, when looking to the West the Poles failed to see that the latter less and less referred to the values that had shaped it so far, and had also allowed it to build its power and create security.
5. The creation of Poland's national security during Lech Wałęsa's presidency depended on the efficiency of changes in the laws inherited from the Polish People's Republic. The legal order of Poland was at that time temporarily and fragmentarily amended. The competence of the President and his office was not clearly defined and the relationship between individual authorities was not specified. Competence disputes were an important element of the political discourse in the state of that period, which adversely affected changes in the army.
6. The processes of creating national security correctly refer to a specific and unique experience of the nation and the state.

In the case of Poland, the words of President Lech Wałęsa on the role of tested values and moral order remain in force: "Now that we are building a new social order in Poland, we are returning to tested models. We return to the values that have guided our nation for centuries. It has turned out that no lasting edifice can be raised without a solid foundation, which is the moral order. It has also turned out that in the field of morality, no more durable and universal principles have been invented than the Decalogue. Only when we rely on Christian values we shall be able to grow in peace and harmony. Solve our problems wisely and persistently."⁷⁵⁵

7. Assuming that politics is a prudent concern for the common good, it should be remembered that this concern will not be realised without a number of axiological solutions. This also applies to security policy. Values and value judgments have the power to determine national goals and interests in terms of security and ensure their implementation using the various means and tools at their disposal.
8. National security of Poland in the texts of Lech Wałęsa is a value that is precious in itself. It must be defended, learned, promoted. It deserves social understanding and financial resources from the state. It serves to judge many other values that construct the common life of the nation. The processes of creating national security are both anthropogenic and sociogenic. The internal coherence of creating security requires internal orientation towards the harmony of the good of the individual with the good of the community. National security seen as a value remains dependent not only on the military potential and operational efficiency of the armed forces, but also on development of the economy, authority of those who are in power, human attitudes, culture, good will recognised

⁷⁵⁵ L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) *Ladies and gentlemen! The Polish intelligentsia is faithful to the principles...* Meeting at the Catholic Intelligentsia Club in Warsaw (October 17, 1995), p. 1, Press Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, III / 661/95, p. 105, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).

in society as the ability to sacrifice and giving up a particularistic good for the sake of a common good.

9. The processes of creating national security, dealing with what is the most important in the nation and the state, are a constant imperative for citizens, and above all those responsible for security, to reflect on what are the priorities in the political community. What is needed is a constant and systematic reflection on key issues. A reflection that clearly defines the goals of the nation and the state, recognises the current own potential and, knowing the experience of history, is able to hand pick the means of their implementation. What is needed, therefore, are regular observers of the life of the political community, who focus on analysing the changes taking place in the axiology of the nation. This observation should include a distinction between:

- a) Values known and proven in the history of the nation;
- b) Anti-values (issues destructive to national security);
- c) New matters that cannot be treated as an obvious good until they are verified in the life of the nation.

National security cannot succumb to fads or trends regarding the way of life of society. After all, society cannot be a subject of experiments. Fads and trends come and go, and the nation, making up the state, expects to be able to develop and to be secure. Thus, “new values” require special vigilance of the state, especially when they seek a change in the area of understanding and defining family life, shaping national life and positive law, infiltrating education at various levels, changing the understanding or organisation of the armed forces.

10. It should be remembered that talking about the future is an important part of the narratives emerging in specialist studies in the field of national security. Therefore, these narratives cannot be deprived of a clear concept of values that “tomorrow” will provide for security. The task of specialists in the field of security is, therefore, to think about the values that are desirable for national security. Special attention should be paid to financing scientific research, so that it does not turn out

that the money of the political community is used to carry out projects that experiment on the nation or are destructive to its identity and defence potential.

11. One of the basic values creating national security is national identity, fostered and expressed, in which retains spiritual freedom and independence of the Poles. This value satisfies a very important need of individuals – the need to belong. It provides individuals and the communities they create the sense of rootedness and protecting something that is important and unique. It is largely due to this value that a hunch of tomorrow is born in society. It is not surprising, therefore, that both the partitioning and the occupying forces in so many ways and so persistently fought to destroy national identity. For they well recognised the strength of the Polish nation in it. Society transforms into a political community when it identifies itself with the homeland thanks to the expressed awareness of common heritage and goals. National identity should be considered to be the main force underlying such transformations. Whereas material wealth, institutions and structures, and even authority figures play a much less significant role here. The following should be recognised in the space of national identity: culture, family, stable hierarchy of values, strength of rights and obligations, experience of solidarity and interpersonal friendship, constant ability to do the common good which society discovers as its goal and the condition for safe development.
12. The ideological assumptions of the processes of creating Poland's national security cannot fail to include reference to the value of solidarity. It proved to be a great force on the way to liberating the nation from an alien ideology, and together with its ethos it has become the foundation of the Third Republic of Poland. Since the idea of solidarity in Polish experience has in itself a community-forming power, referring to it should be seen as the right way to build the unity of society. This may particularly pertain to unity around the value of national security and those values that are essential to creating security. For it should be remembered that in Polish

national experience solidarity was defined primarily through three sentences of an imperative character:

a) "Bear one another's burdens;"⁷⁵⁶

b) "Come with us;"⁷⁵⁷

c) "Conquer evil with good."⁷⁵⁸

The common feature of these three encouragements is the call to create relationships in society, to be together. Solidarity brought about a real experience of unity for the Poles as opposed to what communism had offered, which was so only by name (Latin *communis* – common, universal). The idea of solidarity rooted in the Catholic social teaching protected Poland against bloodshed and civil war in the period of workers' strikes, the time of martial law, the transition of 1989, and during the turbulent first years of freedom.

13. The processes of creating Poland's national security need a force that manifests itself in the coherent existence of values: the freedom of citizens and responsibility, social activity of citizens, the effectiveness of and respect for the law, political and economic freedom.
14. On the horizon of thinking about what is most important in national security, what should be considered is the need to create a "catalogue of values protected" by the national security policy. Such a catalogue should include the following issues:
 - Quality and stability of family life;
 - Life of every citizen and human rights;
 - Survival of the nation as a political community and biological survival of the population;
 - Morality of the nation;
 - National identity and national culture;
 - Survival of the state as an institution created by the nation;
 - Economic development;

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. *Galatians* 6:2, New American Bible.

⁷⁵⁷ Among other things, this was "Solidarity's" slogan on posters (design – Jacek Ebert, Krzysztof Welian, photo – Tadeusz Rolke) and banners as part of the parliamentary election campaign in 1989.

⁷⁵⁸ Cf. *Romans* 12:21, New American Bible.

- Sense of personal and national dignity of citizens;
 - Patriotism;
 - Own armed forces;
 - Religious freedom of citizens;
 - Development of science and education;
 - Involvement of the entire society in national defence;
 - Territorial integrity of the state;
 - Independence and political sovereignty;
 - Efficient functioning of state institutions at all levels of administration;
 - Efficient functioning of services ensuring security within the state;
 - Quality of life of citizens;
 - Concern for Polish national identity and contact with the homeland of the Polish communities abroad;
 - Assistance provided outside the state.
15. It is in terms of values in creating Poland's national security that the sovereignty of the nation based on three pillars should be understood, including:
- Sovereignty of families;
 - Sovereignty of culture;
 - Sovereignty of citizens.

The first is the sovereignty of families in which the nation recognises its source, the foundation on which it builds its own existence and the basic institution of society. This sovereignty should primarily concern education, religion and transmitted values. The second is culture. Emphasis on this element is particularly important in the context of Europe's experiences in the 20th century – the tragedy resulting from deification of the state and ethnic understanding of a nation as well as nation phobia. Sovereignty built on the foundation of freedom and the right of every nation to its own culture, allows the nation to reveal itself as a community of culture, identity and values, rather than an ethnic community. It may be a nation aware of its own culture (national identity and a clear hierarchy of values) that unites it and is its strength

in the meeting with otherness. To define and distinguish its existence and the right to exist in the international arena, such a nation does not have to resort to deification of the idea of the state. The third is sovereignty of citizens, creating such a common living space (guaranteed by law and education) in which society has the opportunity to decide about its common good, participate in the exercise of power and the related responsibility as well as direct responsibility for the national community. Sovereignty of families, culture and citizens should be recognised as the condition for responsible empowerment of every nation and state that want to decide about themselves, their own security and future in a free and responsible way.

16. Contemporary researchers dealing with national security of Poland must be prepared for a surging offensive against the national identity of Poles and – more broadly – for a future discussion in the global order regarding the functioning and autonomy of states. The best preparation seems to be, first of all, a systematic reflection of various scientific environments on the meaning and role of values in creating national security (which presupposes recognition of such values as: nation and state, national tradition and community-building attitudes), and secondly, on scientific research directly concerning axiology in security studies. Researchers wishing to participate in the processes of creating Poland's national security, especially those who make up the environment of security studies, cannot avoid very important questions about the meaning and value of the nation, state, hierarchy of values shaping the culture of the political community. Nor can they renounce value-based positions and clear axiological criteria that allow to see the ideas permeating national culture and legislative actions in the state as responsible undertakings which national security depends on.
17. In light of the entirety of this study and bearing in mind broadness of the issues of axiological references in security studies, it is necessary strongly to emphasise the need for further research concerning values in creating Poland's national security.

This monograph, proposing to draw attention to the previously unaddressed issues, is not intended by the author as the last word on the subject of values in security studies. On the contrary, he wants it to be an inspiration for the subsequent steps along this path.

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- Wałęsa L., *Bili się o wojnę i niepodległą Polskę. O wolną, demokratyczną Europę.... Przemówienie na uroczystości obchodów pięćdziesiątej rocznicy bitwy o Monte Cassino* [They fought for a free and independent Poland. For a free and democratic Europe...]. *Speech at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Monte Cassino (May 18, 1994)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 148-149.
- Wałęsa L., *Bogata, zasobna Europa zamyka się przed nami.... Przemówienie na forum Zgromadzenia Parlamentarnego Rady Europy* [Rich, prosperous Europe is closing its doors to us...]. *Speech at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (February 4, 1992)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 55-58.
- Wałęsa L., *Cały polski dom potrzebuje naprawy... [The entire Polish edifice needs repair...]. Speech given at the inaugural meeting of the*

- Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 26, 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 46-48. Cf. Wałęsa L., *Official opening of the sitting by the President of the Republic of Poland Mr. Lech Wałęsa, 1st sitting of the Senate on November 26, 1991*, in: *Senate of the Republic of Poland of the 2nd term, Stenographic report from the 1st sitting of the Senate of the Republic of Poland on November 26 and 27, 1991*, Warsaw 1991, pp. 3-4, (Archives of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw).
- Wałęsa L., *Chcemy przyjaznego sąsiedztwa i partnerskiej współpracy – odrzucamy agresję i dominację. Przemówienie po podpisaniu traktatu o przyjaźni i dobrosąsiedzkiej współpracy między Rzeczpospolitą Polska a Federacją Rosyjską [We want friendly neighbourhood and partner-like cooperation – we reject aggression and domination]. Speech after signing of the Treaty on Friendly and Good Neighbourly Cooperation between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation (May 22, 1992)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 78-80.
- Wałęsa L., *Ciąży na mnie obowiązek troski o nasze państwo... [I have a duty to care for our country...]. Speech given at the opening of the constitutional conference held at the Chancellery of the President (July 5, 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 37-38.
- Wałęsa L., *Demokracja amerykańska pomogła nam w walce o wolność i demokrację.... Przemówienie podczas spotkania z mieszkańcami Warszawy na Placu Zamkowym w obecności Prezydenta USA Georga Busha przybyłego na uroczystość złożenia prochów Ignacego Jana Paderewskiego w krypcie katedry Świętego Jana [American democracy helped us in the fight for freedom and democracy...]. Speech at a meeting with the residents of Warsaw in the Castle Square in the presence of the US President George Bush who came to attend the ceremony of placing the ashes of Ignacy Jan Paderewski in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral (July 5, 1992)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla*

- Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 83-86.
- Wałęsa L., *Dlaczego NATO powinno być rozszerzone... [Why should NATO be expanded...]* Lecture at the Danish Foreign Policy Association during an official visit to Denmark (April 27, 1995), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 203-205.
- Wałęsa L., *Dorobek naukowy małżonków Curie otworzył przed nauką nowe horyzonty... Przemówienie podczas ceremonii oficjalnej złożenia prochów Marii i Piotra Curie w paryskim Panteonie [The scientific achievements of the Curies opened up new horizons before science...]. Speech at the ceremony of the official placing of the ashes of Maria and Piotr Curie in the Paris Pantheon (April 21, 1995)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, p. 188.
- Wałęsa L., *Dylematy bezpieczeństwa Europy Środkowej... Odczyt wygłoszony w Międzynarodowym Sztokholmskim Instytucie Badań nad Pokojem, podczas oficjalnej wizyty w Królestwie Szwecji [Central Europe's security dilemmas...]. Lecture at the International Stockholm Peace Research Institute during an official visit to the Kingdom of Sweden (March 30, 1995)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 198-202.
- Wałęsa L., *I my żyjemy w czasach wielkiej naprawy Rzeczypospolitej... Przemówienie z okazji dwusetnej rocznicy Konstytucji 3 maja [We live in the times of the great repair of the Republic of Poland, too...]. Speech on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of May 3 (May 3, 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 26-27.
- Wałęsa L., *Ich śmierć nie była daremna... [Their death was not in vain...]. Speech at the unveiling of the Monument to the Fallen Miners of the*

“Wujek” Mine (December 15, 1991), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 51-52.

Wałęsa L., *Intencją złożonego przeze mnie projektu “małej konstytucji” jest, by rząd był silny poparciem prezydenta i parlamentu.... Wystąpienie na pierwszym posiedzeniu Sejmu z okazji przedstawienia projektu ustawy konstytucyjnej o powołaniu i odwołaniu rządu oraz innych zmian dotyczących najwyższych organów państwa [The intention of the “small constitution” draft I put forward is for the government to be strong with the support of the President and the parliament...]. Speech at the first sitting of the Sejm on the occasion of presenting the draft constitutional act on the establishment and dismissal of the government and other changes concerning the supreme state authorities (December 5, 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 49-50.

Wałęsa L., *Istotą demokracji jest uczestnictwo obywateli w decydowaniu o ich sprawach.... Przemówienie na II Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji prezydentów, burmistrzów i wójtów miast i gmin polskich [The essence of democracy is the participation of citizens in deciding their affairs...]. Speech at the Second National Conference of Presidents and Mayors of Polish Cities, Towns and Municipalities (April 30, 1993)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 97-98.

Wałęsa L., *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród.... Przemówienie wygłoszone w Sejmie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na uroczystym posiedzeniu połączonych Izb Sejmu i Senatu [As the first President elected by the entire nation...]. Speech in the Sejm of the Republic of Poland at a solemn meeting of the combined Houses of the Sejm and the Senate (December 22, 1990)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 9-10.

- Wałęsa L., (speech beginning with the words:) *Panowie Marszałkowie! Wysokie Izby! Panie, Panowie! Rodacy w kraju i na obczyźnie! Staję przed wami...*, [Speakers; Honourable Members of both Houses; Ladies and Gentlemen; Compatriots in the country and in exile. I am standing before you...], (December 22, 1990), in: The National Assembly of the Republic of Poland, *Stenographic report from the meeting of the National Assembly of the Republic of Poland on 21 and 22 December 1990*, Warsaw 1990, column 14-15, (Archives of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw).
- Wałęsa L., *Jesteście ambasadorami polskiej sprawy... Przemówienie na spotkaniu z Polonią Los Angeles, podczas oficjalnej wizyty w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej* [You are ambassadors of the Polish cause...]. *Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad in Los Angeles during an official visit to the United States of America* (March 23, 1991), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 20-21.
- Wałęsa L., *Jesteście częścią wielkiej polskiej rodziny... Przemówienie na spotkaniu z Polonią ukraińską, podczas oficjalnej wizyty w Republice Ukrainy* [You are part of a great Polish family...]. *Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad during an official visit to the Republic of Ukraine* (May 26, 1993), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 99-100.
- Wałęsa L., *Jesteśmy sobie zbyt bliscy, aby być obojętni... Toast z okazji przyjęcia na cześć Prezydenta Ukrainy Leonida Krawczuka podczas jego oficjalnej wizyty w Polsce* (We are too close to be indifferent to each other...). *Toast at the reception in honour of the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk during his official visit to Poland* (May 18, 1992), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 76-77.
- Wałęsa L., *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach... Przemówienie powitalne Jego Świątobliwości Jana Pawła II przybywającego z czwartą pielgrzymką do Polski* [The keys to the homeland are in your hands...].

- Welcoming speech to His Holiness Pope John Paul II arriving on the fourth pilgrimage to Poland (June 1, 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 32-33.
- Wałęsa L., *Kraj uporządkować możemy tylko przez wybory... Wystąpienie w Stoczni Gdańskiej z okazji obchodów trzynastej rocznicy podpisania Porozumień Sierpniowych* [We can establish order in the country only through elections...]. *Speech at the Gdańsk Shipyard on the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (September 31, 1993)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 121-123.
- Wałęsa L., *List przedłożony członkom Rady Ministrów na inauguracyjnym posiedzeniu rządu premier Hanny Suchockiej – z udziałem Prezydenta RP* [Letter to the members of the Council of Ministers at the inaugural meeting of the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka – with the participation of the President of the Republic of Poland] (July 14, 1992), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 279-281.
- Wałęsa L., *Możliwości twórczego działania Sejmu uległy wyczerpaniu....* [The possibilities of the Sejm's creative activity have been exhausted...] *TV appearance after the dissolution of the Sejm (May 31, 1993)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 101-104.
- Wałęsa L., *Musimy na nowo zbudować współpracę... Przemówienie na trójstronnym spotkaniu przywódców Czecho-Słowacji, Węgier i Polski* [We need to build cooperation again...]. *Speech at the tripartite meeting of the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland (February 15, 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 18-19.
- Wałęsa L., *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most, by przejść na drugą stronę...* [We must build a bridge together to go to the other side...]. *Speech at*

- the inaugural meeting of the Sejm elected in the first free democratic elections (November 25, 1991), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 39-45. Cf. L. Wałęsa, (speech beginning with the words:) Dear Speaker! Ladies, gentleman! There are special moments in the history of states and nations... in: The Sejm of the Republic of Poland, term 1, sitting 1, day 1 (November 25, 1991), a stenographic record, Warsaw 1991, (internal print in: Archives of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw).*
- Wałęsa L., *Nadszedł czas usuwania fałszywych schematów myślowych... Przemówienie na spotkaniu z przedstawicielami izraelskiej organizacji Żydów z Polski podczas oficjalnej wizyty w Izraelu [The time has come to remove false thought patterns...]. Speech at a meeting with representatives of the Israeli organisation of Jews from Poland during an official visit to Israel (May 23, 1991), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 30-31.*
- Wałęsa L., *Najważniejsze jest żeby się nie bać... Mowa z okazji mszy żałobnej w dziesiątą rocznicę śmierci księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki [It is most important not to be afraid...]. Speech on the occasion of the mass on the tenth anniversary of the death of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko (October 19, 1994), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 170-171.*
- Wałęsa L., *Nasza epoka potrzebuje ludzi mądrych i wykształconych... Przemówienie z okazji nominacji profesorskich [Our age needs wise and educated people...]. Speech on the occasion of professorial nominations (January 12, 1992), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 53-54.*
- Wałęsa L., *Nasze porozumienie leży w interesie całej Europy... Przemówienie na specjalnym posiedzeniu Komisji Zagranicznej Bundestagu, w obecności Prezydenta RFN, podczas wizyty oficjalnej w Niemczech [Our agreement is in the interest of the whole of Europe...]. Speech at*

- a special meeting of the Bundestag's Foreign Committee, in the presence of the German President, during an official visit to Germany (March 30, 1992), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 59-63.*
- Wałęsa L., *Nie jesteście sami.... Przemówienie na spotkaniu z Polonią białoruską podczas wizyty oficjalnej w Republice Białorusi [You are not alone...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad during an official visit to the Republic of Belarus (June 29, 1993), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 107-109.*
- Wałęsa L., *Niech to miejsce stanowi wieczną przestrogę dla żywych.... Przemówienie wygłoszone w Oświęcimiu podczas obchodów pięćdziestej rocznicy wyzwolenia KL Auschwitz [May this place be an eternal warning to the living...]. Speech at Oświęcim during the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of KL Auschwitz (January 27, 1995), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, p. 185.*
- Wałęsa L., *Od naszych partnerów oczekujemy faktów, nie tylko samych słów i deklaracji.... Toast podczas uroczystego bankietu z okazji spotkania prezydentów Grupy Wyszehradzkiej z prezydentem Clintonem [We expect facts from our partners, not just words and declarations....]. Toast during an official banquet on the occasion of the meeting of the Presidents of the Visegrad Group with President Clinton (January 12, 1994), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 138-140.*
- Wałęsa L., *Od Was zależy w jakim kierunku zmierzać będzie Polska... [It is up to you in which direction Poland will go...]. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm (October 14, 1993), in: L. Wałęsa, Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 127-128.*

- Wałęsa L., *Ojciec Święty umacniał naszą siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo.... Przemówienie podczas oficjalnej wizyty w watykanie i Republice Włoskiej* [The Holy Father reinforced our endurance and faith in victory...]. Speech during an official visit to the Vatican and the Italian Republic (February 5, 1991), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 15-16.
- Wałęsa L., *Pamięć o ich męce i śmierci, o wierności Rzeczypospolitej, dawała nam siłę wytrwania i moc w walce.... Przemówienie nad mogiłą oficerów polskich w Katyniu, podczas oficjalnej wizyty w Federacji Rosyjskiej* [The memory of their ordeal and death, and their fidelity to the Republic of Poland, gave us the strength of perseverance and power in the fight...]. Speech at the grave of Polish officers in Katyń during an official visit to the Russian Federation (May 23, 1992), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 81-82.
- Wałęsa L., *Polacy zza oceanu byli zawsze wiernymi synami starej ojczyzny...* [Poles from across the ocean have always been faithful sons of the old homeland...]. Speech at a meeting with the Polish Community Abroad in Chicago during a visit to the USA (March 24, 1991), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 22-23.
- Wałęsa L., *Polityka obronna Polski*, [Polish Defence Policy], Statement by the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Wałęsa for "Tygodnik Literacki", pp. 1-2, typescript, Political Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, BOPP - 041, cat. A, Speeches 1992, folder 1, pp. 176-177, (Archive of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw).
- Wałęsa L., *Polsce potrzebne są mądre prawa.... Przemówienie wygłoszone na inauguracyjnym posiedzeniu Senatu* [Poland needs wise laws...]. Speech delivered at the inaugural session of the Senate (October 15, 1993), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 129-130.

- Wałęsa L., *Polska i Litwa podają sobie dłonie.... Przemówienie w parlamencie litewskim podczas wizyty oficjalnej w Republice Litewskiej [Poland and Lithuania are shaking hands...]. Speech in the Lithuanian Parliament during an official visit to the Republic of Lithuania (April 26, 1994)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 144-147.
- Wałęsa L., *Polska nie jedzie do przodu... [Poland is not moving forward...]. TV speech delivered in Warsaw (October 27, 1994)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 172-176.
- Wałęsa L., *Polska potrzebuje naszej solidarności... [Poland needs our solidarity...]. Speech at the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers on the fourteenth anniversary of the August Agreements (August 31, 1994)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 161-163.
- Wałęsa L., *Polska pragnie podtrzymać bliskie kontakty z Ligą Państw Arabskich.... Wystąpienie w siedzibie Ligi Państw Arabskich podczas wizyty w Egipcie [Poland wishes to maintain close contacts with the League of Arab States...]. Speech at the headquarters of the League of Arab States during a visit to Egypt (May 17, 1992)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 73-75.
- Wałęsa L., *Polska w Europie*, "European Parliamentary Year Book 1994/95", edition of the Polish original text: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski [Everything I do, I do for Poland]*, foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 209-216.
- Wałęsa L., *Polskę i Litwę łączy ta sama troska o zapewnienie państwom naszego regionu spokojnego bytu.... Toast wygłoszony podczas uroczystego obiadu na cześć Prezydenta Republiki Litwy Algirdasa Brazauskasa [Poland and Lithuania share the same concern for ensuring peaceful existence for the states of our region...]. Toast during a formal*

dinner in honour of the President of the Republic of Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas (February 17, 1995), in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko, co robię, robię dla Polski* [Everything I do, I do for Poland], foreword by A. Zakrzewski, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, Warszawa 1995, pp. 186-187.

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