

**Values and National Security of Poland.
Observations Made when Reading
Cezary Smuniewski's Book Entitled
*National Security of Poland in the Axiological
Perspective. President Lech Wałęsa***

**Wartości i bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski. Spostrzeżenia z lektury książki
Cezarego Smuniewskiego *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski w perspektywie
aksjologicznej. Prezydent Lech Wałęsa***

BŁAŻEJ BADO

University of Warsaw, e-mail: b.bado@uw.edu.pl

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1323-4693>

Abstract: The article deals with Cezary Smuniewski's scientific queries contained in the book *National Security of Poland in the Axiological Perspective. President Lech Wałęsa*. First, the article describes the contexts of research taken up by C. Smuniewski. Second, it presents and analyses the assumptions and organisation of the book. Third, it outlines further directions of research mapped out by the monograph. The study fits into the area of research in security studies and political science.

Keywords: national security of Poland, axiology of security, Cezary Smuniewski, values, Lech Wałęsa

Streszczenie: Artykuł dotyczy kwerend naukowych Cezarego Smuniewskiego zawartych w książce *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski w perspektywie aksjologicznej. Prezydent Lech Wałęsa*. Po pierwsze, artykuł opisuje konteksty badań podejmowanych przez C. Smuniewskiego. Po drugie, przedstawia i analizuje założenia oraz układ rozpatrywanej książki. Po trzecie, nakreśla dalsze kierunki badań wyznaczone przez monografię. Opracowanie wpisuje się w obszar badań nauk o bezpieczeństwie i polityce.

Słowa kluczowe: bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski, aksjologia bezpieczeństwa, Cezary Smuniewski, wartości, Lech Wałęsa

The article is aimed at presenting Cezary Smuniewski's research contained in the book *National Security of Poland in the Axiological Perspective. President Lech Wałęsa* (Smuniewski 2019c) and outlining further directions of research

mapped out by the monograph. Therefore, it is not only a critical review of the book but also an attempt at reading the intuitions of the author which may contribute to the development of *security* studies seen as a separate scientific discipline. At the very beginning of this reflection, it should be noted that the research concerning the axiology of national security does not fit into the main current analyses carried out by Polish scholars. Lech Wałęsa's presidency has not been extensively investigated from the viewpoint of security studies as opposed to those carried out from the viewpoint of history and political science (Cenckiewicz 2008; Cenckiewicz 2013; Cenckiewicz, Gontarczyk 2008; Lipiński 2011; Łukasik-Turecka 2000; Lussier 2010; Momro 2019; Simpson 1996; Sztafel 2005).

1. Contexts

The research on values carried out from the viewpoint of security studies, political science or international relations is undertaken ever more often. There are many arguments of various natures in favour of carrying out research in this area. First of all, these are the arguments revealed in the context of the analysis of the sources and the course of the armed conflicts in the latter half of the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st century. Such arguments were also provided by the research on national identities, migrations and fundamentalism. One cannot fail to agree with Adam Daniel Rotfeld (director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute from 1991–2002), who said: "It is not documents – solemn declarations, new norms and procedures – that change the political reality, but the real balance of forces and interests, as well as values, shape a new international order" (Rotfeld 2018: 8). The scholar's statement stresses that the values constitute one of the major forces producing a change of the political reality and shaping the international order. This means, therefore, that the research and studies concerning international security may prove to be deficient if they do not take into account the issue of values. It is similar in the intra-state arena. When talking about the axiological foundations of national security Waldemar Kitler first distinguished directly national values (survival, territorial integrity, political independence, quality of life), and further discussed: national needs, common good, goals of national security, national interest and reason for the state (Kitler 2011: 78–95). It should be noted

that W. Kitler believes that: "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" (Kitler 2011: 10).

Cezary Smuniewski researched the problem of values in national security in Poland. Its outcome is the monograph *National Security of Poland in the Axiological Perspective. President Lech Wałęsa*. The book was published in the scientific series of the Institute of Political Science. Cezary Smuniewski's analyses concerning the axiology of Poland's national security - focused on the period of L. Wałęsa's presidency (1990-1995) - were preceded by a number of other detailed studies which also concerned values. After the monograph had been published the author continued further studies on values from the viewpoint of security studies and political science. The first one to note is the monograph *From Memory to Freedom. Research on Polish Thinking about National Security and Political Community* (Smuniewski 2018a) which saw its second, revised and expanded edition. It should be mentioned that this book received an enthusiastic review (Masa 2020). In that latter publication, C. Smuniewski included a chapter on the family seen as a value in the national security of Poland: "Family - the 'school' teaching the rudiments of thinking about Poland's national security" (Smuniewski 2020b: 171-192). In scientific articles he analysed such values as: patriotism (Smuniewski 2015e: 84-103; Smuniewski 2016d: 39-51; Smuniewski 2017b: 15-46), peace (pacifism; Smuniewski 2012; Smuniewski 2017e: 13-27; Smuniewski 2018b; Smuniewski 2019a; Smuniewski 2019b), Christianity (Smuniewski 2014b: 61-88; Smuniewski 2016a: 117-134; Smuniewski 2017a: 495-509; Smuniewski 2017c: 212-224; Smuniewski 2017d), person (Smuniewski 2014a: 179-198; Smuniewski, Mazurek, Kochańczyk-Bonińska 2018), ecology (Smuniewski 2016b: 147-160), culture (Smuniewski 2015b: 17-35; Smuniewski 2015d: 82-103; Smuniewski 2016c: 429-472), identity (Smuniewski 2015a: 96-116; Smuniewski 2021: 119-132), family (Smuniewski 2015c: 17-38), freedom (Smuniewski 2020c: 123-136), religious freedom (Smuniewski 2020a), health (Smuniewski, Składanowski, Przepiórka 2020; Szymanski, Smuniewski, Platek 2020). It should be noted C. Smuniewski continues his research concerning the economic transformations and national security of Poland during the presidency of L. Wałęsa (Smuniewski, Urych, Zanini 2021).

2. Monograph's assumptions

The starting point for C. Smuniewski's research was turning to the period after the breakthrough year of 1989, after the collapse of communism, the times of the beginning of the systemic transformation and presidency of L. Wałęsa. The author wanted to identify the values which were particularly distinctive in the processes of creating Poland's national security at the then historical moment. Therefore, those were the values which can withstand the test of time or the universal values that are important for the state during times of systemic transformations. A comprehensive study of that moment in the history of Poland's national security seems to be a continuous challenge for various scientists and amateur historians. There is no need to convince anybody in Poland that the consequences of the then decision shape the present of that country and this will undoubtedly be so for many years to come (Smuniewski 2019c: 52). The main question C. Smuniewski posed at the beginning of research the outcome of which is the discussed monograph was formulated as follows: "What is essential and what appears to be a value in the process of creating national security of the Third Republic of Poland based on the statements of President Lech Wałęsa, and what is the content of the narrative of this leader of the nation concerning these issues?" (Smuniewski 2019c: 49-50).

Defining such research objecting C. Smuniewski assumed that the reflection on how the democratically elected president, who was the head of the armed forces in the state, understood national security fits in the very centre of research typical of security studies. He additionally assumed that with his statements the president created a certain reality. His position in the discourse within the society is absolutely special, hardly comparable to anybody else's. To this added is his participation in the lawmaking processes in the state and making staffing decisions, also in the Polish Army. In formulating the research assumptions, an important matter for C. Smuniewski was the fact that the central figure for the analyses was no one else by President L. Wałęsa, i.e. the former leader of the Solidarity movement, a worker from the "Lenin Gdańsk Shipyard," winner of the Nobel Peace Prize (1983) – the man who had become a symbol of peaceful transformations worldwide. L. Wałęsa was one of the symbols of world politics, hand in hand with such leaders as Margaret H. Thatcher, Ronald W. Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev and John Paul II; propagating the slogans of liberation from the regime and the new thinking about creating security (Smuniewski 2019c: 15).

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 (Smuniewski 2019c: 15).

From among many research assumptions, one seems to be especially important from the point of view of the development of security studies and coordination of creating national security in states and on the international arena. C. Smuniewski made and then proved an unequivocal assumption: "It should also be assumed that axiological assumptions are at the heart of thinking of security policymakers; 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'" (Smuniewski 2019c: 50). Formulating this research assumption, important for security studies, C. Smuniewski let himself make as if a personal reference and observation, in which one should recognise the researcher's intuition about the contents that develop security philosophy and security studies. Let us invoke what the researcher said:

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 mean (Smuniewski 2019c: 50).

Cezary Smuniewski is not afraid of inserting personal reflection in the scientific text of the monograph. Thus the readers get something more than merely a research report; they learn the history of research and have an insight into the researcher's passion.¹ An additional illustration may be

¹ On scientific passion cf. Heller 2009: 19-23. Reference to the book by Professor Michał Heller is linked with the fact that when working with undergraduate and doctoral students

the following statement of C. Smuniewski: "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" (Smuniewski 2019c: 50).

Let us now have a look at the sources analysed by C. Smuniewski. These include statements by L. Wałęsa of various types and ranks, information obtained from him by way of an interview (which will be discussed later) as well as the documents produced in the milieu of the Presidential Palace, primarily by the President's Political Office. The source material that was analysed comes from the publications officially brought out by the Chancellery of the President, Presidential Archives in Warsaw as well as the Archives of the Sejm and the Archives of the Senate of the Republic of Poland. Very productive turned out to be the analysis of texts prepared for the President but which never had been used. They speak a lot about the President's environment and its preferred ideological directions as well as the creation of Poland's national security in the early 1990s, which is the beginning of freedom. It is by no means surprising that L. Wałęsa was not the author of the texts he later signed or read out. Services to the President are rendered by a whole group of people – experts in various areas, who prepare relevant texts for the head of state. As regards the interview with L. Wałęsa, which was later used by C. Smuniewski, it took place on December 12, 2018, in Gdańsk, at the Office of President L. Wałęsa in the European Solidarity Centre. Mindful of the broad interests of the interviewee, the researcher decided to adopt the formula of an individual in-depth interview (IDI), unstandardized and unstructured (Smuniewski 2019c: 49–56, 64–71).

Going deeper into the sources investigated by C. Smuniewski note should be taken of the "discovery" the Author mentions in his book. It concerns "censorship" L. Wałęsa's texts were subject to when they were published in book form. It seems particularly interesting that the President was censored by his closest co-workers. Below is an example of such treatment. Assuming power in Poland on December 22, 1990, L. Wałęsa addressed

C. Smuniewski repeatedly recommended that very book as indispensable reading if anybody wanted to become a scientist. He also repeatedly expressed his admiration for the works of Professor M. Heller. It is illustrated by invoking the person of the scholar from Cracow in the book for children co-authored by C. Smuniewski. Cf. Kulińczak, Kulińczak, Kulińczak, Smuniewski 2022: 54–55.

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 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 understood as a whole. As a cultural whole and a part of the European civilization (Komunikat 1990/64).

In the official edition of the texts of speeches by President L. Wałęsa, published at the initiative of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, 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 the European civilization" (Wałęsa 1995: 11). From the perspective of the latest history of Poland and the susceptibility of national memory to manipulation it is surprising that a complete collection of critical statements made by President L. Wałęsa – the first president elected in the democratic and universal elections after the collapse of communism – has not been published yet. The publication of those documents should be of course preceded by in-depth investigations by an interdisciplinary team. Access to a critical edition of the President's official texts seems to lie directly in the interest of the entire political community.

3. The monograph's structure

The monograph is made up of seven chapters. The author applied an interesting and rarely used structure for the titles of individual chapters. The titles are made up of two-part: a relevant quote from a statement of L. Wałęsa and its expansion as a precise introduction to its contents. Thus, it is of no surprise that the first chapter in the monograph on values bears the following title: "*We Have Regained the Sense of Values.*" *Introductory Issues* (Smuniewski 2019c: 27–106). As announced in the title, the chapter describes introductory issues. What seems worth emphasising is the second part of that chapter entitled: *The Starting Point for Research*. C. Smuniewski discusses four

elementary issues on the basis of which he constructs further narration about the values that are useful in creating Poland's national security; obviously, it concerns values identified in L. Wałęsa's texts. Those four elementary issues are: "Poland understood as a value that allows distinguishing another value, which is national security" (Smuniewski 2019c: 73-77); "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" (Smuniewski 2019c: 77-81); "Values which are an integral element of the content of the presidential narrative about the national security of Poland" (Smuniewski 2019c: 81-95); and "Man - 'is the foundation'" (Smuniewski 2019c: 96-106).

In this very text, C. Smuniewski accentuates one of the fundamental issues for further development of security studies. Let us invoke what the researcher said:

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 a human person. 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 the human being, human being's value and dignity, place and role in society and state, the value of human being's political actions, the value of human being'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 the human being that security studies and political science must not fail to ask. In a sense, these detailed questions are combined into one question of an ontological and universal nature: what is the human being? 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 (Smuniewski 2019c: 96).

This statement by C. Smuniewski opens the multi-page analysis of what L. Wałęsa said about the human being as a value. It seems, however, that what is most important are the conclusions drawn by the scholar. He takes up subjects that are not only associated with the development of security

studies but also the role of the educational system – university education, education of officers, education of public administration staff and all those who are active in non-governmental organisations involved in work for security. Let us invoke what C. Smuniewski said:

Probably one of the main conditions for the development of security studies, which indeed serve to create national security, is to recognize a 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 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 an 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 a way can assume responsibility for the future of Poland, and in a sense also for Europe and the world (Smuniewski 2019c: 106).

Chapter two bears the title: *“Freedom Is a Value that Has Been Always Cherished Most by the Poles.” Freedom in Creating National Security of Poland* (Smuniewski 2019c: 107–136). In this text, C. Smuniewski discusses the value which is particularly precious at the time of the systemic transformation, namely individual and collective (national) freedom. The researcher extricates from L. Wałęsa’s statements about the issues which are linked with freedom, which are associated with independence as well as the sovereignty of nation and state. There are two conclusions which seem to be particularly valuable. The first one refers directly to Poland. C. Smuniewski says:

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 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 the 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 two forms: dissolution in supranational structures or isolationism (Smuniewski 2019c: 135).

Another particularly valuable conclusion goes beyond the reflection on Poland.

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 the 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 (Smuniewski 2019c: 136).

The conclusions concerning freedom, which have been drawn by C. Smuniewski, especially those that seem to be universal – unlimited

to the Polish context – are clearly rooted in personalist thinking which protects him against falling into individualism or collectivism (Smuniewski 2015b: 25–28). In one of the publications which concerned freedom, the scholar wrote:

The threats to individual and common freedom are threats to national security. The space which reveals itself as an incubator of these threats is a man and his freedom. After all, it is a man who has always had the power to take away freedom, enslave individuals and communities of various sizes, and create captive political systems. However, it is also an individual who fights for freedom and is its guardian; it is he who builds the spaces of freedom. That is why the processes of creating national security require research in the areas of various anthropologies, especially philosophical, theological and cultural. The reflection on individual and common freedom should become a reflection on national freedom, as well as the sovereignty of nation and state (Smuniewski 2020c: 126).

For the scholar, the freedom and sovereignty of a political community are directly linked with the freedom of individuals. It may be inferred that both national freedom and sovereignty are an expansion of the freedom and sovereignty of particular individuals; therefore, a free nation (political community) should guard the freedoms of individuals.

In accordance with the adopted scheme of formulating titles, consecutive chapters have been given the following titles: Chapter 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* (Smuniewski 2019c: 137–167); Chapter 4 – *“We Are Building Structures of a Fully Democratic State.” The Role of the State in Creating National Security of Poland* (Smuniewski 2019c: 169–210); Chapter 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* (Smuniewski 2019c: 211–257); Chapter 6 – *“No Longer a Division into Opposing Political and Military Blocs is Burdening International Relations.” International Relations in Creating National Security of Poland* (Smuniewski 2019c: 259–298); Chapter 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* (Smuniewski 2019c: 299–324). All the analyses are followed by seventeen *Conclusions* worked out by C. Smuniewski (Smuniewski 2019c: 325–334). At this place, let us invoke

but one of the conclusions, which places security in direct relation to classically understood politics:

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 (Smuniewski 2019c: 328).

4. Prospects for further research

Cezary Smuniewski's monograph provokes further research with respect to the axiology of national security and the history of security in Poland after the collapse of communism. Those areas of research seem to be obvious and the arguments in their favour are convincing. From among many other research postulates, the author points out two that seem to be particularly interesting and could directly contribute to building the good of the Polish political community. The first one concerns the idea of solidarity, whereas the other concerns establishing a set of values protected by the national security policy.

As regards the former – the idea of solidarity – there is no need to convince anybody that in the 20th century it turned out to be a great force in social and systemic transformations, the force that was liberating from foreign ideology. One should agree with C. Smuniewski when he says: “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” (Smuniewski 2019c: 330). Additionally, the research rightly notes: “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)” (Smuniewski 2019c: 331). In light of the above statements, it should be postulated to carry out interdisciplinary research concerning the vitality of the idea of solidarity in Polish society. It is the force which affects the decisions of a political community, rallies it around national interest, national

security, draws strength from history and ushers it into the future, is a specifically Polish contribution to building the European community.

The second research postulate concerns the establishment of a set of values protected by the national security policy. C. Smuniewski enumerates twenty elements of such a set:

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; 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 (Smuniewski 2019c: 331–332).

Alas, C. Smuniewski does not provide a straightforward definition of some of those elements. One may try to deduce how they are comprehended from the texts of the analyses carried out in the individual chapters of the monograph. It is also noticeable that in the single set the researcher included issues of various weights and relating to different areas of the life of a political community. However, what deserves to be analysed in greater depth in further research with a view to national security is the very idea of “protected values.” A set of such values can undoubtedly be established by analysing the Constitution. It seems, however, that from the viewpoint of national security this must not be limited to legal solutions. They are, of course, very important, but require co-existence with at least: research in various areas of knowledge, education at all its levels, and social programmes. Every generation of a political community should know which values ensure its survival and development, which values were defended by the preceding generations and which are currently endangered.

Thinking about further research concerning national security let us again recall A.D. Rotfeld’s words: “[...] values shape a new international order” (Rotfeld 2018: 8). Following this thought we can with certainty state that as a political community building its own security we cannot be ignorant of what values shape a new international order. But this also means

that we cannot be ignorant of what values “today” are shaping the order in Poland and what values shaped that order “yesterday.” We also should not fail to contemplate what values will be shaping our “tomorrow.” This also means that there is a need to constantly investigate the axiology of security and politics of all of our neighbours – Russia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia, Czechia, and Germany. Investigating what is valued by our neighbours, what is important for the European community, and what is important for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other international bodies is one of the conditions for effectively building the national security of Poland.

Conclusion

Reaching for the texts of L. Wałęsa turned out to be the right move in C. Smuniewski’s research. All the more so given the fact that those contents were deepened with an interview – the reflection of L. Wałęsa on his own presidency after more than twenty years. Without a doubt, from the viewpoint of security studies, such research is of pioneering character in the Polish scholarly community. At the same time, it reveals how little we know about the beginning of the Third Republic of Poland, and how little we know about the backstage of the then activities for national security. The multitude of questions that come to mind after reading the monograph should encourage planning further research. If only in order to comprehend the contemporaneity of Poland, to know why we function in this rather than in a different manner, and what influences our decisions. Self-reflection of a political community wanting to create its own security reveals itself in each generation as one of the conditions of effectively building the future.

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