

POLJSKA SODOBNIM IZZIVOM RAZVOJA IN VARNOSTI NAPROTI

POLAND TOWARDS THE CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES OF DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY

Povzetek Varnost in razvoj Republike Poljske opredeljujejo sodobni izzivi ter grožnje interne in eksterne narave, ki jih je treba obravnavati celovito. Med glavne izzive in grožnje spadajo mednarodni terorizem, širjenje orožja za množično uničevanje, pomanjkanje surovin in energentov, problematika naraščajočih migracij, možnost nestabilnosti v mednarodnem okolju, razvoj organiziranega kriminala, nazadovanje mednarodnega statusa države, povezanega s trenutnimi reformami mednarodnih organizacij, na primer Nata in EU, ter nujnost vključevanja v razreševanje regionalnih konfliktov, tudi zunaj Evrope. V luči teh dejavnikov se kaže potreba po integriranem državnem varnostnem sistemu, ki bo temeljil tako na strokovnem znanju in sodobnih strukturah kot na potrebi po zreli varnostni kulturi.

Ključne besede *Poljska, varnost, nacionalna varnost, mednarodna varnost, mednarodni odnosi, razvoj, izzivi, grožnje.*

Abstract The security and development of the Republic of Poland are defined by modern challenges and threats which are of both internal and external nature, and which should be treated in a complex way. The main ones include the following: international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, scarcity of raw materials and energy supplies, issues related to growing migration, possible instability in the international surroundings, development of organised crime, deterioration of the international status of the State connected with on-going reforms of international organisations (like NATO and the EU) as well as the necessity of engagement in solving regional conflicts, also outside of Europe. In the light of these considerations, there is a need for an integrated state security system based on professional know-how and modern structures, as well as the need for a mature culture of security.

Key words *Poland, security, national security, international security, international relations, development, challenges, threats.*

Introduction

The perception of safety to a large extent determines the prospects of state development. As a vital value, it has a controlling influence on the minimum fulfillment of other needs, remaining the existential interest. Safety, which is the supreme need for a single person and human communities, permanently constitutes a complex and difficult problem. Its scope is to evolve and follow the development of the emerging new trends. New threats are determined by the development of civilization – both the scientific and technological change and changes in individual and social consciousness. So, the number of isolated areas of security is growing and the interrelation between its different components and its dimensions can be perceived. Having in mind the multidimensionality of security, the following should be remembered: the broad scope of subjective and spatial aspects, interdisciplinary researches on it, the interdepartmental cooperation in the matter of practical tasks of the state, the relationship between the subjective aspects, as well as its dynamic dimension.

1 THE MODERN MEANING OF SECURITY

The modern meaning of security assumes its broad treatment, well beyond military matters (Stańczyk, 1996; Buzan, 1991: 19-20). Based on the criteria, the subjective spectrum of security covers the following issues: military, political, economic, ecological, social, cultural, information technology and others. It is implemented in the interwoven dimensions: individual, national (state) and international levels. It takes the local, sub-regional, regional, cross-regional and universal range. The subjective, objective and spatial limits of security tend to expand. The security is, both, a state and a process. It happens that the protection is individual and collective with the use of subordinate and coordinate methods.

Such a broad definition of security can be treated as a result of an equally broad vision of its threats which have also varied in dimension and nature. Considering the subjective aspect, the following threats can be perceived: military and non-military, political, economic, ecological, social, psychological, cultural and civilizational and others (Dworecki, 1994, 1996). They can be internal or external, as well as direct or indirect (Kubiak, 2000, p. 88-95). The phenomenon of modern times is that even in such a diverse typology it is difficult to recognize all of the challenges and threats to the security and clearly qualify them to appropriate groups. It results from the fact that many of the challenges and threats to security have currently both intrastate and external characters. Moreover, transnational and cross-border risks were spread after “Cold War” and their source could be often identified as non-state actors (Baylis, Smith, 2001). The modern concept of security does not imply that it is only the opposite of those risks. Its meaning joins the physical survival and ensuring the freedom of development.

The strategic goals of the security policy of modern states are not only to protect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders. The danger of the conquest of a country by an external force has lowered lately because any aggressive goals can be achieved without use of military means: “The goal of

attack on a state is no longer its territory, but its structure, its social status, operating institutions and the welfare of its citizens.” (Donnelly, 2000-2001, 32) Reason of state remains the security protection by protecting the rights of citizens and freedoms within a particular legal order. The aim of the broadly understood security policy is also creating conditions for a comprehensive, stable socio-economic development and increasing prosperity for citizens (Stańczyk, 2011c, 5-14). The preservation of national heritage and the protection of national identity are significant as well.

Nowadays, in the conditions of deepening and expanding more and more interdependence, what is to be the national security and the sense of its existence is the ability to provide the people with appropriate conditions of existence and the development of identity among other participants in international relations. The national security is the value which enables us to understand as good as possible the meaning of the reason-of-state concept, the idea of statehood and its vital importance in the international community (Stańczyk, 2003, 87-116). The state has an obligation to defend the security of the territory and the population which lives on it, but when the state is not able to fulfill these basic functions and obligations to the nation, it may lose its attractiveness.

It is important to perceive that the state is not only the territory, population and authorities. It has a kind of intangible assets such as culture and social attitudes. It is the spiritual achievement of civilization which creates the nation's wealth but also requires protection. It cannot be forgotten when we think of the state and security. That is why the legal acts and armed forces are not the only guarantee of the national security. It should be built every day in the minds of its citizens through the responsible participation in the creation of the common good which grows over partisan differences and individual interests.

Tasks in the sphere of security policy defined in this way mean treating the policy in a comprehensive manner, taking into regard the importance and impact of various factors: political, military, economic, social, environmental, and others. In addition, the implementation of national security policies more and more requires the respect for international law and its commitments, and for the principles of conduct which are found as the result of the work of many international institutions. At the same time the universalization of values such as freedom and democracy seem to receive special importance. The value system is a more important factor than the geographical location of countries (Stańczyk, 2002a, 171-188). Modern technologies of communication in the era of information revolution define the hierarchy of states and their level of security more than the traditional determinants of economic power such as population, resources and the gross national product (Nye, Owens, 1996: 20). New indicators of the economic strength based nowadays on the consumption attractiveness increase the possible influence on the international stability (Stańczyk, 2010b). The security and development of civilizations have become mutually interdependent under the conditions of interdependence of countries in the globalizing economy and the internalization of the entire cross-section society.

2 CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES AND THREATS

It should be noted that the nature of challenges and threats to security has so far significantly changed. The world of Cold War was characterized by a high level of stability and a high level of military threat. We currently have a low level of military threat and a low stability in international relations (Rotfeld, Symonides, 2000: 13). The threat of war in Europe gave way to the following main challenges for the security of states: 1) international terrorism, 2) proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, 3) energy shortages and even energy blackmail, 4) regional and local conflicts, 5) internal destabilization and even state collapse, 6) development of organized crime, 7) increased xenophobia and social unrest on national, religious and cultural backgrounds (2003. *A Secure Europe...*; Everts, 2004).

The abovementioned challenges do not close the possible list that could be put in this directory. Broadly speaking, other items should be added: political, military, economic, social, ecological, natural, risk of supply failure, cultural, informational. Their essential feature can be described as interpenetration. They have many aspects and in most cases even non-military (in the classical meaning of armed conflict). They are related to the internal political stability, as well as social and economic stability, affecting the contemporary international stability (Žukrowska, Grącik, 2006; Stańczyk, 2008, p. 130-150). Thus, they require a response from the scope of the so-called soft security. According to the European Security Strategy adopted in 2003, great emphasis is put on risk prevention (December 12, 2003. *Europe Security Strategy*). The feature of modernity is the impact on the sources of these conflicts without the use of military means and with the use of the means like: political, economic, legal, police, intelligence, emergency response etc. Besides, they require more international than individual efforts and an integrated approach coordinated by international bodies (Buzan, 2000).

It is difficult to make their detailed analysis in this brief study. That is the reason why the most important of them will be presented in a summarized form.

International terrorism has become one of the strategic threats for many countries, including Poland. It has a global dimension today (Stańczyk, 2002b, p. 111-132). It happens that it is only a means of expressing opposition to imbalances resulting from the globalization process, culture and values of the Western world or the domination of powers in the world order. In conjunction with religious extremism and resorting to the new methods and means of killing (weaponry is not necessary, as it was demonstrated in the WTC attack in 2001) became the main cause of the so-called asymmetric threats. It poses a particular challenge that requires multilateral action involving international institutions, with operations in many areas, yet integrated. It is the escalating threat.

According to the assurances of the Polish authorities responsible for combating terrorism, we cannot perceive the real threat of terrorist attack in Poland now (*Reports*. 2007). Anyway, we cannot forget that Poland is actively involved in anti-terrorist coalition and Polish soldiers are present in Afghanistan (previously in Iraq). Therefore,

we should be aware of the fact that Poland and its citizens are not free from danger flowing from global terrorism. International events such as terrorist attacks in Madrid and London did not increase the risk in Poland. However, the situation may change when Poland becomes an attractive country for terrorist groups. The EURO 2012 in Poland was undoubtedly an event which would encourage the groups. The international nature of the championship, massive media coverage and large groups of people, both football players and fans could have been an incentive for terrorist organizations always seeking after as much attention as possible. The 2012 UEFA European Football Championship clearly showed that the preparation time had not been devoted only to build football stadiums, but also to ensure the safety for all participants of that meeting.

The threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (known since the end of “Cold War”) today gains additional importance in connection with the development of international terrorism (Stańczyk, 2004, p. 73-82; Stańczyk, 2005b, p. 204-215). The components of weapons of mass destruction have become broadly available today and so has the necessary technological knowledge. This applies not only to nuclear weapons, but also to various forms of biological and chemical weapons, such as the use of biotechnology and nanotechnology. The transportation and smuggling of these weapons have become easier owing to their miniaturization. In relation to the instability occurring in many parts of the world (also in the European neighborhood – the Middle East), the proliferation takes the form of a new “arms race”.

The state should pay particular attention to the stability in its immediate vicinity. Regional and local conflicts are no longer a factor that can directly or indirectly threaten the security of Poland (Stańczyk, 2005a, p. 25-56). However, we have to deal with the manifestations of political instability beyond the eastern border. They can potentially promote the development of xenophobia and extremism; organize crime, illicit arms trafficking, uncontrolled migration and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The need is without doubt to strengthen the democracy in Polish environment. The democracy helps us make collective efforts for security, including the prevention of potential crises.

Preventive measures are not new to the prevention of the development of terrorism, proliferation and regional conflicts. The influence of globalization on the perception of challenges and risks, however, is a new phenomenon. It motivates to analyze and counter the threats not coming from the close neighborhood, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East or even the nuclear threat from North Korea (Simpson, 2003). In this context, Poland faced the problem of response to the U.S. proposal to install the components of missile defense system on its territory. It could affect Poland’s international relations, especially the relations with the Russian Federation.

The important fact is that the security is getting a broad economic dimension today. The economy, however, increasingly affects the safety issues of states in the globalizing world. It should be referred to the economic potential of the state, its financial

stability and the quantity and quality of resources spent on the defense. The stability and predictability of the economic environment of neighboring countries and major trading and financial partners play meaningful roles as well. Hence, it is important to support the economic transformation processes going towards the liberalization of economy and democratic political changes (Stańczyk, 2011b, p. 42-50). It is also important to maintain the stability and transparency of international financial relations.

The provision of energy security is another meaningful element of the economic security. The growing Polish energy deficit manifested by its decreasing rate of self-sufficiency is perceived as a problem. It requires the diversification and protection of main imported energy sources – oil and natural gas. This is the reason why long-term energy supplies and their new sources among different countries are needed. At the same time, it is necessary to provide technical conditions for the storage of energy – the creation of strategic reserve. The dependence on raw materials and energy supplies from Russia can threaten, in conditions of instability in the world, the economic and political security as well. The raw material and energy shortages influence the economic security, but they can also initiate political blackmail.

The social security problems resulting from the high rate of unemployment, an aging population and the high immigration in recent years are important as well. These processes affect the underestimated sphere of demographic security which can be manifested in yet unknown economic and social problems, including threats to cultural identity (Kuzniar, 2006, p. 8).

The development of organized crime is one of the major security threats to modern states. It applies both to the cross-border perspective of this phenomenon, the regional spread of the organized crime from places characterized by the absence of the rule of law as well as a kind of import of the criminal activity (drug/human/arms trafficking, illegal transfer of immigrants) (Stańczyk, 2001, p. 79-83). Thus, we are dealing here with a specific interpretation on internal and external spheres of its influence, relations with terrorism, weakening of state structures and the induction of social and even international conflicts.

Corruption, organized crime and terrorism have become new security threats today, more difficult to define than the military. This is the reason why it is harder to counter them. The fight against these threats is not easy especially in democratic countries. Sometimes it can happen that the methods and means deployed to counter the new threats may produce effects far more detrimental to the security – among others – in the dimension of respect for human rights and freedoms.

The increase in xenophobia and social unrest because of national, religious and cultural differences is another challenge to the security of modern states different from the military threats of the period of “Cold War”, but able to cause international unrest. They may also involve the close environment of Europe in the regions

of Caucasus and the Middle East from where the risks related to the previously mentioned challenges without use of military means can spread. Because of these facts the intercultural dialogue is needed, including the dialogue with the Muslim world. In this context, the Polish involvement to find the solution in the conflicts on the Middle East or in Afghanistan is important. It is not decided that a consensus on the issue of the Polish military involvement in high-risk missions can be reached in the future.

No less important need is the need to strengthen the unity around its own values. This is the reason why the need to preserve the transatlantic link, which connects Europe with North America within NATO, is perceived as essential in Poland (Staćzyk, 2011a, p. 71-84). The issue is very important, because the support for the North Atlantic Alliance given by the Polish society is currently in decline (since 2006, the support has dropped to 47% and it is the lowest in Europe) (“Transatlantic Trends”). The unity and identity make a bond necessary to build the European security in conditions of freedom and diversity.

Taking into regard the prospect of European security, the role and transformation of European institutions should be mentioned where the leading roles are played by the transatlantic political and defense organization – the NATO and the process of EU integration. The challenge for Poland is not only to meet the requirements of participation in these organizations, but also the determination of the Polish position on the issues of necessary reforms (Koziej, *Sojusznicze wyzwania...*).

The role of information security is increasing in the era of information revolution. The efficiency and security of communication systems and information processing play an increasingly important role in the operating structures of the state and society. However, the information security cannot be misused to justify the state control of information flow. In the sphere of international security globalization manifests itself in – among others – growing interdependence, the growing importance of information technology and mass media. The better time for reaction to the ongoing events is caused by it. The participants of international relations can use the increasing interdependence of contemporary states and international institutions (including the defensive alliances) on the operation of information systems and in extreme cases they can take actions aimed at the destruction of the systems to balance the advantages of traditional weaponry. These are the new security challenges, requiring unconventional action.

Counteraction to the political manipulation of security threats becomes no less important (Staćzyk, 2010a, p. 437-444). “They can be real, but may illustrate how the political manipulation, exaggeration or misunderstanding reduces the ability to overcome them.” (Donnelly, 2000-2001, p. 34) It influences directly the activity of secret services. Gathering and evaluation of the information on the development of international political and economic relations are parts of the security policy of modern states. Secret services carry out projects related to counterintelligence

protection in the area of responsibility for the operation of the strategic elements of the economic and defense infrastructure. Besides, the secret services acting in the state structure along with the police and other agencies take part in the fight against threats to the security of the state and its citizens (cross-border threats – among others – are included).

3 THE NEED FOR AN INTEGRATED SYSTEM OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Due to the changes in the nature of contemporary challenges and threats, it has become clear that not only the army and defense are responsible for the national security. They are only components of the national security system. The important feature of the contemporary strategic thinking about security is the perception of its non-military factors and early prevention before the crisis can be developed (internal or international). (Crocker, Hampson, Aall, 2001) For this reason, we perceive the need in Poland for the strategic review of national security, in the broader scope than the strategic defense review (*General information...*). We should take into account that only 20% of the dangers faced today by countries can be described as a threat of war connected to the violation of territory by other countries (the other is an internal threat). The change of many existing views on the matters of defense and crisis management is needed.

When analyzing the spectrum and the specific set of challenges, it can be said that the national authorities carrying out tasks in the area of national security require reforms, so that their action could include all threats and security challenges. Many of these threats and challenges go beyond the traditional perception of safety. The Ministry of Defense and Ministry of the Interior do not fully recognize it. They work for defense and public security but this does not fully fulfill the today's understanding of national security. It can be already seen in various crisis situations.

The effective crisis management system cannot be an occasional instrument, but has to be integrated with the current system of state management. The total coordination of responsibilities and activities of all components: central institutions, units of territorial division of the country and the local government have to exist in the system. So, it is necessary for the armed forces to cooperate with the civil sphere of the state.

Eventually, the integrated national security, including civil protection and crisis management system, should be created. It would implement the close cooperation between the state authorities and the entire public and private sphere. The cooperation with the business sector would have an important role to play in it. It means that especially so called critical infrastructure in the country should be concerned (for example communication, IT). (2006. „Computerworld”...) In the effective security system, reactive to contemporary challenges, the common and active participation becomes the necessity, not only for all of the authorities, but also for other public institutions, businesses, community groups and citizens. It requires a mature culture of

security supported by education, aware participation in the life of a country and the ability to learn how to deal with crisis situations.

The security is a quite problematic area within the operation of the state structures. It is dealt with by specialized departments— mainly three of them: internal affairs, foreign affairs and defense. None of these departments is able to cope with the security challenges alone because of the broad subjective scope of security. This is the reason why tasks regarding the security challenges are executed at the interface between these departments. The qualitative change in challenges and threats to modern safety (such as – among others – terrorist threats) causes the insufficiency of this approach. Although it is highly specialized, it remains confined to departmental activities: diplomacy, military, police, intelligence and counterintelligence, border guards, rescue units, etc. Nowadays, integrated activities are needed, coordinated by a professional management system for these services at the national level (the website of the National Security Bureau in Poland...). It would ensure a coordinated use of all forces and means at the disposal of state to counter threats to the national security.

The need for comprehensive answering problems of national security can be seen, including the creation of the new integrated civil–military structure. Only such a structure can provide the coordination of activities which have to be taken by many ministries and departments to counter today’s multi–dimensional threats. Conceptual, planning, coordination and control activities would be implemented within its framework. The Security would be treated comprehensively in all of its aspects: external and internal, civil and military and – at the same time – in the states of the peace, crisis and war (Koziej, *Bezpieczeństwo ponad resortami...*).

It requires the creation of appropriate organizational and staff structures subordinate to the executive branch (the president and government) which in exceptional cases concerning national security would play an overriding role in comparison to specialized departmental structures. In spite of the undertaken reforms, it should be remembered that enough space is needed to create specialized analytical and strategic centers able to interpret the results of interdisciplinary analytical work of various state departments and to verify them through academic advising.

The dynamics of contemporary development in international relations motivates us to monitor the situation constantly, to update the diagnoses regularly, and to make attempts to react comprehensively and in advance. For this reason, governments are expected to maintain professional think tanks and to develop strategies to protect safety. This is a major challenge facing Poland and we believe that the challenge should be assigned a higher rank (the website of the Polish Institute of International Affairs). The successful implementation of national security policy based on the work of think tanks, decisions of authorities, the means and mechanisms necessary for their launch will always depend on the professional preparation of the specific knowledge, experience, skills in the decision–making process and imagination. It

requires a new approach to security issues, the education of specialists, the popularization of the presented issues and making a bold exchange of views. The implementation of national interests depends on it.

Conclusions It is difficult to make a far-reaching assessment of the prospects of Polish national security because of the variability of the factors determining them. For this reason, current policies and security measures are not fully able to efficiently counteract unexpected challenges and threats. However, today we know that they are diverse and largely non-military. For this reason, responding to them requires much more non-military means than in the past. In addition, the distinction between external and internal threats and challenges to security blurs which causes – among others – the closer cooperation between political and military institutions and even taking over some of their functions by the collaboration of internal security services. The role of multilateral internal and external cooperation becomes increasingly important in such complicated conditions.

Polish security is still under the influence of the ongoing process of change of international alignment of forces in Europe and worldwide. It faces the challenges of further institutional change in Europe, the necessity of healing of transatlantic relations, stimulating the development of sub-regional and cross-border cooperation, protection of the freedom of the exchange of raw materials and energy and the fight against international terrorism. It is subject to the laws of development of international relations such as increasing interdependence and internalization. It remains no less dependent on internal factors related primarily to the directions of structural reforms but also to coalitions on the political scene. The challenges related to the national security are referred to the level of social awareness and consequently they should be a problem of our unity and identity.

Bibliography

1. *A Secure Europe in a Better World, 2003. European Security Strategy. Paris. 2006.* „Computerworld”. May, 8.
2. Baylis J., Smith S., 2001. *The globalization of world politics. An introduction to international relations.* Oxford.
3. Buzan B., 1991. *People, states and fear. An agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era.* London.
4. Buzan B., 2000. *The concept complex security theory.* “COPRI Working Paper”. Copenhagen.
5. Crocker Ch. A., Hampson F. O., Aall P. (eds.), 2001. *Turbulent Peace. The Challenge of managing international conflict.* Washington.
6. December, 12, 2003. *Europe Security Strategy.* Brussels. The European Council.
7. Donnelly Ch., Winter 2000-2001. *Rethinking security.* „NATO Review”.
8. Dworecki S., 1994. *Zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa państwa.* Warszawa.
9. Dworecki S., 1996. *Od konfliktu do wojny.* Warszawa.
10. Everts S., Winter 2004. *The EU's New Security Strategy is an Important Step Forward.* “European Affairs”.

11. General information on the National Security Strategic Review in Poland: http://en.bbn.gov.pl/portal/en/59/47/General_information_on_NSSR.html (7 November 2012).
12. Koziej S., *Bezpieczeństwo ponad resortami*. „Rzeczpospolita”, http://www.rzeczpospolita.pl/gazeta/wydanie_050726/publicystyka/publicystyka_a_10.html (17 April 2010).
13. Koziej S., *Sojusznicze wyzwania dla bezpieczeństwa Polski*, <http://www1.aon.edu.pl/zen2/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=574> (27 May 2011).
14. Kubiak M., 2000. *Współczesne zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski*. „Wojsko i Wychowanie”. No. 6.
15. Kuźniar R., 2006. *Bezpieczeństwo – po pierwsze, nie szkodzić*. „Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny”. No. 5.
16. Nye J. S., Owens W. A., 1996. *America's information edge*. “Foreign Affairs”. Vol. 75, no. 2.
17. Reports. 2007. *The Internal Security Agency, January – June*, <http://www.abw.gov.pl/portal/en> (7 November 2012).
18. Rotfeld A. D., Symonides J., 2000. *Wstęp: System bezpieczeństwa oparty na współpracy i kultura pokoju*, in: *Zapobieganie konfliktom*. Warszawa, p. 13.
19. Simpson G. J., 2003. *Great Powers and Outlaw States in the International Legal Order*. Cambridge.
20. Stańczyk J., 1996. *Współczesne pojmowanie bezpieczeństwa [Contemporary understanding of security]*. Warszawa.
21. Stańczyk J., 2001: *Regional Cooperation in Trans-border Aspect*, in: *Chosen Problems of Political Geography in Central Europe*. Eds J. Wendt, A. Ilies. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, pp. 79-83.
22. Stańczyk J., 2002a. *Central Europe – Defining Criteria and Characteristics of the Region*. “The Polish Foreign Affairs Digest”. Warszawa. Vol. 2, No. 2 (3), pp. 171-188.
23. Stańczyk J., 2002b. *The Determinants and Directions of the Polish Security Policy*, in: *Transformation in Central European Security Environment*. Warsaw: International Visegrad Fund. National Defence University, pp. 111-132.
24. Stańczyk J., 2003. *The Draft of Polish Security Policy (1989–2003)*. “Polish Political Science Yearbook”. Polish Political Science Association. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek. Vol. XXXII, pp. 87-116.
25. Stańczyk J., 2004. *The Changes in Security's Area of Central and Eastern Europe*, in: “Revista Romana de Geografie Politica” [“Romanian Review on Political Geography”]. Volum coordonat de J. Wendt. Universitatea din Oradea. Anul VI, no. 1-2, pp. 73-82.
26. Stańczyk J., 2005a. *Political situation in Central and Eastern Europe in the years 2004–2005*, in: *New Europe. Report on transformation. Book produced under the guidance of D. K. Rosati. XV Economic Forum, Krynica, Poland, 7-10 September, 2005*. Warsaw: Instytut Wschodni. Foundation Institute for Eastern Studies, pp. 25-56.
27. Stańczyk J., 2005b. *Central Europe and Regional Cooperation Security Problems*, in: *Regioninio bendradarbiavimo saugumas. Mokslo darbu rinkinys. The Security of Regional Cooperation*. Ed. A. Makštutis. Vilnius. Generolo Jono Žemaičio Lietuvos Karo Akademija. Tarptautine Organizavimo ir Valdymo Mokslo Akademija, pp. 204-215.
28. Stańczyk J., 2008. *The perspectives of European security – the problem of unity and identity*, in: *Poland and Ukraine in the European Security Processes*. Eds W. Gizicki, A. Podraza. Lublin : The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, pp. 130-150.
29. Stańczyk J., 2010a. *Contemporary Geopolitical Transformations in Europe in the Context of the Process of European Integration*. “Revista Română de Geografie Politică” [“Romanian Review on Political Geography, University of Oradea, Rumunia”]. Year XII, no. 2, pp. 437-444.

30. Stańczyk J., 2010b. *Perspectives of socio-economic development in the context of the National Foresight Programme "Poland 2020". "The Baltic Course". International Magazine for Decision Makers. International Internet Magazine. Baltic States news & analytics, <http://ww2011w.baltic-course.com/eng/analytics/?doc=32073&underline=stanczyk> (7 November 2012).*
31. Stańczyk J., 2011a. *Transformations of Euro-Atlantic Link towards Contemporary Global Challenges and Security Problems, in: Regional Development Studies in Poland and Romania. Coordinators J. Wendt, A. Ilieş. Oradea – Gdansk: University of Oradea, Department of Geography, Tourism and Territorial Planning. University of Gdansk, Institute of Geography, Department of Regional Development Geography. Editura Universităţii din Oradea, pp. 71-84.*
32. Stańczyk J., 2011b. *Changes in the international position of Central Europe in the context of integration with the European Union. "Journal of Geography, Politics and Society" [University of Gdansk]. Year 1, no. 1, June, pp. 42-50.*
33. Stańczyk J., 2011c. *European Security and Sustainability Issues in the Context of Current International Environment. "Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues" [International Entrepreneurial Perspectives and Innovative Outcomes. Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Lithuania. The General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania]. No. 1(2), pp. 5–14.*
34. *The website of the National Security Bureau in Poland: <http://www.bbn.gov.pl/portal/en> (7 November 2012).*
35. *The website of the Polish Institute of International Affairs: <http://www.pism.pl/en> (7 November 2012).*
36. *"Transatlantic Trends", http://www.transatlantictrends.org/trends/doc/2006_TT_Key%20Findings%20POLISH.pdf (7 November 2012)*
37. Żukrowska K. i Grącik M. (eds.), 2006. *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe. Teoria i praktyka. Warszawa.*