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INTERNAL SECURITY — DEFINITION DILEMMAS IN THE CONTEXT OF EVOLUTIONARY CHANGES AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE

Nowadays, security is defined in a variety of ways, both in Polish science and in legal doctrine. The term ‘security’ also collocates with a large group of adjectives, an example of which can be the classic division into external and internal security, state security or national security.

In the past, security considerations mainly focused on the causes of war and determinants of peace, and also on the causes of violence. This has been the case since as early as antiquity – for philosophers, politicians and historians have always been interested in fighting between families and tribes, or wars between empires or nations².

One can even be tempted to state that the evolution of security began with the rise of humanity. Originally, any threat to security was seen as a manifestation of the will of the gods, their anger or punishment for wrongdoing. With the development of critical thinking, people began to search for causes of security threats in other people or in other nations. One of the results of this reasoning was the recognition of security threats in the

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² Hofreiter L, Wstęp do studiów bezpieczeństwa. Krakow, 2012, p. 11.

internal functioning of social systems. The modern approach to the subject matter of security is not only a problem of war, but also of peace. It is also a question of security of social entities, conditions and causes of change³.

Although security science is a relatively young branch of science⁴, it is difficult today to list all of the attempts to define the concept of security which have been made, for example, since the political transformation in Poland, over the last 30 years. Nevertheless, among numerous publications, it is not easy to diversify the meaning and scope of terms such as 'internal security', 'external security' or 'national security'. It seems that the very meaning of the adjective is so clear that it does not require further analysis, but the contemporary security determinants in each of its variations are so diverse and at the same time there are so many connections and correlations between them that a clear and precise definition of security-related terms poses problems to many researchers of this subject matter.

Historically, the division between internal and external security originated from the nature of factors that affect security threats, *i.e.*, it depended on whether they were external threats, *e.g.* were posed by other countries, or internal ones, such as volume crime. The division into external and internal security can also be found in legal acts, such as the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997⁵, where, within the framework of state security, these two constitutionally sanctioned areas stand out. As part of these areas, four basic components are identified: defence (military security), protection (non-military, civil security), social security and economic security.

As safety is subject to a process of constant evolution, its definitional scope is also changing. Nowadays, the so-called security sectors are distinguished, but from a pragmatic point of view, the era of separating the concepts of internal and external security is certainly out of date. This is due to the fact that the nature of contemporary threats has changed, and many of the so-called external threats have an impact on internal security threats, and vice versa. Such a phenomenon is today called the trans-sectorality of modern security, an example of which is, among others, information security, including cyber security and counter-terrorism security⁶.

When looking for the specific features of each type of security, it is necessary to first consider the conceptual scope of internal security and

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴ According to the resolution of the Central Commission for Degrees and Titles of January 28, 2011 (MP [Official Gazette of the Republic of Poland] of 2011, No. 14, item 149), the former field of science, *i.e.* military science, was replaced by two branches of science incorporated in the field of social sciences, *i.e.* defence science and security science.

⁵ Dz.U., 1997, No. 78, item 483 as amended, Article 146; hereinafter: Constitution of the RP.

⁶ Koziej S, Bezpieczeństwo: istota, podstawowe kategorie i historyczna ewolucja. *Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe*, 2011, No. 18, pp. 19–39; *Electronic source*: www.koziej.pl, accessed: 23 July 2020.

national security. The discussion should begin by clarifying the definition of national security and indicating its correlation with internal security.

Many researchers equate the concepts of national security and state security, which is not unfounded, as such a link is supported by the Polish Constitution. Article 126 of the law stipulates that the President of the Republic of Poland (hereinafter: President of the RP) safeguards the security of the state. This provision is closely correlated with Article 5 of the Constitution of the RP, which defines the basic functions of the state, and according to it: 'The Republic of Poland shall safeguard the independence and integrity of its territory and ensure the freedoms and rights of persons and citizens, the security of citizens, safeguard the national heritage and shall ensure the protection of the natural environment pursuant to the principles of sustainable development'⁷.

It should be emphasised that the role of the state in the field of security, as defined in Article 5 of the Constitution of the RP, is transferred to the competences of the Council of Ministers by Article 146(1) of the basic law, and among the detailed objectives of the Council of Ministers, which are indicated in the Constitution of the RP itself (thus being considered as particularly important) is, among others, to ensure internal security and public order⁸, as well as external security⁹.

As a general rule, the Constitution of the RP does not define internal security in more detail. Apart from the abovementioned Article 146, Article 31(3) of the Constitution of the RP contains possible restrictions on the exercise of constitutional freedoms and civil rights (the so-called general limitation clause), but it is emphasised that any limitation upon the exercise of constitutional freedoms and rights may be imposed only by statute, and only when necessary in a democratic state for the protection of its security or public order, or to protect the natural environment, health or public morals, or the freedoms and rights of other persons, provided that such limitations shall not violate the essence of freedoms and rights.

As stressed by Andrzej Barcikowski¹⁰, in the context of the abovementioned regulations, in particular Article 230 of the Constitution of the RP¹¹, in the case of threats to the constitutional order of the state, the security

⁷ Constitution of the RP, Article 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Article 146(4).

⁹ Biuro Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego, *Biała księga bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*. Warsaw, 2013, p. 39.

¹⁰ Barcikowski A, *Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne — różne perspektywy analityczne i doktrynalne. Przegląd Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego ABW*, 2014, No. 11 (6), p. 15.

¹¹ 'Premises for introducing a state of emergency and the duration of thereof: 1. In the case of threats to the constitutional order of the State, to security of the citizenry or public order, the President of the Republic may, on request of the Council of Ministers, introduce for a definite period no longer than 90 days, a state of emergency in a part of or upon the whole territory of the State. 2. Extension of a state of emergency may be made once only for a period no longer than 60 days and with the consent of the Sejm'.

of the citizenry or public order, the President of the Republic may (at the request of the Council of Ministers) introduce for a definite period not longer than 90 days, a state of emergency in a part of or upon the whole territory of the state, whereby the Constitution of the RP strongly emphasises the relationship between the state's internal security and threats to the democratic political system. Andrzej Barcikowski also draws attention to the inconsistent understanding of the term 'internal security' because, in his opinion, while the Constitution of the RP emphasises the role of the President of the RP and the Council of Ministers in protecting the constitutional order, it is the Prime Minister, rather than the President of the RP, who has the instruments to supervise the sphere of responsibilities as regards internal security.

Today, internal security researchers present different definitions of the concept, depending on its different aspects. And thus, Stanisław Sulowski believes that internal security is the 'constant readiness and activity of certain state institutions and authorities, as well as private entities, which is important for maintaining the stability and integrity of the state'¹².

According to Witold Pokruszyński, 'internal security has strong and direct links with society as a collection of citizens living on the territory of the state and has a significant impact on their lives and the satisfaction of increasingly sublime needs. Internal security ensures the existence, survival and development of individuals and social groups on the territory of the state'¹³. Elżbieta Ura and Stanisław Pieprzny, on the other hand, believe that the primary distinguishing feature of internal security is the fact that its effects occur within the state, where 'internal security is a general category, containing many types of security defined by the protected good or the threat, e.g. ecological, social security or fire safety'¹⁴. Konstanty A. Wojtaszczyk perceives internal security as 'a condition of the functioning of the state which ensures the prevention, elimination or reduction of threats to the constitutional system, internal order and peace, and enables the protection of the public interest of individual communities and every citizen'¹⁵.

An interesting conception has also been presented by Bernard Wiśniewski, who defines the internal security of a country as 'a state resulting from the country fulfilling its internal function implemented within the framework of strategic national security policy, manifested as the protection (in a narrow sense) of the constitutional order, public security and universal security; and (in a broad sense), as the protection of the constitutional order, life and health of the citizens and national property against

¹² Sulowski S, W poszukiwaniu definicji bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego. *Przegląd Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego*, 2009, No. 1, p. 13.

¹³ Pokruszyński W, *Bezpieczeństwo. Teoria i praktyka*. Józefów, 2012, p. 154.

¹⁴ Ura E, Pieprzny S, *Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne państwa*. Rzeszów, 2015, p. 22.

¹⁵ Wojtaszczyk K.A, *Istota i dylematy bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego. Przegląd Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego*, 2009, No. 1, p. 14.

illegal activities, as well as the effects of natural and technical disasters¹⁶. Thus, following B. Wiśniewski, internal security is one of the components of national security.

Proceeding to the attempt at placing internal security in the context of national security, the broader notion should also be defined. Among the many definitions of national security, a common element can be found, *i.e.* the concept of the state/nation and its protection as a whole. As already mentioned in the introduction, many researchers equate national security with state security. It should therefore be assumed that 'national security' is the broadest, most comprehensive concept, which encompasses, *inter alia*, the concept of internal security.

One of the universal definitions of the concept of national security can be found in *Słownik terminów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa narodowego* (Lexicon of national security terminology)¹⁷, according to which: 'national security is one of the basic areas of the functioning (activity) of the state, which is to ensure the possibility of survival, but above all to ensure the development and freedom to pursue national interests in a specific security environment (conditions), by taking up challenges, taking advantage of opportunities, reducing risks and countering all kinds of threats to its interests'¹⁸.

When considering the position of internal security in relation to national security, it is worthwhile to use the nomenclature of the security system and its subsystems, as it seems to reflect their mutual correlations. Interestingly, as a rule, the language of strategic documents, such as *Biała księga bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (The White Paper on National Security of the Republic of Poland) or *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na lata 2014–2019* (The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland for 2014–2019)¹⁹, instead of using the term 'internal security', uses the term 'subsystem', whose task is to 'prevent and prosecute perpetrators of assaults on the

¹⁶ Wiśniewski B, *Zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego*. Warsaw, 2003, p. 15.

¹⁷ Akademia Obrony Narodowej, *Słownik terminów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa narodowego*. Warsaw, 2008, p. 17.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP na lata 2014–2019*. Warsaw, 2014; *Electronic source*: <https://www.bbn.gov.pl/ftp/SBN%20RP.pdf>, accessed: 27 July 2020. The reference to the document valid for the years 2014–2019 is made because of the fact that the document introduced a division into security subsystems. On May 12, 2020, a new strategic document was adopted, the structure of which is slightly different from the previous one. Still, the new version also includes Chapter II (The security environment of Poland), which in point 2.3. (The national dimension) refers to the common security and public order subsystems, and indicates threats to common security and public order, including those related to civil protection, the security of major events and road traffic, as well as organised, economic, drug and human trafficking crime. See: *Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*. Warsaw, 2020, p. 4; *Electronic source*: https://www.bbn.gov.pl/ftp/dokumenty/Strategia_Bezpieczenstwa_Narodowego_RP_2020.pdf, accessed: 27 July 2020.

life, health and property of Polish nationals and other individuals residing in Poland, as well as attacks on the interests of the state²⁰, and which is referred to as the subsystem of public order and safety. The second subsystem of internal security is the common security subsystem, defined as rescue and protection of the population, whose primary task is to save health, life, property and the environment from natural and man-made disasters, and other local threats²¹. It seems that another integral element conditioning the stability of democracy is also the protection of the constitutional order, hence, one can identify the third subsystem of internal security – the subsystem of protection of the constitutional order. This reasoning has its practical reflection in the structure of Polish institutions and services in charge of particular tasks in the abovementioned subsystems.

In light of the above considerations, the interdependencies between national security and internal security and its subsystems are as follows. The broadest category is the national security system. Then, one of its subsets is the internal security system, which in turn consists of three subsystems:

- constitutional protection subsystem,
- common security subsystem,
- public order and safety subsystem.

Of course, as indicated before, the present times are witnessing so-called trans-sectorality of security, and it should be remembered that in the case of specific security systems, *e.g.* the anti-terrorism one, there will be an overlap between the areas of internal and external security, as well as mutual penetration of the areas of the abovementioned internal security subsystems.

In order to show the correlations between internal and national security from a broader perspective, it is worthwhile to analyse the national interests in the field of security, which were formulated, among others, in the Polish National Security Strategy of 2020²² and result from Article 5 of the Polish Constitution²³, and the strategic goals in the field of national security, as formulated in the document for 2014–2019. The National Security Strategy of the RP for 2014–2019 emphasises that the contemporary security environment is characterised by the blurring of boundaries between its internal and external, as well as military and non-military dimensions²⁴.

²⁰ Biuro Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego, Biała..., *op.cit.*, p. 58.

²¹ Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP na lata 2014–2019, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

²² *Cf.*: Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP z 2020, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

²³ 'The Republic of Poland shall safeguard the independence and integrity of its territory and ensure the freedoms and rights of persons and citizens, the security of the citizens, safeguard the national heritage and shall ensure the protection of the natural environment pursuant to the principles of sustainable development'.

²⁴ *Cf.*: Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP na lata 2014–2019, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

The Polish National Security Strategy for 2014–2019 formulates national interests in the field of security²⁵, and then the strategic security objectives, the achievement of which determines their implementation, as follows:

- maintaining and demonstrating the readiness of the integrated national security system to seize opportunities, take on challenges, reduce risks and counter threats;
- improvement of the integrated system of national security, especially its management elements, including providing the necessary resources and capacities;
- development of the defence and protection potential adequate to the needs and capacities of the state, and increasing its interoperability within NATO and the EU;
- strengthening NATO's readiness and capacity for collective defence and coherence of EU security actions;
- building a strong Polish position in both of these organisations;
- developing close cooperation with all neighbouring countries and building partnership relations with other countries, including those aimed at preventing and resolving international conflicts and crises;
- promoting the principles of international law and universal values, such as democracy, human rights and civil liberties, in the international arena, as well as raising awareness of human and civil rights in the Polish society;
- ensuring universal security through improvement of the national rescue and fire-fighting system and the system of monitoring, notification, warning of threats, and elimination of effects of natural disasters and catastrophes, as well as the implementation of legal and organisational solutions for the civil protection and civil defence system;
- improvement and development of the national crisis management system to ensure its internal coherence and integrity and to enable undisturbed cooperation within the framework of the crisis management systems of the international organisations of which Poland is a member;
- protection of the Polish borders, which are the external border of the EU;
- preventing organised crime, including economic crime, and public order protection;

²⁵ These are: 'having an effective national security potential which ensures the readiness and ability to prevent threats, including deterrence, defence and protection against them, and to mitigate their consequences; a strong international position of Poland and membership in reliable international security systems; individual and collective protection of the citizens against threats to their lives and health, and against the violation, loss or degradation of vital goods (material and non-material); ensuring the freedom to exercise citizens' liberties without harming the safety of others and the security of the state, and ensuring national identity and cultural heritage; ensuring sustainable and the balanced development of the social and economic potential of the state, with particular emphasis on environmental protection and the living and health conditions of the population as a basis for human existence'.

- improving systemic solutions for preventing and combating terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- ensuring the safe functioning of the Republic of Poland in cyberspace;
- ensuring safe conditions for the development of human and social capital and innovation, the efficiency and competitiveness of the economy, as well as the financial stability of the state;
- ensuring energy and climate security and environmental protection, biodiversity and natural resources, especially water resources, as well as shaping the country's spatial development in a way that increases resistance to various threats, especially military, natural and technological ones;
- ensuring food security;
- conducting effective family policy and adapting migration policy to new challenges;
- increasing public awareness in the field of security and increasing the citizens' competence to respond appropriately in crisis situations²⁶.

Analysing the strategic objectives, it is easy to come to the conclusion that actions aimed at the effective implementation of most of the above-mentioned 18 strategic objectives also cover the sphere of activity in the area of internal security and its subsystems²⁷.

There are many conceptions of the objective scope of the concept of internal security, so it is difficult to indicate one comprehensive and universal formula today. It also seems that the problems with defining this phenomenon are unlikely to disappear, because internal security is still evolving and changing, being dependent on the character of threats. However, there is no doubt that internal security is a component of the broader concept of national security, while the degree of legal formalisation and the substantive capacity of the concept of internal security are a much more complicated and ambiguous matter.

The evolution of security and its newer and newer variations are primarily the result of globalisation and the information revolution, which of course have a positive impact on the state and are a factor stimulating every society to develop, but also bring new threats – both in the military and non-military dimensions²⁸.

In an attempt to show the evolution of internal security in Poland, it should be remembered that the problem can be approached in two ways. First of all, over the years, the institutional system itself, understood as the administrative apparatus of internal security, has been subject to evolution. Secondly, the very internal security, perceived as a phenomenon, has evolved, and this has been influenced and continues to be influenced by the ever-changing threats to internal security.

²⁶ Strategia bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP na lata 2014-2019, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.

²⁷ It is worth noting that the wording of the provisions concerning the most important national interests and strategic objectives in the field of security contained in the National Security Strategy of 2020 is almost identical to the previous document.

²⁸ Koziej S, Bezpieczeństwo..., *op. cit.*

The history of internal security dates back to the beginnings of statehood. From an institutional perspective, the history of the internal security system is closely linked to the creation of administrative structures²⁹. In Poland, the specific historical circumstances made it crucial for the survival and development of the state from the very beginning of its existence; alongside the internal dimension (the political system, military, economy) was the necessity to shape a friendly international environment. Hence, at the beginning of the state's existence, effective diplomatic and military endeavors became particularly important for ensuring security in the external dimension, while in the internal dimension – the shaping of national identity and one's own statehood³⁰.

As a matter of course, in the first centuries of the Polish statehood, the primary goal was to integrate different nationalities into one community. The main strategic objectives of the Jagiellonian Poland³¹ were based on the strengthening of the military and demographic potential through the Polish-Lithuanian Union and on eliminating the threat from the Teutonic Order, as well as on the strengthening of Poland's international position as a regional power. In the following centuries, Polish nobility, gaining numerous privileges, built the foundations of democracy, which was a Europe-wide phenomenon at that time. Since the 18th century, however, Poland gradually became a zone of influence for the neighboring powers, which affected the threats to internal security and ultimately led to the partitioning of the country³².

It is difficult to talk about the history of internal security during the partition period, because the main goal at that time was the survival of the nation and the maintenance of national identity, and the systems of ensuring internal security were introduced basically following the model of systems functioning in individual 'partitioning states'. That, of course, had its consequences, for example, in relation to the culture of creating later organisational structures of the internal security system after Poland regained its independence in those territories.

Nevertheless, in the case of Poland, it seems that the history of the First and Second World Wars and the consequent period of the Polish People's Republic (hereinafter: PRL)³³ were the basic determinant of the evolution of the internal security system – from both the institutional and objective perspectives (the type and nature of threats).

The development of an effective internal security system in Poland after 1989 was a major challenge for Polish society. During the communist regime in Poland, the scope of activity of the internal security administration can be seen from Prof. Adam Łopatka's

²⁹ Witkowski W, *Historia administracji w Polsce 1764–1989*. Warsaw, 2007, p. 18.

³⁰ Biuro Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego, *Biała...*, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³¹ 1385–1572.

³² Biuro Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego, *Biała...*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³³ The official name of the Polish state in 1952–1989 (commonly known as People's Poland).

statement that ‘the aim of that activity was to keep in obedience, also by using physical force, all those who were against the social and legal order which was convenient for the ruling class’³⁴. Tasks of the Ministry of Public Security were politically motivated and were carried out mainly by the Citizens’ Militia (hereinafter: MO) and the Department of Security, which later functioned as the Security Service.

As claimed by Prof. A. Łopatka, ‘the internal function at that time consisted of the whole activity of the state, involving the maintenance and strengthening of the leading role of the ruling class in society. The setting of goals and tasks for the ministry of internal affairs by political decision-makers was justified by the fact that the ministry was particularly committed to the performance of its internal function, which at that time was thoroughly political in nature’³⁵.

In the initial period of the PRL, among the national and state interests, the most important ones were the building of an ideologised, socialist statehood in the absence of sovereignty, while the strategic objectives of the PRL’s authorities in the field of security were focused primarily on maintaining power and internal order in the state at all costs. This entailed the expansion of special services and militia forces. Citizens were under permanent surveillance, and all social problems (attempts at protest, demonstrations) were solved by force³⁶.

In order to provide a better understanding of the specifics of that period, it is worth mentioning that the people’s authorities at that time used a propaganda slogan about full public trust in the political and economic program. This is one of the reasons why the Voluntary Reserve of the Citizens’ Militia (hereinafter: ORMO) was established. The official goal of this paramilitary organisation was to socially strengthen the instruments for ‘fighting gangsterism, robberies and other dangerous crimes’³⁷. In practice, the idea was to more fully integrate the society with the authorities and include party activists in the ORMO.

As far as threats to internal security are concerned, in the 1960s and 1970s, crime in Poland was a fact, especially volume and organised crime. Nevertheless, the then authorities concealed all information about the rampant crime, and falsified statistics in order to make propaganda slogans about the effectiveness of the MO more credible. Undoubtedly, the high incidence of crime, especially organised crime, which flourished in Poland in the 1990s – right after the fall of communism – was also due to the fact that the activities of criminal groups (also of those which had existed before 1989) were finally revealed.

In the following years of the Polish People’s Republic, the social and economic situation continued to deteriorate, hence the security policy in the 1980s focused on the internal dimension, until the eruption of the

³⁴ Łopatka A, *Wstęp do prawoznawstwa*. Warsaw, 1969, p. 124.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁶ Cf.: Biuro Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego, *Biała...*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁷ Misiuk A, *Instytucje bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego. Zarys dziejów od X wieku do współczesności*. Szczytno, 2012, p. 313.

state system took on an unconcealable form. As Andrzej Misiuk writes, some of the decision-makers in power at the time were aware that it was no longer possible to manage the state efficiently even by means of violence, so, with the permission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, talks with the opposition began in early 1989³⁸ (these were the so-called Round Table Talks, which lasted from February 6 to April 5, 1989). As a result of those Talks, partially free elections were held in June 1989, which led to the peaceful transfer of power to the opposition represented by the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the autumn of that year, and a year later Lech Wałęsa became President of the Republic of Poland. This was the beginning of the political transformation of the state, which also, and perhaps above all, included the internal security apparatus.

It should be emphasised that more than 40 years of the functioning of the extremely repressive internal security apparatus of the PRL put an extremely difficult task before the new authorities, *i.e.* to build internal security administration structures, the cornerstone of which was the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, with one of the fundamental objectives (besides the effective fight against crime and threats) being to gain the citizens' trust. It is worth noting that, in principle, the newly established, independent, democratic Polish state had to face completely new security conditions, confront the Western world and, consequently, face other types of threats to security. In addition, not without significance was the fact that the end of the Cold War resulted, among others, in a serious re-evaluation of people's mindsets, and such changes required time, because they are a long-term and long-lasting process.

Of course, the social and political changes involved the democratisation of various areas of public, social and economic life. Still, the strongest emotions were stirred by the activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, treated as a guarantor of the position of the Polish United Workers' Party and responsible for the violation of the rule of law and civil rights during the whole period of the PRL. One of the first decisions of the so-called Contractual Sejm was the appointment of the Sejm's Extraordinary Commission to investigate the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, headed by Jan Maria Rokita, which was to disclose and make public all of the offenses of the officers of the PRL's Ministry of Internal Affairs. Nevertheless, the actions of the then government and parliament were not consistent. In his parliamentary exposé, T. Mazowiecki declared the introduction of the so-called 'thick line' principle (the 'no responsibility for the wrong done' principle) in internal politics, which was interpreted in various ways. Mazowiecki's supporters claimed that it was an effective method of neutralising the forces of the previous system, and its critics were of the opinion that it was an unacceptable act of forgetting the wrongs of that period³⁹.

1990 brought a number of organisational and legal changes in the internal security system. The Ministry of Internal Affairs was recreated anew. Political supervision over the implementation of the reform of the

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

³⁹ Misiuk A, *Instytucje...*, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

internal security sector was also ensured by the establishment of a Political Advisory Committee to the Minister of Internal Affairs, composed of representatives of all political parties present in the Parliament of the Republic of Poland. In 1990, the Minister of Internal Affairs was tasked with supervising the newly established forces, *e.g.* the Police, which replaced the MO, and the Border Guard, which was created in place of the Border Protection Guard. Other services subordinated to the Minister of Internal Affairs at the time were the State Protection Office, the Government Protection Office and the State Fire Service. The initial period of creating a democratic state under the rule of law, together with the law-abiding law enforcement agencies, focused on creating a legal basis for the operation of the relevant forces and services, as well as on establishing mechanisms of control and supervision over their activities.

Another element of the transformation, which was evidence for the evolution of the internal security system, was the strengthening of the role of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its location in the public administration system in 1995⁴⁰. It was closely linked to the 1996 reform of the central state administration, which divided the entire sphere of government administration into 28 divisions. As a result of the reforms, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration was created in place of two separate ministries, and the head of this office – the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration – was entrusted with the supervision of three sectors: internal affairs, public administration, and religious faiths⁴¹. Following the changes, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration was given the possibility to influence the responsibilities of government administration bodies (province governors) and as regards local government bodies – in terms of tasks in the field of cooperation in matters of public order and safety, and crisis management.

In the next years, further improvements were made to the system of central and local government administration⁴². For the internal security system, and especially for the functioning of the Police, of particular importance was the reform implemented in 1999, as a result of which the responsibilities of government administration authorities (province governors) changed and local government levels were established⁴³. The reform

⁴⁰ Ustawa z 21 lipca 1995 r. o zmianie ustaw: o urzędzie Ministra Spraw Wewnętrznych, o Policji, o Urzędzie Ochrony Państwa, o Straży Granicznej oraz niektórych innych ustaw (Act of 21 July 1995 on the amendment of the following acts: Act on the office of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Act on the Police, Act on the State Protection Office, Act on the Border Guard, and some other acts) (Dz.U., 1995, No. 104, item 491).

⁴¹ Additionally, in 1999, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration was made responsible for another area of administration – architecture and administration. See: Misiuk A, *Instytucje...*, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

⁴² The entire political transformation took time, as it entailed changes in citizens' awareness.

⁴³ See: Ustawa z 24 lipca 1998 r. o zmianie niektórych ustaw określających kompetencje organów administracji publicznej w związku reformą ustrojową

changed the administrative division of Poland because it introduced a three-tier structure of territorial division. 16 central and self-government provinces and 315 self-government districts were established. The reform was aimed at building self-government and streamlining the activities of local authorities.

The 1998 public administration reform (the creation of the province in a new political and territorial shape) introduced a dualistic system of public administration and the decentralisation of administration. At the provincial level, public administration is carried out both by the government administration authorities (the provincial governor in charge of general administration and the authorities of non-combined administration) and by the provincial self-government authorities⁴⁴. The introduced changes also applied to the internal security sector, *e.g.* the provincial governor was given the powers to coordinate the cooperation of services and institutions in emergencies, but first of all he/she became a local body of central administration in the sphere of security and public order protection⁴⁵. The provincial government administration was organised on a teamwork basis, which means that the provincial governor became the coordinator not only of the government administration locally, but also, to some extent, of specific services, inspections and guards performing the tasks of general administration in the province.

Undoubtedly, the last nearly 30 years have been a time of continuous administrative reforms – including the sector of internal affairs administration. These reforms have involved both the modernisation of administrative structures (to a greater extent more visible through the prism of statutory changes) and the ways in which the administration operates (equally important and intensive, but relatively less visible)⁴⁶.

In the 1990s, the main effort of the community of politicians, lawyers and police officers themselves who took part in the preparation of the so-called police bills at that time was directed at depoliticising the activities of the law enforcement agencies by separating the political, civilian management of the Ministry of Internal Affairs from the professional, apolitical and counterchecked police forces⁴⁷.

państwa (Law of July 24, 1998 on the amendment of certain laws defining the competences of public administration authorities in connection with the reform of the state's political system) (Dz.U., 1998, No. 106, item 668; hereinafter: *ustawa o zmianie ustaw określających kompetencje organów administracji publicznej*).

⁴⁴ Trociuk S, *Samorząd województwa*. Warsaw, 1999, p. 7.

⁴⁵ See: *Ustawa o zmianie ustaw określających kompetencje organów administracji publicznej; ustawa z 13 października 1998 r. — Przepisy wprowadzające ustawy reformujące administrację publiczną* (Act on the amendment of laws defining the competences of public administration authorities; Act of 13 October 1998 – Provisions introducing acts reforming public administration) (Dz.U., 1998, No. 106, item 669).

⁴⁶ Szreniawski J, *Wprowadzenie do nauki administracji*. Lublin, 1997, p. 15.

⁴⁷ Misiuk A, *Instytucje...*, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

The second extremely important area on which the efforts and activities of the law enforcement agencies were focussed were new threats which the individual forces had to face, and which they had never faced on such a scale before 1989.

In the 1980s, the number of recorded crimes remained at a more or less stable level of about 500,000 per year. In 1990, the number of reported crimes increased significantly. While in 1989, the police registered 547,589 crimes, in 1990, the number of reported crimes was as high as 883,346, which was an increase by 61.3%. In the following years, the total number of recorded crimes was not subject to such a significant increase, but went up by about 10% per year⁴⁸.

The beginning of the new social, political and economic situation in the country became the threshold which marked dynamic 'development' of previously marginal or unknown types of crimes (difficult to prosecute due to the fact that, among others, they had not always been criminalised and regulated by the then Penal Code – the Act of 19 April 1969⁴⁹, e.g. ICT-related crimes). The main crime trends of the 1990s observed by criminologists were as follows:

- professionalisation and increasing perfection of crime,
- increase in violent volume crime and economic crime, and above all, organised crime,
- internationalisation of organised crime,
- political dimension of new criminal phenomena, including the so-called great economic scandals⁵⁰.

The complete change of economic policy rules, the liberalisation of laws and the subsequent opening of borders are extremely favourable conditions for the development of the country and its economy, at the same time having some negative consequences. The period after 1990 witnessed an unprecedented development of the grey economy, as the poorly identified criminal groups became active and started flourishing, and the undisclosed deep links between criminal structures and representatives of state institutions, economic circles, law enforcement agencies and the judiciary became sometimes glaringly apparent. The existing laws, including criminal ones, were not adapted to the changes taking place⁵¹. Rapidly widening legal loopholes allowed for unpunished ventures bringing illegal profits on a huge scale⁵².

⁴⁸ Szymańczak J, *Przestępczość w Polsce w latach dziewięćdziesiątych*. Warsaw, 1998, p. 3. *Electronic source*: <http://docplayer.pl/26506652-Informacja-nr-643-przestepczosc-w-polsce-w-latach-dziewiecdziesiatych-kancelaria-sejmu-biuro-studiow-i-ekspertyz.html>, accessed: 30 July 2020.

⁴⁹ Dz.U., 1969, No. 13, item 94.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵¹ To give an example, the crime of money laundering was not criminalised at all in the Polish law until 1994.

⁵² Mądrzejowski W, *Pojęcie przestępczości zorganizowanej i działalność zorganizowanych struktur przestępczych w Polsce* [in:] Jasiński W, Mądrzejowski

At that time, there was a clear trend towards specialised organised crime groups engaged in criminal business involving economic activity and drug crime. As for organised crime, car theft developed most rapidly both at home and abroad. Extortion of ransom money from private business people also developed on a large scale. Moreover, new forms of organised economic crime developed, especially the so-called excise crime⁵³.

According to Professor Wiesław Pływaczewski, the 1990s were primarily characterised by⁵⁴:

- the increase in the threat of crimes against persons and property combined with aggression, violence and ruthlessness towards the victims, e.g. the number of murders in 1988 was 530, and in 1997, it increased to 1093;
- growing use of firearms by criminals both against victims and responding police officers;
- intensification of revenge crime: murders, robberies, batteries, criminal terrorism (the new criminological categories of the most serious crimes were homicides motivated by financial revenge or contract killings, which were quite often committed by professional killers);
- a bigger number and growing professionalisation of criminal groups (more and more offences, both criminal and economic in nature, were committed by criminals acting together in an organised and planned manner);
- more and more frequent involvement of foreign citizens operating in criminal groups on the territory of Poland;
- ever growing threat of drug-related and economic crime.

It can be concluded that thanks to the effectiveness and professionalisation of the law enforcement services, especially the reformed Police, at the beginning of the 21st century, it was possible to eliminate the most dangerous criminal trends – especially in the field of organised crime – and to significantly reduce the scale of volume crime. For several years now, the downward trend in crime has been clearly visible. As police statistics show, the number of crimes recorded in Poland in the last 10 years has decreased by more than 1/3, which means that nowadays on average half a million fewer crimes are committed per year compared to 10 years ago, and the number of recorded crimes has been fluctuating around one million in recent years⁵⁵.

Poland's admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (hereinafter: NATO) and the European Union (hereinafter: EU) closed the period in which Poland, like other Eastern Bloc countries, made its way from membership in the Warsaw Pact through its stay in the 'grey zone' of

W, Wiciak K (Eds), *Przestępczość zorganizowana. Fenomen. Współczesne zagrożenia. Zwalczenie. Ujęcie praktyczne*. Szczytno, 2013, p. 52.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 52–53.

⁵⁴ See: Pływaczewski E, *Przestępczość zorganizowana i wybrane problemy jej przeciwdziałania w Polsce* [in:] Pływaczewski W, Świerczewski J (Eds), *Policja polska wobec przestępczości zorganizowanej*. Szczytno, 1997, pp. 20–21.

⁵⁵ A total of 776,909 crimes were recorded. See: Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, *Raport o stanie bezpieczeństwa w Polsce za rok 2016*. Warsaw, 2017, p. 9.

security to its presence in the most powerful political and military structure of the modern world. The assumed responsibilities of a NATO and an EU member state also impose the requirement to shape the security administration in such a way as to make it an efficient tool of the state, but also to be a system prepared for cooperation with the allies⁵⁶. Since May 1, 2004, when Poland became an EU Member State, the level of security in the country has been gradually increasing, now making Poland one of the safest countries in the whole European Union.

It does not mean, however, that the progressive integration as part of the EU has not brought any threats to Poland's internal security. Undeniably, the opening of borders – *i.e.* the abolition of border control at the internal borders of the Schengen area⁵⁷ and Poland's accession to the zone in 2007 – are of significance when it comes to, for example, the ease of movement of criminal groups in Europe, and illegal migration.

Another factor having a huge impact on modern threats to internal security has become the technological and information revolution. In the era of the Internet and technological possibilities which are available to the general public, many new threats have appeared. Criminals are able to make great use of modern technological tools to commit more and more sophisticated crimes, as well as to monitor the response, operational, training and equipment capabilities of law enforcement agencies in individual countries. Therefore, in the era of recent threats, classic examples of which are terrorist and cybercrime threats, it has become essential to intensify international cooperation of services and institutions responsible for internal security in their own countries.

Critics and Eurosceptics are of the opinion that the above developments lead to the Polish government's dependence on international organisations, which limits the Polish state's sovereignty, as competences and part of its decision-making powers are increasingly being transferred to the supranational level. This creates a system of interdependence in the area of security. However, this is an inevitable process because, as Sławomir Zalewski points out, if one considers the phenomenon of globalisation as the opening of new opportunities in the social or economic sphere, it is not difficult to talk about globalisation in relation to the criminal world or terrorism⁵⁸.

To sum up, there is no doubt that in the last 30 years, internal security in Poland has undergone a profound evolution, which could even be called a revolution. Perhaps this is why it is so difficult to point to one universal definition of internal security. The specific historical and geopolitical

⁵⁶ Zalewski S, *Administracja rządowa wobec wyzwań bezpieczeństwa państwa*. Bielsko-Biała, 2007, p. 72.

⁵⁷ The Schengen Agreement is an agreement that abolishes the control of persons crossing borders between the member states of the agreement and intensifies cooperation in security (especially border cooperation) and asylum policy. The agreement was concluded on 14 June 1985 in Schengen in Luxembourg, but Poland joined the zone on 21 December 2007.

⁵⁸ Zalewski S, *Administracja...*, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

conditions made it possible to point out two categories of factors that led to the revolution and then to the still progressing evolution of the internal security system in Poland. The first group of factors are the geopolitical conditions and the post-1989 transformation of the political system, which resulted in the creation of the foundations of a democratic state of law with a system of citizens' protections under the new political conditions. The other group of factors resulting in the evolution of the country's internal security system are the technological revolution of the 21st century and the rapid development of information technologies.

At the same time, it should be emphasised that while this first category of factors forced a one-time but thorough evolution of the system, the progressing technological and information revolution forces changes on a continuous basis. Nowadays, nowhere in the world is there a universal system of internal security that could function in isolation from ever new technologies, both those used by law enforcement agencies to effectively fight crime, by institutions of the civil protection system to prevent disasters, and by criminals who immediately adapt their operations to new conditions, *e.g.* when using modern technologies for their illegal activities or taking advantage of the benefits of globalisation.

It is also worth noting that security and development are two basic dimensions of the functioning of states and societies, which are interdependent; without security, one cannot dream of development and development is facilitated by security. As Stanisław Koziej rightly observes – the foundation of this duo is security⁵⁹.

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⁵⁹ Koziej S, Bezpieczeństwo..., *op. cit.*, p. 1.

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Summary: The article attempts to find an answer as to what internal security is today and how it can be defined and placed in the conceptual framework of other types of security, such as external and national security. As the article underlines, the era of separating the concepts of internal and external security has become out of date, which is due to the fact that security is in a process of constant evolution, alongside with its definitional scope. Over the years, the process of the evolution of internal security in Poland has involved the change of both the very institutional system, understood as the administrative apparatus of internal security, and the phenomenon of internal security itself, which has been and still is being influenced by the changing nature of security threats. The article describes the process of the evolution of internal security in Poland, conditioned both by the socio-economic development and by the transformation of the political system. Attention is also drawn to the technological and information revolution in the context of its huge impact on subsequent changes in the so-called phenomenon of internal security globalisation, which creates a system of interdependencies in the area of security, including international security.