

dr Paweł Łubiński
Pedagogical University of Krakow
Institute of Security Sciences
R. Ingardena 4
30-060 Krakow, Poland

Ideological Security of the Contemporary State in the Polish Scientific and Research Space – Theoretical Aspects

Introduction

Based on international security research, it can be concluded that it is obvious that ideological security, a type of security classified subjectively, is often regarded as a subcategory of national security. This fact is not subject to doubt. However, the specific nature of ideological security, its semantic properties and relatively narrow scope, means that the term has been rarely applied in the Polish literature on the subject to define a separate category or type of security. Ideology (political ideology or a set of values and beliefs in a society), as a determinant of ideological security, describes the set of ideas, expert evaluations, opinions, aims and political values typical of a specific social group, which then supports that group's identity. In view of this fact, ideological security appears to be an element of political, social, economic, even cultural and religious security. The multi-vector nature of this research and semantic category results to some extent from the essence of the theory (concept) of security sectors proposed by the representatives of the Copenhagen School. Ideological security can be analyzed both in terms of its positive characteristics (the aspiration to develop a common worldview within society serving the national interest) and negative characteristics (reducing the impact of contrary and extreme ideologies).

This paper is an attempt to conceptualize the term in the Polish scientific and research space and identify the determinants of the ideological security of the contemporary (liberal-democratic) state, understood as the aspiration (in a processual sense) to preserve the generally respected system of norms, values and beliefs (ideologies), the protection of which has the consent of society, and to allow other ideologies to develop within that society as long as they do not violate the universally accepted axiological system or undermine the fundamental national interests of the state. Seeing state as the main referent of security is not self-evident, but due to the narrowing of the subject, this paper is embedded in a realist paradigm. The analysis concentrates on the definition and structure of the term "ideological security", its subjective and objective characteristics, meaning and scope of responsibility in the pursuit of the state's national interests (also in the axiological dimension), the interdependence of political and ideological security (based on internal and external conditions), the importance of providing ideological security and its dependence on constitutive values of particular ideologies. Selected threats to ideological security are also presented.

Terminological considerations

From the extensive literature on the subject, taking security, as a research category of security studies, it can be concluded that the typologies proposed by many researchers are often inconsistent. Marc A. Levy claims that security is not easy to define and “the question of “whose security” (a nation, an international system, all of humanity) is easy to dispense with, however, because the choice depends on the goals of the analysis”.¹ This relativity or dependency is due to the open catalogue of classification categories and the new theoretical approaches that are constantly emerging.² Irrespective of the established subjective classification of security based on the main division criteria: personal, material, spatial, time, meaning, components or range,³ it can be stated that the ideological conditions and threats to security are the elements that result in the material criterion for the typology outweighing all the other criteria, allowing ideological security to be classified as a subcategory of national (state) security.⁴ In keeping with the representatives of the Copenhagen School (Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde), who in the course of their research identified the following security sectors: military, state/political, social, economic and environmental protection⁵, in his attempt to separate the sectors (domains) of national security, Lech Chojnowski lists a political sector, which embraces the issues of the stability and sovereignty, of the state, as well as its constitutional system and ideology.⁶ This approach results directly from the categorization of national interests, the pursuit of which proves the effectiveness of a policy based on the three pillars of security: sovereignty (internal and external), organizational stability and ideology. This last element determines the functioning of state entities.⁷ Ideology is the most interesting element of the triad as it is a constitutive element for defining the essence of the ideological security of the state.

In his theory of security sectors, Barry Buzan points out that political security “concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the

¹ LEVY, M. A. *Is the Environment a National Security Issue?* “International Security” 1995, Vol. 20, No. 2, p. 39.

² ŚCIBIOREK, Z. *Tożsamość nauk o bezpieczeństwie*, [in:] *Teoretyczne i metodologiczne podstawy problemów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa. Podręcznik akademicki*. Eds. Z. Ścibiorek, Z. Zamiar, Toruń 2016, p. 218.

³ KORZENIOWSKI, R. *Wstęp do metodologii badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, Olsztyn 2013, p. 11.

⁴ In many classical approaches to national security, it is defined by reference to threats of the state, society and non-governmental organizations. Richard Ullman suggests: “A threat to national security is an action or a sequence of events that (1) threatens drastically and over a relatively brief period of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to a state or to private, nongovernmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state”. R. Ullman, *Redefining Security*, “International Security” 1983, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 133.

⁵ See BUZAN, B.; WÆVER, O.; de WILDE, J. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder-London 1998.

⁶ CHOJNOWSKI, L. *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe. Aspekty instytucjonalne i organizacyjne*, Słupsk 2017, p. 21.

⁷ *Idem*, *Podmiotowo-przedmiotowe ramy analizy bezpieczeństwa a jego naukowa multidyscyplinarność*, [in:] *Metodologiczne i dydaktyczne aspekty bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, Eds. W. Kitler, T. Kośmider, Warszawa 2015, p. 197.

ideologies that give them legitimacy (...). Societal concerns the security sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom".⁸ Taking this into account, ideological security can be considered in terms of its convergence with political and social (societal) security. Buzan emphasizes that in the political sector, existential threats are traditionally defined in terms of the constituting principle of the state (sovereignty and sometimes also ideology).⁹ Within the Polish security research Waldemar Kitler describes ideological security as the process of various activities and measures within the realm of national security (or security in the general sense, covering political, military, economic, social, cultural, energy, ecological and information security),¹⁰ the main aim of which is to consolidate and shape the common belief in the pursuit of individual national interests, counteract any extreme ideologies and provide protection against various theories justifying actions that may be detrimental for the national interests and national identity.¹¹ In addition to the above aforementioned problem of the protection of the state and society against actions that are destructive to the internal and constitutional order, ideological security is also characterized by measures aimed at ensuring the survival, development and freedom to follow ideologies other than the one generally accepted (both secular and religious).¹² However, this is on condition that they do not promote ideological solutions harmful to the state and nation (in the 20th century, ideology, along with strategy and religion, was regarded as one of the intangible elements of the global environment of state security, and this is also the case at present as well).¹³ The connection of ideology with its

⁸ BUZAN, B. *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Boulder-Hemel Hempstead 1991, pp. 19-20. "Some people in Western Europe (...) show increasing concern for their national identities. Notably, this concern operates in a security mode: It is argued as a matter of survival, as an issue that should take precedence over any other. It has often been noticed that post-Cold War security is not primarily a military matter, that there are important new non-military security problems, prominent among which are issues of identity. Somewhat less noticed was a change in forms of community as referents of the security discourse — away from "state" and toward "nation." O. Wæver, *Identity, Integration and Security: Solving the Sovereignty Puzzle in E.U. Studies*, "Journal of International Affairs" 1995, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 403-404.

⁹ *Idem*, *Rethinking Security after the Col War*, "Cooperation and Conflict" 1997, Vol. 32 (5), p. 16.

¹⁰ Cf. FALECKI, J. *Bezpieczeństwo*, [in:] *Vademecum bezpieczeństwa*, Eds. O. Wasiuta, R. Klepka, R. Kopeć, Kraków 2018, p. 70; W. Kotowicz, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe*, [in:] *Podstawowe kategorie bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, Eds. A. Żukowski, M. Hartliński, W. T. Modzelewski, J. Więclawski, Olsztyn 2015, pp. 134-137.

¹¹ Cf. BUZAN, B. *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies...*, p. 19; W. Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie, uwarunkowania, system*, Warszawa 2011, p. 54; E. Maj, *Bezpieczeństwo ideologiczne w dyskursie politycznym Narodowej Demokracji*, [in:] *Bezpieczeństwo Europy. Bezpieczeństwo Polski*, Vol. 1, Eds. MAJ, E.; MAZUREK, K.; SOKÓŁ, W.; SZWED-WALCZAK, A. Lublin, 2016, p. 555.

¹² MALAK, K. *Typologia bezpieczeństwa. Nowe wyzwania*, <http://stosunki-miedzynarodowe.pl/bezpieczenstwo/954-typologia-bezpieczenstwa-nowe-wyzwania> (accessed: 11.01.2019).

¹³ SÓJKA, W. *Ewolucja środowiska bezpieczeństwa Polski i generowanie nowych kategorii zagrożeń w aspekcie bezpieczeństwa państwa*. [in:] *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*. Vol. VIII, Eds. P. Sienkiewicz, P. Dela, Warszawa, 2016, p. 517.

influence on the constitutional (systemic) order of the state and the level of national identity of the society was reflected in many scientific works on a global scale already in the 90s (Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, etc.).¹⁴ Naturally, it is important to draw a distinction between ideological security in its general meaning (referring to an ideology accepted by society as a whole or in part, or by a particular social group) and ideological security with a more specific meaning (referring to an ideology professed by a narrow group either in power or seeking it).

Bearing in mind its personal nature and scope of influence, ideological security can also be analyzed from internal and external perspectives. From the internal perspective the activities of institutions and entities responsible for ensuring ideological security will focus on reducing the activity (impact on society) of political parties, social groups, political pressure groups or religious groups which, in pursuit of their own interests, promote ideologies incompatible with basic constitutional principles. From the external perspective, ensuring ideological security involves reducing the activity of states, or other entities involved in international relations, which promote extreme ideologies and attempt constitutional changes in the area under their direct influence.¹⁵ Both perspectives of ideological security emphasize the protection of the political (constitutional) order of the state, and the axiological order in its broadest sense, against the influence of extremist groups¹⁶ or extreme ideologies, which are illegal and contradictory to the generally accepted system of values.

Strongly anchored in the realist paradigm of international relations, ideological security can be defined as ensuring the existence, survival and continuity of a state, and hence the pursuit of national interests (protection mainly against external factors), irrespective of any ideological rivalry or unavoidable conflict of interests in the security sphere.¹⁷ The 20th century was dominated by the radical ideologies of fascism and communism and the fact that they were gradually replaced in the 21st century with related threats to the national and international order, such as fundamentalism, does not undermine the importance of ideology as a factor in determining internal and external security. Witold Pokruszyński claims that “the ideological-political factor should be emphasized as one of the basic determinants of national security in the alliance system (the EU) in which member states follow different ideologies, policies

¹⁴ BUZAN, B.; WÆVER, O.; de WILDE, J. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder-London 1998, p. 140; B. Buzan, *National Security in the Post-Cold War Third World*, “Strategic Review for Southern Africa” 1994, Vol. 16, pp. 1-34; B. Buzan, *International Security and International Society*, [in:] *International Society After the Cold War: Anarchy and Order Reconsidered*, Eds. R. Fawn, J. Larkin, London 1996, pp. 261-287.

¹⁵ URBANEK, A. *Państwo jako podmiot bezpieczeństwa narodowego – ujęcie dziedzinowe*, [in:] *Wybrane problemy bezpieczeństwa. Dziedziny bezpieczeństwa*, Ed. A. Urbanek, Słupsk 2013, p. 32.

¹⁶ “Extremismus beschreibt demnach wesentlich die fundamentale Gegnerschaft zur Demokratie, konkret zu den Ideen des demokratischen Verfassungsstaats”. S. Kailitz, *Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Wiesbaden 2004, s. 15. See U. Backes, E. Jesse, *Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Bonn 1996, p. 45.

¹⁷ ZIĘBA, R. *Teoria bezpieczeństwa państwa w ujęciu neorealistycznym*. “Studia Politologiczne” 2018, Vol. 49, pp. 18-20.

and security strategies".¹⁸ It should be also highlighted that the links between ideology and politics in ensuring the security of individual states are so enduring, that ideological security is often treated within the literature as an axiological (value-based) subcategory of political security (namely ensuring, the survival and development of the state as well as stable governance).¹⁹ In this context, ideological security appears to be a concept referring to the "certainty of the survival and development of the ideology that constitutes the basis for the system of government in a given state".²⁰

Types and determinants of ideological security

Looking at the practical dimension of ideological security, it is possible to distinguish certain subcategories. On the one hand, these subcategories specify the stages of providing this type of security, understood as a certain structured process, but on the other hand, they also define its material nature. Ewa Maj lists the following subtypes of ideological security: legal-political, organizational, personal and environmental. The legal-political type refers to the identification of threats and the shaping of the protection of national interests on the legislative level, while the organisational type of ideological security determines the principles of establishing state (political) institutions (structures) on the basis of constitutive values (ideas). The personal type of ideological security deals with the selection of people for prominent posts in public administration, related to professions of public trust, which are generally respected by society. The environmental type of ideological security, on the other hand, concentrates on reducing the negative impact of particular individuals or social groups on the immediate environment in order to strengthen national and state security.²¹

According to Janusz Filipkowski, ideology, the term which makes it possible to distinguish ideological security from other types of security is a theory used to describe social reality. It includes a certain set of beliefs about the model of a good ("ideal") society and defines the means and methods for carrying out social transformations in order to achieve the state of "how it should be?"²² However, the answer to the question: "How should it be?" depends (in a subjective sense) on the assumptions of the particular ideology. Different ideologies define this desired state in their own way. Irrespective of whether it is conservatism, liberalism, anarchism, socialism, communism or nationalism that is accepted as the leading ideology in the process of conceptualising the vision of a society, state and constitutional order,²³ ideological security can be defined as the process of creating and protecting the set of values and

¹⁸ POKRUSZYŃSKI, W. *Teoretyczne aspekty bezpieczeństwa. Podręcznik akademicki*. Józefów 2010, pp. 29-30.

¹⁹ BUZAN, B. *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies...*, p. 19.

²⁰ Cf. PAWLIKOWSKA, I. *Bezpieczeństwo jako cel polityki zagranicznej państwa*, [in:] *Wstęp do teorii polityki zagranicznej państwa*, Ed. R. Zięba, Toruń 2009, pp. 62-63; R. Zięba, *Instytucjonalizacja bezpieczeństwa europejskiego. Koncepcje – struktury – funkcjonowanie*. Warszawa 2004, p. 31.

²¹ MAJ, E. *Bezpieczeństwo ideologiczne w dyskursie politycznym...*, pp. 561-562.

²² FILIPKOWSKI, J. *Ideologia*, [in:] *Podstawowe kategorie polityki*, Eds. S. Opara, D. Radziszewska-Szczepaniak, A. Żukowski, Olsztyn 2005, p. 295.

²³ ULICKA, G. *Determinanty polityki*, [in:] *Wprowadzenie do nauki o państwie i polityce*. Eds. B. Szmulik, M. Żmigrodzki, Lublin 2007, p. 307.

ideas that are important for the proper functioning of the state. This issue would appear to be even more complicated as every ideologically minded socio-political community regards their own beliefs as legitimate for forming the basis of the (ideological) security of the state.

Drawing on the highly simplified paradigm of ideas that are constitutive for particular ideologies, it should be noted that for conservatives, for example, the basis of the ideological security of a state are: religion (an anchor of social order and stability), property (an inherited good, protected by the state), the family (a natural and enduring community), freedom (a reflection of the traditional and customary legal order) and the law (historically shaped norms that are unconditionally respected). The determinants of ideological security in liberalism are: the individual (a subject with human and civil rights), property (a determinant of the inalienable right to private property), freedom (an undeniable element of liberal thought in economic, political, social and religious terms – in the context of the free market, political pluralism, freedom of speech, religion, origin and sexual orientation, etc.). For anarchists, the main ideas are: freedom (an individual's free choice to decide on their goals and the methods by which to achieve them) and society (a community in which the individual has both autonomy and freedom). In socialism, the key ideas are: state ownership (a limitation on private property), social equality and justice (the elimination of social barriers due to class), freedom (freedom from exploitation and from the limitations of an equitable start in life for all) and work (the basis of human dignity and a person's social value). In communism, however, the main ideas are: the lack of private property (a condition of social equality), egalitarianism (as the opposite of elitism), justice (implementation of the slogan "everyone according to their needs"), freedom (liberation from the dominance of capitalism), and a stateless society (the elimination of the trigger for exploitation, namely, the state). For nationalists, finally, the basis of ideological security is: the idea of the nation state (a sovereign and inviolable cultural entity), the nation (the greatest good and highest value), national solidarity (the result of the cooperation of all members of the state), national identity (the most important element of an individual's identity) and the national interest (an aim that is superior to an individual's interests).²⁴

Threats and conditions of ideological security

Ideological security is largely determined by its threats. Ideological security and its threats can be analyzed from an objective or subjective perspective. From the objective perspective, therefore, ideological security relates to protection against threats caused by any action, or failure to act, which results in restrictions on the freedom of speech, conscience or religion. In this sense, ideological security is protection against the negative influence of other ideologies contrary to societal, national and state interests. The objective nature of the threats to ideological security means, on the one hand, that the occurrence and influence of these threats can be independent of human consciousness. On the other hand, it means that man is able to influence the shape of the protection system against these kinds of threats.

²⁴ See HEYWOOD, A. *Ideologie polityczne. Wprowadzenie*. Warszawa 2008; DZIUBKA, K.; SZLACHTA, B.; NIJAKOWSKI, M. L. *Idee i ideologie we współczesnym świecie*. Warszawa 2008; R. Tokarczyk, *Współczesne doktryny polityczne*, Warszawa 2010; ŁUBIŃSKI, P. *Naród, nacjonalizm i ruch narodowy z perspektywy politologicznej*. Katowice, 2018.

Ideological security (together with its threats) can also be very subjective and may depend on the kind of ideology that a particular society or group “professes”. The subjective nature of ideological security is determined by the experiences, views and evaluations of a particular subject (entity).²⁵ In this case, threats to ideological security will include actions, or failures to act, which are contrary to the accepted ideology (of the party in power, for example). As would be expected, per Ole Wæver, today the threats or the obstacles to societal-political integration come not from states protesting but from societal forces holding back their more enthusiastic political elites.²⁶

At this point, it is important to quote the theory postulated by Daniel Frei, who classified the objective and subjective elements of threats to the ideological security of a state into four categories (states), depending on how that society and its authorities perceive security.²⁷ These categories (states) then adapted to the conditions typical for ideological security. When considering two extremely different states – the state of a lack of security and the state of security – in the context of a real extreme ideological threat, the following conclusions can be reached. According to Craig A. Snyder: “In the post-Cold War era the object of security is shifting away from the state to the individual or substate group. This implies a focus on how individuals can threaten the state (or ruling regime) or how the state can threaten the security of individuals, mainly in the name of regime preservation or national security”.²⁸ This is well illustrated by communism and Islamic fundamentalism. In the case of the activities of pro-communist groups, the lack of security means that the actual threat (related to, among other things, the spread of communist ideology in society, the activities of groups developing from-within that oppose the democratic standards of the rule of law, proposals for the abolition of private property, promoting the ideas of a workers’ revolution and the dominant role of totalitarian party, ubiquitous censorship, the creation of “newspeak” or the repression of any religious expression)²⁹ is perceived correctly by the state, i.e. this threat demands the prompt intervention of civil society, state institutions and public services for it to be eliminated. With regard to the threat of Islamic fundamentalism, however, a state of security will be reached as long as this threat is insignificant or non-existent, and the state correctly identifies the level of threat as negligible. The low level of threat posed by Islamic fundamentalism is beneficial not only from an ideological security perspective (understood as countering any extreme ideologies and providing protection against various theories promoting or justifying actions with negative consequences for the national interest) but also from the point of view of national security. This results from the fact that fundamentalism (even with its specific religious overtones) plays the role of a political ideology. The ideologization of politics and the politicisation of ideology are processes which significantly influence respect for the rules and values within a state and society. Islamic fundamentalism explicitly opposes the secular principles of state organization, political and religious

²⁵ KORZENIOWSKI, L. F. *Podstawy nauk o bezpieczeństwie*, Warszawa 2017, pp. 114-115.

²⁶ WÆVER, O. *Identity, Integration and Security...*, p. 404.

²⁷ PAWŁOWSKI, J.; MARCZAK, J.; GAŚIOREK, K. *Definiowanie i uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa narodowego (państwa)*. [in:] *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego (państwa)*. Ed. J. Pawłowski, Warszawa 2017, pp. 33-34.

²⁸ SNYDER, C. A. *Contemporary Security and Strategy*. New York 1999, p. 8.

²⁹ DZIUBKA, K.; SZLACHTA, B.; NIJAKOWSKI, M. L. *Idee i ideologie we współczesnym świecie...*, pp. 108-114.

pluralism and liberal tolerance, freedom of speech and religion, Western atheism and a materialistic approach.³⁰ Therefore, it is perceived as a considerable threat to the ideological security of a contemporary state with a democratic system of government.

The ideological-political conditions of state security are extremely important in the process of designing a national security strategy since the appearance of many ideologies in one country, or their extremes, may lead to an increase in the number of conflict situations, which should be a concern for the state authorities.³¹ Ideological threats of a political nature can take the form, for example, of “undermining the sovereignty and territorial integrity by another entity, weaknesses in the rule of law and civil society structures, ethnic, ideological or religious disputes, the aspiration to create a new state, the creation of new zones of influence, regional or local domination, corruption in the structures of government and public administration, terrorist acts against state institutions, an international organization, coalition or military alliance”.³² Having many ideologies in one state, and the fact that ideological security provides the conditions and means for those ideologies to develop in one social, cultural and political space (which may result in ideological disputes), may create obstacles for the process of ensuring ideological security. These obstacles may be created, among other things, by the subjective nature of particular ideologies in the state, the subversive nature of some ideologies, the mutually exclusive principles of certain ideologies, simplifying and reducing reality to a bipolar dimension, making absolute claims about the foundation of a particular ideology, its utopian character, or prioritising so called “wishful thinking” over the accurate and reliable analysis of reality.³³ All the aforementioned difficulties can also result from the lack of an effective policy and ideology in situations where there is a shortage of adherents engaged in the implementation of specific directives (based on emotional actions referring to a myth or a particular ritual).³⁴ There is also the justified fear that the assumptions of the officially prevailing ideology in a country may exclude other ideological groups. This fact calls into question the sense of ideological security – even more so since the principle of ideological (as well as political, social and economic) pluralism is one of the three constitutive principles (along with the principle of sovereignty and the principle of the division of powers)³⁵ forming the basis of the rule of law.

Conclusion

To conclude, it should be noted that the author’s aim, as stated in the introduction, has been achieved. It should be clearly stated that irrespective of the theory,

³⁰ Cf. CZEKAJ, Ł.; CZOP, A.; PIETRZYK, M. *Międzynarodowe, regionalne i lokalne aspekty bezpieczeństwa*. Kraków 2018, pp. 11-19; DZIUBKA, K.; SZLACHTA, B.; NIJAKOWSKI, M. L. *Idee i ideologie we współczesnym świecie...*, pp. 91-95.

³¹ PAWŁOWSKI, J.; MARCZAK, J.; GAŚIOREK, K. *Definiowanie i uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa...*, p. 46.

³² SÓJKA, W. *Zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski*. [in:] *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego (państwa)*. Ed. J. Pawłowski, Warszawa 2017, p. 184.

³³ FILIPKOWSKI, J. *Ideologia...*, p. 297.

³⁴ HREBENDA, S. *Mityczne aspekty ideologii*, [in:] *Między realizmem a utopią. Świadomościowo-ideologiczne i polityczne przesłanki pokoju i demokracji na przełomie XX i XXI wieku oraz ich historyczne uwarunkowania*. Ed. J. Świeca, Katowice 1998, pp. 57, 62.

³⁵ URBANEK, A. *Państwo jako podmiot bezpieczeństwa narodowego...*, p. 18.

classification, typology or conceptualization applied, the term “ideological security”, despite the efforts to define it scientifically, remains extremely broad and rich in content and can be treated as a part, a discipline or subcategory, of national security, or even political security and, in some sense, cultural security. The importance of this finding is supported by the fact that, to date, the term has received little attention of note in academic papers in the Polish scientific and research space, or academia. It is likely that this situation is a result of the numerous factors listed in this paper, namely: the difficulties with specification and clarification, and the rather open catalogue of classifications in which ideological security is defined sometimes as a constructive element of national security and also as a separate research category. Interestingly, both theoretical approaches are legitimate. Therefore, ideological security is a matter of capturing something much broader, which goes beyond the limits of the protection of constitutional values, and can be called the protection of the “axiological order”, as a system of values commonly recognized (accepted) in a particular society. The question of how to achieve “axiological security” in the case of a liberal-democratic state remains open, especially since political, ideological and axiological pluralism is a fundamental principle of this type of state. In the Polish research perspective, this is an issue worthy of attention and it can be identified as a topic for future research. It is to be hoped that ideological security, as a research category within Polish security studies, will soon receive the full and comprehensive scientific study that it undoubtedly deserves.

Bibliography

- BACKES, U., Jesse E. *Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Bonn, 1996.
- BUZAN, B., *International Security and International Society*. [in:] *International Society After the Cold War: Anarchy and Order Reconsidered*. Eds. R. Fawn, J. Larkin, London, 1996.
- BUZAN, B. *National Security in the Post-Cold War Third World*. “Strategic Review for Southern Africa” 1994, Vol. 16.
- BUZAN, B. *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. Boulder-Hemel Hempstead, 1991.
- BUZAN, B. *Rethinking Security after the Col War*. “Cooperation and Conflict” 1997, Vol. 32 (5).
- BUZAN, B.; WÆVER, O., de WILDE J. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder-London, 1998.
- CHOJNOWSKI, L. *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe. Aspekty instytucjonalne i organizacyjne*. Słupsk, 2017.
- CHOJNOWSKI, L. *Podmiotowo-przedmiotowe ramy analizy bezpieczeństwa a jego naukowa multidyscyplinarność*. [in:] *Metodologiczne i dydaktyczne aspekty bezpieczeństwa narodowego*. Eds. W. Kitler, T. Kośmider, Warszawa, 2015.
- CZEKAJ, Ł.; CZOP, A.; PIETRZYK, M. *Międzynarodowe, regionalne i lokalne aspekty bezpieczeństwa*. Kraków 2018.
- DZIUBKA, K.; SZLACHTA, B.; NIJAKOWSKI, M. L. *Idee i ideologie we współczesnym świecie*. Warszawa, 2008.

- FALECKI, J. *Bezpieczeństwo*, [in:] *Vademecum bezpieczeństwa*. Eds. O. Wasiuta, R. Klepka, R. Kopec, Kraków, 2018.
- FILIPKOWSKI, J. *Ideologia*, [in:] *Podstawowe kategorie polityki*. Eds. S. Opara, D. Radziszewska-Szczepaniak, A. Żukowski, Olsztyn, 2005.
- HEYWOOD, A., *Ideologie polityczne. Wprowadzenie*. Warszawa, 2008.
- HREBENDA, S. *Mityczne aspekty ideologii*, [in:] *Między realizmem a utopią. Świadomościowo-ideologiczne i polityczne przesłanki pokoju i demokracji na przełomie XX i XXI wieku oraz ich historyczne uwarunkowania*. Ed. J. Świeca, Katowice, 1998.
- KAILITZ, S. *Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Wiesbaden, 2004.
- KITLER, W. *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie, uwarunkowania, system*. Warszawa, 2011.
- KORZENIOWSKI, L. F. *Podstawy nauk o bezpieczeństwie*. Warszawa, 2017.
- KORZENIOWSKI, R. *Wstęp do metodologii badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*. Olsztyn, 2013.
- KOTOWICZ, W. *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe*, [in:] *Podstawowe kategorie bezpieczeństwa narodowego*. Eds. A. Żukowski, M. Hartliński, W. T. Modzelewski, J. Więclawski, Olsztyn, 2015.
- LEVY, M. A. *Is the Environment a National Security Issue?* "International Security" 1995, Vol. 20, No. 2.
- ŁUBIŃSKI, P. *Naród, nacjonalizm i ruch narodowy z perspektywy politologicznej*. Katowice, 2018.
- MAJ, E. *Bezpieczeństwo ideologiczne w dyskursie politycznym Narodowej Demokracji*. [in:] *Bezpieczeństwo Europy. Bezpieczeństwo Polski*, Vol. 1, Eds. E. Maj, K. Mazurek, W. Sokół, A. Szwed-Walczak, Lublin, 2016.
- MALAK, K. *Typologia bezpieczeństwa. Nowe wyzwania*, <http://stosunki-miedzynarodowe.pl/bezpieczenstwo/954-typologia-bezpieczenstwa-nowe-wyzwania>.
- PAWLIKOWSKA, I. *Bezpieczeństwo jako cel polityki zagranicznej państwa*, [in:] *Wstęp do teorii polityki zagranicznej państwa*, Ed. R. Zięba, Toruń, 2009.
- PAWŁOWSKI, J.; MARCZAK, J.; GAŚIOREK, K. *Definiowanie i uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa narodowego (państwa)*. [in:] *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego (państwa)*, Ed. J. Pawłowski, Warszawa, 2017.
- POKRUSZYŃSKI, W. *Teoretyczne aspekty bezpieczeństwa. Podręcznik akademicki*. Józefów, 2010.
- SNYDER, C. A. *Contemporary Security and Strategy*. New York, 1999.
- SÓJKA, W. *Ewolucja środowiska bezpieczeństwa Polski i generowanie nowych kategorii zagrożeń w aspekcie bezpieczeństwa państwa*. [in:] *Metodologia badań bezpieczeństwa narodowego*. Vol. VIII, Eds. P. Sienkiewicz, P. Dela, Warszawa, 2016.
- SÓJKA, W. *Zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski*, [in:] *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego (państwa)*. Ed. J. Pawłowski, Warszawa, 2017.

- ŚCIBIOREK, Z. *Tożsamość nauk o bezpieczeństwie*, [in:] *Teoretyczne i metodologiczne podstawy problemów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa. Podręcznik akademicki*. Eds. Z. Ścibiorek, Z. Zamiar, Toruń, 2016.
- TOKARCZYK, R. *Współczesne doktryny polityczne*. Warszawa, 2010.
- ULICKA, G. *Determinanty polityki*. [in:] *Wprowadzenie do nauki o państwie i polityce*. Eds. B. Szmulik, M. Żmigrodzki, Lublin, 2007.
- ULLMAN, R. *Redefining Security*. "International Security" 1983, Vol. 8, No. 1.
- URBANEK, A., *Państwo jako podmiot bezpieczeństwa narodowego – ujęcie dziedzinowe*. [in:] *Wybrane problemy bezpieczeństwa. Dziedziny bezpieczeństwa*, Ed. A. Urbanek, Słupsk, 2013.
- WÆVER, O. *Identity, Integration and Security: Solving the Sovereignty Puzzle in E.U. Studies*. "Journal of International Affairs" 1995, Vol. 48, No. 2.
- ZIĘBA, R. *Instytucjonalizacja bezpieczeństwa europejskiego. Koncepcje – struktury – funkcjonowanie*. Warszawa, 2004.
- ZIĘBA, R. *Teoria bezpieczeństwa państwa w ujęciu neorealistycznym*. "Studia Politologiczne". 2018, Vol. 49.

SUMMARY

ŁUBIŃSKI, Paweł: *IDEOLOGICAL SECURITY OF THE CONTEMPORARY STATE IN THE POLISH SCIENTIFIC AND RESEARCH SPACE – THEORETICAL ASPECTS*

This paper is an attempt to conceptualize the term and identify the determinants of the ideological security of the contemporary (liberal-democratic) state, understood as the aspiration (in a processual sense) to preserve the generally respected system of norms, values and beliefs (ideologies), the protection of which has the consent of the society, and to allow other ideologies to develop within that society as long as they do not violate the universally accepted axiological system or undermine the fundamental national interests of the state. Seeing the state as the main referent of security is not self-evident, but due to the narrowing of the subject, this paper is embedded in a realist paradigm. The analysis concentrates on the definition and structure of the term "ideological security", its subjective and objective characteristics, meaning and scope of responsibility in the pursuit of the state's national interests (also in the axiological dimension), the interdependence of the political and ideological security (based on internal and external conditions), the importance of providing ideological security and its dependence on constitutive values of particular ideologies. Selected threats to ideological security are also presented. It should be noted that the author's aim, as stated in the introduction, has been achieved. It should be clearly stated that irrespective of the theory, classification, typology or conceptualization applied, the term "ideological security", despite the efforts to define it scientifically, remains extremely broad and rich in content and can be treated as a part, a discipline or subcategory, of the national security, or even political security and, in some sense, cultural security. The importance of this finding is supported by the fact that, to date, the term has received little attention of note in academic papers in the Polish scientific and research space, or academia. It is likely that this situation is a result of the numerous factors listed in this paper, namely: the difficulties with specification and

clarification, and the rather open catalogue of classifications in which ideological security is defined sometimes as a constructive element of national security and also as a separate research category. Interestingly, both theoretical approaches are legitimate. Therefore, ideological security is a matter of capture something much broader, which goes beyond the limits of the protection of constitutional values, and can be called the protection of the “axiological order”, as a system of values commonly recognized (accepted) in a particular society. The question of how to achieve “axiological security” in the case of a liberal-democratic state remains open, especially since political, ideological and axiological pluralism is a fundamental principle of this type of state. In the Polish research perspective, this is an issue worthy of attention and it can be identified as a topic for future research. It is to be hoped that ideological security, as a research category within Polish security studies, will soon receive the full and comprehensive scientific study that it undoubtedly deserves.

Keywords: ideas, values, ideology, security, ideological security, contemporary threats.