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SECURITY AND FREEDOM – HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND CURRENT PERCEPTIONS

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The article focuses on the issues concerning the essence of the security and freedom, as far as the security environment is concerned and regarding the roles to be played by key entities, i.e. states. The historical perspective is shown, focusing on the approaches by respective philosophers. Further, the globalization and information revolution issues are described as the factors/ tools of influence. On one hand it is about to disseminate modern technologies, improving management methods and ways of finance, but on the other hand it is about to create new challenges and threats for security both in military and non-military realm. On this backdrop the author stresses, that the democracy cannot be considered only in terms of a system of institutions but also as a phenomenon of culture which implies the dominance in the public life of certain values and in consequence behavior in the political life also in relation to security issues

Keywords: *security environment, freedom, safety, personal security, democracy.*

Introduction

"There are two values indispensable for worthy, satisfying or at least tolerable human existence. One of them is freedom, the other security. One cannot do without the other: security without freedom equals bondage, whereas freedom without security means chaos, the feeling of loss, ordeal of uncertainty and humiliation caused by lack of knowledge what to do and practical inability to fight it."[1] The snag is, as Zygmunt Bauman pointed out attention to, that "as much as these values need each other for its self-fulfillment, however, living in peace or alliance with each other somehow does not work. Both of them may be lost at the same time. Nevertheless, neither our ancestors nor us have made them both flourish and grow simultaneously (…). The more freedom the less security and the more security the less freedom. After all, security means stability, a firm ground and belief that what is right and useful today will remain as such tomorrow and later, what one has today will not be lost tomorrow, consequently a conviction that in the morning after the waking up one will see the world as in the evening before going to sleep. And freedom, however it is defined, means the ability to spread one's wings and fly, that things can be different, that the world could be improved – but also, as it always happens when one travels into the unknown, it consists in fear against the risk of making an error".[2] To sum up,

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security brings the peace of mind, freedom of change, it is a prescription for anxiety. "On the other hand, freedom means the possibility of self-definition and self-determination when security means submission to decisions taken by others and performing within the boundaries defined by these decisions"[3].

The complexity of problems under consideration seems to deepen as soon as it is taken into account that the role of the state, as many philosophers have claimed, is to organize welfare – a good living. The state aims at ensuring its citizens appropriate living conditions, work, rest, access to common goods and facilities, as well as preventing unemployment, social stratification or social conflicts. Meeting these needs enforces putting forward optimal solutions on all concerned both from the point of view of efficiency and cost-effectiveness as well[4]. Globalization and information revolution favour spreading modern technologies, improving management methods and ways of finance. They create an opportunity for democratization and enable economic and social progress. However, the effect of these new trends are new challenges and threats for security both in military and non-military aspects.

1. Ambiguity of the security notion

The notion of security is understood quite ambiguously and is used in various situations and contexts. If it is applied without additional terms, as a rule it means the lack of threat against life, health and existence of either an individual or humanity as a whole. In modern inclinations for a pluralistic perception of security and its polysemantic definition, the differences often consist in: reliability (technical sciences), stability and certainty of existence (humanities), durability and existence (life sciences) or freedom, peace

and comfort as well as undisturbed coexistence with other people or natural environment and also health, property, well-being and certainty of the future[5].

A very important distinction in comprehending security is to distinguish between personal and structural security and safety. The first category refers to particular individuals and includes all categories containing lack of threat towards human life, health, work, belongings, property and freedom. The conceptual range of personal security and safety is certainly much wider than "non-adjectival" security. In turn, structural security concerns certain entireties, constructions which men are related to. These structures include first of all the state, nation, local community, as well as natural environment. The way of these structures' or systems' functioning affects people's lives, their personal safety including[6].

As far as validity and superiority of the mentioned above security and safety categories are concerned, it is difficult to decide an explicit standpoint. A kind of human duality poses a certain ontological-axiological difficulty, on the one hand there is a person, an individual, on the other an immanent part of a larger whole and social structures, beyond which he/she is unable to function, as noted by Aristotle: "a man is by nature created to live in a state. The one who by nature and not by chance lives outside the state is either a wretch or a superhuman being"[7]. This idea corresponds with the view called universalism which claims that the interest of the state, society

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[3] Zygmunt Bauman, *Skrzypce wolności*, [in]: *Potrzeba wolności: sztuka europejska po 1945 roku. 30 wystawa Rady Europy* (Violin of Freedom in: Need for Freedom: European Art after 1945. 30th Exhibition of the Council of Europe), Kraków 2013, p. 34.

[4] Marek Lisiecki, *Jakość w zarządzaniu bezpieczeństwem obywateli* (Quality in Citizens' Security and Safety Management), Lublin 2009, p. 5.

[5] Janusz Świniarski, *Bezpieczeństwo w ujęciu aksjologicznym*, w: *Zarządzanie bezpieczeństwem – wyzwania XXI wieku* (Security and Safety in an Axiological Perspective – Challenges of the 21st Century), ed. Marek Lisiecki, Warszawa 2008, pp. 62–63.

[6] Ryszard Rosa, *Zarys polskiej filozofii bezpieczeństwa* (Outline of Polish Security Philosophy), Siedlce 2008, p. 13; Wojciech Rechlewicz, *Elementy filozofii bezpieczeństwa. Bezpieczeństwo z perspektywy historii filozofii i filozofii polityki Zarządzanie bezpieczeństwem*, (Elements of Security Philosophy. Security from the Perspective of Philosophy History and Politics Philosophy. Security Management), Warszawa 2012, p. 29.

[7] Arystoteles, *Polityka*, (Politics) transl. by L. Piotrowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 27.

or nation is more important than the interests of individual people. Thus structural security takes precedence over personal security and safety. Individualism perceives a human being as the highest value opposes that view as that cognitive attitude treats personal security and safety as the superior form of security. It is not difficult to notice that both of these cognitive approaches, namely an individualistic and universal one clash with each other also in an individual dimension, most of all in a situation when a man is faced with a choice between their own physical individual survival versus risking their life in the name of such values as the nation, the state or religion[8]. As the history of the Polish nation in particular teaches us, we have been experiencing such situations many times, the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 can provide an example of such situations and dilemmas.

No matter how to look at the security issue, it should be noted that it must be perceived as a value worth striving. It was already known in the antiquity, at least from the time when philosophy's point of gravity shifted from the nature onto the human being and culture and since that time we have been dealing with rational thinking, so characteristic of the Western culture.

2. From Sophists to St. Thomas

The first thinkers to deal with the issues of the state and law were Sophists. According to them, these values developed as a result of an unwritten social contract and a man becoming a member of a society took on particular obligations created by a given community. Thus laws and moral principles were changeable, depending on circumstances. A certain novelty in the discourse on security was introduced by Socrates living in Athens in 469–399 BC. That philosopher strongly supported meeting obligations for the state even in direct life or health threatening situations. Socrates' thoughts affected the final shape of an

ideal state concept created by his disciple Plato[9].

His views concerning what today is defined as national security or security of the state were presented by Plato in his dialogues "Republic", "Statesman" and "Laws". Recognizing a deeply rooted among the Greeks principle that man is a social being and may find fulfillment only in a political community, he tried to understand and define the sense of the existence of the state and design its functioning so as to make it functional mainly from the point of view of public welfare. The state should provide its citizens with good life perceived not only in a material dimension but in spiritual one as well[10].

In spite of being an interesting project, the Platonic conception of the state is not possible to be implemented in practice. However, it may provide inspiration guiding into the direction of critical thinking on the issues of wielding power, functioning of the state and democracy. The concept of an ideal state suggested by the Greek philosopher should be treated as a prototype of conceptions which recognize the primacy of the state over its citizens, which claim that an efficient functioning of the state is more important than people's rights, happiness and prosperity.

Plato – a classic of objective idealism permanently entered the canon of Western philosophy and his thoughts are priceless also from the point of view of developed social and political theories. The dilemma that he indicated concerning the issue of relations between the state and an individual would return during the following centuries. The philosopher is also a precursor of the foundations of ethics how to act in a situation of a military confrontation[11].

Like Plato, Aristotle also believed that man cannot function outside the state and is fulfilled only in a community of a political character.

[8] Łukasz Zamecki, *Społeczne podstawy ładu politycznego* (Social Bases of Political Order), Warszawa 2011, pp. 11–12; Wojciech Rechlewicz, op. cit., pp. 29–30.

[9] Marian Cieślarczyk, *Teoretyczne i metodologiczne podstawy badania problemów bezpieczeństwa i obronności państwa* (Theoretical and Methodological Bases of Research on Security and Defence of the State Problems), Siedlce 2011, pp. 47–48.

[10] Platon, *Państwo, Prawa* (Republic, Laws), transl. by W. Witwicki, Kęty 1999, p. 39.

[11] *Historia filozofii* (A History of Philosophy), vol.1, *Grecja i Rzym*, (Greece and Rome) transl. by H. Bednarek, Warszawa 1998, p. 299; Wojciech Rechlewicz, op. cit., s. 65.

Moreover, the role of the state is to organize a good life. However, this welfare should not differ much from the good of its citizens. Aristotle in his views diverged slightly from Plato's theories which assumed a dominant position of the state whose good in general should be treated much higher than its citizens' prosperity. The suggested idea of the state supervision over its citizens is far more moderate in comparison to Plato's views. Aristotle supported the reconciliation of the requirements of the state with personal interests of individuals. Defining freedom through a political institution derives from him[12].

Is it possible to live pleasantly if there is a threat posed by other people – Epicurus living almost at the same time as the founder of Liceum in Athens, a representative of hedonism wondered. "In order to feel safe among people, it is a natural approach to believe that the good is everything which leads to it", he believed. Security and safety in Epicurus' philosophy are ones of the most highly respected values although "providing security and safety for people are useless if phenomena taking place up there and under the ground and in infinite universe bring us terror"[13]. Surprisingly, in Epicurus' works one can notice basic security issues which can be found today and mainly associated with a Swiss scholar Daniel Frei, i.e. objective and subjective security[14].

The Stoics also discussed the issues of security and freedom. The safety and security of individuals, social groups and even states are uncertain. In their understanding the concept of absolute security and safety does not exist. Moreover, human fate could be uncertain. Therefore one should be ready for any scenario, even the worst one and not despair or doubt. The one who gets rid of passions is a free man.

While considering security problems, particularly safety issues, one cannot forget to mention St. Augustine and St. Thomas. They perceived security, peace, functioning of the state and development of the society through the prism of God's gifts which cannot be treated as the highest values due to their instrumental character facilitating salvation. Therefore breaching the state of security or safety, the same as all suffering or misery should not be treated as an ultimate evil as the earthly life is not the human destination. The highest value is to reach ultimate good.

3. From Niccolo Machiavelli to Friedrich Nietzsche

Niccolo Machiavelli's views were in complete opposition to the views presented by the doctors of the Church as they concerned deeply the issues of structural security. The main problem that this theoretician dealt with was security of the state, as well as independence and freedom. Machiavelli drew a lot of attention mostly to looking for effective means to achieve these values. At the same time he treated politics as an autonomous area of human activity, independent of morality or any philosophical or religious systems. There are often accusations that the methods of operation proposed by him are negatively tinged and are explicitly associated with immorality, opportunism, deceit and ruthlessness. Do politics and actions carried out for structural security or personal safety have a close connection with morality? It is difficult to give a simple answer. However, indisputably, many of the recommendations of the author of "The Prince" appear both in the past and present political practice[15].

Niccolo Machiavelli's views from the very beginning triggered numerous comments and remarks or even outrage. The sixteenth-century lawyer, politician and philosopher Jean Bodin accused him, among others, of sanctioning

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[12] Arystoteles, op. cit., p. 27, 201; K. Drabik, *Bezpieczeństwo personalne i strukturalne* (Personal and Structural Security and Safety), Warszawa 2013, p. 310.

[13] Diogenes Laertios, *Żywoty i poglądy słynnych filozofów* (Life and Views of Famous Philosophers), transl. by. I. Krońska, K. Leśniak, W. Olszewski, Warszawa 1988, pp. 652–653.

[14] More in Dieter Frei, *Sicherheit. Grundfragen der Weltpolitik,* Stuttgart 1977.

[15] Niccolo Machiavelli, *Książę* (The Prince), trans. by. C. Nanke, Kęty 2007, pp. 50–64; Idem, *Rozważania nad pierwszym dziesięcioksięgiem historii Rzymu Liwiusza* (Discourse on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius) trans. by. K. Żaboklicki, Warszawa 2009, pp. 332–356.

despotism and tyranny. Church circles opposed his primacy of the interest of the state, whereas supporters of strong royal power accused him of republican sympathies.

The 16th and 17th century gave birth to political projects and theories which looked at the issues of the organization of the state, security and functioning of the society in a different way from Niccolo Machiavelli's propositions. The concept of an ideal state did not lose its popularity and was developed by Renaissance utopians St. Thomas More, Francis Bacon, and Tomasso Campanella[16]

The English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who lived on the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, tried to define the state as a creation which emerged due to a social contract or violence. He claimed that freedom is the human natural right - ius naturale unlimited freedom is an attribute of the state of nature. Some other philosophers referred to the proposed by him concept of the social contract which may guarantee structural security and personal safety such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, who defined freedom in a political perspective, and John Locke whose political theory emphasized individual freedom and the right to property (the precursor of political and economic liberalism). According to Władysław Tatarkiewicz, "Locke was one of those who believed that people seek only their own interest and he thought that it is right as long as they seek judiciously"[17].

Locke's contractualism reveals a smaller rift between the naturalistic freedom and normatively conditioned security in the state than it was presented in the works of Hobbes. Freedom and equality are fundamental rights stemming from nature, whereas the organization of political community serves primarily to create individual and collective safety and security.

Jean Jacques Rousseau believed that common good of each society must be based on freedom. Man by nature is free nobody should control it or limit it even in a situation of threat. The essence of the social contract is the dedication of those who sign the contract to be led by common will. The social contract is not an empty formula if "it contains default commitment which alone can give power to other obligations, namely, if anyone refuses to obey the common will, they will be forced by a (political) body, which means that they will be forced to freedom"[18].

Huigh de Groot (Hugo Grotius) considered similar issues to Hobbes'. He claimed that social drive is an inherent feature of human nature which is expressed in the willingness to live together with other people in a peaceful manner and meeting commitments. He opposed the view that people are selfish by nature concentrating exclusively on achieving their own benefits. He perceived the state as a union of free people, united in order to achieve common good and use of law. He saw the role of power as service functions for its citizens. Obedience to power is not binding if its orders are contradictory to the natural or God's laws. The possibility of citizens' disobedience towards the state power was also considered by other researchers such as David Hume. He allowed for such a scenario in a situation when the state did not meet the task entrusted to it[19].

Immanuel Kant claimed that the state and individual are moral entities that have the right to autonomy, freedom and respect. The philosopher from Königsberg did not see a real antinomy occurring between politics and morality, not taking into account a certain subjective dimension resulting from human inclinations. In Kant's ethics, the sense of moral obligation comes to

[16] Frederick Copleston, *Historia filozofii*, t. 3, *Od Ockhama do Suareza*, tł. H. Bednarek, S. Zalewski, Warszawa 2001, s. 312–315.

[17] Tomasz Hobbes*, Lewiatan, czyli materia, forma i władza państwa kościelnego i świeckiego* (Leviathan or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth), Warszawa 1954, pp. 108–111; W. Tatarkiewicz, *Historia filozofii* (History of Philosophy), vol. 2, Warszawa 2011, p. 142.

[18] Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Umowa społeczna. List o widowiskach* (Social Contract. Discourse on the Arts), transl. by. A. Peretiatkowicz, (Social Contract ...), W. Bieńkowska (Discourse …), Warszawa 2010, p. 25.

[19] Ryszard Rosa, Małgorzata Lipińska, Mariusz Kubiak, *Filozofia bezpieczeństwa personalnego i strukturalnego. Tradycja – współczesność – wyzwania* (Philosophy of Structural and Personal Security and Safety. Tradition – the Present Time– Challenges), Siedlce 2007, pp. 85–93; Wojciech Rechlewicz, op. cit., pp. 170–171.

the fore as it strengthens the internal structure of a republican state and levels the disharmony between individual freedom and personal and structural security. He defined the concept of freedom in terms of an individual's public functioning. Individual safety can be considered only in reference to structural security conditions. He also advocated the idea of perpetual peace[20]. Georg Wilhelm Hegel, who perceived war as an indelible element of the dialectics of history, opposed Kant's thesis.

The role of the state, as claimed by Johann Gottlieb Fichte, cannot be only to provide security and safety for individuals but to create conditions to enable them a proper moral development. However, such activities were connected with the necessity of the state to interfere in public life, thus restricting the freedom of citizens.

For Friedrich Nietzsche, culture and nation appeared far more important. The nation is apparently shaped by great artists and great ideas, being a kind of collective spiritual will. The state, however, is based on mundane lust, it appropriates culture by trivializing it and deprives it from its due reverence. In his work "Untimely Meditations" he wrote that the state cannot be the highest goal of the humanity, therefore, it seems unreasonable to claim that the service for the state is the most important obligation of man [21]. The man does not have to be someone more than a citizen of the state. Nevertheless, they must be submerged in the state and its culture. According to Nietzsche, cruelty lies at the core of every culture, in so called higher cultures it is over-spiritual. Cruelty adopted the man to live in a society, wars hardened them. Confrontation and danger enhance life, bring real freedom understood as "the desire of self-responsibility (…), indifference to hardships, privation, severity even for life. This is the readiness to sacrifice others and ourselves for the cause"[22].

Nietzsche calls for activism, building a new order based on a different reverse system of values, what will happen along with the advent of new philosophers.

Friedrich Nietzsche's ideas still in the Belle Epoque drew a big response, initially in artistic circles associated with modernism, expressionism and also symbolism. Soon Nietzsche became a spiritual leader for post modernism and he also inspired existentialists. A separate discussion is required about the achievements of the author of the superman were used by Nazi Germany's propaganda.

Nietzsche's philosophy closed a certain stage in the history of philosophy. "It rejected almost all previous values in the name of primacy of life, creative conquering power". It appeared from Nietzsche's point of view that differences between previous philosophies were not so essential as they seemed. Most of them in fact accepted in different variants such Socratic values as wisdom, good, virtue, reason and truth. Philosophy based on these values was questioned by Nietzsche. The stance he opposed stipulates the existence of "an objective higher order of the world and combined with it axiological order, it also presents the man as the one who should be subordinated to that order"[23].

4. Towards contemporary considerations of security and freedom

A clear growth of interest in security phenomena appeared in the 20th century, especially in its last decades. One of "the pioneering trends in the development of thinking on this subject is the philosophy of structural and personal security. This philosophical perspective of security thinking exceeds the categories of war and peace philosophies encountered so far"[24] due to the description and anticipation of security threats of a particular individual or a group, as well as security and safety of their broadly understood environment. The interest of research

[20] Immanuel Kant, *Wieczny pokój* (Perpetual Peace), trans. by J. Mondschein, Toruń 1992, p. 78.

[21] Fryderyk Nietzsche, *Niewczesne rozważania* (Untimely Meditations), trans. by L. Staff, Kraków 2003, pp. 143–144; Idem, *Tako rzecze Zaratustra. Książka dla wszystkich i dla nikogo* (Thus Spoke Zarathustra), Poznań 2006, p. 45.

[22] Fryderyk Nietzsche, *Zmierzch bożyszcz czyli jak*

filozofuje się młotem (Twilight of the Idols), trans. by S. Wyrzykowski, Warszawa 1991, p. 101.

[23] Wojciech Rechlewicz, op. cit., pp. 269–270.

[24] Marian Cieślarczyk, op. cit., p. 17.

is broadened not only by a subject aspect of security but object dimension as well[25].

The issue of relations taking place between security and freedom of a human being, as well as establishing the relationship and impact of personal freedom on security are very important in the considerations of security problems. Freedom should not be understood as a possibility to do anything what a man wants to do but responsibility for their existence. One has to agree with Włodzimierz Kubiak who claims that "the boundary of freedom is determined by another man and security and safety are contained within it". Is it eligible to claim that security without personal freedom is fictitious? Is a man whose "freedom is suspended in the name of social system's security ever safe?" [26] It can certainly be assumed that man is a social being and their development, apart from innate features, to a large extent depends on acquired, behavioural characteristics, therefore they are significantly affected by the environment in which a man functions.

The political and systemic proposal containing desired institutional and legal aspects, as well as democratic patterns of elites' and society's behaviour is called a consolidated democracy[27]. In Philip C. Schmitter's opinion, the mentioned above consolidation is a process of transforming temporary solutions that appear in the course of transformation into solidly established and practiced and voluntarily accepted cooperation relations taking place between all participants of a democratic political system[28].

The social aspect of democracy consolidation including the pro-democratic beliefs and attitudes is absolutely essential what is particularly important from the point of view of the common good idea. According to Maria Urban, deeply internalized pro-democratic attitudes in favourable institutional conditions create a democratic personality supporting a democratic political system, whereas changes in "political culture have their origin in changes on the level of individuals and the aggregation of individual attitudes may lead to the generalization on the level of society"[29].

The level how much the principles of a democratic state's functioning are accepted influences the readiness to sacrifice personal rights and freedoms for the sake of the common good, which the state or civic structures are. The literature of the subject-matter contains model psychological portraits of a democrat, defined as democratic personalities or democratic orientations which are created by the following mechanisms:

- attitude to the democratic system;
- conviction with reference to relations taking place between people (individualism of identity, tolerance, social trust, a positive attitude to the common good);
- cooperation in order to achieve the social good (engagement in activity in organizations);
- normative beliefs;
- non-specific personality traits (resistance to fears, cognitive openness);
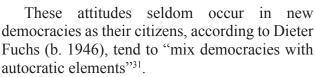- motivation of affiliation and achievements[30].

[25] Krzysztof Drabik, *Bezpieczeństwo personalne i strukturalne* (Personal and Structural Security and Safety), Warszawa 2013, p. 10–11.

[26] Wojciech Kubiak, *Kilka uwag o bezpieczeństwie, wolności i śmierci*, w: *Współczesne bezpieczeństwo. Perspektywa teoretyczno-metodologiczna* (A Few Remarks on Security, Freedom and Death), ed. Stanisław Jaczyński, Mariusz Kubiak, Mirosław Minkina, Warszawa-Siedlce 2011, pp. 77–78.

[27] *Kultura a demokracja* (Culture and Democracy), [in]: *Kultura ma znaczenie* (Culture Matters), Lawrence E. Harrison, Samuel P. Huntington (eds), Poznań 2000, pp. 149–157; Jan Garlicki, Artur Noga-Bogumilski, *Kultura polityczna w społeczeństwie demokratycznym* (Political Culture in a Democratic Society), Warszawa 2004, p. 57.

[28] Phillippe C. Schmitter, The Consolidation of Democracy and Representation of Social Groups, „American Behavior Scientist" 1992, no. 35, p. 424.

[29] Maria Urban, *Demokratyczna osobowość. Model i jego urzeczywistnienie w warunkach polskiej demokracji*, Warszawa 2013, s. 12.

[30] Janusz Reykowski, *Ukryte założenia normatywne jako osiowy element mentalności* (Hidden Normative Assumptions as Mentality's Axian Element), [in]: *Orientacje jako element mentalności* (Orientations as an Element of Mentality), Janusz Reykowski, Krystyna Skarżyńska, Marek Ziółkowski (eds), Poznań 1999, pp. 11–48; Jan Garlicki, *Tradycje i dynamika kultury politycznej społeczeństwa polskiego* (Traditions and Dynamics of Polish Society's Political Culture), [in]: *Dylematy polskiej transformacji* (Dilemmas of Polish Transformation), Jan Błuszkowski (ed.), Warszawa 2007, pp. 155–173; Maria Urban, op. cit., p. 13.

These attitudes seldom occur in new democracies as their citizens, according to Dieter Fuchs (b. 1946), tend to "mix democracies with autocratic elements"[31].

The concept of the common good in modern times was expressed in Jean Jacques Rousseau's considerations who believed that the basis of the functioning of the state is to strive for the comprehensive development of political community and its good. A different way of thinking was presented by supporters of liberalism such as John Locke, Charles Louis Montesquieu or Alexis de Tocqueville, who mainly focused on the importance of the idea of individual freedom and defining the limits of the government operation, paying less attention to on social and economic content contained in Rousseau's concept. Freedom, as referring to the relationship between the citizen and the state, occupies an important place in projects relating to the institution of the state and democracy theories stemming from Rousseau's thought, as well as deeply rooted in liberalism. According to Rousseau, a free citizen is the one who actively engaged in politics, in lawmaking and obedience to the law. The idea of freedom is associated with thinking of the state as a political community and its security. A logical relationship between freedom and autonomy is outlined. The essential values include equality, justice and the common good. Realising these values creates conditions for the development of positive freedom and allows the reconciliation of the free will of an individual with freedom of others and actions for the common good[32].

5. Looking into the future – summary

The efficient functioning of the state largely depends on the level of civic culture manifested in applied methods of solving public issues and crucial social matters. It particularly refers to democratic states whose power is expressed in their citizens' moral values and their tendencies to act pro-socially and the recognition of the common good's primacy over individual aspirations.

The image of the citizen, like everything else in the modern world is redefined. Analyses of Postmodernists provide interesting observations because traditional citizen identity gets muddied in their views, whereas the present times set new contexts of citizenship. In the past the sense of belonging to a nation or state determined a general background for shaping the identity and readiness for sacrifice and dedication, whereas nowadays more and more often a person is a citizen of several communities. The boundaries of citizenship are becoming more and more open both in the territorial but also social and political areas[33].

The civic identity in a democratic society is shaped in conditions of dynamic social and cultural transformations. Being a citizen is connected with an involvement in public matters while respecting the rights of individuals. The dissonance between actions for the good of a society and enjoying the rights of particular citizens is generally defined by two approaches to citizenship, i.e. liberal and republican (communitarian) ones.

The concept of liberalism stresses the freedom and primacy of the citizen over the state. A citizen is an active subject who may independently define and change his self, whereas the society is created by engaged in political activity citizens. The common good is understood in a procedural way. The communitarian approach rejects the emphasis on laws at the cost of duties. The participation in the service for the nation or for the local community is an expression of a social engagement and patriotism is one of cardinal civic virtues[34].

[31] Dieter Fuchs, *Paradygmat kultury politycznej* (Paradigm of Political Culture), [in]: *Zachowania polityczne* (Political Behaviour), Russel J. Dalton, Hans-Dieter Klingenmann (eds), vol. 1, Warszawa 2010, pp. 212–213.

[32] Jacques Thomassen, *Wartości demokratyczne*, w: *Zachowania polityczne*, red. nauk. Russel J. Dalton, Hans-Dieter Klingenmann, t. 1, Warszawa 2010, s. 481–492; Maria Urban, op. cit., s. 20–21.

[33] Elżbieta Budakowska, *Międzynarodowe migracje a współczesne zagrożenia. Europejskie dylematy*, w: *Problemy społeczne w grze politycznej*, red. nauk. Jadwiga Królikowska, Warszawa 2006, s. 127–128; *White Book on National Security of the Republic of Poland*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 134 i 136.

[34] Janusz Mariański, *Młodzież między tradycją i ponowoczesnością* (Youth between Tradition and Post-Modernity), Lublin 1995, pp. 19–38; Maria Urban, op. cit., s. 24–25.

In the perspective of political community, freedom and security are closely linked and the correlation of freedom and security implies the identity relation between individual and common security and safety. Violating the balance in this area in the direction of either state intervention or individual liberalism could result in the deconstruction of the meaning of freedom and security. It must be added that the dilemma of freedom and security is an integral part of contractualist theories built on the axiom stipulating the necessity of move from the state of nature to the political state and supremacy of security over the need of unlimited freedom. The strength of the mentioned above dilemma consists in the citizen's anti-social or social dispositions and in the definition of freedom itself which is often identified with naturalistic freedom or with the meaning imposed by the normativism of a political structure. The thesis on individual's anti-social attitude leads to a conclusion that the political state is unnaturally forced by the necessity to ensure personal safety and security[35].

From the point of view of the research problem, the issue of effective functioning of the state and its social institutions as well as the network of social ties, norms of reciprocity and social trust are of fundamental importance. This feature of social structures was defined as social capital by James Coleman and Robert Putnam[36]. A particular type of political (civic) culture emerged in countries of consolidated democracies. This culture is created by the community of citizens which, according to Harold Lasswell, is characterized by an open ego, ability to respect unfamiliar values, pluralistic approach in the sphere of values, trust to the social environment and relative insusceptibility to fears. The attitudes of

rational activism are common thanks to this type of political culture[37].

The dominant institutional approach to security causes that expectations of citizens – the primary recipient of services in this area are often divergent from preferences of institutions' actions aiming at ensuring this security. In the contemporary society, there undergoes evolution of the so far existing concept of security, based on the primacy of the state and narrow military categories, according to which the security of the state, not the individual, is the most important. In the states of consolidated democracy there is a concept of alternative public security which in a larger extent responds to the social expectations. The society often feels threatened by economic or social factors than the military ones[38]. The protection of natural rights in a political structure is connected with setting limits for their binding.

Maria Urban pays attention to the fact that the axiological aspect of democracy "rises controversies mainly concerning the notions of freedom and equality." According to this positive concept of freedom, there is a logical link between freedom and autonomy, participation and democracy. The idea of freedom "is connected with thinking of the state as a political community". Here we are dealing with "positive freedom" which allows the reconciliation of an individual with the freedom of others. Individualistic views on freedom are called negative freedom, understood as the lack of constraints from restrictions imposed by other persons, the state including[39].

It is worth reminding that civic freedoms are the basis of liberal democracy, which aims at comprehensive development of the community. Democracy cannot be considered only in terms of a system of institutions but also as a phenomenon

[35] Krzysztof Drabik, Marcin Mazurek, *Polityczno-społeczny wymiar bezpieczeństwa w teorii umowy społecznej* (Political and Social Dimension of Security in the Social Contract Theory), Warszawa AON 2012, p. 34.

[36] Janusz Czapiński, *Kapitał społeczny* (Social Capital), [in]: *Diagnoza społeczna 2005. Warunki i jakość życia Polaków* (Social Diagnoses 2005. Poles' Conditions and Quality of Life), ed. J. Czapiński, T. Panek, Warszawa 2006, p. 204.

[37] Phillippe C. Schmitter, Terry Lynn Karl, *Czym jest demokracja ... i czym nie jest* (What Democracy Is... and is Not), [in]: *Władza i społeczeństwo. Antologia tekstów z zakresu socjologii polityki* (Power and Society. Anthology of texts in the area of sociology of politics), selected by. J. Szczupaczyński, Warszawa 1995, p. 35.

[38] *Ameryko, idziemy razem* (America – we are going together) – B. Obama's speech given on 28 August, 2013, [in] „Gazeta Wyborcza" of 31 August 2013, p. 26.

[39] Maria Urban, op. cit., pp. 20–21.

of culture which implies the dominance in the public life of certain values and in consequence behaviour in the political life also in relation to security issues. The crisis of liberal democracy triggers considerations concerning alternative to liberal form of democracy which, while preserving basic democratic institutions would limit civil freedoms, would strengthen positions of power towards the citizen, delegitimize certain liberal values such as individualism, internationalism or multiculturalism.

Man occupies a central place in a democratic state and their advantage over the structure is expressed in the fact that the citizens through their activity create certain states of matter. Citizens are not only the recipients of orders expressing the will of power, but rather the state authorities are supposed to express the interests of citizens.

Homeland security and creating its social bases require a common effort both from the state and the society. Without the recognition of the primacy of the state power by the society it is impossible to ensure a proper level of that security. Following Amanda Dory, one can risk a statement that security in the internal dimension is part of the country's culture and "necessary requirement of peaceful democratic co-existence of citizens". In a democratic state it is security and social development that matters here, not the choice between freedom and democracy[40].

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