

DANGERS TO STATE SECURITY: DECEPTION¹ – AN EXEMPLIFICATION BASED ON CONTEMPORARY OPEN SOURCES

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Abstract: The state security guarantee is a task of many coordinated agencies, people and structures with their informational and technological tools aimed at, among the others, protection against common and uncommon dangers. Such an activity sooner or later comes across the deception and infiltration of a foreign intelligence. The authors of the article present an exemplification of some of the dangers, those known and those possible, analyzing the predictability of actions that may be taken by the foreign agents working against a given country. This is done based on the open sources information, both historical and contemporary, elucidating the intelligence's deceptive activity and possible dangers against the state security, manifesting in Poland but also visible in other countries.

Keywords: deception, infiltration, covert operations, state security.

Introduction – the State and deception

The fundamental role of a States and its institutions is protection of sovereignty and security, including the infrastructure and citizens' safety, both internally and externally. This specific purpose of its continuity involves dealing with all specific kinds of threats from other countries, or other external and internal entities, with provisions for preventive diplomacy or additional actions fulfilling security goals. It prohibits any nation from using any form of covert activities against a sovereign state. This doctrine arises from number of multilateral agreements and is underlined

¹ Deception – “Those measures designed to mislead the enemy by manipulation, distortion, or falsification of evidence to induce him to react in a manner prejudicial to his interests.” See: (US) *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (JP-102), 12 April 2001 (As Amended Through 9 June 2004, p. 143; and later in *NATO GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND DEFINITIONS (ENGLISH AND FRENCH) – AAP-6* (2008), where this definition is repeated for common NATO usage; and also its Polish translation: *AAP-6 (2014) Słownik terminów i definicji NATO zawierający wojskowe terminy i ich definicje stosowane w NATO*, p. 128, where the term deception is translated as *dezinformacja*. However, for the purpose of this article we use the term “deception” implying not only disinformation but also tangible and covert activities leading to violation of national security, and to possible sabotage and subversion. Whereas, one of the synonyms – *diversion* – is understood in above mentioned dictionaries as a military tactical act, *deception* in this case is understood not only as an act of disinformation but rather acts and process leading to final operational gains by foreign intelligence services.

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by the international law. In the XX century it is visible in Convention on Rights and Duties of State, known as Montevideo Convention of 1933, United Nations Charter of 1945, and has been reaffirmed by the European Economic Community's Badinter Arbitration Committee of 1991. Its paradigms and legal values are, therefore, well known and practiced *en face* by contemporary nations. However, changes at the beginning of XXI century presented security authorities with new forms of malevolent behavior aimed against the State and its entities, as well as against its culture and way of life. Unfortunately, it is not only a behavior of belligerent individuals and groups, but also of the antagonist countries.

The dangers are many. Different array of potential threats may come not only from unconcealed actions of terror groups or terror states. Even the so called civilized countries accepting the international legal doctrine of sovereignty are always tempted to steer international or domestic politics in a way expedient to its doctrine's open or hidden goals. Therefore, they are especially tempted to use covert operations, applying specific forms of *deception*. Authors of the article are aware of different theories and definitions that may be found in reference to the mentioned above challenges for well being of a State. However it does seem that perspective taken by the authors of this article can be rationalized by following definition of *deception*:

It is "intrinsically hostile activity using all possible methods, a exploit of organizing by the foreign agents or forces, a motion of intended abuse with the sole purpose of destabilizing proper functioning of a State.³"; Based on a definition of deception, and examples given below, authors can present a simple thesis, that the secret service will want to undermine not only cohesion of a State and its tangible institutions, but will have to go underneath to split solidity of social institutions, and weaken or destroy any of the intangible relations as well.

Consequently, the States are tested continuously by challenges facing their institutions and citizens, both now and in an unforeseen future. Those challenges force state and its security institutions to study novel acts of malignant behavior against its sovereignty, as well as its culture and traditions, and compel those responsible for its security to update responses to both new, as well as old, yet exhibited in a new way, external and internal dangers. When we analyze separate acts of said malignancy, we realize that what they have in common is their seditious character. The response of a security system must, therefore, be sensitive and focused towards the protection, not only of the country's military or economic capabilities but of the entire political system and societies' way of life, with its individual components that might become

³ Authors' selection, based on: Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe, Oddział II Sztabu Głównego/Generalnego Wojska Polskiego, sygn. I.303.4.2503, Dywersja nieprzyjacielska na terenie państwa polskiego, Warszawa 1922, s. 3-4. Opracowanie dla Sztabu Generalnego nr 16050/II Inf. III.C. z 1.06.1922 r.; Słownik terminów z zakresu bezpieczeństwa narodowego, Warszawa 2002; K. Kraj, *Mała wojna. Radziecka szkoła dywersji i walki partyzanckiej*, „MMS KOMANDOS” 2009 nr 11 (197), s. 48.

vulnerable to acts of foreigners, intelligence agencies, its agents and covert activities falling into a category of deception or/and infiltration that may lead straight on to subversion of democracy. This means that a wider array of dangers developed against particular nations of the world, has to be coped with the wider array of responses, active or be developed. The example of Poland in this case can make this evident, even though, or perhaps because of, its power status and geographical location may not always suggest its importance in games of international espionage.

An interesting opinion, that should be mentioned in full and considered in terms of functioning of security system of the Republic of Poland, yet openly hint malevolence of deception, is presented by Antoni Macierewicz, currently the Minister of National Defense. The authors neither adhere nor deny any wrongdoing of Polish officials mentioned bellow, just want to point out that accusations or possible cases of deception can be found on any level of state's activity, and the dangers can come from any side. Surely, being oversensitive is not a crime, at the same time an open allusion can be dangerous and give the other side hint of what one knows, or doesn't know.

In an interview for the weekly newspaper "Gazeta Polska": "*National Security White Papers* has been prepared under the auspices of the President Bronisław Komorowski, and published in 2013 r. after three years of work of over 200 experts assembled by the PO [Platforma Obywatelska – Citizen's Platform, a political party] and the President. The basic thesis of this work states that for next 20 years there is not a risk for Poland and Europe of any war⁴, and surely not from the Russian side⁵. On this basis, there was developed a schedule of expenditure of 130 bln. for rearming of the Polish Army."⁶

And further, "[...] The President Komorowski, in order to tolerate the higher officers appointed by [general] Jaruzelski, to continue working at the high posts, forced a statutory law extending their permissible age before their retirement, especially for the generals [of the past regime]. This broad positive inclination of President Komorowski towards the military of the martial law past, creates a destructive atmosphere for the morale and ambiguity within the army. Key example of this is the case of col. Ryszard Kukliński, on one hand, and the officers trained by the GRU and KGB in Moscow. Jaruzelski stated once, that if Kukliński is a hero, than he and officers of the LWP (Ludowe Wojsko Polskie – Polish People's Army) are the traitors. President took the side of Jaruzelski and his officers trained in Moscow. And this is the army that supposedly would have to defend [the country] against the Russian onslaught? The other problem: soldiers of the Polish Army – and this is, I guess, the only such a case in a world! – do not know who will they be commanded by in a case of war. This is what

⁴ *Biała księga bezpieczeństwa narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Warszawa 2013, s. 107-152.

⁵ Op. cit.

⁶ M. Piejko, D. Kania, *Odbudujemy Wojsko Polskie*, „Gazeta Polska”, nr 38 z 17.09.2014.

happened within last two years after the Komorowski–Tusk “reforms”. It completely transformed the role of the General Staff, and its chief ceased to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army. The categories of the armed forces were liquidated, and the entire army was given under a command of the General Commander (in time of peace) and the Operational Commanders. Commander in Chief in time of war is to be set by the President in consultation with the Prime Minister. The problem is that this Commander will not control entire Polish Force, but only a part of it, allowed by the Minister of Defense. There is not an army in NATO that has such an unclear and unstable system of command. Also, by liquidating mandatory selected service – *de facto* they shut down territorial defense capabilities. It is hard to believe that this is by accident or incompetency. Especially since, all of those moves were many times protested by us and a „bill on commanding system” [ustawa o zmianie ustawy o urzędzie Ministra Obrony Narodowej – Dz.U. 2013 poz. 852, bill of June 21, 2013] was sent by us to the Constitutional Court, since the liquidation of the positions of “commanders of the types of armed forces” is contrary to the Constitution [of Poland]⁷.

The above statements are harsh, yet can be considered for the sake of intellectual discussion. Not that the accusation must be true, but it can be a problem easy for the foreign intelligence to adapt for their own goals. When we observe both historical and contemporary involvement of foreign intelligence in Poland, we can notice many forms of deception. The goal, however, always remains the same, violation of security system of a State. It is a long process and what becomes an apparent characteristic feature of the actions run by foreign agents is following: The first phase – collecting and also creating an information base about an object of interest, and later and the end phase – making possible, by means of “preparing the ground” for a potential attack. This is “a process” and not only “an act”. This process may comprise of a chain events – infiltration – deception – sabotage – subversion. Some of the examples of this process are discussed below.

Historical examples of deception

The indication of deception can be seen in times of the Polish-Soviet war of 1920, when the Czech workers for many weeks did not allow a transit of weapons to Poland. Yet another example is also from not so distant past when the business men from then Danzig (Gdańsk) offered with an attractive price to the Polish Department of Aviation 60 combat aircraft. However, after the contract was signed, it turned out that the airplanes were sold to the Russians⁸. Because of this cleverly conducted

⁷ M. Piejko, D. Kania, op. cit.

⁸ Own selection based on: Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe, Oddział II Sztabu Głównego/Generalnego Wojska Polskiego, sygn. I.303.4.2503, *Dyweryja nieprzyjacielska na terenie państwa polskiego*, Warszawa 1922, s. 6, Opracowanie dla Sztabu Generalnego nr 16050/II Inf. III.C. z 1.06.1922 r.

covert maneuver Poland lost the time and equipment needed for combat operations. Another type of examples can be found in reference to nationals working against its citizens and freedom movements.

In this case, a good historical example of deception activities are those of the Polish secret police UBP (Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Państwa – State Security Department) in a communist era with their two operational games of 1947 and 1948, respectively the “Operacja Cezary (the Cezary Operation)” and the “Afera Bergu (the Berg Affair)”. Short overview of the communist secret police allows us to recognize the basic schemes of thinking and operating by the agents of deception:

The “Cezary Operation” begun with taking into custody the members of the IV Main Division of “Wolność i Niezawisłość” (Freedom and Independence – the civilian-military anticommunist organization), and acquisition of this organization’s archives. The communist Ministry of Public Security created in its place “new” V Command of WiN, for that reason initiating one of the biggest and most important operational game of the communist secret police, operation “Cezary”. It was run between the years of 1948 and 1952. It was aimed at, what was left of the conspiracy structure in Poland, including its extension abroad – the Foreign Division active within the Polish political emigrants circle. Additionally, its secondary activity was also aimed at the English secret service.

Pretending the existence of a secret organization, the UBP was able to find concealed personnel and organizational structure, gathering also the information on politically uncertain members of State Security Department and other communist institutions. The decision to end the operation most likely came from the Kremlin. In documents that were found on this case, one can notice many patterns of the Russian involvement. In a draft of this operation’s analytical overview, created after its finalization, it had some Russian addition and comments. The essence of this provocation was held secret until the end of the 1980s, when it was revealed. In order to confuse the readers, some threads of a parallel, second operation were added⁹.

The other operation was called the „Berg Affair”. – On the 23 of December 1952, two individuals, a man and a woman, came to the Polish Consulate in East Berlin, bringing the exact data about two Polish organizations in West Germany. Those organizations were coordinating information exchange between the Soviet occupied Poland and the West. In reality, those individuals were the two conspired members of the Ministry of Public Security. Because of their activities at the turn of January and February the wide scale repressive action started by the Ministry and led to capture of 200 people. Many of those were sentenced to death¹⁰.

⁹ *Operacja „Cezary”. Prowokacyjna V Komenda WiN*, W. Frazik, „Biuletyn IPN” nr ½, Kraków 2008, website: http://niniwa22.cba.pl/operacja_cezary.htm [28.11.2014 r.].

¹⁰ S. Centkiewicz, *Afera Bergu*, „Wprost” 2004, nr 6, website: <http://niniwa22.cba.pl/afera-bergu.html> [28.11.2014 r.].

Those two operations proved that the Ministry of Public Security, most likely inspired by the Soviet secret service, was already aware of a much better method than physical elimination of opponents. A scheme that was used in a successful fight against Poland's independent underground, a method of taking over the control of independence organizations. This model of deceptive method can also be observed in the mid-1970 in Poland, when the modern opposition movement started to developed. Obviously, since it was tested and proved in practice of the past, the communist secret service decided to use it again, and again, based on the old maxim: "The better is an enemy of the good".

However, especially the deception carried out by the illegals – a special covert asset of foreign intelligence, can be almost a lethal threat. The illegal is an officer, a member of a foreign intelligence agency operating in deep cover, who takes a residence and fictional citizen's biography in a country of operation¹¹. Its potential ability to do an internal damage is very high, since is not considered to be a foreigner. The illegals can be used by its mother agency in many different ways, for example can be used as agents of impact or future informers, and any other role deemed necessary for a country of origin. Its role can be: "[k]neading of the public opinion or an opinion creating circles of followers in a country at aim. This kneading can go in many directions. Most of the time it is creating a sympathetic view of a nation for which the agent is enlisted or its institutions. There can also be some more complex combinations, for example, creating an atmosphere of resentment to someone or something"¹².

Use of the illegals can be directed towards many deceptive activities. Its role is particularly useful in stealing of information and especially of the technology important for state security. Good example of such an historical mission is activity of the "illegal" Georg Koval working in the "Project Manhattan". He was able to steal the secrets of atomic bomb initiator and sent it to Moscow¹³. This greatly advanced the work on atomic bomb by the Soviet Union and equalized, for time being, the potentials of two antagonists – the USA and the USSR.

The covert agent as the illegal can also run deception and disruption operation from beyond the borders of the attacked country. Sometimes proper steering of foreign public opinion, social groups and politicians, can result in lack of support and shift the balance of military power, or change economic agreements.

Contemporary examples of deception

When analyzing the history of international relations we easily notice that it is not only run by diplomacy. We can be assured that the listed below areas of political life, fully or partially administered by a State, may quickly become area of contention

¹¹ A. Kowalski, *op. cit.*, s. 48-49.

¹² *Op. cit.*, s. 51.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, s. 362.

with specific acts of disruption, in particular using covert methods of exploit corresponding to nature of state phenomenon¹⁴:

- economic (the attacks on the financial resources of large enterprises, State finance);
- political (disinformation, ideological propaganda);
- military (sabotage activities against the critical infrastructure and security forces);
- psychological (terrorism, political assassinations).

Prepared by qualified personnel and targeted for precise operation of the infiltration cells usually acts independently with specific engagement of the following:

- agents, ideologically related persona (e.g. the *agents of impact*, the *illegal agents*¹⁵);
- social groups of dissatisfaction;
- unaware citizens or those with low level of assertiveness¹⁶;
- special forces.

Considering that one of the main objectives of foreign special services is to reduce the morale of State security forces, demoralization of society, technology and information theft, one can understand the vast field that counterintelligence must be aware of tangible and intangible dangers. Thus the high level of education for any professional who want to become a part of it. The deceptive operation is aimed at diminishing possibility of a response to any confrontation or threat to goals planned by the secret service or the military as a whole. This is why the covert actions with highly placed agents of impact is usually very effective and a very serious threat, since it can wreck havoc in the morale of any organized group and State institutions. Deception has been, is and will be the “other means” to do politics.

The Russians for example consider an infiltration and deception as a part of the intelligence process run by proper agents.¹⁷ The agents’ operations during the

¹⁴ D. Gibas-Krzak, *Wydział I Ib przeciwko działalności dywersyjno-sabotażowej oraz wywiadowczej komunistycznych i nacjonalistycznych organizacji ukraińskich w latach 1921-1939*, [w:] *Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, red. nauk. A. Peplowski, A. Szymanowicz, Wrocław 2010, s. 89; K. Kraj, op. cit., s. 48.

¹⁵ Agent of impact – an agent, whose activity concentrates on disinformation and propaganda having an impact on decisions and values, especially in politics but not only, as used by: C. Nolan, *Greenwood Encyclopedia of International Relations*, Westport 2002, s. 22.

The illegal agent – a deep cover, well educated and trusted agent using either his own name or false name and biography. S. Cenckiewicz, „*Matrioszki*” *wywiadu wojskowego PRL*, website: http://www.videofact.com/cenckiewicz_nielegalowie_2011.html [27.11.2014 r.], Deep covered officer or conspired agent of the foreign intelligence not using diplomatic cover. As used by: C. Gmyz, *Polska – raj dla rosyjskich szpiegów*, „Do Rzeczy” weekly 2014 nr 48 (096).

¹⁶ A. Kowalski, *Rosyjski sztylet – działalność wywiadu nielegalnego*, Łomianki 2013, s. 10-54, Z. Grzegorski, *Służby specjalne a bezpieczeństwo państwa polskiego*, Toruń 2013, s. 106-161.

¹⁷ K. Kraj, op. cit., s. 48, 53.

attempt to destabilize a State will usually result in stealing or a “leak” of sensitive information. On the offensive side this is aligned with disinformation, physical destruction, psychological deception, and other. On the defensive side this implies securing and generating own resources for intelligence performance in all fields of actions, for deceptive and possible subversive goals, in order to cut off the victim state from a reliable data assets¹⁸.

The example of such behavior is the way the different “business” activities were run by the Russian Federation after 1990 in Poland. Throughout the country there have been formed a few thousand companies with the Russian capital. Representatives of these companies have acquired close contacts with commanders and staff of the Polish Army and other uniformed forces, as well as with the politicians and those close to policy running. The intimacy of those contacts was built up during friendly meetings of trusted group, with alcohol and prostitutes, while the videos or pictures for blackmailing were collected for possible future use against the befriended¹⁹.

This intelligence action of Russian agents resulted in close contacts with some cadre of the Polish Army, Police, Border Guards, or politicians, and led to loss of specific information undermining Poland’s position in international politics and business areas. The Russians weakened proper functioning of a state security system by collecting data and life details on important persona (their tendencies, opinions, habits and sexual preferences). Collection of such informational resources can become a dangerous weapon in the hands of foreign special services. These “pressure materials” mean in fact the ability to influence (by blackmail or financial dependence) the decision making process at the tactical or strategic level²⁰.

Another example of such an activity is the case of Estonian agent Herman Simm, whose agential activities caused by blackmailing by the Russian SVR (Foreign Intelligence Service)²¹ within the NATO structure, lead to loss of data on friendly ciphering system called “Elcrodat”, used by ciphering of the internal modes of communication,

¹⁸ R. Brzeski, *Wojna informacyjna*, Warszawa 2006, http://ojczyzna.pl/ARTYKULY/BRZESKI-R_Wojna-Informacyjna.htm [2.10.2014].

¹⁹ “The Raport on activities of soldiers and employees of WSI (Military Information Services) and military units active in military intelligence and counterintelligence in reference to Statutory Bill from 9 July 2003. On Military Information Services, and art. 67. Ust. 1 pkt 1-10 of Statutory Bill from 9 June 2006; and in reference to other corresponding bills...”, “Monitor Polski” 2007 nr 11, poz. 110, s. 39-59.

²⁰ Op. cit., s. 39-59.

²¹ Acronym of: *Służba Wnieszniej Rozwiedki* (ros. Служба Внешней Разведки Российской Федерации) – Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, created on 18 December 1991 by a decree of the Russian Federation of The Socialist Soviet Republics, nr 293 as an Foreign Intelligence Services of the RSFRR (Указ Президента РСФСР от 18.12.1991 N 293 “Об образовании Службы внешней разведки РСФСР”, The President of Russia website: <http://document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?1220078>, [dostęp w dniu 16.11.2014].

correspondences, telephone and satellite communications, and e-mails²². Gathering and storing the information of a victim well positioned within a sphere of interest can lead to weakening or destabilizing of its defensive potential. Such an aspect of activity of foreign agents usually ends with, as it has happened in the past, the loss of important technological information of a country.

The activities of foreign intelligence officers may also be directed against political and academic circles, or concentrate on potential individuals that may the impact agents or persons who can be used for discrete modification of the opinions of politicians, pressure groups, the media, or others, in a way presented by a foreign State. Agents of impact do not collect information for the purpose of their transfer, they distribute them. Those are the manipulated information underlined with the appropriate comment, often according to the subject to which they relate. The agents of impact lead a multi-step, thoughtful and discrete disinformation operations in the environment of decision and opinion makers, steering them towards the destabilization of a country. Operational analysis of such activity is virtually impossible, since the agent of impact stimulating in proper direction usually does not formally commit the offence²³. Such agential activity directed towards the „inspiring” of others in proper places can have a catastrophic impact with its effects culminating in wrong decisions taken by the State’s highest officials, e.g. limiting military training or the personnel and reservists, signing of unfavorable contracts relating to energy security, or causing total dependence on one of their suppliers.

The energy security deceptions, verified and potential

Another case of deception is a distortion attempt to destabilize the process of securing energy supply and energy security for Poland, starting with protection of petroleum and gas supply, and ending with energy production. According to the Agency of Internal Security (ABW – Agencja Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego) the energy sector remains one of the most vulnerable segments of State security. Therefore, the identification and prevention of risks in this sphere of State’s economy is one of the priorities for the ABW. In 2014 activities of this Agency in energy security protection focused on following²⁴:

- monitoring of the Polish Nuclear Energy Program implementation;
- identifying the threats to fuel industry;
- identifying the threats to gas energy sector;
- recognizing the risks to functioning of the energy market;

²² A. Kowalski, op. cit., s. 18-19.

²³ R. Brzeski, op. cit.

²⁴ *Raport z działalności Agencji Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego w 2014 r.*, Warszawa 2014, s. 23.

- identification of possible irregularities related to the renewable energy market;
- identifying and resolving potential irregularities related to the investment processes of the KGHM Polska Miedź SA (Polish metallurgy company);
- monitoring of the Polish coal industry.

In 2014 the ABW was working on total of 185 investigations of offences affecting the State economic security.

While analyzing press articles on this problem, one can come to conclusion that the delay of Polish gas port in Świnoujście was part of the forethought process. This gas port, as well as petroleum pipelines was supposed to diminish threats to Poland's energy industry. The gas port was officially opened in October of 2015, only after the international political situation in Europe and the world changed. It was supposed to be opened in 2014, and later this date changed to June of 2015. This delay meant a loss to economy. Some of its components were not built properly, and the functioning of this port will be tested not sooner than in mid of December of 2015. Its full operational capacity will be known approximately 5 months after. As it is stated by the "LNG Industry News", the delay raises from the fact that "the companies responsible for the key works related to that investment failed to complete some of their tasks properly. Also the supervision over the LNG terminal construction process on part of relevant ministries proved insufficient"²⁵. This terminal is a major assurance for the energy security of Poland and can diminish an energy blackmailing by Russian Federation, using this form of pressure in its international political agenda.

The questions on possible deception arise when we consider that other countries of the former Eastern bloc have made advanced efforts to increase the diversification of energy supplies faster than Poland. The Lithuania began its construction of gas port later than Poland, yet its terminal was launched earlier²⁶. Of course there is a matter of how long Lithuanian terminal will function properly without "unforeseen" failures? When we analyze issue of the Polish gas port, question is what impact on the decision making process towards the energy security have foreign agents, considering especially the detainment on charges of espionage by the ABW of a lawyer Stanislav SZ. who, according to information posted by internet portal *niezależna.pl*, was working in the sectors of energy, sea and road infrastructure. He was a consultant

²⁵ <http://www.lngworldnews.com/deputy-pm-polish-lng-terminal-to-be-completed-by-july/> [15.10.2015].

²⁶ *Litwa uruchamia gazoport*. Polska daleko w tyle, Bankier.pl; *Litwa uruchamia terminal LNG. Chce uniezależnienia od Gazpromu*, onet.wiadomości, <http://www.bankier.pl/wiadomosc/Litwa-uruchamia-gazoport-Polska-daleko-w-tyle-3225342.html> [dostęp w dniu 17.11.2014]; <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/litwa-uruchamia-terminal-lng-chce-uniezaleznienia-od-gazpromu/06qyh> [17.11.2014].

Litwa uruchamia gazoport, website of „Radia Maryja” radio station, <http://www.radiomaryja.pl/informacje/litwa-uruchamia-gazoport> [dostęp w dniu 17.11.2014].

on the Eastern markets. What is more important, in 2012 he was a member of the legal group opinionating project of the gas port terminal in Świnoujście.

Stanisław Sz. was also a panelist in international practical workshops titled „Your business in Belaruss (Twój biznes w Białorusi)”²⁷, organized by the Polish-Belarusian Chamber Of Commerce And Industry together with the EUROCON. This other company cooperates with national and international partners in areas such as finance, chemistry, pharmacy and power engineering. The Conference was held on February in Warsaw. As it was posted by the organizers: The meeting is addressed to entrepreneurs interested in starting a business in Belarus and seeking new markets. The patronage was taken by the bi-monthly magazine „Nowa Europa Wschodnia” (“The New Eastern Europe”) – dealing with topics on Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Stanisław SZ. Also published there, in addition to leftist-liberal (?) and left-wing media: „Tygodnik Powszechny” and „Krytyka Polityczna” (in English respectively: „The Weekly Universal” and „Political Criticism”), where he pondered the questions on modernization of the Russian economy and the democratization of Russia, as presented by views of then President of the Russian Federation Dmitry Medvedev. SZ. was active in local media after the Putin’s aggression on Ukrainian territory, Crimean peninsula and hostilities with Ukraine. He defended Putin and would argue that the United States also have an aggressive foreign doctrine, suggesting similarities²⁸. As a lawyer, in 2009 he was an intern in Unizeto Technologies. While there, he was ready to recruit, of the list already prepared, agents ready to work for GRU. This list – with names of journalists and politicians – was found during the search of his apartment²⁹.

In addition, subsequent media reports suggest that state of the Polish energy sector undergoes a systematic deterioration in reference to its security. This is confirmed by the report of the Ministry of Economy about security of electrical energy supply. The presented in this report forecast suggests that in near future, during the peak energy usage, Poland’s electrical supply will not be sufficient enough to provide a full service to its clients. In 2016 Poland will have to turn off the outdated old infrastructural components, and also those not in compliance with European Union’s standards – the power of 3000MW. Three years later Poland’s electrical supply will dive even more – 6000 MW. Unfortunately, the construction of new power plants

²⁷ *Międzynarodowe warsztaty praktyczne „Mój biznes w Białorusi”*, the official website of the „Polish-Belarusian Chamber Of Commerce And Industry”, <http://www.pbihp.pl/index.php/127-warsztatypraktyczne> [19.11.2014]; *Twój biznes na Białorusi*, website of: „Nowa Euroa Wschodnia”, <http://www.new.org.pl/1631,post.html> [19.11.2014].

²⁸ *Ujawniamy: zatrzymany prawnik pracował przy realizacji gazoportu*, strona internetowa Niezależna.pl, <http://niezalezna.pl/60525-ujawniamy-zatrzymany-prawnik-pracowal-przy-realizacji-gazoportu> [dostęp w dniu 19.11.2014].

²⁹ *Jeden ze szpiegów Rosji był praktykantem w Unizeto*, website: Niezależna.pl, <http://niezalezna.pl/60561-jeden-ze-szpiegow-rosji-byl-praktykantem-w-unizeto> [dostęp w dniu 19.11.2014].

has started too late and none of them will be built by 2016³⁰. At the same time, according to the press releases, it appears that the Russians begun building its own electricity power station in Kaliningrad “oblast” and are planning to sell its energy to Poland (in the meantime, the Polish government stopped building its own power station close to Ostrołęka³¹).

When we understand, that contemporary security and potential conflicts arise because of struggles to control continuous energy flow, with the lowest possible costs of purchase, such actions of the Polish Government are at least incomprehensible. Described situation makes Poland even more dependent on energy from the Russian Federation. In times when other smaller countries of Central and Eastern Europe are building their energy supply independence. This type of a dependence may suggests Poland’s diminishing sovereignty in international relations, on behalf of the Russian Federation.

Undermining social cohesion and values

When considering deception in reference to its impact on sovereignty, one cannot forget about the area of higher education and a negative influence the agents of impact can have on traditional values and stability of thinking and worldview of society members. They are able to influence the students, social groups, and academic circles, stipulating and manipulating the values and education process in this area. The worst, most dangerous type of a diversion against a country or its citizens occurs when the agents of impact negatively influences citizens’ outlook on its culture and the values of society. This type of action is usually aimed at the destruction of family bonds and interconnectedness between society members’ judgments, so fundamental for the existence of a nation. The family, considering classical Aristotelian observation of nature and human values, is the smallest cell of a nation. At the same time it is always vulnerable and needs protection by a state.

It has to be underlined, that such activities against the basic cells of a nation are disseminated over a long period of time. That is why they are not easily noticeable, making them even more dangerous. As it was verbalized by Russian Yuriy Bezmienov vel Tomas David Schuman vel Jurij Makiejew who fled to the West, a KGB officer assigned to ideological deception operations: the differences growing of deception imputed by the agents of impact grow slowly and are rooted involuntarily

³⁰ *Za cztery lata w Polsce zabraknie... prądu?*, website of: „Wprost”, <http://www.wprost.pl/ar/411846/Za-cztery-lata-Polsce-zabraknie-pradu/> [19.11.2014]; *Polsce może zabraknąć prądu*, website Bankier.pl, <http://www.bankier.pl/wiadomosc/Polsce-moze-zabraknac-pradu-2524902.html> [14.11.2014].

³¹ *Rząd PO-PSL blokuje inwestycję zapewniającą bezpieczeństwo energetyczne Polski*, website Niezależna.pl, <http://niezalezna.pl/56257-rzad-po-psl-blokuje-inwestycje-zapewniajaca-bezpieczenstwo-energetyczne-polski> [dostęp w dniu 15.11.2014].

– subconsciously – by percolating with mass media and education in schools stream of information directed against the most important aspects of society, its evolution within continuity of tradition and values. The time of deterioration necessary to destroy traditional values of a nation can run from about ten to twenty years³².

Nowadays we can notice many forms of, so called, ethical and moral decay. For the traditionalists this entails a massive corruption, nepotism, propagation of different marginal or extreme behavior such as pornography, incest, euthanasia. Many also consider problematic, an abortion, same sex marriages, and over-criticism – what is symptomatic – especially aimed at the Catholic Church, even though proportionally the same number of misconducts occurs as in the other professional groups or segments of society. In addition, the explanations excusing such, most of the time untraditional modes of behavior, are named as a fight against xenophobia, anti-Semitism, nationalism, fascism or backwardness of some segments of society.

The foreign agents of impact use for this type of operations nationals of a target country. Those could be the people of many different backgrounds, the illegals, the ideologically friendly, the businessmen or those benefiting from such connections, people of show-business, culture and media, groups of social discontent, national, religious, sexual minorities, self-proclaimed authorities and people with power, who can achieve their egoistical, and not common republican goals.

An example of an attempt to put the agent of impact within the security system of Poland is a case of lieutenant colonel Zbigniew J. from the army's Department of Education and Defense Promotion, a suspect of spying crimes³³. Importance of this case is understood when we realize the scope of his and his department's responsibility: "... its competence is realized through: analysis, programming and realization of educational endeavors, military discipline, psychological prophylactics, citizen's education, cultural and promotional activities, promotion of State defense domestically and abroad, cooperation between State institutions, organs of local government and non-governmental organizations in respect to analyzing social concerns of a military services, organizing the schooling and professional improvement for the military professionals and those employed by the military in area of educational activity, discipline rigor, psycho-prophylactics and culture and the promotion of security."³⁴ The steps to be taken to stop this kind of deception

³² *Wywiad z Yuri Bezmienovem: Sowiecka dywersja w wolnym świecie*, website „youtube”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e0-gusHVL-8> [8.10.2014 r.]; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-exPJdU4_kU [10.11.2014].

³³ *Afera szpiegowska. Oficer pracował w dep. wychowania i promocji obronności MON*, website of RMF 24 radio station, <http://www.rmf24.pl/fakty/polska/news-afere-szpiegowska-oficer-pracowal-w-dep-wychowania-i-promocji,nId,1537502> [10.11.2014].

³⁴ *Departament Wychowania i Promocji Obronności*, official website of the Ministry of National Defence <http://mon.gov.pl/ministerstwo/artukul/departamenty/departament-wychowania-i-promocji-obronnosci-10324768/> [29.10.2014].

and agents' infiltration, aimed at the fabric of a tradition within any given society, should begin with grassroots initiatives by its healthy members noticing the threat against society's main traditional values. Above described deceptive actions require years of experience through methods tested in organizing of various intelligence operations, mystifications, operational games and hoaxes, etc.

Undermining ethical standards and moral principles of a nation, its history and standards of thinking prepares a ground for the future subjugation. When it comes to striking at the heart of given country's traditional values, agent of impact role is similar to that of a quiet, persevering and long acting, yet proven killer. Of course, this type of activity is not an operation for one, or even a small group, but rather a prolonged tactical movement of ideas, concepts, ideological factors, aimed at initiating the process of change, preparing grounds for final subversion and total subjugation. Such an activity can be observed in relations, both between the enemies and the friends alike. Polish history knows many variations of this type of operations, since being in between the two important and often totalitarian in behavior – of its, politicians, military and secret service – nations, the Russia and Germany, it has seen its own share of struggle for identity and statehood. It had to cope for years with different forms of Germanisation or Rusification in its many regions. Even when we consider the friendly relations Poland has today with Germany, hopefully long lasting this time, one cannot forget that the secret service played, plays and will play an important role in political behavior of any post-totalitarian nation trying to regain control over past dominions. That's why it doesn't come as a surprise, that the case of Germany spying on Poland nowadays, is very similar to that of US spying on Germany. And perhaps other "friends" spying on each other.³⁵

In case of Poland its many traditional values are rooted in European Christian tradition and the Catholic Church, since the members of Catholic Church and priests very often stood on the way of Poland's subjugation by its neighbors, especially by Germany and Russia. This is a well known historical fact, and surely any country that wants to continue its own tradition, must consider seriously a fact, that process of an ethos modification from within by deceptive methods of foreign secret service is a question of not when, but how? Being short of a discussion in this article on meanings and demeanors of religion we can observe and predict how the secret service may diminish the role of religion in a country where important role in patriotic movements was played by the Church. It was a safe heaven, where in times

³⁵ See, in case of US-Germany spying: <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/03/politics/germany-media-spying-obama-administration/>, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/new-snowden-document-reveals-us-spied-on-german-intelligence-a-1055055.html>; or Germany-Poland, US, Vatican, and other countries spying: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/german-bnd-intelligence-spied-on-friends-and-vatican-a-1061588.html> [14.09.2015].

of totalitarianism Poland's patriots could always find a place of escape. No wonder why it became almost an institution of patriotism.

Hitting against such an institution must be an all possible agenda for operations by agent of impact. All possible outcome of institutional deflation culminates in suppressing its members from right to talk on public matters. Based on past history of agents' behaviors on Polish soil, one can analyze this process and apply it to presence or possible future. In this case, one can observe a fact of marginalization of the Church in Poland. This is done, for example, by taking away the right for priests or individuals to voice their opinion on political matters, getting rid of religion from a public sphere and silencing Christianity's input on ethical and moral questions. This is done even now with help of some politicians. The issue here is not just to be, or not to be for the Church, but the problem of a vacuum that occurs when strong and traditional values are taken away.

One should point out that traditional European way of relation between the Church and the State is different than, for example, in the US: According to an old formula, the power (*potestas*) belongs to State, and authority (*auctoritas*) should be given to Christian Church. In Poland the Church is still has this type of authority, and has it because of the social approval.³⁶ Of course, the 25th article of the Constitution of Poland guarantees the freedom of expression for religious beliefs in public life³⁷. In a past, a similar provision on faith and homeland was also represented by the conservative politician between the I and II WW period, Roman Dmowski, claiming that: "Catholicism is not an addition to Poland, but is in fact its essence. Attempting to separate Catholicism from Poland is a destruction of the essence of the nation..."³⁸. Since this is an issue of political philosophy, that is not the subject of this article, we can bracket the truth or falsity of this statement, however in essence of authors' discussion it does refers to a question, what main pillars can be affected by long term "projects" of foreign secret services?

Applying a thesis, that the secret service will want to undermine not only cohesion of a State and its tangible institutions, but first will have to go underneath to split solidity of social institutions and individual thinking about a interrelatedness with a State by creating relation of animosity between the citizens and nation, we can understand why this is an important aspect of State security. It is precisely in statement above, we find an answer to where a potential agents of impact will use deception and distraction tactics aiming at traditional institutions, whatever they may be, that were formed during hundreds of years of existence: By shaping its high

³⁶ Ks. Mazurkiewicz: *Sekularyzacja czy „ureligijnienie” polityki?*, „Blog Powszechny” – blog associated with „Przegląd Powszechny” – bimonthly, <http://www.blogpowszechny.pl/2008/09/10/ks-mazurkiewicz-sekularyzacja-czy-%e2%80%9eureligijnienie%e2%80%9d-polityki> [12.11.2014].

³⁷ See, the Constitution of Poland of 1997, art. 25th.

³⁸ R. Dmowski, *Kościół, naród i państwo*, Krzeszowice 2002, s. 21.

ethical and moral standards of values, the nation may become solidified. Deception run in this area will have a goal to destroy this solidity, important for the wellbeing of a nation-state. Covert operation planting a seed of uncertainty, leading to lack of faith, any type of faith, for years before it does final sedition, will decay invisible soul of a country weakening it. If it will diminish the strength of a country it will happen because the agents of impact may find a way to hearts of uncertain and uneducated citizens. The citizens not knowing their values and history, not feeling any unison with a State, will conform only to views presented by the general media. In a capitalist free market economy the media are not “the fourth power of a state”, but surely might be controlled by outside resources.

With some apprehension, it can be observed a trend in Poland, among a certain group of celebrities and artists who claim that “Poland is funny and are ashamed of her”, or “they wouldn’t give for Poland even one drop of blood”³⁹, or asking guests at their talk-shows to put a Polish flag in to dog’s extremity⁴⁰. One can also notice similar instances in Polish cinema and the movie “Gleanings” („Pokłosie”), talking of supposed Polish act of “pogrom” of the Jews in Jedwabne. This movie is an act of confabulation and does a historical injustice to Polish-Jewish relations of WWII. There is not one certain document from WWII proving that the Poles, without German order, treated the Jews this way in order to murder its neighbors and take their positions. A very curious last scene of contemporary times in this movie, when a man collecting the Jewish matzevas is nailed down to the barn⁴¹. What’s more, when the Germany is trying to show its own suffering during the war they created, and throw parts of their responsibility at Poland⁴², this obviously anti-Polish movie is being produced with the Polish money and becomes an export product of Polish cinematography, doing grave harm to Poland and its image domestically and abroad⁴³. Of course, an open accusation of this kind should not be treated lightly, neither by the accused or the accuser. Authors in this case present it for purpose intellectual discussion on possibilities of deception or how it can be done.

Another form of dangerous but more visible activity of foreign agents is aimed at social discontent groups (trade unions, minorities, religious minorities, media). Such groups can easily be controlled and financed by the foreign intelligence agencies. In

³⁹ *Maria Peszek – Sorry Polsko/ Woodstock 2013*, internet service „youtube”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c8mxfrsUpKA> [20.11.2014].

⁴⁰ *Raczkowski u Wojewódzkiego – flaga Polski w psiej kupie*, internet service „youtube”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Me916rVktY> [20.11.2014].

⁴¹ *Pokłosie* (2012), movie directed by W. Pasikowski.

⁴² *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter*, movie directed by Philipp Kadelbach.

⁴³ „Pokłosie” na liście najlepszych zagranicznych filmów 2013 r. według wpływowych amerykańskich dzienników, movie website of „wyborcza.pl” – website of „Gazeta Wyborcza” daily newspaper, http://wyborcza.pl/1,75477,15294271,_Poklosie__na_liscie_najlepszych_zagranicznych_filmow.html [2014].

this case deception is usually aimed at the social antagonism build up. Well directed negative energy outflow towards the decision making circles can be influential in suitable economic, social and political resolutions. Those activities are of the moral sabotage kind and use different information tools to spread fake news about country of operation. Those could be, for example, lack of order and local government ineptitude, or can propagate misleading information about the highest political leaders (disclosure of false information about compromising facts of life), promoting call for strikes and social group protests (environmental and ecological groups, religious minorities).

Strikes and protests paralyze various areas of social life. Such actions coordinated and linked with the activity of mass media could lead to a destabilization of a State or collapse of its government, which gives good prospects for military intervention. Any State weakened, “prepared” by the previously mentioned deceptive activities, is an easy prey for the enemy. This preparation culminates in final subversion acts and prepares the grounds for the occupation. It is done by groups organized and trained especially for this purpose, using its military training and the operational tactics that stand out of a typical operational techniques used by the conventional army training⁴⁴. Specific objectives of a sabotage will be achieved by covert operations in a politically sensitive environment, without publicity and with hidden or discreet means, trying to achieve the political, economic, informational or military gain.

It is a hard fact to deny that an enemy who doubts its reasons to fight, is not an enemy. As it was stated by Carl von Clausewitz in his *Treaty on War*, during a military conflict it is only 20% of training and equipment that wins the war. The morale of a soldier is decisive in winning in 80%⁴⁵. And one should not argue with that. Social deception activity is one of the more dangerous processes of deception leading to morale destruction. Not only of the military but of the entire population.

Summation

Special forces activity of the aggressor in a territory of a victim state is an end-stage act of subversion. Their activity is always very dangerous for already fragile security system of a country. The entity subjected to acts of sabotage is not in a position to fend off the perfectly groomed, direct action against personal objectives (i.e. people holding important positions), as well as critical infrastructure (objects important for the security and defense of the state). Special forces operations involving the disposal of objects representing a value from the point of view of the

⁴⁴ *Doktryna Operacje specjalne DD/3.5*, Dowództwo Wojsk Specjalnych, DWSpec. 1/2011, Kraków 2011.

⁴⁵ C. von Clausewitz, *Traktat o wojnie*, Gliwice 2013.

military, economic and state administration⁴⁶ constitute a prelude to penetration of conventional forces and taking complete control of the territory of a state or part of it, important from the aggressor's point of view.

One more excellent, model like, example of a contemporary form of subversion is seen in destabilization of Ukraine in 2014, where the emergence of the so called „Little Green Men” was preceded by:

Ukrainian energy dependence on Russia:

- demoralization of some members of its society and creation of gaps in its fabric by concentrating control of the most important branches of industry in the hands of oligarchs (also potential “illegals”), susceptible to influence by foreign agents;
- a weakening of the army and security force (by instilling in its structure agents, usually the “illegals”);
- aggressive actions of groups of discontent (aggressiveness of some elements of the protests on the Sheptytckiy square – Майдан Шептицького – Maidan Sheptytskoho, the acts of sabotage of Russian minorities – the separatists);
- liquidation of selected persons (journalists, leaders of the independence movement);
- military and financial support to the separatists.

At the final stage, because of deception, the special forces may perform number of subversive tasks:

- special reconnaissance (characterized by actions of intelligence gathering in order to provide information with a high degree of reliability for a diagnosis of the environment on possible risks, objectives and assessment of potential activities and outcome);
- direct actions (exemplified by kinetic impact on targets with important strategic and operational value);
- military support (efforts of support to a friendly groups that include training, technical and material support to the local forces in combat operations)⁴⁷.

In authors' opinion the current and immense in possible outcome for proper functioning of a State are occurrences falling within one of the listed below categories⁴⁸ exemplified in this article (they don't encompass all of the possibilities, and at

⁴⁶ *Działania nieregularne. Podręcznik*, MON, Inspektorat Szkolenia, Szkol 327/69, Warszawa 1969, s. 14-17; L. Pawlikiewicz, *Aparat centralny i Zarządu Głównego KGB jako instrument realizacji globalnej strategii Kremla 1954-1991 r.*, Kraków 2013, s. 232-252.

⁴⁷ Op. cit.

⁴⁸ Authors' selection, based on: A. Ciupiński, K. Malak (red.), *Bezpieczeństwo polityczne i wojskowe*, Warszawa 2004, s. 21-58; J. Wójcik, *Przeciwdziałanie finansowaniu terroryzmu*, Warszawa 2007, s. 29-126.

any specific moment and do not have to be an apparent danger) its harm potentiality is always obvious:

- military conflict;
- espionage;
- terrorism;
- separatism;
- organized crime;
- deception,
- subversion.

Considering the holistic aspects of security policy and doctrines, above mentioned risks are noted frequently in literature and are connected with one common denominator and fear factor. Deception often rests on infiltration and can lead to weakening of a state, and into possible subversion. There are many definitions of such probability problem, presented by different many authors. We chose those fitting the perspective taken by the authors of this article: it is not an individual phenomenon, it is a holistic and interconnected process leading to weakening of a state.

No doubt all the threats are complementary in various aspects. However they can be categorized or defined by practical elements of using infiltration and deception method, what does not refer exclusively to war scheme or prior preparation of an armed conflict, yet may very quickly correspond to escalatory divergence culminating in *en face* confrontation. Deception activities may be carried out at any time, in the long term, and on many levels or aspects of social life. This is a hybrid form of operations, with the individualized character, carried out by specially trained people.

Full understanding of the foreign intelligence's covert action phenomenon in this case is implicit in a fact, that today it is not blasting of the railroad tracks, assassination or armed attacks. It is for the most part a precise and deceptive action, often long in progress, that may materialize through slow indoctrination, disinformation and hitting values detrimental to public ideologies, people at high places, looking for habits that can be used against the State. Its sign can resemble a cancer slowly developing in the right environment, not always symptomatic to the eye at the beginning. However, when the organism, the State organism, becomes aware of its attack, it is usually too late for a proper defense. In most cases proper reaction against its effects will not result in healing. Analogically, many covert operations begin with deception aimed at the weakest elements of a society. If from the outset foreign intelligence agents are able to become influential, deception will grow in strength, aiming its striking power at the most vital fundamentals of a state, usually the security system and social interrelations. At the end of deception activity, the object of interest becomes defenseless, losing its ability to counteract.

In order to counter threats in discussion, the primary focus should concentrate on the construction of an efficient security system, including military deterrence,

protection of sensitive information and data, as well as designing a proper education for younger generations. The deception protection system consists of many element of a different nature – political, administrative and economic, intelligence, propaganda, espionage, counter-espionage. The anti-deception and anti-subversion action must concentrate on assurance of safety and security, as well as passive and active protection of the important administrative, operational, structural, and other important objects, including the communication and commuting lines, along with the economic and infrastructural agenda⁴⁹. However, seeing a deception as a process can be the best analytical option for countering its effects, and finding its agents.

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ZAGROŻENIE DLA BEZPIECZEŃSTWA PAŃSTWA: DYWERSJA⁵⁰ – EGZEMPLIFIKACJA W OPARCIU O WSPÓŁCZESNE ŹRÓDŁA OTWARTE

Streszczenie: Zapewnienie bezpieczeństwa państwa to zadanie wielu skoordynowanych wewnętrznie podmiotów ludzkich i materiałowych, informacyjno-technologicznych ukierunkowanych między innymi na znane i nieznanne zagrożenia oraz przeciwdziałanie wszelkim zagrożeniom. Tego typu działania muszą się natknąć wcześniej czy później na dywersyjną aktywność zagranicznych służb specjalnych. Autorzy przedstawiają egzemplifikację niektórych zagrożeń, analizując te wynikające z aktywności zagranicznych służb działających przeciwko krajowi pobytu. Artykuł opiera się na źródłach i informacjach jawnych, zarówno historycznych, jak i współczesnych, ukazujących możliwy zakres działania zagranicznych agentur.

Słowa kluczowe: dywersja, oszustwo, sabotaż, działania agenturalne, bezpieczeństwo państwa.

⁵⁰ W języku angielskim autorzy używają pojęcia *deception*, zgodnie ze słownikiem terminów natowskich AAP-6 – NATO *Glossary Of Terms And Definitions (English And French) – AAP-6 (2008)*. Termin ten jest używany w artykule nie tylko jako akt jednostkowej dezinformacji, lecz także jako proces i całość działań mających kulminację w aktywności dywersyjnej – niemilitarnej, prowadzących do osiągnięcia zamierzonego celu przez obce służby wywiadowcze, umożliwiającymi działania ostateczne, w tym militarne. (Zobacz też tłumaczenie AAP-6 na język polski: AAP-6 (2014) *Słownik terminów i definicji NATO*).