

Table of contents

Preface	11
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Zdzisław Lachowski – Editor-in-Chief, Deputy Head of the National Security Bureau (BBN)

A SUMMARY OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGIC REVIEW 2012 (NSSR)

Main findings and recommendations of the NSSR	19
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Stanisław Koziej

The National Security Strategic Review (NSSR) concluded in September 2012 was a pioneering project of that type in Poland. The NSSR constitutes an unprecedented comprehensive and interdisciplinary analysis and assessment of the national security condition and situation in Poland; it specifies the goals and ways in which such conditions and security should be ensured; it also defines the manner of preparation (maintenance and transformation) necessary for the national security system. A plethora of outstanding Polish experts and institutions dealing with security-related issues were involved in the development of the NSSR. The Review marks a new quality in Polish strategic culture and thought. It succeeded in opening a public debate on issues pertaining to national security. The success will be complete if the Review results in real activities aimed at creating an integrated national security system.

Military security aspects from the perspective of the NSSR	37
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The security policy recommended by the NSSR deals predominantly with preventative thinking and acting. In this approach one can see the centre of gravity being shifted from the expeditionary armed forces model to increased defense capabilities. Moreover, efforts are made to improve the defence sub-system by equipping it with expanded counter-surprise capabilities. Hence, the modernization priorities of the armed forces will focus on their increased mobility and striking power, advanced information technology and robotic solutions for the battlefield as well as support for the command and control process. The idea is to acquire such tools and capabilities which would allow, first of all, to prevent politically ambiguous situations from arising and, once such situations happen, given possible allied alienation, to head off complete surprise by ensuring an immediate adequate response.

(Elaborated by the Supreme Authority over Armed Forces Department, BBN)

Non-military security of Poland in the light of results of the NSSR	55
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Changes in ways national and international security are conceived stem primarily from a considerable increase in significance of the non-military component. The most important tasks of the National Security Strategic Review consisted in a diagnosis of the state's security system and its social and economic sources as well as mapping out the most crucial legislative directions of change resulting in the

optimization of national security. The outcome of the work taken up and done by the NSSR Committee, with the participation of the National Security Bureau analytical staff, presents an opportunity to improve the system and in particular to boost its effective functioning.

(Elaborated by the Legal and Non-Military Security Affairs Department, BBN)

Organization of the NSSR

77

The National Security Strategic Review was an innovative project in many aspects, including the organizational one. It constituted the first attempt to put in order the strategic planning cycle in security matters. Likewise it was the source of a great deal of experience which will allow a better organization of such projects in the future. The piece offers reflections of the Review coordinators, made directly following its completion.

(Elaborated by the Strategic Analyses Department, BBN)

POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC ASPECTS OF SECURITY

Changes in the US security policy

91

Janusz Tomaszewski

The strategic shift of the United States towards the Asia and Pacific region, as announced in the last quarter of 2011, has produced changes in the American security policy. While the Middle East still ranks high on the US agenda, the position of Europe is sinking. The United States has to face up to the challenges brought about by the wave of anti-government upheavals which swept across the Arab world, overthrew some pro-American regimes there and turned into a civil war in Syria. Moreover, the USA continues to grapple with threats emanating from Iran and North Korea. All these aforesaid factors are accompanied by the necessary reductions in US defense spending by almost 500 billion dollars over the next 10 years.

Internal challenges for and threats to Russia in the foreseeable future 117

Katarzyna Przybyła

The turn of 2011 and 2012 in Russia was marked not only by the parliamentary and presidential elections, but most importantly, by demonstrations and protests staged against the authorities and vote rigging practices. To stave off social dissatisfaction from escalating to the point of destabilization of the state, deep reforms need to be introduced in a number of areas. The Russian people have thrown off their apathy and demand more democracy in relations with the authorities. However, one cannot tell if the latter will have enough political courage to implement changes. Meanwhile, the future of Russia depends on dealing with numerous internal menaces and challenges, including unemployment, corruption, religious, ethnic and nationalist problems, terrorism as well as economic and military reforms.

China's policy towards Afghanistan in the context of concluding the ISAF mission 141

Wojciech Zaborowski

Afghanistan is present in Chinese foreign policy, though it is not its priority direction. The involvement of China is limited to providing modest development assistance and investments in selected sectors of the economy. This kind of involvement results mostly from China's need to get access to exports markets for domestic goods and services, sources of raw materials and new transit routes. China abstains from providing broader military assistance in stabilizing Afghanistan, whereas Afghan-Chinese relations are subjected to the Chinese-Pakistani alliance. The analysis of the origins, development and the current state of relations between Afghanistan and China allows for the following forecast: in spite of its ability to exert a big influence on the situation in the region, China's policy towards Afghanistan will not undergo radical changes after the completion of the ISAF mission in 2014.

The Gulf Cooperation Council states vis-à-vis the "Arab Spring" 165

Katarzyna Kowalewska

The "Arab Spring" brought about a shift in the domestic policies of the countries which experienced the wave of revolutions. It also caused changes in the balance of power in the Middle East. The final result of the changes remains obscure. Nevertheless attention is brought by the policy adopted by the Gulf Cooperation Council states vis-à-vis the upheavals. Saudi Arabia has strengthened its position as a leader of the Council and can be considered the engine of change in activities of the organization. Moreover, revolutions in the region have contributed to the strengthening and consolidation of the Council's identity as a body capable of responding effectively to international developments. A sign of such change is the project aimed at enlarging the Gulf Cooperation Council to include Morocco and Jordan as well as boosting cooperation through transforming the Council into a "Gulf Union".

The future of North Korea 181

Przemysław Pacuła

North Korea is a unique regime in the contemporary world, which successfully opposes international efforts to press ahead with political and economic changes in the country. Aggressive policy of the DPRK combined with its huge military potential (including nuclear one) constitute a permanent menace to its neighbors. At the same time, the strategic location of the state has turned North Korea into an object of strategic game between the USA and China, which thwarts all attempts to solve the problem within the UN. One may hope that the Chinese model will become an example to follow by the leaders of North Korea, and that assuming power by Kim Jong-un will mark the beginning of that process.

NON-MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY**Addressing the problem of money laundering
in international regulations 199***Przemysław Siejczuk*

Money laundering can be defined as introducing into the economic turnover financial values which constitute profits derived from a prohibited act in order to make them look legal. Such practice is strictly connected with criminal activity, usually in its most dangerous dimension, i.e. organized crime. Over the last few years this phenomenon has become one of the major threats to the economic development of Poland, Europe and the world. This chapter provides a brief overview of the most important international, EU and Polish regulations aimed at counteracting the practice of money laundering and fighting it. It also contains a short description of the phenomenon itself and its effects.

Exports of Russian gas – strategy, plans, consequences 225*Paweł Turowski*

Russia is planning a major rise in gas production and increased exports to Europe and the Far East. According to the most optimistic forecasts, 2030 will see a nearly double increase in gas exports compared to 2010, whereas the following decade will witness a boom in sales in the Far East. Nonetheless there are some factors which may disturb Russian plans. In Europe, competition will grow among producers, which will complicate the sales. On the other hand, exports to the Far East might be lower than expected if the plan to finance the construction of a gas liquefaction plant in the ports of Siberia failed. For those reasons, the forecast increase in exports of Russian gas would be lower than planned, and on the European markets, in extreme scenarios, the possibility is looming of selling less gas than at present.

About the Authors 249