

Preface

Dear Readers,

The situation and changes which have been taking place in recent months make us realize clearly that bringing about new international order in the field of security becomes even more urgent. Unfortunately, the contours of such a global *governance* loom vaguely on the horizon. Co-operation and collaboration, especially between great powers, at the global or regional levels, are indispensable for providing efficient long-term solutions to critical problems. At the same time, the international community remains stuck in lethargy, often behaving retroactively instead of demonstrating the requisite proactivity. While Poland's capacities within possible actions of the global powers are quite limited, worth of attention are its efforts aimed at revitalizing the European Union in the area of security and defence. Both individual and regional initiatives undertaken by Poland, as well as those at the EU level, deserve acknowledgment in this respect, although the balance sheet of opportunities seized and obstacles removed does not yet leave much room for optimism.

The first quarter of this year abounded with new developments, both on the international and domestic scene. Threats and risks are piling up in numbers but it is hard to notice a qualitative breakthrough. A brief overview of the situation presented below indicates most pivotal issues which illustrate major trends.

Inability to reach an agreement by main external actors is particularly visible in the case of Syria, a country engulfed in the horrors of civil war. It continues to claim huge numbers of civilian victims and is *de facto* a humanitarian disaster. Strategically conflicting interests of major powers have crippled international intervention. However, despite lack of direct involvement in solving the conflict, France, the UK and the USA are close to tipping the scales in favour of the rebels by providing them with weapons. Nevertheless in the Middle East in general the rule of *plus ça change* seems to prevail, where the wished-for democratization gives way to old practices resorted to by new regimes, which in turn gives rise to new challenges for the interested actors in the global arena. On the other hand, North-East Asia witnessed a temporarily exacerbated dispute between China and Japan over the

Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, controlled by the latter state. In Africa, the Mali conflict proves that a “hard” military intervention (taken by France) and non-military assistance (by the EU) turn out to be necessary in critical situations.

In the economic sphere no significant progress has been made in bringing the euro-zone crisis under control, although some, too cautious steps have been made in the right direction. True, the European Union has managed to avoid a financial bankruptcy disaster, like the one in Cyprus, however problems of other member states remain unsolved. In this context, Poland ponders a big dilemma: how and when to join the euro club. The United States is facing a different problem due to “sequestration” – the financial guillotine which also applies to its defence spending.

Among positive events which may contribute to closer international co-operation (except for rogue and other pariah states), opposition to North Korea’s provocations ranks high. The country notoriously violates UN Security Council resolutions. In recent months it launched a rocket orbiting Earth, demonstrating its capacity to reach places several thousand kilometres away and carried out an effective nuclear test which was more powerful than the ones conducted thus far. It is significant that China – Phenians patron – and Russia, whose positions on key issues related to international security frequently differ from the Western ones, expressed their support for condemning provocative actions by the Kim regime.

Iran’s nuclear programme remains an issue of grave concern for its neighbours. The statement of the president of the United States, Barack Obama, during his visit in March to the Middle East sent a strong message about opposition to Iran going nuclear. The case of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation would be further promoted if President Obama’s administration adopted concrete initiatives on reduction and lowering the ceilings for stockpiles of strategic weapons possessed by Russia and the USA. The US decision to resign from the 4th phase of the missile defence (MD) programme (deployment in Europe of rockets capable of eliminating strategic missiles) holds out hope for a revival of the dialogue on arms control, although Russia clings to its conditions for renewed negotiation.

The importance of cyber-security is growing due to an ever-increasing common computerization, which also involves hacker attacks aimed at national strategic sectors. In the first quarter of 2013, a strong reaction of the US Government was provoked by a Chinese military unit breaking into servers of an American IT company. Escalation of such actions is unavoid-

able. Hence, a need arises to elaborate a convention or a set of political rules for co-operation, regulating fight against cyber threats.

Poland is functioning in a dynamic international environment, which has the National Security Bureau (BBN) carry out permanent analyses and studies with the aim of developing evaluations and opinions for the president of the Republic of Poland. Activities of BBN are focused on several select areas (for more information, visit us at: www.bbn.gov.pl). The White Paper on National Security was being finalized. Another significant area of interest and engagement for the Bureau during the discussed period was modernization of the Polish Armed Forces. One of its elements is a reform of the command and control system of the military, which is regarded as the priority in the Main Directions of development of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland and preparation for defence of the State in the period 2013–2022, dated November 2011. The National Security Bureau contributed to discussions held in different forums: within the Parliament (National Defence Committee), ministries (Ministry of National Defence) and in scientific circles. As a result, solutions adopted by the Government and parliamentarians are compatible with recommendations and conclusions of the National Security Strategic Review, which was completed last year.

It is worth bearing in mind that in its essence the reform is aimed at consolidating the strategic command system around three core functions integrated with political control and making the system uniformly binding for the times of peace, crisis and war. These functions include: strategic planning, counseling and supervision over implementation of decisions taken by the Ministry of National Defence (*“designing”* the Armed Forces – General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces); day-to-day general management (*maintenance* of the Armed Forces – general command of the services of the Armed Forces) and operational command (*using* the Armed Forces – operational command of the services of the Armed Forces). All three institutions will be subordinated to the MoD, while the Chief of Staff (situated in the Ministry of Defence) will be an auxiliary body to the Defence Minister in the process of direct management of both commands. Last March, the Government adopted a draft law which streamlines the command and control system of the military, which will subsequently be proceeded by the Sejm.

On 22 February 2013 the deputies passed a law on funding the missile defence and air defence programme, which constitutes another priority in the modernization of the Polish Armed Forces. Its aim consists in equip-

ping the military with capabilities of key importance for the defence of the Polish territory. At the same time Poland will become a true shareholder in NATO's MD system. In the period 2014–2023, the minimum funding of missile and air defence resources will total the aggregate amounts of annual increase in the national defence budget, whereas the said resources shall not be lower than 20% of funds allocated in the same period for technical modernization of the Polish military. The potential of the Polish defence industry shall be taken into account while the project is implemented (the latter issue is actively followed by the BBN's Supreme Authority over Armed Forces Department).

In addition to activities performed by representatives of the National Security Bureau outside the institution, its position is also presented and discussed in security strategic forums organized by the Bureau. In early 2013 meetings with interested groups were carried on, including parliamentarians, university scholars as well as education and scientific centres, the Club of Generals of the Polish Armed Forces and independent experts.

For several years now, upon the initiative of the Polish president, BBN has made efforts to revitalize the EU Common Security and Defence Policy within a number of formats: the Weimar Triangle, the Visegrad Group (V4), dialogue with the Baltic partners and in bilateral contacts. A working meeting of V4 in Wisła, Poland, features high on the agenda. Among major topics raised there was the presentation of security goals and interests of individual participating states and making initial steps towards their harmonization in the run-up to the December EU Summit. The new European security strategy will be a major item on the Summit's agenda.

Last but not least, a significant area of BBN's activity is dedicated to contacts with international partners, which differ in their degree of formality. In the first three months, representatives of the Bureau met with and discussed security-related issues with their partners from various states, including Russia, France, Ukraine, Lithuania, Israel, Armenia, Mongolia, Estonia, Sweden, Iran and Bulgaria.

The themes included in this issue of the Quarterly are diverse, ranging from select aspects of the American *pivot*, to a methodological proposal focused on regulating conflicts in the post-Soviet space, to assessment of the ideas concerning functioning of the National Reserve Forces, reflections about the phenomenon of contemporary piracy, to analyses of systemic legal solutions and energy security.

The shift of the geopolitical pivot to Asia and the Pacific has become an inspiration to take a closer look at American allies in the context of bilateral connections enshrined in the treaties, and the impact the current strategic situation has on them. While the Cold War warranted the development of such anti-communist pacts as SEATO or ANZUS (admittedly quite wobbly ones), the post-cold-war period is based on the “America-centric” scheme, due to a series of historical, nationalistic, strategic and other factors. Supplementing the conclusion reached by the author on the possible harm that a stronger American engagement can have on the region, it is worth noting the USA’s role as a counterbalance for China’s possible expansionism or adventurism.

Missile defence ranks high on the Polish defence priorities agenda. The author rightly indicates a relative comfort in constructing the Polish MD in comparison to Israel or Japan. At the same time, he competently focuses on military-technical and legal aspects of MD.

The methodology of many scientific works in Poland is encumbered with the “sin” of intuitiveness and subjectivity. The National Security Bureau has proposed the method of “Taiwanization” with elements of SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) matrix when approaching selected conflicts in the post-Soviet space. Rather than being a pure mechanical trick, it constitutes a systematic, substantive analysis arriving at interesting findings.

The next article discusses the rebirth of maritime piracy on a relatively large scale after the end of the cold war and points to different factors which determine this phenomenon. It is connected with the existence of failed and failing states which are unable to control their people, with disintegrating state structures and the ensuing escalation of criminality. Assistance provided by the international community – one of economic, expert, military and other nature – offers a chance to bring the phenomenon under control and prevent it from spilling over.

Controversies surrounding the National Reserve Forces have not led to setting up an effective formation, able to perform assumed functions. The authors thoroughly discuss problems and difficulties that have appeared during a few years of functioning of the concept, and postulate a comprehensive audit and verification of the idea and practice.

By using and frequently quoting provisions enshrined in the fundamental acts of law and other legal instruments concerning the competences of the Polish President and the Council of Ministers, the author of another text revisits relations between these two entities in the area of security and

defence. A peculiar “diarchy” in this respect evokes the syndrome of control and blocking, which hardly contributes to immediate and creative actions taken on part of the interested bodies. Hence, a need arises to ensure a comprehensive and precise wording of decisions and legal provisions, as well as enhanced transparency and coherence of the system in the face of qualitatively new threats and challenges.

Energy security remains to be a topical issue in the face of the ongoing struggle for control over the markets of extraction, transport and processing of energy resources. Following the success of Nord Stream, Russia is aiming for the south of Europe, announcing the construction of South Stream. According to the author, analysis of the markets suggests persuasively a political bias of the project, i.e. making economies of the interested states dependent on the Russian raw materials in the context of ever bigger challenges and more opportunities for diversification of supplies.

A very interesting analysis of the broad response Japan took to natural disasters hitting this tectonically unstable area is immensely inspiring for any country, not only those threatened by earthquakes. Japan which experienced a big number of cataclysms in the past, learns its lessons and keeps introducing new changes and improvements. In addition to recommendations formulated by the author, it would be worthwhile to conduct a deeper analysis and assess Poland’s readiness, including the preparation of its infrastructure and services for disaster management. This, however, is a topic for a separate paper.

The last chapter of the Quarterly deals with Iran in a lesser known dimension – the one of authorization of transactions with this state, and in this context, of Poland’s preparation to implement the mechanism. It is challenging to adapt domestic law to restrictive EU regulations in the scope of international sanctions. Whether the authorization mechanism is going to be effective enough to have Iran yield to the burden of sanctions and make its nuclear programme transparent remains an open question.

This issue of the “National Security” Quarterly is the last edition put out under my supervision. It is up to the readers to assess the value of changes introduced during my time in office. Let me use this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to all the editors and authors.

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Editor-in-Chief