INTRODUCTION

In 2009 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization celebrates its 60th anniversary. NATO is one of few international organizations, which have all the storms of the history. It has proven its efficiency during the cold war period as the warrantor of stability and security of the Western world facing the menace of the expansive policy of the Soviet Union, which – after 1945 – dominated and subjected our part of the continent. NATO has also come out victorious of the 1989 revolution - symbolic date, which put an end to the Moscow domination in the Central and Eastern Europe. Taking up the humanitarian and stabilisation missions in Balkans, the organization has manifested that it is a group of mature members. At the same time NATO forces have executed the successful actions outside the territory of the members' States. Both its functions – the first one consisting in the collective defence, and the second one consisting in the ability to undertake the expeditions in the name of fundamental and essential values shared by its members - have attracted new countries and encouraged them to join the Alliance. So after the end of the cold war we have already witnessed three important moments of extending NATO: in 1999 (the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary), 2004 (Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia and Slovenia) and 2009 (Croatia and Albania). In the late 80s and early 90s of the last century the Alliance was told to be dying. However it has occurred that the gossip has not come true and it is because the Alliance is an attractive organization for new States, which consider joining NATO to be the main goal of their foreign policy. This was also the case of The Republic of Poland in the 1990s of the 20th century.

Together with the Alliance, Poland is celebrating its 60th anniversary. At the same time we are celebrating our own anniversary – the ten years of our membership. In this context some thoughts come to our minds concerning our participation in the current activities as well as the present condition of NATO. Some questions need to be asked concerning its future. It seems that Poland has passed this "training period" well. We are still called "new members", though we are in the group of the most active creators of the present Alliance image. We have been present to all the missions undertaken during the last ten years by NATO. Our soldiers have perfectly passed the exam of alliance solidarity, of co-operation and of responsibility for the given tasks. We can boldly discuss of the NATO's future, which must be founded on a new strategic conception of the organization. The signal to start the works on this key document has been given by the leaders of the member States on the NATO anniversary summit, on the 3rd-4th of April this year, in Strasbourg and Kehl.

However, earlier the National Security Bureau had undertaken the works on Polish input to the strategic conception. There had been many meeting of national and foreign experts. One of these meetings was the seminary in which the experienced Italian diplomats took part: Sergio Balanzino and Guido Lenzi. The first one was for a long time the Deputy Secretary General of NATO. Guido Lenzi was asked to analyse the proposal of the President of the Russian Federation – Dimitri Medvedev, who – since 2008 – has been encouraging to create a new security order in Europe. The Moscow's intentions have not changed over the last decades – the hardcore of its actions is to eliminate NATO and to put an end to the United States activity in Europe. It was already in 1954 that Moscow manifested its initiatives for the first time, so the very idea to create a grey structure overwhelming NATO is nearly as old as the Alliance itself. Still in 2008, Guido Lenzi was the Permanent

Representative of the Republic of Italy in OSCE, and that's why he has given to our discussion the perspective and the view of that organization, which undertakes the efforts to discuss the Russian proposals. And there are strong indications to its efforts.

The opinions of Italian diplomats have been completed by the remarks of Ph.D. Przemysław Żurawski, alias Grajewski, who has been invited to take part in the discussions by the National Security Bureau. We have consigned him a task to present the Polish vision of the security environment in Europe. We hope that in this rush period of reflection over the condition of the security on the Old Continent, stimulated by the anniversary of the 60th anniversary of NATO, the remarks of our guests will be interesting for the Readers. We hope that they will inspire and extend the reflection over the strategic interests of the Republic of Poland.