Preface

Dear Readers,

We present you with a new issue of our quarterly "National Security". Like in the previous editions, we address issues of broadly-defined international and Polish security. For Poland the main focal point and interest is the Presidency of the Council of the European Union that our country currently holds – the problems related to and updating the EU's security will be presented in the next issue of the quarterly. At global and regional levels, despite NATO's successful operation in Libya, the evidence of a strategic breakthrough in the efforts of the international community to strengthen the security has not manifested themselves yet.

This issue opens with a review of major threats in the global scale – non-traditional ones because asymmetric. This feature requires the world to demonstrate innovative approaches, tactics and strategies that go far beyond military reactions, particularly in three domains – terrorism, nuclear weapons and missile technology proliferation.

In the area "from Vancouver to Vladivostok" there is a potential framework for building a new security order or a security community – it is the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), just as there are proposals to build it. For years the Organization has been waiting for its own renaissance. Yet, as the time passes, the erosion of the institution may soon go beyond the point of no return.

Since December 2010, the central item of the National Security Bureau's work has been the Strategic Review of the National Security (SRNS). The SRNS reached its halfway point, covering one by one the successive stages towards the concluding report and a White Paper. They are to inspire political and strategic decision-makers and become an incentive for the public opinion to continue more intensively activities and debate on Poland's security.

One of the main tenets governing the international coexistence, legitimized by the UN documents and other multilateral instruments, is the renunciation of the use or threat of force in relations between the states. New actors, the dynamics of the security environment, and particularly the growing concern about the human rights and liberties create a new quality, as epitomized by the rule of responsibility to protect. It modifies the approach

to other principles, such as sovereignty and territorial integrity, causes essential border shifts in the legal and international protection in the humanitarian field, and in extreme cases, justifies interventions by the international community as well as the revision of, one would think, the inviolable use-of-force principle.

The bone of contention between the former enemies, and (difficult) partners nowadays, that radiates into other areas of strategic dialogue in the field of armaments and security is missile defence. NATO–Russia cooperation is by all means desired; however, for numerous reasons the premises are not there for creating a unified common system of such defence, as postulated by Russia. At stake is the scope of cooperation, including creating mechanisms of information exchange and confidence- and transparency-building within the framework of such cooperation.

The questions whether the USA would close itself in a sort of "Monroe doctrine" and limit its global role and position in world politics or whether the isolationist tendencies that appeared in the election campaign started beforehand are of opportunistic character, give rise to intriguing discussion. During the economic and financial as well as the incipient social crisis in the United States, one cannot dismiss this phenomenon as merely a passing, expedient game.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in Central Europe, authors make a balance-sheet of the 20 years long implementation of the Treaty on Good Neighbourhood and Friendly Cooperation between Poland and Germany in the select areas of security. After the period of building relations based on shared values the time came to put them on a broadening basis of common interests, not free from disputes, misunderstandings and the tendency toward an "enlightened egoism". The latest period reveals a revival in positive relations and cooperation between both countries in the security area.

Two very interesting conflict-ridden areas face different challenges. The first analyzed region is the North Caucasus, which during the past two decades experienced a streak of crises and rebellions, occupations and pacifications, destabilizations, and lately attempts to inject "steered" autonomy. Finding the current policy of heavy-handedness inefficient, Russia tries another, more sophisticated approach. Whether the new opportunity for modernisation will be continued under Vladimir Putin's (expected) Presidency remains open, in the author's opinion. On the other hand, after a period of regimes being abolished, weakened or transformed domestically in the Middle East and North Africa, dramatic shifts in relations among the states are being observed. The most troubled environment of the Middle East –

in Israel's direct surroundings – faces a revolutionary *renversement des alliances*. For different reasons Israel is observing helplessly as the strategic correlation of forces built by it in the region over several decades undergoes dramatic shake-ups.

The critical infrastructure and the evolution of terrorism are in this quarterly themes pointing to the non-military security area. For several years the protection tasks relating to the critical infrastructure have been planned and resolved. The crisis management law of 2007 is the legal basis for a comprehensive definition of the infrastructure and distinguishing it from other social and economic sectors. As the author points out, it does not exhaust the scope of legal protection – numerous regulations included or dispersed in other legal acts that have been passed earlier include essential references to the elements of the infrastructure recognized as critical.

Terrorism, along with cyber and energy security, occupies a very important place in the National Security Bureau work programme. This time the author analyzes the ability of terrorist groups to adapt their strategies and methods to the changing environment. It is carried out on two main levels: ideological and operational. The spectacular, networking nature, a terrorist's changing profile, the media propaganda including the internet and simultaneous attacks—those are some of the characteristic features of the jihad, which adjusts its methods to the existing conditions. Although Poland was not subject of a serious terrorist attack, efforts should be made to minimize the possibility of such threat.

The "Armed Forces" section provides an interesting sociologal contribution to changes that take place among the professional personnel of the Polish armed forces and challenges as well as results for the professional army that relate to the issue. The author analyzes the modifications that occurred in the role and position of the three professional military personnel corps: officers, non-commissioned officers and professional enlisted soldiers. It is also worthwhile to read on the reform of the French armed forces, its priority directions ("pillars"), which include the aims, modifications in the strategy as well as the rationalization of resources, as announced in the 2007 White Paper. Next year, a review and update of this document are planned on the basis of the experiences of the previous five years. This issue of the quarterly ends with an article about selected aspects of the process of "revolution in military affairs", which briefly characterizes the qualitative changes taking place in different military planes as well as problems in non-military realms resulting from those changes. True, technological gains enable a "humanization" of hostilities (particularly resulting in reduced numbers of victims),

however, the fascination with the progress in this scope cannot obscure the fact that nowadays it is political, not military undertakings that can ensure stable solutions to the contemporary issues related to crises, conflicts and war.

This brief review shows that this quarterly issue includes interesting articles for a wide range of readers. Moreover, the reader has certainly noticed that we introduced changes to the graphic layout of our publication. We hope it will turn out even more reader-friendly in both the technical and aesthetic sense.

Enjoy your reading,

Zdzisław Lachowski Editor-in-Chief Deputy Head of the National Security Bureau