

# Preface

Dear Readers,

In the second quarter of 2012 a few from among numerous issues drew special attention in the context of the security of Poland and its international surroundings. Unquestionably, central focus was the NATO summit meeting in Chicago, held a year and a half after the Alliance's Lisbon Summit. Nationally, it was the EURO 2012 soccer tournament in Poland and Ukraine and its organization that attracted significant interest and concentrated most activities. This big sport event required enormous organizational and logistic efforts by the involved national entities and services. Results of those challenges have been positively recognized. During the same period, within the key project carried out by BBN, the National Security Strategic Review – a series of conferences came to an end and the final report, due to be presented to the President, was being completed. Significantly, during the above-mentioned period, President Bronisław Komorowski intensified multilateral regional contacts within the framework of the dialogue with the Baltic states (particularly in the run-up to the NATO summit) and the Visegrad Group (Poland has started a year-long presidency of the caucus). These are the most spectacular ventures among the vast array of issues that were on the agenda of Polish and international activity.

The subjects included in this issue of the quarterly are, as usual, dedicated to different dimensions of security. We start with an article in the “National security” section, which is a continuation of a review of Poland's strategic experience, a theme that was introduced in the previous edition of the quarterly. This time it is the second decade of Poland's security and defence strategy and policy that is analyzed, in its capacity as NATO member and – since 2004 – the European Union one. The 9/11 breakthrough and its consequences for the international policy and Allied responses were a critical challenge for Poland who was seeking a proper place and role in the new circumstances.

The aforesaid Chicago Summit had to refer to both operationalization – i.e. ensuring an efficient functioning – of the strategic arrangements as agreed in Lisbon in November 2010 and come up with effective responses to new challenges and threats in the dynamic security environment. NATO

is at the crossroads – seeking consolidation, efficacy and cohesiveness, it must face up to divergent political and strategic outlooks and interests of its members, which can be recapitulated in a dilemma: collective defence versus expeditionary missions. Having its own national interests concerning the original Alliance's principle of collective defence, Poland strives to build around it a consensus with like-minded allies.

Nuclear weapons are an element of threats and challenges, existential in character. Their role and place in the nuclear-weapon powers' strategies changed after the cold war confrontation. Nevertheless, the problem returns in different contexts and on a new scale facing, among other things, a motley group of state and non-state actors who aspire to ensure themselves – by obtaining nuclear weapons – a better security or to enhance their role on regional or global levels. President Barack Obama's call of 2009 for a world free from nuclear weapons calls for new and intensified disarmament and non-proliferation efforts among the international community.

This quarterly issue continues to analyze the situation in the Middle East – “the Arab spring”. Becoming a focal point of not only regional but also global character, Syria may soon become a subject of sharp competition in the period “after” Bashar al-Assad. Russia's (and China's) resistance to sanctions or an international intervention in the Syrian internal conflict protracts the Damascus regime's agony and at the same time it does not bode well for the diplomatic efforts of the UN, the Arab States League and interested powers, who aim to end the humanitarian catastrophe and civil war in Syria.

“Internationally supervised” independence status of Kosovo – a relatively new (originated in 2008) state in the northern Mediterranean region – may change into a formal and total sovereignty by the end of 2012. The country is still struggling with some problems in external relations, especially in the nearest neighbourhood, as well as with internal difficulties. Standing in the way of Kosovo's reliability vis-à-vis the international community are numerous barriers – particularly in the context of Euro-Atlantic aspirations of the country. Overcoming them will not be easy.

In this issue we yet again return to the problems of cyber security, particularly in the context of Poland. While virtual environment is currently the most dynamically developing space representing asymmetric features, states are struggling to capture it with some rules, provisions and legal arrangements. The networking of this security dimension, the subjectivity of individuals or groups as participants in international relations, both complicate the work of creating a flexible, comprehensive global information order,

which should quickly respond to current as well as numerous rapidly emerging threats and challenges, including those created by non-state actors.

The unsuccessful EU's concept concerning the Nabucco energy pipeline seems to point out the main actors of strategic games for gas deliveries to Europe via the southern route in the years ahead. This apparently does not threaten the security of deliveries to the European Union, nevertheless, it politically touches upon the EU's leverages along the gas transportation route. The quasi-monopoly of Russian deliveries would be curtailed, and Azerbaijan and Turkey are the potential main players in the economic and trade games there.

The last analysis in the "Non-military security" section is a review of the achievements of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. This distinguished international institution is tackling many problems: situation of the people in conflict, crisis or war zones and refugees fleeing such areas; the challenge of providing those people with help in humanitarian, logistical and financial fields and not rarely of a long-term perspective of supporting refugees, which is particularly burdensome for poor host countries; and also a lack of repatriation opportunities. Although this international institution assists this category of victims, its capacity is evidently unsatisfactory.

In the documentary section of the quarterly we publish some select documents issued by the North Atlantic Alliance during the Chicago May 2012 Summit. Moreover, we publish the new National Security Strategy of Ukraine, along with BBN's commentary.

We present this issue of our quarterly hoping that it will be received with a similar recognition and trust as the previous ones.

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