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*Stanisław Koziej*

The East-West confrontation period saw cases of asymmetric military responses to the undoubted preponderance of the great political and military powers. However, it was the post-cold war period that brought about a global wave of asymmetric threats by state and non-state actors. Today the existing doctrines and strategies have become unsuitable for the new situation. International terrorism is assuming a wide range of forms, muddling the former clear division into war and peace. Terrorism has also been creeping into the nuclear dimension. The triad of threats is complemented by the proliferation of missile technologies, which are dynamically developing and expanding, thus enhancing the sense of insecurity in the Euro-Atlantic area.

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*Przemysław Grudziński, Jarosław Pietrusiewicz*

After the end of the cold war, under the pressure of dynamic changes, the European security system came to be less and less adequate to the needs and expectations of the OSCE societies. This praiseworthy organization was getting into a rut, and it was particularly due to NATO's and the EU's expansion as well as the growing confrontation between the Euro-Atlantic community and Russia. The proposal made by Dmitry Medvedev concerning a "European security architecture", though declined by the West, indicated the real need to renew a dialogue in the "OSCE Europe" directed at building a "security community". The issue whether the coming years will overcome the inertia and become a breakthrough in that regard remains open.

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*Kazimierz Sikorski*

Initiated in December 2010 by President Bronisław Komorowski, the Strategic Review of National Security of Poland (SRNS) is accelerating. The schedule that envisages the review finalization in spring 2012 seems to be at no risk, especially in view of serious progress in its work. Several factual arguments are presented in order to enable the reader to better understand what the SRNS is all about: its substantive scope, participation and the organization of the work. Also the aims to be attained in the nearest future are indicated.

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*Paulina Piasecka*

The changing notion of sovereignty, transformations in international relations and the spreading principle of responsibility to protect result in the evolving interpretation of the right to use force in the global environment. Along with the growing complexity of factors that determine the decision to get a state or a coalition of states involved in an intervention in the third party territory, violation of its territorial integrity included, the problem of adjusting international law to the existing conditions has come into prominence. It is worthwhile to analyze those issues, taking into consideration both legal aspects and the influence of contemporary political circumstances on the interpretation of international law.

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*Lukasz Kulesa*

The change of the concept of building a missile defence system, as announced by President Barack Obama in 2009, has resulted in a modification of Russia's critical standpoint. Without giving up its reservations, Moscow expressed its readiness to start a dialogue on possible cooperation. Pursuant to the decisions taken at the NATO Lisbon Summit in November 2010, the parties have begun to elaborate an agreement. Still, the talks held during the first half of 2011 showed considerable discrepancies in the parties' evaluation of missile threats as well as in the scope and rules of cooperation. Although one cannot exclude the possibility of an early breakthrough, nevertheless, it will possibly become clear just before the next year's Chicago summit whether Russia will decide to join the cooperation on NATO's terms or will choose a confrontation option.

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*Przemysław Pacuła*

Isolationistic tendencies have a long history in the United States. The current popularity of this phenomenon is owed mainly to the failure of the democracy export project, which entangled the United States in two costly and long-lasting wars. An additional factor is America's economic crisis and growing debt that tripled during the past 11 years. This impacts the growing popularity of politicians who focus their programmes on the domestic affairs (Tea Party). This fact notwithstanding, the extent of US interests around the world makes it difficult to expect that the state would give up its superpower role. However, one can anticipate that the USA presence in some regions will be reduced (due to financial reasons). As Asia has been gaining in importance in the US policy, this change may adversely affect the European countries, including Poland.

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*Dominik Jankowski, Agnieszka Ignaciuk*

Polish-German relations have come of age after two decades of expectations that were by turns shared and diverging. A few years ago German diplomats kept emphasizing that 80% of their time devoted to building relations with Poland was spent on solving the problems of the past. The recent events show that the tendency today is reverse – it is the future that is discussed

more often than the past. The year 2011 has become a special moment in Polish-German relations: the Weimar Triangle has been revitalized, the Germans evidently support the priorities of the Polish presidency in the EU Council and the sympathy indicator for Poland among the Germans is positive for the first time in contemporary history.

## The North Caucasus and Russia's security – an insoluble problem or a wasted opportunity? 145

*Katarzyna Przybyła*

The Russian Federation faces many threats, challenges and chances, among them those in the North Caucasus – the region that has generated more problems than benefits since the time it was conquered by Russia. So far, Moscow's policy towards the North Caucasian republics has been incoherent, ad hoc and quite often marked by use of force. Recently some hopeful changes have occurred. Although violence continues to be common and the increase in the presence of military troops and structures is still on the cards, yet a new element has been introduced – a trend towards modernization and investments. Whether steps being taken by Russia and the North Caucasus will succeed or the security environment is doomed to another wave of destabilization, potentially more dangerous than the previous ones, depends on the consistency of actions taken by the authorities, their will to collaborate with the inhabitants and the attitudes of regional leaders.

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*Aleksandra Dzisiów-Szuszczkiewicz*

The overthrow of the regimes in Tunisia and Egypt and the rise of political awareness among the Arab societies resulting in an open resistance to their authoritarian governments were enthusiastically received by the international community which hopes for democratization of the states of the region. However, the Israeli authorities are sceptic about the “Arab spring” calling it instead „the earthquake”. They are afraid that the regional standing of Iran – whose nuclear programme is perceived as a threat to the Israeli existence - would rise. Yet Israel is most upset about losing its regional partners and allies (Egypt, Turkey), a possible loss of new ones (Jordan) and the uncertain future of the regime in Syria – hostile yet familiar. Unilateral actions undertaken by the Palestinians aiming at international recognition of the Palestinian state are also of serious concern.

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*Karol Stec*

For several years Poland has set great store by the critical infrastructure and its protection. The crisis management law is listed as the basic tool serving to protect that infrastructure. However, the importance of other legal regulations has been neglected despite their essential role, as they include solutions applied successfully long before the crisis management law introduced systematic regulations in that field. The legal provisions scattered among them regulate thoroughly the issues relating to protecting and operating what the crisis management law recognized as the critical infrastructure.

## Evolution of the strategy and methods used by Islamic terrorist groups and their impact on Poland's security 199

*Magdalena Adamczuk*

The essence of modern terrorism is the changeability of its forms and the ways attacks are carried out. Groups reaching for terrorist methods are motivated by different policies and ideologies. However, the biggest threat to the security remains Islamic terrorism. In that field various changes have been noted on both ideological and operational strategy levels. They concern mainly the scope of organising and managing terrorist organisations, including the networking and structural decentralisation, the expansion of activity to the Western countries, using increasingly professional ways to carry out attacks and the internet for propaganda, recruitment and attack planning.

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*Marek Paszkowski*

The key element of the state security system are the armed forces. Discussions about transformations in the army, conducted among different bodies, most often focus on issues relating to the organizational structures as well as their political and economic premises. Those are very important areas of activity; however, one cannot ignore consideration of the social aspects. The army is a special-type social group guided by specific aims and goals, interpersonal relations, a hierarchic structure, and rules of operation based on separate legal regulations.

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*Waldemar Kozicki*

The reform of the French Armed Forces started directly after President Nicolas Sarkozy approved a White Paper on National Defence and Security. This document evaluates condition of the armed forces and sets development directions for the future. They became an inspiration to act, not only for the French defence minister, but also for the François Fillon government. Unlike its predecessors, the current edition of the White Paper addresses thoroughly, for the first time in history, France's national security. Such approach to these problems enabled taking into account all the entities responsible for the state's defence, at the same time setting out specific tasks to be completed in that field.

## Contemporary revolution in military affairs – an analysis of selected aspects and characteristic features 265

*Maciej Lekowski*

Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) is a term describing transformations that occur in the ways war is waged and the army organized. The conventional caesura of the modern RMA was the „Desert Storm” operation (1990–1991), when the anti-Iraqi coalition army, using modern technological inventions, was able to swiftly defeat the Iraqi army. The current revolution in military affairs is based on information and satellite technologies, which enable continuous gathering of information from the battlefield and sending it to the appropriate units. Moreover, the characteristic feature is the use of technologically advanced conventional weapons, such as UAVs and precision-guided munitions.

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