

# Comparative Analysis of the 2007 and 2014 Polish National Security Strategies

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The aim of the paper is the comparison of 2007 and 2014 National Security Strategies focusing on the role of Armed Forces in the system of National Security. Moreover, the author tries to verify the need for changes in relation to the current international situation in Central and Eastern Europe. The parts of this analysis are related to the given chapters of the strategies. The article indicates the reasons and presents conclusions resulting from the changes incorporating in the current document. Moreover, the author analyses the legitimacy of adjustments in the context of current threats to the security of Poland and Europe.

**Keywords:** National security, national strategy, politically, national interests and strategic goals.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Poland is currently in the situation in which the real national security of the state may be threatened due to events taking place nearby our eastern border. An international discussion on the security of Europe has been triggered by Russia's aggression towards Ukraine, the annexation of Crimea, armed operations of Russian soldiers in Ukraine, or repeated violations of the airspace of the Baltic States by the air force of the Russian Federation. Poland, as a neighbour of Russia, also sees the problem of expansionist policy conducted by Russia, which might threaten the security of our country in the near future.

The new strategy has been adopted by the Polish government on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2014, and was subsequently approved by the President of the Republic of Poland Bronisław Komorowski on 5<sup>th</sup> November 2014. This document replaces the previous National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland from 2007. The strategy suffered numerous delays related to both amount of work on a new document, and events that took place on the international arena and in Poland.

## 2. POLAND AS A SECURITY ENTITY

Both papers, the strategy from 2007, and the document signed by the President of the Republic

of Poland in 2014, present at the outset the situation of Poland in Europe and in the world in the context of international and internal security. The previous strategy shows that the authors assess the level of Poland's security as high, guaranteed mainly by the country's membership in "(...) politically, militarily and economically strong (...)"<sup>1</sup> international organizations and alliances, which primarily increases the deterrence factor of potential adversaries<sup>2</sup>. Already at the very beginning of the strategy from 2007, one can read that "(...) in the first decade of the new century, the Republic of Poland is a safe country (...) "<sup>3</sup>, and one of the tasks of the state is to continue the actions related to maintenance and development of an efficient and organized security system<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of National Defense, National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, Warsaw 2007, p.4, <http://www.msz.gov.pl/resource/7d18e04d-8f23-4128-84b9-4f426346a112>, access: 15.12.2014.

<sup>2</sup> A. Brzozowski, S. Koziej, *Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe - 25 lat polskiej strategii bezpieczeństwa*, Biuro Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego, Warszawa 2014, p.16.

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 4, p.8.

<sup>4</sup> R. Szandrocho, *Wybrane problemy gotowości obronnej państwa*, Wyższa Szkoła Oficerska Wojsk Łądowych imienia generała Tadeusza Kościuszki, Wrocław 2013, p.67.

The document underlines that relations with the Russian Federation is one of the key factors towards building the stability for both Poland and the whole of Europe. The strategy presents Poland's attitude regarding relations with Russia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as the European Union (EU). In the document one can read that "(...) as a neighbour of the Russian Federation, Poland takes the view that both bilateral relations as well as NATO-Russia and EU-Russia relations should be developed on the basis of full respect for international law, including sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, as well as the freedom of choice of their own way of development and participation in political and military alliances"<sup>5</sup>.

### 3. NATIONAL INTERESTS AND STRATEGIC GOALS

The next chapters of both strategies define the national interests of the state that come from the provisions specified in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland and refer to the following issues:

- ensuring independence of the state, inviolability of its borders by having an effective security potential;
- the state's guarantee of protection of the citizens from any internal and external threats;
- ensuring comprehensive development of the state and society including environmental protection;
- building and maintaining a strong international position;
- respect for human and civil rights<sup>6</sup>.

The national interests of the state, though different expressions have been used, seem to be convergent in both documents and define the same problems mentioned above. On the other hand, the strategic goals formulated in both strategies have been defined separately. The main difference is the precision of their formulation. While in the 2007 document the objectives of the Polish Armed Forces are defined in very general way and focus mainly on the ensuring the independence of the country and the security of its citizens, the strategy from 2014 presents a number of goals and tasks assigned to the Polish Armed Forces.

Moreover, the first chapter of the new strategy presents the current potential, scope and structure of the security system, which consists of the command and executive subsystems. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland have been defined as the main defensive element of the executive subsystem, assigned for the conducting of operational activities in the area of national security. The authors of this document emphasize the fact that considerable financial expenditures have been allocated for the modernization and professionalization of the Polish Armed Forces.

### 4. THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT OF POLAND

The analysis of the second chapter of the 2007 strategy shows that the authors focus on asymmetrical, unconventional and terrorist threats, which are far from the borders of our country. The sources of these threats are identifiable non-state actors, such as terrorist organizations or extreme-fundamentalist groups. This strategy sees opportunities for the state security in active participation in international organizations, such as NATO and the European Union, and close cooperation with the United States of America, which are characterized as "(...) an international security guarantor"<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, the possible threats from Russia are defined only in the context of energy security. In the strategy, one can read that "(...) The Russian Federation, using the boom for energy resources, intensively seeks to strengthen its position in the supra-regional dimension"<sup>8</sup>.

The authors of this document, based on the analysis of events that occurred in international environment, consider it is unlikely that a large-scale armed conflict, war-alike, will take place in the area of our country. The challenges that Poland must face are "(...) the consequence of linked political, economic and social, demographic and ecological processes which go far beyond the borders of the country"<sup>9</sup>. These hazards concern:

- unresolved regional and local conflicts;
- failed states that are unable to control their territory;
- development differences between the regions of the world<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p.10.

<sup>6</sup> Art. 5, Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997, (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 78, item 483, as amended).

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p.6.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p.8.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p.7.

The authors of the current National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, at the very beginning underline that the possibility of the military conflict is the overriding problem.

In this document, one can find that "(...) military challenges and threats are still present"<sup>11</sup>.

In comparison to the 2007 strategy, the new document presents the problem more precisely "(...) undermining the credibility of disarmament agreements (...)"<sup>12</sup>, i.e. the crisis regarding the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), and in particular issues related to attempts to obtain weapons of mass destruction by terrorist organizations. Taking into consideration the declining trend of allocating financial resources to defense budgets observed in NATO and EU member states, this may pose a significant threat to Europe's security.

In the analysis of the regional dimension, the authors of the 2014 document mention the most important factors influencing the Poland's security, which include: participation in NATO and EU activities, the key and probably the most realistic cooperation with the United States related to their presence in Eastern Europe, and relations with the Russian Federation. The last two factors seem to be the most important aspects determining the regional security of the country in relation to the current political situation which one can observe outside the eastern border of Poland. The paper points out that "(...) Poland is also not free from forms of political pressure using military arguments. There is a large concentration of military potential in its immediate vicinity"<sup>13</sup>. Undoubtedly, this suggestion mainly concerns the Russian Federation, whose international policy is described as causing political, military and economic pressure in order to support its own interests.

Summarizing the assessment of the Polish security environment defined in both documents, it should be emphasized that the current strategy defines more precisely the potential threats to the state and, most importantly, sees the danger of "(...) armed conflicts of various scales (...)"<sup>14</sup>, including the quite unlikely but possible direct inter-state war. In addition, the current strategy, in contrast to the 2007 document, identifies defective and ineffective methods of solving military

conflicts by international organizations and thus sees the strongest ally in the United States, which in the future may be crucial for Poland's security.

## 5. PRIORITIES OF THE SECURITY POLICY

In the following parts of both strategies the priorities of the security policy have been mentioned. According to the authors of the 2007 document, the most important measures to increase the state security include:

- strengthening Poland's political and economic sovereignty;
- ensuring an increase in the well-being of society and improvement of citizens' quality of life;
- modernization of the armed forces and development of their ability to cooperate with allied armies;
- strengthening the international position of Poland and increasing its participation in shaping the international environment<sup>15</sup>.

The 2014 strategy, prior to the presentation of security policy priorities, stresses that apart from the need to continue cooperation with international organizations, a very important issue is "(...) independence in the area of Poland's security, including increasing the country's strategic resilience to various types of threats"<sup>16</sup>. The current document lists three main directions of strategic activities in the area of national security:

- ensuring readiness and demonstrating determination to act in the area of security and defense and strengthening national defense capabilities;
- supporting processes to strengthen NATO's collective defense capabilities, development of the Common Security and Defense Policy of the EU, strengthening strategic partnerships (including the USA) and strategic relations with partners in the region;
- support and selective participation in the activities of the international community<sup>17</sup>.

The analysis of the above-mentioned priorities set out in both documents shows that the basic task in the area of security is undoubtedly the defense of the territory of the country. The strategy from

<sup>11</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 8, p.17..

<sup>12</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 8, p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, p.20.

<sup>14</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 8, p.20.

<sup>15</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 4, p.10.

<sup>16</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 8, p.27.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

2007, in contrast to the document signed in 2014, identifies the most important tasks in the field of security by eliminating social problems and striving to improve the quality of life of the citizens of the state. In addition, the strategy from 2007 specifies the task related to modernization and professionalization of the Polish Armed Forces.

The strategy from 2014 presenting the priorities of the security focuses on the most important tasks related to defense of the country. According to the current document, the main pillars of security in Europe are NATO and the EU's attitude towards potential threats, presence of US troops in Europe, and relations with the Russian Federation.

## 6. THE CONCEPT OF STRATEGIC ACTIVITIES

The last two chapters of both strategies present the concepts of strategic activities that in general way define the goals and tasks relating to specific sectors and elements of the state security system. The 2007 document tasks are formulated as a part of the concept of strategic activities, and consist of the following elements:

- external security;
- military security;
- internal security;
- civil security;
- social security;
- economic security;
- ecological safety;
- information and telecommunications security.

The most important tasks are related to ensuring external security. The document stated that "(...) it is the state's obligation to consistently strive to create the most favourable international environment of the state and to strengthen its international position, image and prestige"<sup>18</sup>. The North Atlantic Alliance is presented as the most important element of the external security of the Republic of Poland. The Alliance is called a decisive factor for a stable international situation in Europe.

The second important element is Poland's participation in the European Union, as a part of the of external security of the state, "(...) membership in the European Union largely determines the foundations of Poland's security

(...)"<sup>19</sup>, which should be understood as strengthening the position of the Republic of Poland in the world and the membership has a positive impact on the security of the country. In the analysis of the text of the discussed strategy, one can conclude that Poland's participation in the EU shapes the security of the state more in the non-military realm than in the military sphere. In the last part of the analysis of the external security, the 2007 strategy lists the tasks related to developing cooperation with other countries of Eastern and Southern Europe and the extension of the cooperation within the Weimar Triangle forum, the Visegrad Group and the UN.

The next element of the concept of strategic activities described in the document is military security, whose the main executor are Polish Armed Forces. First of all, the authors find that "(...) the superior goal in the field of military security is the readiness to defend the territory and independence of Poland and its allies, elimination of threats of an armed character as well as counteracting possible unfavourable changes in military balance in the region "<sup>20</sup>. Then one can read that "(...) in the foreseeable future there is little probability of a large-scale armed conflict"<sup>21</sup>.

Moreover, the authors of the document from 2007 emphasize that the Polish Armed Forces will conduct broadly understood military cooperation with partners, particularly with Poland's neighbours. The strategy also formulates tasks for the Polish Army, related to internal security, including:

- control of the airspace of the country;
- protection of state borders;
- monitoring of contamination;
- demining and removing of dangerous objects of military origin;
- search and rescue operations;
- providing assistance in the case of natural disasters, catastrophes and terrorist threats"<sup>22</sup>.

The analyzed strategy presents the challenges and goals that determine the functioning of the Armed Forces in the coming years. The main goal posed by the authors of the document is the transformation of the Polish Army, including the upgrading of weapons and equipment, reorganization of command and force structures,

<sup>19</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 4, p.11.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p.24.

<sup>18</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 4, p.10.

and integration of the command system. The size of the Polish Armed Forces in the foreseen period is to remain unchanged. The Special Forces were described as "(...) best prepared for activities against asymmetric threats"<sup>23</sup> while becoming one of the most important tool enabling military response in time of peace and crisis<sup>24</sup>.

In these areas one can find the differences between both strategies. The 2007 strategy divides sectoral tasks into eight parts listed above in this work. The current, 2014 document, on the other hand, divides these tasks into the following elements:

- defensive actions;
- protective actions;
- social activities in the sphere of security;
- economic activities in the sphere of security.

According to the authors of the current strategy, the essence of the defense activities is "(...) permanently maintaining readiness to effectively respond to threats to independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Poland"<sup>25</sup>. Moreover, the additional task is active participation in peace support operations which could reduce the risk of potential external threats. These goals are consistent with the tasks specified in the document from 2007.

The current strategy, in comparison to the previous document, describes tasks resulting from Poland's membership in international organizations in a much shorter and concise way.

In the current strategy, one can read that still the important goal of the country's security policy is to carry out activities aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of NATO's collective defense and striving to improve the Alliance's cooperation with the EU. Moreover, the authors of the document from 2014 state that it is still important to strengthen cooperation within regional groups such as the Weimar Triangle and the Visegrad Group. The current Strategy also draws attention to the development of closer cooperation with the Nordic countries, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Romania, and underlines the importance of relations with the United States. In contrast to the 2007 strategy, the new document does not describe relations with Ukraine, Belarus and with Poland's southern neighbours.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p.25.

<sup>24</sup> *National security of Poland in the 21st century, op. cit., item 2, p. 309.*

<sup>25</sup> Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., item 8, p.29.

The similarity of both analyzed documents is highlighting the problems related to arms control and the proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction. In the 2014 strategy, the authors stated "(...) measures to overcome the stalemate regarding the CFE Treaty, its strengthening, modernization and expansion will be continued"<sup>26</sup>.

In case of the military tasks, the current strategy underlined the importance of the defense against threats to the independence of the state's territory, similarly to the previous version of the document. In order to accomplish this most important task, the Polish Armed Forces are to be ready for the following missions:

- defense of the country and counteracting of military aggression;
- assistance to protective subsystems responsible for internal security;
- participating in the stabilization of the international situation<sup>27</sup>.

The priorities of the Polish Armed Forces in both strategies are convergent. First of all, the defense of the territory of the state is the most important task, both in the external and internal realm. The following tasks are related to fulfilling of allied obligations and according to both strategies the main executor in this sphere are to be Special Forces. Nevertheless, in contrast to the 2007 strategy, the current document avoids unambiguous statements regarding the possibility of Poland's involvement in war-like activities and it devotes more attention to developing of military deterrence capabilities.

Furthermore, the current document describes the tasks of the Polish Armed Forces in the coming years much more broadly and accurately, in comparison to the previous paper. Probably this is due to the evolution of security threats and the professionalization of the Polish Armed Forces, which is now more demanding than in the past. Similarly to the previous version of the document, the new strategy formulates tasks for the Polish Armed Forces in the field of internal security. Additionally, the strategy from 2014 formulates tasks related to combating threats in cyberspace, as part of military activities. The authors of the current strategy argue that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland in particular must be ready "(...) alone and in cooperation with allies, to conduct protective and defense operations on a

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>27</sup> R. Szandrocho, op. cit., item. 7, p.31.

larger scale in the event of a cyber conflict or cyber-war"<sup>28</sup>.

The activities of special services in the area of security have been described in both documents in a convergent manner. The most important task according to the current strategy remains "(...) obtaining, collecting, analyzing, processing and transmitting information to state authorities responsible for national security about existing and potential threats to the Republic of Poland "<sup>29</sup>.

The last element of defensive actions presented in the current strategy is defense industry. Similarly to the previous document, the topic of the Polish defense industry was only mentioned as an element of military security, which must not be forgotten and should be related to the process of technical modernization of the Polish Armed Forces as much as possible.

The protective measures are next type of strategic activities in the sphere of security described in the current strategy. The essence of these activities, according to the authors of this document, is "(...) providing conditions for maintaining the constitutional order, internal stability of the state, public security and public order, both shared and individual material and non-material resources, as well as the functioning of critical infrastructure"<sup>30</sup>.

In the contrast to the previous strategy, the new document points out specific tasks on counteracting and combating terrorism and extremism. The most important for achieving the expected results are the identification and monitoring of terrorist threats in the country and abroad, detection and removal of these threats, elimination of sources of their financing, and international cooperation in the field of combating terrorism. In addition one can read in the current strategy that the chance to increase the coherence and effectiveness of state institutions participating in the anti-terrorism system should be achieved by "(...) preparing a strategic document at the governmental level"<sup>31</sup>.

Once again, the current strategy emphasizes the importance of ensuring Poland's security in cyberspace. According to the authors of the document, the activities in this field will be one of the most important tasks in the realm of state security. The most important challenges for ensuring cyber security will be the cooperation

with private sector entities, carrying out preventive and prophylactic actions, and building the national cyber defense system, including the development of the National Response System for Computer Incidents in the Cyberspace of the Republic of Poland.

The current document also clarifies the tasks related to the protection of classified information, among which it is mentioned the safeguard and provision of governmental telecommunications systems (mobile and fixed lines ). Moreover, the paper highlights the need for adjustment legal regulations in area of storage, processing and exchange of classified information<sup>32</sup>.

In addition, the current strategy also presents social and economic tasks in the sphere of security; however, they have a little impact on the functioning of the Polish Armed Forces. For that reason the analysis of this part of the 2014 document has been omitted in this paper.

## 7. SUMMARY

The aim of this paper was to compare the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland from 2007 and 2014 with particular emphasis on the role of the Polish Armed Forces in the state's security system. Moreover, the article is an attempt to verify the legitimacy of changes in the context of the current international situation in Central and Eastern Europe.

The most important conclusions are:

- according to both documents, the defense of the territory of the state and the inviolability of borders is the most important task in the field of state security;
- the current strategy sees more threats to the security of the state. The fact is related to the occurrence of a war-like conflict in the vicinity of Poland;
- both documents note the need for continuation of the cooperation with allies in the field of defense, which is related to Poland's participation in the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union; however, the current strategy emphasizes that nowadays this cooperation is more related to deterrence rather than defense;
- according to both strategies, NATO is the most important guarantor of security in Europe;

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p.32.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, p.33.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, p.48.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, pp.49-50.

- the latest strategy to some extent undermines the effectiveness of UN and OSCE actions and sees the need to rebuild the role of these organizations in conflict resolution;
- both strategies consider the United States as the most important partner of Poland in realm of the state security;
- the current strategy emphasizes the importance of relations with the Russian Federation and the influence of its foreign policy on the security of the state;
- tasks specified in the 2014 strategy are more precise, specific and refer to direct executors, while in a previous document the tasks were presented in a rather general way;
- in the current strategy the authors formulate new tasks for the Polish Armed Forces;
- the present document portrays threats to the security of the state in cyberspace in a wider spectrum.

The deductions resulting from the comparative analysis of the 2007 and 2014 strategy allow the author to conclude that the adjustments are justified and should be taken into consideration. They will result in the following outcomes:

- professionalization of the Polish Armed Forces;
- development of ICT technologies in the world;
- proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- low effectiveness in resolving conflicts by international organizations created for this purpose;
- evolving terrorist threats;
- Russia's aggressive foreign policy.

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