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POLAND'S STRATEGIC CONCEPT FOR MARITIME SECURITY

Abstract

In its history, Poland was usually more oriented to land than to the sea. For many centuries we have not been able to see the opportunities and potential created by the coastal location of our country. In the current strategic documents in Poland, there are also no proper references to the maritime security of the state, although we are a member of both NATO and the European Union. The article presents the creation process in 2015–2017 and the content of a unique document devoted to this issue: Poland's Strategic Concept for Maritime Security, which was born thanks to the efforts of “enthusiasts” of maritime affairs from the Naval Academy, Shipbuilding Council and the Institute of General Józef Haller under the leadership of the National Security Bureau. In the authors opinion, the document is to form the basis for work on the future maritime security strategy of our country, and also become the “engine” of public discussion in Poland on maritime security issues and the effective use of the coastal position of the state for economic development.

Keywords: national security, maritime security, strategy, concept, strategic planning.

INTRODUCTION

On 10 February, 2017 a document entitled Poland's Strategic Concept for Maritime Security (PSCMS) was presented by the Head of the National Security Bureau, Secretary of State Paweł Soloch at the Polish Naval Academy in Gdynia. It took the team tasked with this work two years to develop the document. The main objective behind the efforts, taken by the team, was to overcome the intellectual impasse concerned with working out systemic solutions regarding State actions

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in the area of maritime security, in particular missions and employment of the Polish naval force, and planning its development. The problem seemed important as in 1999 Poland became a member of NATO, which meant that it joined the “club” of maritime States, and how to use this opportunity in the political, diplomatic, military, economic or cultural aspect, was an open question, with the continued land-centered approach to these issues. Another important issues were the geopolitical changes that took place in the Baltic region after 1991 and Poland’s accession to the European Union. In the subsequent National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland documents developed between 1990–2014, maritime issues were not raised or were discussed marginally. Another issue to be addressed was the real contribution of our country to the diplomatic and law enforcement actions carried out by the NATO naval forces, as hit her to, with a few exceptions, the Polish Navy was prepared only to conduct war operations and its participation in additional naval NATO and EU projects had an exceptional and episodic character.

The title of the document also needs to be briefly explained. Why the strategic concept, and not simply the maritime security strategy? The sarcastic claim that Poles are grandmasters in creating new concepts. The fact is that due to formal and legal reasons the name of the document could not be entitled strategy as strictly defined strategies are within the domain of the work by the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of National Defense. Therefore creating successive entities was not possible. Thus, there remained a compromise in the form of strategic concept as a general framework for implementation of planning and development activities and future use of the naval forces.

1. WHY THE PSCMS WAS DEVELOPED

The need to develop a document having the character of a strategic concept was signalled by experts associated with the Naval Academy, Shipbuilding Council and the Institute of General Józef Haller. The diagnosis by the National Security Bureau confirmed that such a need existed, because Poland did not optimally use its potential related to the coastal location in the conditions of dynamic changes in the security environment, and the potential possessed was not adequate to the missions set and the water regions in which they were to be carried out. Moreover, some parts of the documents published in the recent years: *The Concept for Navy Development by 2030 and the Operational Program- countering threats at sea 2013 to 2022/2030* raised doubts as to the relevance of the selection of main directions in modernization of the Polish Armed Forces. Considering many years of negligence, especially regarding the Polish Navy, which in consequence might

limit the implementation of tasks assigned to it, it was considered appropriate to redefine and redirect modernization priorities for the Polish Armed Forces and other components of the naval force, in particular to present the concept of implementation strategic tasks set for the naval force and its preparation and use to ensure national security and economic and social development of the State. The document also took into account the fact that the evolutionary departure from the dominance of military issues in the content of strategic planning and the shift towards the issues of integrated national security, including sea regions, is becoming more and more visible outside Poland. The growing importance of non-military threats and challenges also results in the need to involve more and more entities to achieve security policy objectives, which is another significant change in the perception of the security of the State as a whole.

Therefore it was justifiable to make use of experience of other maritime States and of some international security organizations possessing maritime security strategy documents, The European Union Maritime Strategy as of 2014, the NATO Maritime Security Strategy as of 2011, which resulted in shortened process of developing own solutions.

In the light of the above, a conclusion was made that the National Security Bureau (NSB) in cooperation with the Naval Academy (NA), Naval Shipbuilding Council and other entities is the right place, under the present legal system in Poland, to initiate a public debate focused on this important but hitherto unappreciated area of national security.

2. THE PLACE OF PSCMS IN THE STRATEGIC PLANNING SYSTEM IN THE FIELD OF NATIONAL SECURITY

To determine the place of the PSCMS in the strategic planning system in national security in Poland it is a difficult task for a few basic reasons. Firstly, the strategic planning system in the field of economic development is subject to the law on principles for pursuing development policy (2006) whereas the strategic planning system in the field of security is subject to the law on obligations relating to common defense of the Republic of Poland (1967). This is the reason why in Poland there are *de facto* two strategic planning systems: in the field of integrated development implemented under the government program related to the cohesion policy and in the field of national security.

Secondly, the national security strategy is assumed to be complexed and interdisciplinary. It embraces various fields and areas of security, including development issues, whereas the sector strategies (of development) embrace only sectors assigned to them. Thus, it stems from the definition that they are

not of complex character and their integrative character is determined through their uniform, equal embedding in the strategic planning system. This results in the fact that the relations between security strategies and development strategies are still not determined in a formal manner, and planning in both of the fields is subject to different laws¹.

In the light of the above-mentioned conditions, the authors of the *Concept* (PSCMS) recognized that it was justified to place this document in the system of the Polish strategy documents, so as not to violate applicable laws, not to disturb relations concerned with the documents in effect or the existing elements of strategy culture. In this connection, the management of the NSB and members of the team of authors adopted the “soft” formula of the *Concept*, as a grassroots initiative of the presidential center, aimed at presenting the desired vision of the development of the Polish Navy and other components of the naval forces. The significance of the document was additionally strengthened by the fact that the foreword to the *Concept* was authored by the President of the Republic of Poland – the Head of the Armed Forces.

The authors of PSCMS have made every effort to ensure that the content and form of this document are of a comprehensive, integrated and complementary nature, in relation to both the *National Security Strategy of 2014* and *the Strategy for the Development of the National Security System of the Republic of Poland until 2022* and other governmental development strategies. The changes proposed by the author team are therefore adaptive and transformative in relation to existing solutions and plans of action. It was also assumed that the *Concept* would serve as an inspiration and basis for future governmental work in the field of developing the state maritime strategy.

3. ORGANIZATION OF THE TEAM’S WORK, APPLIED RESEARCH METHODS AND TOOLS

In February 2016, pursuant to the order of the NSB Head, a nine-member task force for the development of PSCMS was appointed. The team was headed by deputy head of the NSB Jarosław Brysiewicz, who was replaced on November 1, 2016 by Dariusz Gwizdała. The function of the deputy head of the team during

¹ S. Kamiński, *Rozwiązania organizacyjno-metodologiczne, miejsce, funkcje i charakter Strategicznej Koncepcji Bezpieczeństwa Morskiego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Organizational and Methodological Solutions, Place, Functions and Character of Poland’s Strategic Concept for Maritime Security)*, in: „Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego” („International Security Annual”) 2017, vol. 11, nr 1, p. 22–24.

the entire period of his work was held by prof. Andrzej Makowski, retired Navy Captain from the Naval Academy in Gdynia². The inauguration of the team's work took place on February 25, 2016 at the commemorative conference at the Belvedere. The team was dissolved after the publication of the *Concept* (its "launching"), which formally took place on February 10, 2017 at the conference summarizing the work of the team, which was held at the NA in Gdynia.

The team of authors met at sessions that were held every few weeks at the NSB headquarters in Warsaw or at the NA in Gdynia. In total (from October 9, 2015 to February 10, 2017), 17 sessions and one teleconference were held. Depending on a current need, the chairman of the team invited representatives of selected ministries to some of the sessions. The team members also participated in additional undertakings, conferences and seminars focused on maritime security, organized by other bodies, during which they promoted and disseminated the idea of developing the *Concept*. Pursuant to the order of the NSB Head, the members of the team were not entitled to any remuneration for participation in the team's work.

The *Concept* document is composed of four chapters corresponding to the four main problem areas: Marine Environment; Polish Naval Force; Directions of Development of the Capabilities of the Polish Naval Force; Recommendations for the Development of the Naval Force of the Republic of Poland, in line with the four phases of the classic strategic cycle (defining interests of a given organization and strategic goals assigned to them, assessing security conditions, the concept of achieving strategic objectives under specific security conditions and resources, forces and capabilities assigned by the organization to implement this concept). Hence, the subject-matter scope of the work embraced the characteristics of the marine environment, including the space of human activity at sea; threats, risks, challenges and opportunities in the area of maritime security; description of the areas of operations of the Polish naval force; definition of the naval force of the Republic of Poland as a whole and its individual elements; directions of development of the Polish naval force capabilities to secure the maritime interests of the state and achieve the strategic goals in the field of maritime security, and recommendations for development of the naval force. The chapters of the *Concept* are supplemented with two annexes containing a description of the legal order on the seas and oceans, and the characteristics and international legal status of and geopolitical situation in the Baltic Sea, a dictionary of concepts and a list of abbreviations and acronyms.

² *Poland's Strategic Concept for Maritime Security*, authors team: J. Brysiewicz, D. Gwizdała, A. Makowski, S. Hatłas, A. Adamusińska, C. Cierzan, M. Janiak, S. Kamiński, J. Kraszewski, T. Szubrycht, editors: M. Biernat, J. Kwaśniewska-Wróbel, M. Skowron, *National Security Bureau*, Warszawa-Gdynia 2017.

During the work, theoretical and empirical research methods were applied, they were used at all stages of document creation: diagnostic, prognostic and recommendation. During the diagnostic and prognostic work, the method of risk assessment (Common Analysis and Risk Assessment and Management Methodology) was applied to two parameters: the severity of the consequences (outcomes) of the occurrence of hazards and the probability with which they may occur. The analysis of the security environment was carried out using the PESTEM method (segmentation of the environment into subsets of factors: political, economic, social, technological, ecological and military) supplementing it with a legal (regulatory) factor, due to its special importance for the marine environment. At all stages of the document's development, the work done by team of authors was objectified, corrected and supplemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, the Ministry of Maritime Economy and Inland Navigation, as well as the General Command of the Armed Forces, including the Navy Inspectorate and Special Operations Inspectorate, General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, Operational Command of the Armed Forces, the Coast Guard branch of the Border Guard, Maritime Search and Rescue Service and Crisis Management Center of the Pomeranian Voivodship (administrative region). The draft document also went through the external review procedure, and was presented twice to the members of the parliamentary National Defense Committee.

4. FUNCTIONS OF PSCMS

The overall objective of the *Concept* development was supplemented with a utilitarian goal, which was to develop substantive foundations enabling the State institutions and authorities to take actions in the area of maritime security. Achieving such defined goals required the implementation of three basic functions of the strategic concept: diagnostic, prognostic and recommendation, the latter being the most important one. This is due to the fact that the recommendation function is the result of analyses that were carried out during the diagnostic and prognostic work. In addition, it expresses itself in proposing reforms and changes necessary for implementation, important from the point of view of realizing the interests of the state in the area of maritime safety and achieving assumed strategic goals in three interpenetrating and interdependent spaces of human activity at sea: political-military, economic and socio-cultural.

In addition, the *Concept* should perform the following functions: informational-educational, popularizing, ordering (as a tool in politics and strategic planning),

control, constituting and integrating (building tandem capabilities: security and development). In Polish conditions, informational-educational and popularizing functions seemed to be the most important. The majority of the Polish society and its elites represent land-oriented viewpoints regarding state security issues, and they do not notice the close relationship between the presence of NATO's multinational naval teams and the regional and global security. Therefore, the informational and educational function of the *Concept* involves ordering and presenting the knowledge and information concerned with the field of maritime security, both to the State authority bodies and to the general public. The objective adopted by team of authors was to develop a document which would contribute to building and shaping the maritime-oriented identity of citizens understood as identification with maritime elements of social reality, defined in psychological, sociological and cultural terms, resulting from the coastal location of the country.

The informational and educational function of the *Concept* could not be properly implemented without fulfilling the popularizing function, which involves a precise definition of the quality and scope of the transfer of information on the maritime security of the state to the public and the most important bodies of the State administration. In connection with this, the management of the National Security Bureau, as well as designated members of the team of authors, took some steps to promulgate the main content of the *Concept*, and especially its recommendations through cooperation with mass media, public speeches, participation in conferences and other meetings dedicated to the state maritime security issues.

The ordering function of the *Concept* involves presenting this document as a strategic policy and planning tool that can have an effect on ordering and increasing the effectiveness, and harmonization of its process in the area of state maritime security. The applicable dimension of this function also manifests itself in gathering, ordering and hierarchizing information in this field. The development of the Dictionary of terms, as well as the across-sectoral, across-industry, integrated approach to the maritime security issues and to their role and importance in the State security system should be regarded as particularly important.

The control function of the *Concept* is defined by the fact that the various participants of the national security system (bodies and objects; various groups whose interest are related to the sea and use of the coastal location of our country) may build the hierarchy of their interests and strategic goals differently, and thus, have different expectations about the system. Therefore, it was important to accurately define the problems of fundamental, national importance for the maritime security of the State, considered in the context of emerging megatrends in civilization development.

The constituting function of the *Concept* involves a proposal to make the recommendations specified in it legally binding in order to give them a lasting

and obligatory character. Because the PSCMS does not have the legal validity of an Act of Law, the recommendations contained in this document could only be regarded as proposals, an inspiration for other state bodies to take actions that in the opinion of the authors would be beneficial for the national security system or for shaping the security environment in the direction desirable in pursuing national interests and achieving strategic goals, both in the fields of national security and economic development.

The integration function of the *Concept* consists in the fact that this document covers various areas of security as well as economic development issues. Due to the relations and interdependencies between development and security, it was advisable to link both strategic planning systems at the state level to ensure parallel work focused on building tandem capabilities (security and development) and aimed at identifying needs concerning desirable formal and legal changes necessary for better integration of the security and development policies of Poland.

5. WEAKNESSES OF PSCMS

The development of the Poland's Strategic Concept for Maritime Security was an innovative project that did not have its counterpart in the entire history of our country. It was also a difficult process, characterized by a high degree of complexity, implemented with little experience and few models and methods that could be referred to, due to the specificity of the topic. Despite the high value of the results obtained, the study was not free from both organizational and methodological shortcomings. Firstly, it is impossible in the present formal legal conditions to precisely place this document in the strategic planning system (the document is of expert nature). Secondly, it is an *ad hoc* process, which lacks institutionalization. The work on the *Concept* was the result of conviction shared by a determined group of people that such efforts would contribute to the improvement of the functioning of the national security system (maritime security had not been part of strategic thinking at the national level). Thirdly, it is necessary to ensure transparency and depoliticization of the document development process. In future work on the Polish Maritime Strategy, not only public administration bodies should be involved, but also representatives of expert and academic circles as well as representatives of political opposition. This approach should be applied to work out a concept of use and development of the Polish Armed Forces. The first – the Polish Armed Forces should perform exclusively military functions (execute missions mainly to deter and deny access) and the other – extending their missions to promotion and protection of Poland's interests both in the Baltic Sea and outside its area. Fourthly, the document

does not sufficiently refer to the interaction and relations occurring between the various components of the naval force, nor does it define the interdependencies between the Polish Armed Forces and other branches of the armed forces to the full extent.

These critical remarks are important, but they do not negate other substantive values of the *Concept* and the fact that its content, form and scope have already contributed to launching a public discussion on maritime security in general and on directions for modernization of the naval force in particular.

CONCLUSIONS

The inevitable element of subjectivism in assessing a State security level is a specific feature of national security. It stems from the scope of contemporary globalization processes. Hence, the conviction among the team that was developing the *Concept* of the need to develop a supra-ministerial mechanism which would show long-term directions in security policy at the state level, including in the field of maritime security. Owing to the comprehensiveness of this document, its integrated character and multi functionality the PSCMS contributes to obligating state bodies to deal with problems of national security on continuous, not only *ad hoc* basis.

The document consists of an introduction, four chapters, conclusion and three attachments. The first chapter discusses the marine environment in terms of human activity at sea (synthetically raises such issues as: sea as a space to build political and military strength, economic activity, social transformation, shared values and cultural exchange), further it presents: risks, challenges and opportunities in the field of maritime security, areas of operations of the Polish naval forces and the maritime security environment in the following dimensions: the Baltic, European and Euro-Atlantic, and global.

The second chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the Polish naval force. The beginning presents the naval force from a historical perspective, its importance and components, further it deals with the naval force's capabilities to execute missions in the following areas: political – military, economic and socio – cultural. The third chapter presents the directions of development of the Polish naval force based on the maritime interests of the state and its strategic objectives in the field of maritime security. It takes into account the capabilities the force can achieve in the areas mentioned above. The fourth chapter contains recommendations for the development of the Polish naval force. They refer to the development of the Polish Armed Forces, special-purpose naval vessels and the development of non-military maritime capabilities.

Also noteworthy are the annexes, which form an integral part of the project. They, in succession, synthetically present the applicable legal order of the seas and oceans, introduced by the Convention on the Law of the Sea of 1982 (Poland ratified the Convention in 1998), the characteristics of, international legal status of and geopolitical situation in the Baltic Sea, and a dictionary of terms.

It follows from the analysis of the current capabilities of the Polish naval force, in particular the capabilities of the Polish Navy that they are not adequate to the missions and water regions in which they are to be executed. Undertaking remedial actions in this area with the utmost employment of the existing national potential is not only an urgent need, but it is an indispensable condition for responsible and secure functioning in an unstable international environment.

The discussed Poland's Strategic Concept for Maritime Security does not exhaust the presented subject. The main goal of the authors was to initiate a broader public debate on Poland's maritime security and to inspire state-level bodies having competence in the field of national security, to undertake joint systemic work to ensure Poland's maritime security and the conditions for its successful development.

The decisive factor in the final assessment of the *Concept* will be whether it will achieve its objectives. Will it remain the "driving force" of public discussion in Poland on maritime security issues and the effective use of the coastal location of our country for economic development. Will it be used by state institutions and authorities to take action in the area of maritime security. Will it launch the process of developing the Polish Maritime Strategy. And will it contribute to the development of maritime-centered identification of the Polish society?

These are still unanswered questions. It should be noted, however, that the main motive for the development of PSCMS was the conviction of the team of authors that in the near future they would be affirmative.

STRATEGICZNA KONCEPCJA BEZPIECZEŃSTWA MORSKIEGO RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ

Słowa kluczowe: bezpieczeństwo narodowe, bezpieczeństwo morskie, strategia, koncepcja, planowanie strategiczne.

Abstrakt

W swojej historii Polska z reguły była bardziej zorientowana na ląd, niż na morze. Przez wiele wieków nie potrafiliśmy dostrzec szans i potencjału, jakie stwarzało nadmorskie położenie naszego państwa. W treści obecnie obowiązujących w Polsce dokumentów strategicznych nie ma również należytych odniesień do bezpieczeństwa morskiego państwa, chociaż jesteśmy członkiem zarówno NATO, jak i Unii Europejskiej. W artykule zaprezentowano w jaki sposób powstawał w latach 2015–2017 oraz jakie treści zawiera wyjątkowy dokument poświęcony temu zagadnieniu: *Strategiczna Koncepcja Bezpieczeństwa Morskiego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, który narodził się dzięki wysiłkowi „entuzjastów” spraw morskich z Akademii Marynarki Wojennej, Rady Budowy Okrętów oraz Instytutu im. gen. Józefa Hallera pod kierownictwem Biura Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego. W opinii autorów, dokument ma stanowić podstawę do prac nad przyszłą strategią bezpieczeństwa morskiego naszego państwa, a także stać się „motorem” publicznej dyskusji w Polsce na tematy bezpieczeństwa morskiego i efektywnego wykorzystania nadmorskiego położenia państwa do rozwoju gospodarczego.