# ECONOMIC MAGAZINE **PUBLISHED SINCE 1996** No. 7-8 (203) / 2013 :: www.polishmarket.com.pl INSIDE: ENCE SECTOR FRANZ FUCHS CEO OF VIENNA INSURANCE GROUP POLSKA, COMPENSA TU S.A. VIENNA INSURANCE GROUP POLSKA AND COMPENSA TU NA ŻYCIE S.A. VIENNA INSURANCE GROUP

## The EU and NATO should complement each other

"When it comes to security, the most important challenges facing Poland are to encourage NATO and the EU to practice long-term strategic thinking, something about which we are trying to convince our allies, and – right after helicopters and missile defence that are given priority today-to tackle cyberdefence measures and military-oriented space technologies," says prof. Stanisław Koziej, Secretary of State, Head of the National Security Bureau (BBN).



t is important to consolidate NATO around its basic function – defence – that has been at its core since the Treaty was signed in 1949. It is especially vital given that NATO's operation in Afghanistan – in which the Alliance has been strongly involved for the last ten years conceptually, organizationally and military – will come to an end in 2014. Unfortunately, this was done at the expense of defence, and now we think that it is time for NATO to come back to its roots and begin paying more attention to its basic function.

Such a transformation will find its expression in "Steadfast Jazz", NATO's military exercises organized for the first time in many years. They will be held in November in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Baltic Sea. It is the first time such important exercises will take place in new member states. The degree of individual countries' involvement in the exercises will be a kind of test that will show whether the allies take seriously the declaration contained in the strategic concept of NATO.

In the case of the European Union, Poland's second pillar of external security, the major challenge is to have a new security strategy adopted. The current one dates back to 2003, and since then much has changed in the security environment of the EU. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to seriously reflect on the building blocks of the EU and to redefine them. It is highly advisable that the December EU summit, which will be devoted to the common security and defence policy, ends up with the conclusion that a strategic review of the security policy is needed. The result could be a White Paper of the European security, and consequently a new security strategy. Unfortunately, it is not easy, because the EU is concerned with other problems today.

I believe that the EU and NATO should complement each other. From the strategic point of view, it would be fantastic if we could work out systemic mechanisms of interaction between these two organizations in the field of security. Sadly, regular cooperation failed to be developed at the very beginning, that is when the EU common security policy was first created. It takes place on an ad hoc basis, from operation to operation, as long as it is considered worth being carried out jointly. Thus, incidental solutions are adopted. Countries - as shown by the ongoing financial problems - cannot afford to function effectively in both these organizations. In fact, the same forces and resources are spent for the needs of NATO and EU, which confirms that some coordination is necessary. Cooperation with NATO should be one of the key issues on the political agenda as part of the new EU security strategy.

For the last ten years, Polish armed forces have been undergoing regular modernization. In the 1990s, it was a rather chaotic process, as ideas varied every year and it was not certain what resources will be available. Then, as of 2001, when Bronisław Komorowski, the then Minister of Defence, introduced a statutory, fixed ratio of defence spending (1.95% of GDP), the modernization of the armed forces has been pursued in a regular manner. The effects are already visible today, because in many ways we have modern armed forces. It is also thanks to the experience gained in Iraq and Afghanistan. Both these missions helped modernize the Polish army with such equipment as the F16, Wolverines or AP rockets.

It is important to continue the modernization, and provided that the investment ratio is not going to change in the foreseeable future - although the Ministry of Finance is looking for ways to break through the protective barrier around the defence budget-we can reasonably plan and launch in the upcoming years large-scale modernization projects, such as missile defence and helicopter programmes. We anticipate that the next tenyear programme, which, according to the NATO cycle, will be introduced in three or four years, will include two other promising programmes. These are cyberdefence systems, because that is the area facing the biggest challenges, and - although it still seems to some people a fantasy - the use of space in security systems, especially communication and reconnaissance. Without harnessing the potential of computerized combat systems, it will be difficult to imagine the effective functioning of the armed forces in ten or fifteen years' time.

### Unia i NATO powinny się wzajemnie uzupełniać

- Jeśli chodzi o nasze bezpieczeństwo zewnętrzne, to najważniejszymi wyzwaniami stojącymi przed
Polską jest - do czego naszych sojuszników staramy się przekonać - "skłonienie" NATO i UE do długofalowego myślenia strategicznego oraz - po priorytetowym dziś traktowaniu śmigłowców i obrony przeciwrakietowej – zajęcie się środkami cyberobrony i technologiami kosmicznymi na rzecz wojska – uważa prof. dr hab. Stanisław Koziej, sekretarz stanu, Szef Biura Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego.



- Istotna jest konsolidacja NATO wokół jego podstawowej funkcji obronnej, towarzyszącej powołaniu Paktu w 1949 r. Jest to szczególnie ważne wobec kończącej się w 2014 r. operacji w Afganistanie, w którą Sojusz był przez ostatnie 10 lat bardzo mocno zaangażowany - koncepcyjnie, organizacyjnie i dowódczo. Niestety, odbywało się to kosztem zapominania o tej podstawowej funkcji obronnej, więc teraz uważamy, iż nadeszła pora, by NATO wróciło do korzeni i zaczęło jej poświęcać więcej uwagi.

Wyrazem takiego przekształcania Sojuszu powinny już być, przeprowadzane po raz pierwszy od wielu, lat manewry NATO - "Steadfast Jazz". Odbędą się one w listopadzie na terenie Polski, Litwy, Łotwy i Estonii i na Morzu Bałtyckim. To pierwsze, duże ćwiczenia Sojuszu na terenie nowych państw członkowskich. Stopień zaangażowania poszczególnych państw w manewry będzie swego rodzaju testem, sprawdzającym na ile państwa sojusznicze poważnie traktują deklarację zawartą w koncepcji strategicznej NATO.

W przypadku Unii Europejskiej, naszego drugiego zewnętrznego filaru bezpieczeństwa, to największym wyzwaniem jest doprowadzenie do przyjęcia nowej strategii bezpieczeństwa. Obowiązująca została przyjęta w 2003 r., a od tego czasu wiele się

zmieniło w środowisku bezpieczeństwa Unii. Dlatego wręcz konieczne jest zastanowienie się nad fundamentami strategicznymi UE - ich ponowne zdefiniowanie. Byłoby bardzo dobrze, gdyby grudniowy szczyt UE, który ma być poświęcony wspólnej polityce bezpieczeństwa i obrony europejskiej, zakończył sie konkluzja dotyczącą konieczności przystąpienia do prac nad przeprowadzeniem strategicznego przeglądu bezpieczeństwa UE. Jego rezultatem mogłaby być "biała księga" bezpieczeństwa europejskiego, a następnie strategia bezpieczeństwa. Niestety, nie jest to łatwe, bo dzisiaj Unia jest zaambarasowana bieżącymi problemami.

Z punktu widzenia strategicznego byłoby czymś fantastycznym gdyby udało się stworzyć mechanizmy systemowego współdziałania Unii i NA-TO w dziedzinie bezpieczeństwa. Niestety, od samego początku, tj. gdy tylko w UE pojawiła się wspólna polityka bezpieczeństwa, nie udało się go stworzyć. Odbywa się ono ad hoc, od operacji do operacji, jeśli uważa się, że trzeba ją wspólnie prowadzić. I wówczas wypracowuje się incydentalne rozwiązania. Państw - co pokazuja obecne kłopoty finansowe – nie stać na skuteczne funkcjonowanie jednocześnie w obu organizacjach. Tak naprawde, to te same siły i środki przeznaczają na potrzeby NATO i UE, co potwierdza potrzebę jakiejś koordvnacii. W ramach wspomnianei na poczatku nowej strategii bezpieczeństwa UE kwestia współpracy z NATO powinna być jednym z kluczowych zagadnień do politycznego ustanowienia.

Jeśli chodzi o polskie siły zbrojne, to przez ostatnie 10. latach przechodzą planową modernizację. O ile w latach 90. ub. wieku był to proces raczej chaotyczny, bo co roku zmieniały się pomysły i nie było wiadomo, jakie środki będą do dyspozycji, to od

2001 r., kiedy za czasów ówczesnego ministra obrony narodowej, Bronisława Komorowskiego, wprowadzono ustawowy, stały wskaźnik nakładów na obronność (1,95% PKB), modernizacja sił zbrojnych mogła być realizowana w sposób planowy.

I dzisiaj widać już jej efekty, bo w wielu obszarach mamy nowoczesne siły zbrojne. Jest to także efekt naszych doświadczeń z misji w Iraku i Afganistanie. Pomogły one we właściwym modernizowaniu wojska, które przeszło w nich poważną, bojową szkołę. Mamy więc np. nowoczesne samoloty (F16), Rosomaki lub rakiety przeciwpancerne.

Ważne jest kontynuowanie tej modernizacji, a ponieważ ustalony wskaźnik w dającej się przewidzieć perspektywie - choć Ministerstwo Finansów szuka sposobu, jak przełamać ochronne bariery wokół budżetu MON - nie zostanie zmieniony, więc w programach rozwoju sił zbrojnych w następnych latach można racjonalnie zaplanować i uruchomić duże projekty modernizacyjne, jak np. obrona przeciwrakietowa czy programy śmigłowcowe. Uważamy, że w następnym, 10-letnim programie, który zgodnie z cyklem natowskim - zostanie wprowadzany za 3-4 lata jeszcze dwa, powinny zostać uwzględnione bardziej perspektywiczne programy: systemy cyberobrony, gdyż w tym obszarze czekają nas największe wyzwania, a także - choć niektórym dzisiaj wydaje się to fantastyką, a jest bardzo praktyczne - wykorzystanie przestrzeni kosmicznej w systemach bezpieczeństwa, zwłaszcza łączności i rozpoznania. Bez jej wprzegniecia na rzecz działania zinformatyzowanych systemów walki i wsparcia, za 10-15 lat trudno będzie wyobrazić sobie skuteczne funkcjonowanie sił zbrojnych.

#### Military capability

The Ministry of Defence wants to provide the Polish armed forces with increasingly sophisticated military equipment. But will it be possible in the face of drastic cuts to the national budget?

Mieczysław T. Starkowski

he Defence Ministry's officials have ambitious plans and have already done a lot. Unfortunately, their effort is doomed to failure if they do not fight with Finance Minister Jacek Rostowski. And the minister is going to reduce the budget of the Ministry of Defence by as much as PLN3.3 billion.

Waldemar Skrzypczak, deputy defence minister responsible for military equipment and modernization, tries to play it down, saying that the most important arms programmes will be carried out as planned. But one can hardly imagine this given that the defence budget is to be cut by 10%. The ministry's leadership have already shown much determination in effecting big changes in the ministry, with task teams formed in its armaments section. They work on individual modernization programmes: for the navy, helicopters, vehicles, including unmanned ones, armoured equipment and so on.

In June 2012, the government decided to make the Ministry of Defence responsible for all issues associated with offset contracts. As a result, work is underway to reorganize the Department for Armaments Policy. The process of building the Section for the Implementation of Innovative Defence Technologies has also begun. Its mission will be to seek and create opportunities for the development of new technologies to be used by the Polish armed forces. The section was to start operating on September 1 this year. But many experts fear that it will be the first to fall victim to the budget cuts.

For the time being, the outcome of the ministry's activity is generally positive. The ministry gives preference to the Polish arms industry and Polish products. But it also attaches importance to technological progress, which is unpopular with some circles,

which are demanding that the armed forces should buy anything that the Polish arms industry produces. The ministry's leadership do not agree with that, saying that Polish soldiers should have the best equipment – systems that enable effective combat and ensure security. As much of the equipment as possible should be manufactured in Poland and if Polish producers are unable to deliver what the armed forces need they should establish cooperation with foreign partners who provide state-of-the-art technologies.

Another issue is improper lobbying practices. The deputy minister says there are many dubious middlemen active in Poland and owing to these people the ministry loses at least PLN300 million a year. Additionally, a bad atmosphere is emerging around the Polish intelligence agencies.

However, the general opinion is that relations between the Polish defence industry and its most important customer - the armed forces - have greatly improved and there is a big chance that the share of Polishmade products in deliveries for the armed forces will grow. It is clearly specified in the terms of tenders for such deliveries that, in the case of joint ventures, production and services, including repairs, should be relocated to Poland.

Until recently cooperation between Polish firms and foreign partners was virtually non-existent. Thanks to projects recently started, cooperation has become closer and in many cases regular. A good example is the Coastal Rocket Division. The Norwegian defence contractor Kongsberg has developed a good system for the division and is now closely connected with Polish producers. Kongsberg wants to invest in Poland under partnership agreements. And it is

important for Polish firms to be more than merely subcontractors.

When it comes to military hardware, all development programmes proposed three years ago have been maintained. A tender process for the delivery of 70 helicopters is now underway. Polish shipyards are to build the Kormoran and Ślązak vessels, and the ministry is about to take a decision concerning the purchase of a submarine. In addition, there are five programmes for the land forces, including the modernization of the armoured and mechanized forces, the expansion of the missile and artillery forces, and the purchase of unmanned aircraft, the Battle Management System and Spike antitank guided missiles.

One should remember that all of these are long-term projects. Some of the contracts may be signed this year, others next year while those involving large projects, like for example the air-defence programme, will be signed perhaps 15 years from now.

We have learned a lot in Afghanistan. The Rosomak armoured vehicle has performed quite well there. This is why among last year's successes is a contract with Patria Oy, under which the WZM manufacturer in Siemianowice Śląskie will continue to produce the Rosomak under a licence from this Finnish company. The Ministries of Defence and of the Economy helped to negotiate the contract.

A programme for the development of unmanned aerial vehicles has also been worked out using the experience acquired in the difficult Afghan terrain. There are many Polish and foreign companies which want to take part in this programme. The unmanned systems are to provide new capabilities to the Polish armed forces. "At present, the Polish armed forces - land and special forces - use more than 10 of our FlyEye unmanned systems," says Piotr Wojciechowski, president of WB Electronics Group. "These include unmanned mini aircraft used for area observation and reconnaissance, and to locate military installations and detect threats and concentrations of enemy forces."

The Polish defence industry is looking at processes taking place at the Ministry of Defence with optimism. The ministry's projects have been described clearly and sources of funding have been indicated. Unfortunately, there is the problem of the severe budget cuts that are planned and the consolidation decisions that have been too hasty and may lead to severing the cooperation ties which have naturally developed over years.

"Companies operating outside the Polski Holding Obronny (PHO) defence group do not accept the rhetoric of the Treasury Ministry and the PHO," Piotr Wojciechowski says. "Meanwhile, there is no dialogue among individual groups or a clear-cut justification for the proposed solutions. And above all, there are no activities giving credence to the claim that the government takes care of the whole defence industry and its future and that it is not only the former Bumar Group that is the subject of discussions involving increasingly wide circles of political elites."

But President Wojciechowski admits that over the last year there were many positive changes when it comes to cooperation with the military. The concept to create task-oriented links among various organizations and the Defence Ministry's determination to create and promote Polish suppliers of defence technologies show that the government thinks long term and understands economic phenomena in their entirety. Systemic changes - both the best known measures to strengthen civilian control over the armed forces and those less spectacular, like for example giving Polish military attachés the right to promote Polish industry on foreign markets - have resulted in the Polish defence industry being treated increasingly seriously and favourably.

"Over the last year, the Defence Ministry initiated many important weapons modernization programmes," says Henryk Kruszyński, president of Teldat. "This concerns among others C4ISR command systems, unmanned platforms, the modernization of the navy, and programmes for the armoured forces. The implementation of the programmes may have a favourable impact

on the whole economy. They mean not only acquiring modern types of military hardware for the Polish armed forces but also improving Polish know-how by developing modern technologies in Poland or buying them abroad and transferring to Polish industry.

Investment in the modernization of the armed forces should be seen not only as an expense from the national budget but also as a chance to retain and create jobs, develop scientific research centres and enhance Poland's potential as an exporter. Products based on new technologies, either developed in Poland or acquired from abroad, will certainly be easier to export. This will strengthen the competitiveness of Polish prod-

ucts on international markets. "When it comes to our company, while looking favourably at these changes, we are waiting for the Defence Ministry to launch the planned modernization programmes," adds Henryk Kruszyński. "Of course, our biggest hope is the long-awaited programmes in the area of C4ISR, in particular the programme called colloquially BMS. We hope that the development work we have conducted for years on network-centric command support systems will find further applications in the armed forces and will contribute within a short time to their significant modernization." It has been clear for a long time that networkcentricity and interoperability are the most effective and one of the cheapest ways to enhance military capability. Network-centricity and interoperability pose a challenge for the armed forces but if Poland fails to develop these systems it will not be able to meet the expectations of its NATO allies or fully benefit from its NATO membership.

But there are also critical voices. "The sector has seen little change compared to the situation a year ago," says Jadwiga Nowotnik, director of the Department for International Organizations at Asseco Poland. "At present, cooperation with the Ministry of Defence means first of all much more technical consultations with companies before tenders. We are glad that public institutions are aware

of the importance of this form of cooperation. This is why, just like other suppliers, we are taking an active part in the consultations and share our vast experience." The Defence Ministry's officials say they will have enough determination and consistence in their activity. This is important because the defence industry contributes greatly to the country's security. And the world is not as peaceful as most people

think.

#### **TŁUMACZENIE**

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"W ciągu ostatniego roku Pion Uzbrojenia i Modernizacji MON zapoczątkował wiele zmian ważnych dla sił zbrojnych, ale także dla całej gospodarki", podkreśla Henryk Kruszyński, prezes firmy TELDAT. "Realizacja tych programów, takich jak Tarcza Polski, systemy wsparcia dowodzenia C4ISR, platformy bezzałogowe, modernizacja marynarki, program pancerny i samochodowy, w efekcie mogą pozytywnie wpłynąć na rozwój wielu firm, co da również wiele innych korzyści.

Chodzi przecież nie tylko o pozyskiwanie nowoczesnych rodzajów sprzętu wojskowego dla naszej armii. Istotny jest także rozwój rodzimej myśli naukowo-technicznej przy ich opracowywaniu, również w przypadku zakupów z zagranicy technologii, których jeszcze w kraju nie posiadamy, ich transfer do polskiego przemysłu i tak dalej.

Inwestycje w modernizację techniczną wojska należy widzieć nie tylko po stronie wydatków skarbu państwa, ale też jako szansę na utrzymanie miejsc pracy i tworzenie nowych, rozwój ośrodków naukowych, zwiększenie potencjału eksportowego polskiego przemysłu. Opracowane i pozyskane nowe technologie z pewnością łatwiej będzie zaoferować i sprzedać poza granicami. To na pewno zwiększy konkurencyjność naszych produktów na rynkach międzynarodowych.

"Jeśli chodzi o naszą firmę, a patrząc pozytywnie na te zmiany, czekamy na Ministerstwo Obrony, aby uruchomić zaplanowane programy modernizacji," dodaje Henryk Kruszyński. "Oczywiście, naszą największą nadzieją jest długo oczekiwany program w dziedzinie C4ISR, w szczególności program zwany potocznie BMS. Mamy nadzieję, że prace rozwojowe, które przeprowadzaliśmy przez lata na sieciocentrycznych systemach wsparcia dowodzenia znajdą kolejne zastosowanie w Siłach Zbrojnych i przyczynią się w krótkim czasie do ich znacznej modernizacji." To było jasne od dawna, że sieciocentryczność i interoperacyjność stanowią wyzwanie dla Sił Zbrojnych, ale jeśli Polska nie będzie rozwijać tych systemów nie będzie w stanie sprostać oczekiwaniom swoich sojuszników z NATO lub w pełni korzystać z jej członkostwa w NATO

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