



Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes  
*"Strengthening Democracies Through Knowledge"*

# The Role of Territorial Defense Forces in Peace and War

Proceedings of the 19th Annual Conference  
of the Partnership for Peace Consortium  
Euro-Atlantic Conflict Studies Working Group  
Budapest, Hungary, 27-31 May 2019



Euro-Atlantic Conflict Studies Working Group



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The 19th Annual Conference of the  
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Published by the  
Hungarian Defence Forces Scientific Research Centre  
address: 1055 Budapest, Balaton utca 7-11, Hungary  
webpage: <http://www.hvktkh.hm.gov.hu>  
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phone: +36 1 474 1668

Budapest, 2020

ISBN 978-615-5585-13-5

The conference and the publication of this volume were made possible by the support of the Swedish Defence University, the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, the Hungarian Defence Forces, and the Hungarian National University of Public Service.

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## FOREWORD

Due to recent shifts in the regional security environment European countries started to seek for opportunities to extend the capabilities of their armed forces. Territorial defence forces appear to be a plausible approach to beef up existing military capabilities that have been significantly reduced during the many waves of military reforms. As a result it is necessary to consider and analyse the role and tasks of these forces in the structure of the armed forces.

In most countries the number of regular troops is insufficient to achieve the strategic goals of defending territory effectively without the need to receive military support from outside. For NATO member states Alliance support is evident, but the realisation may prove extremely complex and problematic.

Territorial defence forces are supposed to conduct defensive and delaying operations in rural and urban areas and directions suitable for the employment of light enemy units. In most countries these units are under control of local military administration to help allow to optimize human and other resources management in the time of crisis or that of war. Territorial defence forces units are normally deployed between the regular troops in less dangerous directions to cover their flanks and may play an important role in depth by organizing defensive lines against enemy forces. Territorial defence forces can operate independently or cooperate with the services with limited support of the regular troops.

Recent examples in the Eastern part of Europe show that the establishment of territorial defence forces is caused primarily by changes in the way war is waged. The unfolding 21st century makes clear that modern war appears to be one without rules. Prime targets are not necessarily the armed forces, but the infrastructure of the state. This sort of warfare can feature terrorist methods to overthrow the government of a state to implement coups.

This book contains 18 studies that address the establishment of territorial defence forces from political, financial, and historical aspects and outline their military potentialities in detail. Territorial defence forces can be seen as a rather cheap and inoffensive national contribution to a deterrent posture since they are forces that do not threaten an aggressor's homeland but would make an aggression a thankless enterprise. Territorial defence forces can reduce existing gaps and ambiguities of regular forces, increase the commitment to a greater national self-responsibility, bring defence awareness closer to the citizens, and help raise public appreciation for defence-related matters.

The establishment of territorial defence forces can also enhance comprehensive thinking about military and civil defence as contributing to the integrity of national territory is their fundamental mission. These forces stand between regular forces and the civilian defence system with resources and functions linked to both. Territorial defence forces and the defence structures are currently underdeveloped in most European countries, but their development can be politically and militarily a viable option.

The Conflict Studies Working Group of the PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes held its 19th Annual Conference with the title "The Role of Territorial Defense Forces in Peace and War." The Conference was hosted by the Hungarian National University of Public Service in conjunction with the Hungarian Defense Forces Scientific Research Center and the Hungarian Ministry of Defense, and sponsored by the Swedish Defense Academy. The conference brought together 35 participants – including military historians, defence experts, specialists on strategic affairs – from 18 countries including Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Turkey, and the United States of America. This conference proposed a research concept focusing on several key scientific goals:

1. To analyse the role of alliance/non-alliance policy in shaping the national defense doctrines with a special focus on the concept of Territorial Defence Forces under the impact of the current security environment;
2. To present specific historical case studies to get a better knowledge on the evolution of Territorial Defence Forces, their organization, structure and practical contribution to national defense efforts;
3. To explain in what extent Territorial Defence Forces are still relevant today and how they can be better adapted to deal with the changing nature of war and the inherent dynamics it features;
4. To analyze the contribution of Territorial Defence Forces to security and societal resilience in peacetime and in crises, and investigate the role they are likely to play in future conflicts (hybrid war, cyber warfare, internal disturbances).

Territorial Defence Forces played a critical part of each country's national defense system with a core mission to protect and defend the national territory against potential external threats. After the end of the Cold war the changing nature of security threats came to challenge the main assumption about what the Territorial Defence Forces are for, how they should be organized and in what way their missions have to be refocused to respond to the changing security dynamics. However, the rapid security and military shifts emerging in recent years and the changing nature of warfare generated a broad reassessment and a revival of the traditional pattern focused on national-territorial defense model and a new doctrinal conceptualization of the role of the Territorial Defence Forces.

The conference program included 23 papers that addressed national experiences and discussed future prospects of development as regards the role and potential contribution of the TDF as a key component of the national defense systems. The presentations covered both the historical and contemporary relevance of organized

territorial defense units as part of national security structures, the need to carefully allocate material resources, and the importance of sustaining military human resources, the significance of using territorial defense forces during rapidly changing international and defense dynamics, and the need to help guide policy makers by providing examples to serve as guides during times of unpredictable challenges.

The main question is what we can understand from past and present defense doctrinal approaches to inform soldiers and policy makers for future paradigms of warfare and how the national force structure can be best adapted to meet the changing typology of military threats and challenges. What are the main features which define the role of territorial defense forces in peace and war? How do the TDF can contribute to the national defense efforts to strengthen societal cohesion and national resilience? What factors are important in motivating states to determine a specific national defense concept or military doctrinaire approach and, by this logic, why the TDF might still be relevant today? What role are the TDF likely to play in future conflicts (hybrid war, cyber warfare, internal disturbances)?

These are some of the key research questions which have shaped the scientific concept of the conference and guided the overall discussion and debates among the participating experts and military historians. The activities of the Conflict Studies Working Group are developed in line with the PfP Consortium guidelines and agenda of objectives aiming at enhancing professional dialogue, regional cooperation, and military education. In addition to its annual flagship conference, the Conflict Studies Working Group supports professional military education through helping develop academic curriculum. Between 2015 and 2017, at the request of the PfP Consortium, the Conflict Studies Working Group elaborated the Counter Insurgency Reference Curriculum that can be used in the Defense Education Enhancement Program.

## The Editors





## WELCOMING ADDRESSES

MG József Padányi

Vice Rector, National University of Public Service, Hungary

General, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Participants of this Conference,  
Members of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense  
Academies and Security studies Institutes,  
Members of the Euro-Atlantic Conflict Studies Working Group,

It is my pleasure and privilege to welcome you in the beautifully restored Main Building of the National University of Public Service.

This building was erected in 1836 and served as the Royal Hungarian Ludovica Defense Academy for Hungarian officer cadets until 1945.

The Main Building is an official National Heritage Site that was completely renovated in 2014.

As an open academic institute our University is very proud to host CSWG that was established in 1999, being initially named Military History Working Group, as part of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfP Consortium).

After ten years the group's name was changed to Euro Atlantic Conflict Studies Working Group in 2009 to reflect a broader focus with current security dynamics and military history as main aspects.

The mission and goals of CSWG are clear:

- Establish, maintain and enhance a regular, multilateral, and open exchange of information and research ideas by bringing together researchers and experts on security and defense studies, as well as military historians from the Euro-Atlantic area, both NATO and partner countries.

- Develop a military research community and foster a broad regional dialogue concerning important, even controversial, events and topics: regional cooperation as driver of building regional transparency and confidence among NATO and partner countries.
- Combine the analysis of current strategic, security and military developments with research on military and diplomatic history-related issues, in order to identify historical determinants that shape the broader dynamics of defense policies and security strategies.
- Address topics connected to contemporary security affairs and generate expertise/policy recommendations on specific policy and military issues of relevance for decision makers and other interested parties.
- Produce academic curricula in order to support professional military education and increase greater intellectual and professional interoperability within and between partner countries and NATO alliance members. Between 2015 and 2017, at the request of the PfP Consortium, the CSWG elaborated the Counter Insurgency Reference Curriculum that will be circulated among the defense academies and specialized military education institutions of the NATO alliance and the partner nations.
- The activities of the CSWG are developed in line with the Pfp Consortium guidelines and agenda of objectives aiming at enhancing professional dialogue, regional cooperation, and military education.

The target audience includes representatives of both NATO and partner countries. More than 20 institutes from NATO and partner countries are affiliated to the CSWG and participate in the annual conferences of the group. The participants are representatives of government institutions, as well as NGOs, academia, and security studies institutes.

In recent years new countries attended the CSWG conferences such as the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Ukraine, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Israel, and Turkey.

The main activity of the group is to organize an annual multilateral conference, normally to be held at sites rotating among the Central European member countries. Seminar topics are focused on military-diplomatic issues of the 20th and 21st centuries in line with the broader research interest of the PfP Consortium. This year's topic, titled *The Role of Territorial Defense Forces in Peace and War* very much accords with that.

Each annual conference is organized in partnership by two institutions, one from Western Europe and one from Central-Eastern Europe. This year's combination is Sweden and Hungary, albeit I rather emphasise that Sweden is a Scandinavian, therefore a North European country.

Thus it is our utmost pleasure to announce that after 2004 and 2012 the conference has, for the third time, returned to Budapest.

Budapest is one of the most exciting and beautiful cities in the world. It is full of secrets to uncover, hidden spots to explore and old favourites to revisit. This is the city where being bored is not an option.

I wish you good conferencing, meaningful discussion and enjoy your time in this beautiful city.



BG Zoltán Apáti

Deputy Commander, Augmentation, Preparation and Training  
Command of the Hungarian Defence Forces

General, Ladies and gentlemen,

Let me wish a happy 20th birthday to the Conflict Studies Working Group conference. Congratulations to all, and welcome to the conference.

Before I came here, I looked at the program of the conference, and I was quite pleased to note, that you are going to address issues that are particularly important for Hungary today. As most European nations, we allowed our military capabilities to decline at the end of the cold war. We (and not only we, but NATO as well) saw a long period of peace ahead of us, punctuated by small-scale expeditionary operations. So, we reduced our personnel strength, suspended conscription and transitioned to an all-volunteer force. We let much of our Warsaw Pact legacy heavy equipment go, and did not see the need for replacing it.

However, in recent years we received a number of jolts that woke us up to the fact that the security situation in Europe was not nearly as stable as we believed, and that a credible deterrent force was still needed to protect national borders and sovereignty. The occupation of the Crimean peninsula showed us that in certain circumstances special operations and propaganda can neutralize the armed forces of the targeted state, and that the international borders we thought inviolate can, in fact, be violated, and the territory of a sovereign nation can be seized. The long-running conflict in eastern Ukraine is a warning that even today the massive destruction and high casualty figures of conventional (or near-conventional) war are entirely possible in Europe today. The mass migrations in 2015-16 made it clear that the civil power may need massive assistance from the armed forces even in peacetime.

So Hungary has embarked on a major program to enhance our military capabilities. New equipment is in the pipeline, from small arms through tanks to transport aircraft, and we are revamping our doctrine and training. It is an exciting time to be a senior officer in the Hungarian Defence Forces – but also a challenging time.

The first, and perhaps the most immediate challenge is that we must equip and train our forces to fight future wars today, yet we really do not know what war will be like five, ten or fifteen years from now. Due to high costs, the equipment we acquire today will have to remain in the inventory serve our troops ten, fifteen years from now, and we have to make it fit the conditions that we find in the future.

The second challenge is that our resources are limited. The Hungarian economy is robust enough to sustain the transformation of the HDF into a modern, capable force. But we cannot afford to make any mistakes in procurement. We must obtain only mature and tested systems that have plenty of evolutionary potential, and avoid whizz-bangs that later prove to be dead ends.

Our third challenge is demographics. Every year there are fewer military age young men and women, only a small percentage of them are ready to join the colors, and even fewer remain to make along professional military career. We hope to resolve this problem through the recently established territorial volunteer reserves. In time the example of soldiers serving in these units will encourage others in their communities to join the colors. Also, we expect the territorial volunteer units to function as a societal vaccine against hybrid threats.

As I look at the conference program, I realize that most of us are facing similar challenges: uncertain picture of future conflict, limited resources, declining demographics. This is reflected in the titles of the presentations, and I expect that some of the papers you will present will be directly helpful to the Hungarian Defence Forces in its transformation into an armed force of the future. Just as some

of the Hungarian contributions to this conference will probably be useful for the development programs of other nations.

The wide-ranging series of presentations and the question and answer periods shall add new impetus to creating the appropriate defense structures for success in future war, you shall contribute to our long term security by making reasonable, precise, and scientifically grounded proposals for successfully answering the challenges of the future.

I wish you all a good day and a fruitful conference, and thank you for your attention.





**PART I.**  
**TERRITORIAL ARMED FORCES IN HISTORICAL**  
**PERSPECTIVE: NATIONAL EXPERIENCES AND PRACTICES**



Jan Hoffenaar  
Netherlands Institute of Military History  
Professor, Utrecht University

## **Territorial Defence – a Problematic Concept: the Netherlands as an Example**

**Keywords:** territorial defence, the Netherlands

### **Introduction**

When one thinks about the theme ‘territorial defence,’ two thoughts immediately spring to mind. First, with the current international political situation in mind, this theme is very topical. With the increasing political assertiveness of Russia and the observed rise of the Russian threat, including military threat, the political focus in terms of security of most European countries has shifted back towards the defence of their own national territories. The focus is thus now less on UN-mandated military missions aimed at promoting international stability that take place far from our national borders.

Secondly, the term ‘territorial defence’ can have two, partly overlapping, meanings. It can mean the military defence of national territory (‘territorial defence in its broadest sense’) and it can mean the more local and regional defence of important military and civilian hubs which are essential to the main defence (‘territorial defence in a narrow sense’). My impression exists that these two definitions are often used interchangeably.

In this article the term ‘territorial defence’ in both the broad and narrow senses will be put under the magnifying glass. First, a number of general considerations will be discussed, and then a number of notions regarding the Dutch situation will be analysed. This article will not be restricted to the recent past, but delve deeper

into history. After all, it is only by studying history that we see that each country has had to take its own road to get to where it is now and that this history, this road it has taken, influences the way a country positions itself in the world of today.

### **Territorial defence in its broadest sense and in a narrow sense**

Let us first look at territorial defence in the sense of the military defence of national territory – territorial defence in its broadest sense. Whether it was the prince, the king, the emperor, the fatherland or the nation, from time immemorial these have had mobile field armies at their disposal (sometimes assisted by naval forces) that defended their territories, their countries against attacks from foreign parties. These armies were assisted by locally based units in the defence of fortifications and other locations crucial to warfare and society (these were in fact territorial troops associated with the narrow sense of territorial defence). Here are a number of observations regarding the general defence of national territory:

First, the defence of national territory does not have to take place only, or even at all, on national territory. The enemy is usually and preferably kept as far away from national territory as possible. Except, that is, if your own territory is so extensive that you are able to lure your enemy into a trap in your own country, which has often been Russia's chosen strategy.

Second, often the defence of national territory can only be successful if carried out in concert with one or more other countries, meaning in an alliance. Unless of course you were a major military power, such as France under Louis XIV, or were protected by a formidable natural barrier, such as Great Britain and the seas surrounding it and Switzerland and its impressive mountain chains.

Third, since the advent of total warfare in the twentieth century, the military defence of national territory is only one, albeit important, part of total defence, next to economic defence and social defence.

Fourth - and this is an extension of the previous point - the defence of national security in the present day is only part of a much broader definition of security, in which the focus is more on the protection of society at large and the protection of a way of life and not only on the *military* defence of territory.

If we now move to looking at territorial defence in the narrow sense, involving the local defence of key hubs, then one thing in particular stands out, namely that during the nineteenth century this type of defence changed in character. Prior to the nineteenth century, locally-based troops were either part of the main defence carried out by professional soldiers (for the defence of fortifications, for example) or they were only mobilised in the event of an emergency in an ad-hoc manner (if the main force had been unable to halt the enemy advance or was on the verge of breaking through locally); furthermore, these locally-based troops were often poorly trained. In the course of the nineteenth century - certainly when in the second half of the century the strategic and operational mobility of armies increased significantly on the back of the development of railways - they were considered essential troops required to cover the mobilisation of the main force and to defend the rear area in order to guarantee the war effort. More than ever before, territorial troops became an integrated part of a total defence concept. And they still are.

### **The Netherlands as an example**

How did this develop in the Netherlands? Since the 1670s the strategy for the defence of national territory of the Republic of the United Netherlands, formally in existence since 1648, comprised forward defence by means of an allied field army in the southern Netherlands, which today is Belgian territory. This army had the option of withdrawing behind a line of fortresses positioned along the border, and if the situation was becoming desperate, behind a so-called waterline, a line of water-based defences with inundated areas and fortifications, which was put in place to protect the western

economic and political heartland of the Republic of the Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> At that time, there were no separately organized local territorial troops who could be called up at any time to put their training into practice. However, the government had the power to mobilise the urban and rural populations to assist in territorial defence, by for example intentionally breaching the dikes and flooding tracts of land. In addition, there were also local, lightly armed militias with roots going back to the Middle Ages that could be called up to maintain public order locally. The most famous of all of these militias is Amsterdam's Militia Company of Captain Frans Banning Cocq, immortalized by Rembrandt van Rijn in his most famous painting 'The Night Watch'. However, in terms of defending national territory, these militias had little to no value at all.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, voluntary local drill associations played a central role in the political struggle for more rights against the strong position of the informal leader of the Republic, stadtholder Prince William V of Orange, who was supported by the regular army. At that time, the Netherlands was in fact in a state of civil war and undergoing foreign intervention; in 1787, Prussia intervened to strengthen the position of the prince, and from 1793 France lent support to the revolutionary patriots, which resulted in increasing French dominance, later leading to France's annexation of the Netherlands.<sup>2</sup>

At the 1815 Congress of Vienna, provisions were drawn up for the territory of the former Republic and that of the Southern Netherlands, then ruled by Austria, to be united to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The son of Prince William V became King William I, the first king of the Netherlands. King William I initially split his land forces into two organisations, a standing

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<sup>1</sup> J. Hoffenaar, "De Nederlandse krijgsmacht in historisch perspectief" in: E.R. Muller a.o. (eds.), *Krijgsmacht. Studies over de organisatie en het optreden* (Alphen aan den Rijn 2013)

<sup>2</sup> See: Olaf van Nimwegen, *De Nederlandse Burgeroorlog (1748-1815)* (Amsterdam 2017).

professional army in typical eighteenth century style to be used as an instrument for an active foreign policy and a militia comprising conscripts for local, regional territorial defence, a force that was called up for exercises only twice a year. The old militias were only re-established here and there on a modest scale and on the basis of volunteers, but remained unfit for the defence of national territory. When after several years it became clear that the number of volunteers for the professional army was insufficient, the army and the militia were merged into one army for all military tasks, comprising a cadre of professional officers and units mainly manned by conscripts.<sup>3</sup>

For the most part, the plans of the ambitious King William I came to little or nothing. In 1830-1831 he even discovered that in international terms he stood almost alone when the Belgians successfully broke away from his kingdom. Even the ally of several centuries, Great Britain, failed to lend a helping hand. The Kingdom of the Netherlands became a small country surrounded by much larger powers and opted for the political stance of strict neutrality. In military terms, this was put into effect by making preparations for the defence of Dutch territory on all sides, including along the coast, by means of fortresses and defence lines positioned as close as possible to the borders.<sup>4</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century, and particularly on the basis of the course of the Franco-German war in 1870, the military leadership concluded that this was an untenable strategy. The expected reaction time available to the Dutch army had been significantly reduced due to neighbouring countries being able to mobilise and concentrate their armies much more quickly by making use of railways. The 1870 war between France and Germany had also underlined the fact that isolated fortresses had a much smaller role to play in modern warfare. That war had been decided by the actions of large and mobile field armies.

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<sup>3</sup> See: H. Amersfoort, *Koning en kanton. De Nederlandse staat en het einde van de Zwitserse krijgsdienst hier te lande 1814-1829* (Den Haag 1988).

<sup>4</sup> See: W. Bevaart, *De Nederlandse defensie 1839-1874* (Den Haag 1993).

In the Netherlands, the choice was therefore made to mount a strategic defence of the western part of the country behind a major line of water-based defences, a waterline as mentioned previously. In the event of an enemy attack or a breach of neutrality – for example by German troops advancing through the Netherlands to attack France from the north – the operational field army would operate in front of the water line in order to gain time for flooding the land, so-called military inundations, and giving allies time to lend assistance.<sup>5</sup>

After the First World War, in which the Netherlands had remained neutral and kept its distance (except for a small number of breaches of neutrality),<sup>6</sup> this strategy was undermined by financial cutbacks. There were almost no more combat ready units, only operational hubs which served as training units and units for possible mobilisation. As a consequence, the mobilisation and concentration of the field army in emergency situations would take a long time, time that would be lacking if a rapidly executed so-called ‘strategic raid’ was carried out. The possibility of such a raid occurring gained increasing attention during the 1930s. New combat ready battalions were therefore formed (manned by conscripts who were expected to remain in service for longer) which were garrisoned along the border much like a screen. These battalions were tasked with parrying the strategic raid’s first attack, which would win time for the field army to mobilise and concentrate. Because these battalions had to cover the whole expanse of Dutch territory, they were officially named ‘territorial units’. These units operated in front of the field army, which had retained its main task of stalling the enemy to gain time to flood the land in the western

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<sup>5</sup> See: W. Klinkert, *Het vaderland verdedigd. Plannen en opvattingen over de verdediging van Nederland 1874-1914* (Den Haag 1992), and R.H. Gooren, *Politicians, soldiers and national defence; Military policy in Britain and the Netherlands 1870-1914* (s.l. 2002).

<sup>6</sup> W. Klinkert, “‘In the interest of peace and quiet in Europe’: The military and strategic role of Dutch neutrality, 1890-1940”, *Journal of Modern European History*, 17(1), 48-63.



part of the country and for the allies of the Netherlands to lend a helping hand. The fallacy of this strategy became clear in May 1940: German troops advanced to the west without any real problem, while at the same time German airborne troops parachuted behind the lines.<sup>7</sup>

A completely new situation emerged after the Second World War, when the Netherlands armed forces started to contribute to NATO's combined defence of Western Europe. NATO positioned its defence as far forward as possible; at first it ran straight across the Netherlands behind the IJssel and the Rhine rivers.<sup>8</sup> From the end of the 1950s, it was increasingly moved eastwards to just behind the Elbe river. Combat ready divisions of allied army corps were positioned to repulse the initial attacks, in order to give the other army units time to mobilise and take up their positions within a very short time span. The 'territorial troops' now no longer operated in front of the field army, but behind it, in the 'national rear area,' in other words on national territory in the rear area. Apart from a number of combat ready territorial units, most territorial units were manned by conscripts. After completing conscription, these had first been given a mobilisation location for the army corps and were later given a mobilisation location for the territorial troops. The territorial troops were to be the first to be mobilised in order to cover for the mobilisation and concentration of the army corps and also to secure sea ports and air fields where allied, particularly American, reinforcements would be arriving. Then they were to secure the transport of these reinforcements and their materiel to the front. This would remain an essential task throughout the course of any conflict, as would securing key hubs, such as headquarters, power plants and

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<sup>7</sup> Herman Amersfoort en Piet Kamphuis, eds., *May 1940. The Battle for the Netherlands* (Leiden 2010).

<sup>8</sup> J. Hoffenaar, "To Defend or Not to Defend: Drawing the Line in the Netherlands", in: V. Mastny, S.G. Holsmark and A. Wenger (eds.), *War Plans and Alliances in the Cold War. Threat Perceptions East and West* (London/New York 2006) 266-285.

so on.<sup>9</sup> Finally, in 1948 a National Reserve Corps was established, comprising volunteers who had undergone military training. They were tasked with carrying out local and static security tasks in support of overall territorial defence.<sup>10</sup>

The relative importance of the National Reserve Corps increased in the decades after the Cold War. Although appreciation and attention for these volunteers varies within the Royal Netherlands Army, it has become clear that they are vital in an armed force that has been significantly reduced in size. This is even more evident if we take into account that the present-day professional armed forces (conscription was abolished in the Netherlands in 1996)<sup>11</sup> has a much wider range of tasks than at the time of the Cold War. Now, all military personnel (and their units) must in principle be available for the defence of allies' territory, for international operations at all levels of the spectrum of force and for the many forms of national and international support and emergency aid. No longer are there professional units with exclusively territorial tasks; only National Reserve Corps units act as such. However, many National Reserve Corps units are also used as 'back fill' for units deployed to international operations.

## Epilogue

For a number of years now, there has been renewed attention for the security of vulnerable physical and digital infrastructure, both at NATO level and at national level. The threat is not necessarily a large-scale military threat, but more devious and more diverse. In contrast to the armed forces of a number of our eastern allies, in the Netherlands armed forces it is not expected that separate and 'old-

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<sup>9</sup> J. Hoffenaar and B. Schoenmaker, *Met de blik naar het Oosten. De Koninklijke Landmacht 1945-1990* (Den Haag 1994).

<sup>10</sup> J. Hoffenaar and J.P.M. Schoenmakers, *November Romeo. Treed nader! De Nationale Reserve 1948-1998* (Den Haag 1998).

<sup>11</sup> To be correct: formally the conscription has not been abolished (since 2020 the Netherlands even have conscription for women!), but in practice since 1996 young men don't have to serve for their 'number'.

fashioned' territorial and locally based units – territorial defence in the narrow sense – would be re-established. Together with its allies, the Netherlands continues to carry out territorial defence in its broadest sense – overall defence of national territory – in areas far outside its national borders, in areas such as the Baltics and, although indirectly and with questionable success, even in Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See for example the latest White Paper, 'Defensienota 2018 – investeren in onze mensen, slagkracht en zichtbaarheid'.



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## **The Development of the Hungarian Arms Industry, Especially the Naval Industry (1900-1914)**

**Abstract:** The long struggle of the Hungarian politicians for obtaining greater share from the industrial orders of the common armed forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy began in the 1890's simultaneously with the appearance of the modern industry in Hungary. The Hungarian government signed an agreement with the common Army on the industrial orders, and a similar agreement with the navy in 1904. These agreements were renewed in 1906 in a trilateral form, involving the Austrian government. Due to the undeveloped state of Hungarian industry, the so called „compensation” was the most important part of the agreement. The paper focuses on two case studies. The Danubius (later Ganz-Danubius) shipyard in Rijeka and the Hungarian Gun Factory in Győr.

**Keywords:** Austria-Hungary, Hungarian arms industry, Austro-Hungarian Navy, Ganz and Co Danubius, Hungarian Gun Factory

With the Compromise (Ausgleich, kiegyezés) between Austria and Hungary in 1867 the Habsburg Empire became the Dual Monarchy: two separate and equal states, each possessing its own constitution, parliament and government. The two halves of the empire, Austria and Hungary, were united in the person of the Emperor (Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King of Hungary), and by the joint management of the most important affairs of state: war, finance, and foreign affairs. The question of what proportion of the common

expenses each half of the Monarchy would bear, the so-called Quota had to be negotiated every ten years. The Hungarian contribution (Quota) was originally 30 percent. It increased gradually and in 1907 reached 36.4 percent. The greatest part, more than 90 percent of the common expenses, was the budget of the common Army and the Navy.<sup>1</sup>

While Hungary was the less developed, agricultural half of the Dual Monarchy, an arms industry began to develop there also in the 1870's. However, the Hungarian arms industry had minor importance compared to the Austrian-Czech one, and its capacity lagged far behind. For a long time, while Hungary was bearing one third of the costs of the common armed forces, the Hungarian arms industry received much less than one third of the industrial orders for the Army and the Navy. The long struggle of the Hungarian politicians for obtaining greater share of the industrial orders for the common armed forces began in the early 1890's simultaneously with the rapid development of modern industrial capacity. After a decade the Army and the Navy had to take the Hungarian demand seriously, when in 1903 a decision was made to strengthen and modernize the common armed forces of the empire. To achieve this goal in the special political system of the Dual Monarchy, the Hungarian politicians and their delegation had to be won over to vote the bigger budgets of the Army and the Navy. It's worth noting that the Hungarian Prime Minister Count István Tisza lobbied in 1903-1904 far more effectively than his predecessors. The development of the common armed forces was of vital importance for the Austrian and Hungarian heavy industry, because the economic crisis of the first years of the twentieth century made the profitable military orders more and more important for them.

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the common Ministry of War and the common army, both Austria and Hungary maintained their own, separate land forces, the Landwehr (Austria) and the Honvédség (for Hungary), with the appropriate ministries to oversee them.

In 1903 the Hungarian government signed an agreement with the common Army on industrial orders, and in 1904 a similar agreement was signed with the Navy. The main point of these agreements was the undertaking that the share of Hungarian industry in the industrial orders for the Army and the Navy would reach the Quota. Because Hungarian industry was less developed than the Austrian-Czech industry, a compensation scheme was a very important part of these agreements. Compensation meant that if Hungarian industry couldn't manufacture a specific product, and all of these products were ordered from Austria, the Army or the Navy should order other products from the Hungarian industry exceeding the Quota. These agreements were under the constant attack by the Austrian politicians from the very first moment, so it was evident that it had to be revised. The occasion came in 1906 after settling the Hungarian political crisis of 1905. The new agreement collectively regulated the industrial orders of the Army and the Navy, and it was signed by the Austrian and the Hungarian government and by the common Ministry of War. This agreement was less favourable for Hungary than the agreements of 1903 and 1904.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Hungarian arms industry produced uniforms, leather goods, rifles, rifle ammunition, small caliber artillery projectiles, propellant powder, river warships, and torpedoes. One of the flagships of the Hungarian arms industry was the Weiss Manfréd Works (Weiss Manfréd Művek) in Csepel. It was established in 1882 as a cannery and developed into one of the greatest industrial complexes of Hungary. Before the outbreak of the Great War it produced canned food, mobile kitchens, rifle ammunition, artillery projectiles up to 30.5 cm and all the artillery equipment for Hungary. Other important factories were the Arms and Machine Manufacturing Company (Fegyver- és Gépgyár Rt) in

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<sup>2</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Wien, Marinesektion/Präsidialkanzlei (KA MS/PK) XV-7/6 1582 ex 1904; MS/PK XV-7/1 859 ex 1906

Budapest (rifles), the Dynamit Nobel in Pozsony (propellant powder, explosives), and the Diósgyőr Ironworks (Diósgyőri Vasgyár) in Diósgyőr (artillery projectiles).<sup>3</sup>

This paper is focuses on two case studies, on the history of the two most important factories of the Hungarian arms industry founded in the last decade prior to World War One. In chronological order the first was the Danubius, later Ganz and Co - Danubius Shipyard (Ganz és Társa - Danubius Hajógyár) in Fiume (today Rijeka in Croatia). The second was the Hungarian Gun Factory Ltd (Magyar Ágyúgyár Rt) in Győr.

### **The Ganz and Co - Danubius Shipyard**

The Austro-Hungarian Navy in the 1870's and 1880's lagged far behind its eternal rival, the Italian Navy. The development of the fleet began in the early 1890's and accelerated spectacularly after 1904. Thanks to these developments, on the eve of World War One the Dual Monarchy possessed Europe's sixth and the world's eighth largest Navy. Due to the political system of the Monarchy it was impossible to develop the Navy without the consent of the Hungarian politicians, so the Navy had to win the Hungarian government and political elite for the cause of the fleet. The best and the only possible way of achieving this was to give lucrative naval orders to Hungarian industry.

The opportunity to make a formal agreement between the Navy and Hungary came in 1904. In that year Admiral Hermann von Spaun, the commander of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, requested the delegations to vote an extraordinary credit<sup>4</sup> of 120 million Crowns. Before the meeting of the delegations the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count István Tisza made clear what he wanted in

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<sup>3</sup> Dombrády Lóránd, Germuska Pál, Kovács Géza Péter, Kovács Vilmos, *A magyar hadipar története*, (Budapest, Zrínyi, 2016), 13-27.

<sup>4</sup> The extraordinary credit (ausserordentliches Kredit) was, in fact, not credit at all, but a non-repayable grant. It was a technical term applied to the funds voted for special development projects above the normal budget.



exchange: a bilateral agreement on the share of the orders of the Navy.<sup>5</sup> In June 1904, a week after the vote for the credit, the agreement between the Navy and the Hungarian government was reached. This agreement regulated the divisions of the industrial orders of the Navy in 14 articles. The agreement provided compensation for Hungary in certain cases, in return for Austrian deliveries exceeding the Quota. The essence of the agreement was included in the secret clause, promising an “appropriate share” of the destroyer and torpedo boat orders and a 50 percent share of shell (later complete ammunition) orders to the Hungarian industry. The secret clause was so secret, that it was written by pencil only at the bottom of the last page.<sup>6</sup> While the new agreement of 1906 was less favourable for Hungary, the secret clause remained in force.<sup>7</sup> With these agreements the Navy ensured that the Hungarian government and the Hungarian delegation’s majority would support the further development of the fleet. The secret clause was the foundation of Hungarian naval shipbuilding by the shipyard Danubius in Fiume.

With the unification of three formerly independent shipyards, backed by the Hungarian General Credit Bank (Magyar Általános Hitelbank), in 1896 the greatest Hungarian-owned shipyard, the Danubius-Schoenichen-Hartmann United Shipyard and Machine Factory Ltd (Danubius-Schoenichen-Hartmann Egyesült Hajó-és Gépgyár Rt.) was established in Budapest. The yard was renamed simply Danubius in 1906. In 1904 three shipyards existed in Fiume (the city belonged to Hungary between 1868 and 1918): the Whitehead, the Lazarus and the Howaldt and Co. The Hungarian government considered these shipyards unsuitable for the role of being the great new Hungarian naval shipyard. The favourite was the Danubius, whose board of directors maintained good relations with the leading Hungarian politicians. The financial group behind Danubius and the Navy negotiated the future orders, and on 2 May

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<sup>5</sup> KA MS/PK XV-7/6 341 ex 1904

<sup>6</sup> KA MS/PK XV-7/6 1582 ex 1904

<sup>7</sup> KA MS/PK XV-7/1 859 ex 1906

1905 they reached a formal agreement, according to which the Navy undertook to order six destroyers and ten torpedo boats from Danubius.<sup>8</sup> In February 1905 the Navy ordered from the Austrian Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino (STT) five destroyers and thirteen torpedo boats. Having reached this agreement, the Hungarian General Credit Bank, Danubius's largest shareholder, bought the Howaldt shipyard in Fiume.

On 23 August 1905 Danubius signed a contract with the Hungarian Treasury on building a modern shipyard in Fiume. The Hungarian State gave the new shipyard a territory of 10 000 m<sup>2</sup> beside the former Howaldt shipyard for 50 years free of charge. On 5 September 1905 Francis Joseph as King of Hungary sanctioned the contract,<sup>9</sup> so this day became the symbolic birthday of Hungary's short-lived naval shipbuilding.

On 29 November 1906 the Navy ordered 6 *Huszár*-class destroyers (400 t) and 10 *Kaiman*-class torpedo boats (200 t) from Danubius at a cost of 14.53 million Crowns.<sup>10</sup> The news of the contract caused great hue and cry in the delegation of the Austrian Reichsrat. At a 5 January 1907 meeting delegate Steiner questioned the ability of the Hungarian shipyard and the quality of its future products. Admiral Rudolf von Montecuccoli, the commander of the Navy, in his reply said in connection with the quality of the Hungarian ships "We hope for the best!" In response Steiner said "But with hopes no one can build ships!"<sup>11</sup> The extension works on the Danubius Shipyard in Fiume were completed in February 1907 and the construction of the first ships began in the spring of the same year.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> KA MS/PK I-4/6 2872 ex 1906

<sup>9</sup> KA MS/PK I-4/6 2546 ex 1905; KA Marinesektion/II. Geschäftsgruppe (MS/II. GG) 47C/6 12715 ex 1906

<sup>10</sup> Magyar Műszaki és Közlekedési Múzeum Archívuma, Budapest (MMKMA) Mladiáta-collection carton 12 LXXXIII/69, 70

<sup>11</sup> Stenographische Sitzungsprotokolle der Delegation des Reichsrates (StPD), XLI/II 1906, 1178

<sup>12</sup> KA MS/II. GG 47C/6 12253 ex 1907

18 July 1908 was a great day in the history of the Danubius Shipyard: the first vessel, the torpedo boat *Triton* was launched. At her sea trials on 1 August the *Triton* attained an average speed of 26.39 knots and fulfilled the requirements of the Navy. The first destroyer, the *Turul* was launched on 9 August 1908. At her sea trials on 17 August 1908 she attained an average speed of 28.72 knots.<sup>13</sup> In March 1909 Lieutenant-Commander Hermann Marchetti inspected the Danubius Shipyard in Fiume. He wrote a rather negative report on the shipyard. He wrote of missing rivets in the bulkheads and engine damage caused by careless workers.<sup>14</sup> In a letter to the Navy Danubius tried to rebut the statements of Marchetti.<sup>15</sup> The last torpedo boat, the *Alk* was launched on 2 October 1909 and the last destroyer, the *Dinara* on 16 October 1909. In the case of the first order the Danubius succeeded to meet the deadline. Later especially after 1911 Danubius frequently exceeded the deadline, which became the Navy's main concern related to the Hungarian shipyard.

In 1908 as the last part of the modernization program of 1904 the Navy ordered twelve 110 ton coast-defence torpedo boats, four of them from the Danubius. Ordering only one-third of the boats from the Hungarian yard caused great indignation in the Hungarian delegation, which threatened the Navy with rejection of the naval budget.<sup>16</sup> As a result of the strong Hungarian objection, the number of ships was later increased to six. These boats were the first oil-fired vessels of the Navy. The boats were built between June 1909 and May 1911 in the Danubius yard, significantly slower than their sisters in the STT yard. The Danubius boats, partly due to their different boiler and oil-burner system had 40 percent higher fuel consumption: 775 l per hour. Their other fault was the weak plating of the stern and Danubius had to change the deformed plates.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> KA MS/II. GG 47C/6 10442 ex 1908

<sup>14</sup> KA MS/PK I/4-6 923 ex 1909

<sup>15</sup> MMKMA Petneházy-collection 36 t

<sup>16</sup> KA MS/PK XV-7/5 2103, 2361 ex 1908

<sup>17</sup> KA MS/II. GG 47C/12 9630 ex 1910

As the Hungarian political situation in 1910 precluded the extraordinary credit the Navy requested, *Danubius* was under threat of being left without orders. Thus the yard had to accept the order for the salvage tug *Herkules* at a limited price of 1,075 million Crowns. The original offer of the *Danubius* for the building contest in 1909 was 1,275 million Crowns, the most expensive of all.<sup>18</sup> The 1500 ton ship was built during 1910 (launched in November), but owing to problems with its winches, she had to be repaired many times in 1911.

In 1906 the Royal Navy commissioned the HMS *Dreadnought*, the first all-big-gun battleship of the world. Her appearance rendered obsolete all previously built capital ships, ushered in a new period of navalism (the Dreadnought Era), and initiated a naval arms race. During the subsequent years the possession of dreadnoughts was one of the fundamental requirements of naval power. Although primarily a land power, the waves of navalism reached the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as well: following the appearance of the new class of battleship it was forced to build dreadnoughts in order to maintain its great power status, and to counterbalance the dreadnought project of its rival, Italy. This is indicated by the naval budget, which increased by nearly 400 percent between 1904 and 1914, while the Navy's quota in the budget of the armed forces grew from 7 to 25 percent.

The Navy started to pave the way for the future Austro-Hungarian dreadnoughts in the summer of 1906. Design work started in May 1908, and the conception of a 20 000 ton battleship armed with twelve 30.5 cm guns was finalised in August 1909. Work on the detailed plans started in September 1909. In November 1906 the commander of the Navy Admiral Rudolf Montecuccoli sent his secretary Lieutenant-Commander Alfred von Koudelka to solicit the opinion of the Hungarian politicians about the new battleships. Koudelka negotiated with Hungarian Delegation members who

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<sup>18</sup> KA MS/II. GG 47C/17 440, 1391 ex 1910. The British firm Laird offered a price of 718.000 Crowns.

backed the plan. On the next day Koudelka met with members of the Hungarian government. Prime Minister Sándor Wekerle told him that Hungary would assent to the dreadnoughts if one third of the funds allocated to it would be spent in Hungary. Minister of Commerce Ferenc Kossuth added that one of the battleships should be built in the Danubius shipyard in Fiume. When Koudelka gave an account of his negotiation with the Hungarian government to Montecuccoli, the commander of the Navy allegedly cried out: "That battleship will be never completed!"<sup>19</sup>

To come to a term with Hungarian politics was a long process. The Navy had certain worries in connection with the quality of the Hungarian-built ships, but the Hungarian dreadnought was a question of politics: she was the sine qua non of Hungary's vote for the whole class. The negotiations between the Navy, the Hungarian government and the Danubius started in 1908 and lasted as long as the end of 1910. The Navy in July 1909 agreed with the Hungarian government on the principles: in exchange of voting the dreadnought class and developing the Danubius at public expense, 50 percent of the orders of new vessels, including one of the four battleships, would go to Danubius.<sup>20</sup>

From 1908 it was evident that the building costs of the four dreadnought battleships and the other smaller vessels (scout cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats and submarines) could be covered only by an extraordinary credit of more than 300 million Crowns. However, due to the long Hungarian political crisis, the delegations met only in 1911. The two delegations voted the 312 million Crowns extraordinary credit for the Navy in February-March. Prior to the voting for the credit on 31 January the Navy and the Hungarian Ministry of Commerce made an agreement on the distribution of the industrial orders financed from the credit. On the basis of this agreement the orders for one battleship, two cruisers, six

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<sup>19</sup> *Denn Österreich lag einst am Meer. Das Leben von Admirals Alfred von Koudelka* (Graz, Weishaupt, 1987), 113-114

<sup>20</sup> KA MS/PK I-4/9 2935 ex 1909

torpedo boats, six submarines and about half of the ammunition were allocated to Hungarian industry.<sup>21</sup>

When negotiations on the future dreadnought programme began between the Hungarian government and the Navy, it was clearly evident, that the relatively small Danubius shipyard was unfit for building large vessels, including dreadnoughts. Once the Hungarian political crisis was past, and as the date of a final agreement was drawing near, both the Hungarian State and Danubius made serious investments to increase the capacity of the shipyard. In 1910 the Hungarian Treasury bought a 75 000 m<sup>2</sup> plot of land from the Whitehead yard and leased it to Danubius for a minimal sum. The Hungarian State Railways (MÁV) built a new line to the shipyard at its own expense. In 1911 the rocky cliffs around the shipyard were dynamited and the rubble laid down on the seabed to become the foundation for new, wider slipways. Within a year and at great expense new workshops and two 265 m long and 35 m wide slipways of reinforced concrete were constructed. The territory of the shipyard reached 127 000 m<sup>2</sup> in 1912, including the new embankments. It was evident too, that the capacity of Danubius's machine shops in Budapest<sup>22</sup> was not sufficient for such a great order. In 1911 the Hitelbank initiated the fusion of Danubius and Ganz and Co. Machine Factory (Ganz és Tsa Gépgyár) under the name of Ganz and Co. Danubius Shipyard, Railway Wagon and Machine Factory (Ganz és Tsa. Danubius Hajó-, Waggon és Gépgyár). This fusion created Hungary's largest industrial complex.

After the extraordinary credit was voted, the Navy officially ordered the four-member battleship class (*Tegetthoff*-class). Three units were ordered from the shipyard Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino (STT) and the fourth, *Schlachtschiff VII*, was ordered from the Ganz and Co Danubius. The contract was signed on 20 April 1911. The keel of *Schlachtschiff VII* was laid on 29 January 1912. In consequence of

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<sup>21</sup> KA MS/PK XV-7/5 960 ex 1911

<sup>22</sup> The hulls and the boilers were built in Fiume, but the engines were built in Budapest.

the unsatisfactory materials at the yard, the lack of experience of the workers and the delays of the subcontractors, the building process was very slow. In October 1912 Francis Ferdinand (who was notorious for his dislike of Hungarians) questioned the ability of Danubius and the quality of its ships. The Navy had to defend the yard in a letter to the heir of the Throne.<sup>23</sup>

Due to the slow pace of construction it became obvious in the autumn of 1913 that the launch would be delayed nearly a whole year. The process to choose the name for the ship was a delicate matter, because Francis Ferdinand wanted an Austrian name (Laudon) for the ship, which would have caused a scandal in Hungary. Finally the emperor, Francis Joseph saved the situation, choosing the name *Szent István* (after Saint Steven, the first king of Hungary) for the ship. The *Szent István* was launched on 17 January 1914. An accident during the launch caused the death of a worker.

The further works on the *Szent István* proceeded even slower. The outbreak of the Great War stopped construction for months. The battleship was completed in the Arsenal of Pola (today Pula in Croatia). The delay of the works became enormous. Her last sister ship, the *Prinz Eugen*, was commissioned in July 1914, while the *Szent István* on 17 November 1915. During the trials it turned out that when maximum rudder angle (35°) was applied at full speed, *Szent István* rolled more than twice as much (19.75°) as her sister ships, and water flooded the secondary battery casemates. Her captain Edmund Grassberger in his report blamed the high searchlight platform, but the engineers of the Navy stated that the different propeller arrangement and the different shape of the stern were the main reasons for this serious fault.<sup>24</sup> The *Szent István* was an unlucky ship: on her first mission on 10 June 1918 she was torpedoed by an Italian motor torpedo boat, and sunk near the island of Premuda.

Beside the battleship the Navy ordered two of the three 3500 ton scout cruisers of the 1911 programme, the cruisers H and I

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<sup>23</sup> KA MS/PK I-4/6 5432 ex 1912

<sup>24</sup> KA MS/II GG 47D/2 16 ex 1916

(*Helgoland* and *Novara*). The contract on the two cruisers was signed on 25 April 1911.<sup>25</sup> The building of the cruisers was considerably delayed owing to the yard having been unprepared on the one hand, and to the defective parts produced by the Resica Ironworks on the other.<sup>26</sup> The Navy commissioned *Helgoland* in August 1914 eventually, which meant a delay of 33 weeks. The *Novara* was commissioned in January 1915 after a delay of 39 weeks. In the case of the *Saida*, third member of the class, built by the Austrian Cantiere Navale Triestino of Monfalcone, the delay was even greater, 42 weeks. The Danubius-built cruisers, apart from the significant delay, met the requirements of the Navy while the quality of their CNT-built sister ship was much inferior. These cruisers proved to be excellent warships during the war. The *Novara* was the ship of Captain (Linien-schiffskapitän) Miklós Horthy in the Battle of the Otranto Straits in May 1917.

According to the agreement of January 1911 all six of the 800 ton *Tátra*-class destroyers were ordered from Danubius. These were the first ships not only built, but also designed by the Hungarian shipyard. The first design presented by Danubius was considered too weak in construction by the Navy. When the shipyard presented the new reinforced design the contract was signed on 13 June 1911.<sup>27</sup> The destroyers were built in Porto Rè where Danubius had a smaller yard. Because this yard was incomplete at the time the contract was signed, and later some Hungarian-made turbine parts turned to be defective, the first three units were commissioned with a delay of six months. Later serious problems emerged with the propellers and the propeller shafts. Danubius managed to solve these problems by changing the propellers and the shafts in 1914.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> KA MS/II GG 47C/12 4332 ex 1911

<sup>26</sup> KA MS/II GG 47C/7 7753, 9733 ex 1912

<sup>27</sup> KA MS/II GG 47C/4 7822 ex 1911

<sup>28</sup> Franz Bilzer: *Die Torpedoschiffe und Zerstörer der k. u. k. Kriegsmarine 1867-1918* (Graz, Weishaupt, 1990) 110.



Originally all the 250-ton torpedo boats of the 1911 programme were to be ordered from Austrian industry. The Navy increased the number of boats from twelve to sixteen in May 1912, and subsequently to twenty seven in February 1913. After some discussion on price the Navy ordered sixteen boats from Danubius, partly as a compensation for Hungarian industry, because the submarines intended for Hungary were ordered in Germany. These boats, like the destroyers, were built to the yard's own design. Construction began in October 1913, although an official contract was only signed on 8 March 1914.<sup>29</sup> The Navy received the first boat in August 1915, the last one in November 1916. The Navy gave the boats numbers instead of names: the Danubius built-boats were 82 F – 97 F (F stood for Fiume). In March 1917 a naval committee compared the boats of the three yards. It was found that the boats of Danubius were the best.<sup>30</sup>

In May 1914 the Delegations voted a new extraordinary credit of 426 million Crowns for the Navy. Thanks to an agreement between the Navy and the Hungarian government two 24 500 ton battleships, six destroyers and several other vessels would have been ordered from Danubius, but after the outbreak of the war this programme was cancelled. In the period between 1907 and 1918 the Danubius built one battleship, two scout cruisers, sixteen destroyers, thirty-two torpedo boats, four submarines and a salvage steamer.

### **The Hungarian Gun Factory**

While in the first decade of the twentieth century the Hungarian industry was already producing artillery ammunition, the guns were still manufactured only in the Austrian half of the Empire. Establishing a gun factory in Hungary was a long-standing ambition of the Hungarian Government. It was realised in the first years of the 1910s, when the artillery branch of the Honvédség (Hungarian Army) was finally established after a long struggle of the Hungarian

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<sup>29</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL) Z 429 18 cs. 131 t.

<sup>30</sup> MNL OL Z429 18 cs. 131 t.

politicians, and in 1912 an extraordinary credit of 250 million Crowns was voted by the delegations for the development of the artillery of the common Army.

In November 1910 Škoda Works of Pilsen presented to the Hungarian Minister of Commerce Károly Hyeronimi a plan of establishing a gun factory in Hungary. Škoda would have been sole owner of the factory, and it would have manufactured only smaller calibre guns up to 10.4 cm. This idea was totally unsatisfactory for the Hungarian government, so the Ministry of Commerce did not respond to the Škoda offer. The government had different plans: it wanted to establish a gun factory in which the Hungarian State had a controlling interest, and which was capable of manufacturing guns of every type and every calibre in service. The father of this project was the Hungarian Minister of Finance László Lukács.<sup>31</sup>

On 9 March 1911 Lukács sent a letter to the common Ministry of War in which he presented the plan of the government to establish a gun factory in Diósgyőr. In this letter he did not mention that the government's intention was to establish this factory with the help of the British Vickers and Maxim, the greatest arms exporter of that time.<sup>32</sup> The common Ministry of War did not respond, but the Naval Department (Marinesektion) of the Ministry of War reacted quickly. Allegedly Admiral Montecuccoli was very enthusiastic hearing the project, because he hoped that competition from the Hungarian gun factory would force Škoda to reduce its high prices.<sup>33</sup>

The Naval Department sent Captain Emil Fath head of the Artillery Department of the Naval Technology Committee (Marinetechnische Kommittee) to Budapest and Diósgyőr for negotiations on the new factory and the possible orders of the Navy at the end of April. In Diósgyőr he was informed that the government was planning to involve the Vickers in the establishing

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<sup>31</sup> Hadtörténelmi Levéltár, Budapest (HL) VII. (Personalia) 97. 99/A Vajkay to Lázár 1 August 1912

<sup>32</sup> KA MS/PK XI-4/9 3378 ex 1911

<sup>33</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Lázár to von Boog 1 June 1912

of the gun factory. On 1 May Fath was negotiating with Károly Vajkay, the Director of the Central Management of the National Ironworks in the building of the Ministry of Finance in Budapest when suddenly Lukács entered the room. Fath told Lukács that he wasn't authorized to negotiate with the Minister himself and he could promise officially nothing. Lukács tried to persuade Fath that the Vickers-system would have a good effect on the Army's and Navy's artillery. The directors of the Diósgyőr Ironworks added that they intended to avoid any relationship with the Škoda.<sup>34</sup>

On 4 May Lukács sent a letter to the common Ministry of War. On the same day he sent another letter directly to the Naval Department. The Ministry of War failed to respond again. The Naval Department on 18 May sent its answer, undertaking to order 15 cm and 7 cm guns for the Schlachtschiff VII (Szent István) if the factory could guarantee a delivery deadline of 1 April 1914.<sup>35</sup> In the next months there was no progress with regard to the gun factory even the negotiations with the Vickers didn't start. Finally on 7 September the common Ministry of War sent an answer, signed by General Alexander von Krobotin, to the 4 May letter of Lukács. Krobotin welcomed the idea of a Hungarian gun factory in general, but objected to the participation of a foreign firm in its establishment. He advised instead to agree with Škoda,<sup>36</sup> which was the last thing the Hungarian politicians wanted.

In October 1911 court councillor Pál Lázár, professor of the Technical University of Budapest, entered the story. This controversial figure sometimes acted as an agent of the Hungarian government sometimes as an agent of various firms. On 31 October Lázár travelled to Vienna with Count Tivadar Batthiány an opposition party MP. In Vienna they discussed the question of the Hungarian gun factory with Colonel Adolf von Boog and Common Minister of War General Moritz von Auffenberg. The next day von

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<sup>34</sup> KA MS/PK XI-4/9 1880 ex 1911

<sup>35</sup> KA MS/PK XI-4/9 1967 ex 1911

<sup>36</sup> KA MS/PK XI-4/9 3887 ex 1911

Boog visited Admiral Montecuccoli and Alexander von Brosch, the Chief of the Military Chancellery of the Crown Prince. After this visits von Boog told Lázár and Batthiány that Brosch promised that he would promote the Hungarian gun factory in the Belvedere. On 3 November Lázár reported on his negotiations in Vienna to Lukács. Lukács showed him the letters of Krobotin with this comment: "It is obvious how aggressively he (Krobotin) tries to hand the gun factory to Škoda."<sup>37</sup>

In December 1911 the negotiations finally started with Vickers. Lázár acted as an agent of Vickers. Under English law Lázár's involvement represented a conflict of interest, and instead of dealing with him directly, Vickers relied on Mihály Pál, a Hungarian engineer who was living in London, to act as mediator. In January 1912 the preliminary conditions of the Hungarian government were accepted. The factory would be in Diósgyőr, the registered capital would be 15 million Crowns, of which Vickers's share would be 7 million Crowns. The Vickers share from the clear profit would be 15 percent. The board of directors of the factory would have 11 members, five of whom would be delegated by Vickers.<sup>38</sup>

In February 1912 the common Ministry of War sent army Captain Hasek to Britain to inspect Vickers. He sent a positive report to Vienna. Because the common Ministry of War was holding on to the Krupp breech-system, Vickers agreed that in the Hungarian factory the guns would be manufactured with wedge breeches. However, the chief designer of Vickers told Hasek: "How criminal it would be if the Austro-Hungarian Navy would still adhere to the antiquated Skoda types."<sup>39</sup> Based upon the positive report of Hasek the directors of Vickers hoped that the common Ministry of War would soon receive them, but they suffered disappointment.

On 10 February 1912 Lázár was invited to Vienna where he met von Boog and Captain Alfred von Koudelka, the secretary of

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<sup>37</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Notes of Lázár November 1911

<sup>38</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Vickers to Pál 10 January 1912

<sup>39</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Pál to Lázár 14 February 1912

Admiral Montecuccoli. Together they told Lázár that the Crown Prince wished that the Hungarian government should agree with the Krupp instead of the Vickers. On 17 February Lázár met again with Koudelka who introduced to him Adolf Kleinpeter, the representative of Krupp. On 29 February the letter of the common Ministry of War, officially calling for cooperation with Krupp, arrived in Budapest. On the same day Lázár informed Vickers in a telegram.<sup>40</sup>

In March the negotiations with the Krupp started. The mediator was Lázár again. The factory was to be in Pozsony (today Bratislava) near Vienna, at the request of the common Ministry of War. In April Lukács became Prime Minister, so the new Minister of Finance, János Teleszky continued the negotiations. On 17 June Krupp terminated the negotiations, declared that the deal was off, and recommended that the Hungarian government agree with Škoda. On 20 June Lázár wrote to von Boog, proposing to renew negotiations with Vickers.<sup>41</sup>

On 3 July Krupp presented a new proposal: it promised technical support, if an agreement was concluded with Škoda. Krupp and Škoda presented their offer to the government to establish a gun factory in Győr. Škoda asked for an advance payment of three million Crowns from the Hungarian government for building the factory. Károly Vajkay said of this offer: "It would be a business like South American and East-Asian states conclude with German, British or French enterprises, but only when warships are appearing outside their capitals and bombard them, or at least threaten with bombardment. The government cannot take much pride in such a contract, although it may make it acceptable if the world famous Krupp were one of the contractors. The name Škoda does not have the indisputable magic."<sup>42</sup> Lázár who was then the

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<sup>40</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Pro memoria 1 March 1912

<sup>41</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Krupp to Lázár 17 June 1912; Lázár to von Boog 20 June 1912

<sup>42</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Vajkay to Lázár 1 August 1912.

agent of the Škoda-Krupp tried to persuade Teleszky to accept the offer, but the Finance Minister rejected it.<sup>43</sup>

In his letter of 20 November 1912 Teleszky made a last effort to persuade the joint Ministry of War to accept the Vickers. He wrote that the Škoda would be unacceptable for the Delegation and the public in Hungary.<sup>44</sup> On 12 December Krobotin, the main proponent of Škoda was appointed joint Minister of War. Teleszky realised that he had no choice but to agree with the Škoda. He fired Lázár as a mediator and personally contacted the Czech factory.<sup>45</sup>

The contract on the Hungarian Gun Factory (Magyar Ágyúgyár, Ungarische Kanonenfabrik) was signed with Škoda on 21 April 1913. The Hungarian government had controlling interest, with shares of 7 million Crowns. Škoda had shares of 6 million Crowns. The government delegated five, Škoda four members to the board of directors. Ten percent of the clear profit was due to Škoda. For technical support Krupp received 1 million Crowns. On 19 July 1913 the statutory meeting of the Hungarian Gun Factory was held in Budapest. General Hugo Hoffmann became the president of the board of directors.<sup>46</sup> On 22 January the factory reported that production would start in July 1915.<sup>47</sup>

The city of Győr gave the Gun Factory 20 Hungarian acres (21,5 hectares) of land near the Budapest-Vienna main rail line free of charge. Rail connection was built at state expense. On this site 22 buildings were erected, a test ground was also created. Gun production started in July 1916. During the war the Hungarian Gun Factory manufactured 711 guns and howitzers (7.5 – 15 cm) in total. The joint Ministry of War in 1917 ordered also 30.5 cm howitzers but these were never delivered.<sup>48</sup> After August 1919 the Romanian Army dismantled the Gun Factory and all its tools and machinery were

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<sup>43</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Teleszky to Lázár 9 May 1913

<sup>44</sup> KA MS/PK XI-4/9 582 ex 1913

<sup>45</sup> HL VII. 97. 99/A Teleszky to Lázár 9 May 1913

<sup>46</sup> KA MS/PK XI-4/9 2157 ex 1914

<sup>47</sup> KA MS/PK XI-4/9 456 ex 1914

<sup>48</sup> Dombrády et al, *A magyar hadiipar története*, 69-73.

transported to Romania. In 1921 the Hungarian Gun Factory officially ceased to exist.

The development of such a great capacity arms industry especially a naval industry in Hungary in the first years of the 20th century was only possible because the Kingdom of Hungary was part of a European great power, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. After the First World War and the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy Hungary lost a great part of these capacities, partly due to the territorial losses, partly due to the peace treaty restrictions.





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## **Structural Organizational Elements of the Hellenic Army in the Eve of the Great Wars of the 20th Century**

**Abstract:** During the years 1912-1923 Greece was in a nearly constant state of war (1914 being the only exception). The successful effort made from 1909 until 1912, to improve the organisation, training and logistics resulted in the creation of a Hellenic Army that was modern by the standards of the time. In the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars, Greece almost doubled its territory and population. However, the period of recovery and reconstruction that followed was not to last for long. World War I interrupted the peace efforts and caused a deep schism in the country's leadership, which divided the army and the nation.

The participation of the Hellenic armed forces in World War I restored their prestige, secured Greece a role in the peace negotiations, and convinced the Great Powers to allow the landing of Hellenic forces in Asia Minor. The Asia Minor Campaign ended in a national disaster, cost Greece heavily both financially and in casualties, and the armed forces had to be reorganized once more. The paper focuses on the organizational issues of the Hellenic Army in the periods before the First and Second World Wars.

Between 1909 and 1912 a concerted effort to improve the organisation, training and logistics created a Hellenic Army that was modern by the standards of the day. Its victories in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 proved the soundness of the modernisation. The following short period of peace was used to reorganize the army,

based on lessons learned, and to meet the country's new defence needs.

### **World War I**

The doubling of the country's territory and population required that the size of the army be increased. To this end, it was decided to retain the Infantry divisions and Cavalry brigade as during the Balkan Wars. It was also decided to form another division, disband all non-essential wartime services, and discharge the reservists of the older classes. It was also decided to abolish General Headquarters and reinstate the Staff Service, which would be subordinated to the Ministry of the Army, as well as to establish, for the first time, six army corps headquarters, to which all divisions would be subordinated. At the end of 1913, the provisional organization of the army was as follows:

- Infantry consisted of a total of forty-two Infantry regiments, five of which were Evzone (light infantry) regiments. They were organized into fourteen divisions of five army corps, four with three divisions each and one with two. Later, during the mobilization of 1915, two more divisions were established (XV, XVI) and deployed in the geographical regions of central Macedonia and Northern Epirus respectively.
- Cavalry. It consisted of four Cavalry regiments, constituting a single Cavalry division of two brigades. There were a further four independent Cavalry regiments and one independent battalion. Out of the two Cavalry brigades, initially only one would be activated.
- Artillery was divided into Corps Artillery (Field Artillery) and Divisional Artillery (Pack Artillery) and organized into five regiments of Field Artillery, fourteen battalions of Pack Artillery, a Fortress Artillery regiment (in Thessaloniki), a Fortress Artillery battalion (in Ioannina), and a battalion of Horse Artillery.

- Engineers. It comprised four regiments and an independent Pioneer battalion, a Fortress regiment (in Thessaloniki), a Fortress battalion (in Ioannina), two Telegraph Operator regiments, a Railroad battalion, an Automobile battalion, a Bridging battalion, and an Aviator company.
- Transport comprised five battalions.
- Medical Service was organized into five Medical Orderly battalions.

Every division had its organic three regiments of Infantry or Evzones and one Pack Artillery battery. The Fortress Artillery and Fortress Engineer units, one Telegraph Operator regiment, the Bridging battalion, the Railroad battalion, the Automobile battalion, and the Aviator company came under the direct control of the Ministry of the Army. The size of the Hellenic Army was thus greatly increased and the foundations were laid for improving its organization, as well as the training and combat skills of the troops.

The Army Staff Service was reorganized in January 1914, and consisted of the following Administrative Bureau Departments:

1st Department: War Operations and Fortifications

2nd Department: Organization, Mobilization, and Transportation

3rd Department: Training, Regulations, and History

4th Department: Intelligence and Political Affairs.

The Palace Guard was established in the same year, as well as the Military Commissariat, Transport, Audit Accounting, Quartermaster, Cartography, Military Pharmacist, Archivist, Clerk-Calligrapher-Designer, Non-Commissioned Officer Corps, and Warrant Officer Corps.

Because of the shortage of cadres that occurred during the Balkan Wars and the subsequent enlargement of the army, 425 officers of the Reserve were permitted to become regulars.

The political polarization in Greece provoked a national schism. In August 1916 supporters of the former Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos led a military coup in Thessaloniki, and

declared a Provisional Government of National Defence. Their immediate objective was to declare war against Bulgaria and the Central Powers. The National Defence Committee devoted itself to reinforcing the Allies and to raising an army, recruiting men mainly from Macedonia and the Aegean islands.

By September 1916, the first National Defense battalion was raised. The work of creating a new army was accelerated when the Provisional Government in Thessaloniki assumed the leadership of the National Defense movement, and imposed obligatory conscription in regions under its control. It initially decided to raise 80,000 to 90,000 troops and to form five divisions (Serres, Archipelago, Crete, Cyclades, and Thessaloniki) of 10,000 men each. The means, both financial and technical, at the Provisional Government's disposal, were limited and the Allies' stance toward it, at least in the beginning, was uncertain. By June 1917, the manpower of the Army of National Defense totalled 1,497 officers and 53,271 other ranks. In addition, the Gendarmerie, comprised primarily of Cretans, numbered 274 officers and 5,361 men.

After a gradual abandonment of neutrality, Greece finally entered the War in June 1917, immediately upon Venizelos taking office again. To meet its requirements for war, the country needed to mobilize again and reorganize the army, which had been demobilized and moved to the southern region (Peloponnese) as the Allies had demanded at the end of 1916. When the war time establishment of the new Hellenic Army of National Defense was completed, it numbered 104,500 officers and men.

Following the victorious end of the Great War, the outcome of the Expedition to Asia Minor (1919-1922) was a disaster for Greece. In 1923, the country was in a difficult position. After demobilisation and the return of units to their peacetime garrisons the armed forces had to be reorganised once again. In the military arena, the long war was succeeded by a period of inactivity, which came as a natural consequence. This condition was created by the international post-war feeling of security, the state's inability to resolve serious

problems, while facing the pressing social and financial needs for the country's reconstruction, an unstable internal situation, continuous riots, and the active involvement of the Army in politics. However, during the period from 1935 until the Italian invasion in October 1940, serious, tough and expensive effort was made for the organisation, training and equipping of the army, as well as for the elevation of national morale.

## **World War II**

A serious reorganization of the Hellenic Army started in April 1935, and by the end of the same year the army comprised four army corps, thirteen Infantry divisions, and one Cavalry division. The units amounted to twenty-six regiments and eight battalions of Infantry, one Evzone regiment and two Evzone battalions, eight regiments and two batteries of Pack Artillery, two regiments of Mixed Artillery, and, finally, eight border sectors (covering sectors).

During the same year, the formation of military councils began, and was completed in 1936, parallel to the reorganization of troops. Four military councils were formed:

- Supreme War Council - was tasked with studying and proposing to the government the measures deemed necessary for the national defense, and the appropriate distribution of the responsibilities and budgets to the three branches of the armed forces. It was convened every six months, or more often in extraordinary circumstances, and drew up reports, which it submitted to the three military ministers (of the Army, Navy, and Air Force) and to the prime minister.
- Supreme Military Council - advised on all army matters that dealt with organization, training, preparations for war, fortifications, armaments, and, in general, the defense of the country, as well as the general Plan for the Mobilization and Assembly of the Army. The council also advised on the appointments of general officers (with the exception of the chief of the Army General Staff, who was appointed by the

Cabinet) and drew up the lists for promotion to the next rank of colonels and major generals. The commanders of the army corps also participated, with voting power.

- Supreme National Defense Council – investigated and decided on general matters having to do with the defense of the country, especially issues that required cooperation between ministries. It also examined matters of allocation of budgets for the organization of defense, and their assignment among the branches of the armed forces. The council was convened as circumstances required, and its decisions were implemented by the appropriate ministries.
- Supreme Military Medical Council – investigated and advised on scientific matters relating to the Army Medical Service. Professors of medicine from Athens University and specialist scientists could serve as advisers.

Another important improvement in organization, implemented in 1936, was the reorganization of the Army General Staff. Three deputy chiefs were designated; they coordinated the work between staff offices and that of the staffs of the other branches. The number of offices was increased to eight and their responsibilities redistributed:

- Office of the Chief: administrative and financial matters, research, and chemical warfare.
- Office I: organization, recruitment, training, and quartering.
- Office II: intelligence, counterintelligence, and propaganda.
- Office III: operations, fortifications, antiaircraft defense, and communications.
- Office IV: transportation and supply.
- Office V: personnel mobilization; animal and vehicle requisition.
- Office VI: mobilization of industry, agriculture, animal husbandry, and labor.

- War Report Office: documentation and the issuance of combat-service certifications (from 1952 redesignated Army History Directorate).
- Office responsible for casualty services, inheritance matters (pensions), cemeteries, memorials, and prisoners of war (established in November 1940, immediately following the declaration of the Greek-Italian war).

In 1937, it was determined that the Minister of the Army would exercise command of the army with the assistance of the Chief of the Army General Staff and the directors of the Directorates of Personnel, Arms, and Services. It was also decided that henceforth the army would be composed of Arms (Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, Engineers) and Corps: Automobile, Medical, Dental, Veterinary, Pharmaceutical, Military Justice, Commissariat, Financial Auditing, Recruiting, Financial Services, Music, Military Chaplain, Master Technician, Archivist, and Cartographer.

Two years later, in 1939, a new law was issued; it was in effect in October 1940, when the Greek-Italian war was declared. The main changes in the organization of the army that came into effect with the new law, in relation to the Organizational Charter of 1935, were the reestablishment of an additional Army Corps (E), to which two Infantry divisions (XII and XIII) were assigned, the formation of one more Infantry division (Division XIV), as well as the formation of three more border sectors. Additionally, existing Infantry and Artillery battalions were upgraded to regiments, and all units that were provided by the Organizational Charter of 1935 and had not been formed to date, were established. The main objective of the establishment of these units was the swifter and more secure mobilization of the Field Army in the event of war. Following these changes the Hellenic Army in 1939 comprised five army corps, fourteen Infantry divisions, and one Cavalry division. In addition, there were eleven border sectors, two of which were equivalent to Infantry divisional commands, while the rest were equivalent to Infantry regiments. Also, one Cavalry brigade was being formed, to

be based in Thessaloniki. The peacetime strength of the army varied between 60-70,000 men. It was anticipated that in the event of war the number of Infantry formations would be increased to sixteen divisions and four brigades. Actually, an additional four Infantry divisions and seven Infantry brigades were formed during the war. Of the additional brigades two were gradually expanded to divisions. Thus, a total of twenty Infantry divisions and five Infantry brigades, as well as one Cavalry division and one Cavalry brigade (which was incorporated into the Cavalry division in January 1941) participated in the Greek-Italian and Greek-German Wars of 1940-41.

Since 1936 significant amount of money was allocated for the purchase of arms. When the war broke out in October 1940 the Hellenic Army had at its disposal: 459,650 rifles (Mannlicher, Mauser, Lebel, and Gras), 4,832 machine guns (Hotchkiss, Saint-Etienne, Schwartzlose, and Maxim), 12,200 light machine guns (Hotchkiss), 315 mortars (81mm Brandt), 905 field artillery pieces (Skoda, Schneider, Krupp), 190 anti-aircraft guns (Krupp, Bofors, Rheinmetall), and 24 anti-tank guns (Rheinmetall). During the war the Hellenic Army also utilized captured equipment: 16,500 rifles, 494 machine guns, 1,794 light machine guns, 406 mortars, 114 artillery pieces, and 34 anti-aircraft guns.

The arming of sixteen Infantry divisions and four Infantry brigades, as indicated by the mobilization plan, and the formation of certain Artillery units, was achieved through the procurement of war materiel from abroad and thanks to the successful use of equipment from domestic sources. However, there were still shortages of mortars, anti-aircraft and, mainly, anti-tank artillery. Because of the problems that the producing countries were facing at the time, the Greek military was unable to secure sources of supply abroad. Consequently, a total of fourteen 6-7 ton tanks that had been ordered were never delivered. The ammunition available to the army in October 1940, was enough for a three-month wartime period. The army managed, however, to fight for six months on two



fronts against both the Italians and Germans, without shortages. This was due to the timely increase of the country's industrial output in ammunition, the limitation of consumption, and the disciplined utilization of captured ordnance. As regards to other materials, the army had at its disposal food for fifty days, fuel for forty-five days, and fodder for thirty days.

There was a serious shortage of transport: against the required 7,000 automobiles, there were only 600 military vehicles available. The problem was solved by requisitioning private automobiles of various types. The problem of pack animals was solved in similar way. Following successive requisitions, their number increased to about 150,000. Without the tens of thousands of mules that belonged to the field units as transport means, the conduct of predominantly mountain warfare in the rough and snow-covered terrain of Northern Epirus would have been impossible.

The fortification of the area near the frontier with Bulgaria, known as the Metaxas Line, as well as the fortification of other areas, was carried out. The transportation network was also completed, while barracks were improved to a great extent. The fortifications aimed at covering the mobilization and the strategic concentration of the Field Army. The network of fortifications included a series of independent forts to block the main attacks, as well as various field or semi-permanent fortifications to block secondary routes of approach.

## **Epilogue**

Following the First World War and the unfortunate Campaign in Asia Minor, Greece pursued a peaceful policy, with a purely defensive military orientation. The mobilization planning was in accordance with this basic principle. Mobilization plans worked out already in 1925, were consecutively followed from numerous others until 1939. The mobilization plan that was put into effect on 28 October 1940, was the one that had been drawn up in September 1939. It was accompanied by specific plans for mobilization,

transportation and others, with the aim of achieving the gradual, quiet transition of the army, initially to a partial, and then to a full state of mobilization.

The success of the planning was clearly demonstrated when, in fifteen days, the mobilization of 300,000 men and 125,000 animals and their forward movement to the frontiers with Albania and Bulgaria was achieved. The partial mobilization that began gradually in August of 1939, when the Italian threat became obvious, contributed to the success of the general mobilization.

The plans were simple and the various commands were thoroughly familiar with them. Consequently, at dawn on 28 October 1940, the entire war machine was put in motion with only one order, relayed by telephone from the General Staff to the army corps. The order contained only twenty-nine words: "Since 0600 this morning we have entered into a state of war with Italy. Defense of national territory to be conducted according to orders at your disposal. Apply mobilization plan."

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## **Meeting the Invasion: The Second World War and Local Defence Forces in Sweden**

**Abstract:** Sweden remained neutral during the Second World War but consciously analysed the developments in the war. Of particular interest was Finland and the developments on the Eastern front. Several Swedish officers served in the Finnish army and their experiences were transferred to the defence forces. Other influential studies focused on operation Overlord and on Fall Gelb, the German invasion of Norway in 1940. During much of the Cold War the Swedish defence forces anticipated facing a Soviet invasion over the northern border and a simultaneous amphibious assault on the southern and eastern shores. The defence staff designed several types of units to meet such an invasion: ordinary line units of the Army, Navy, Coastal Artillery and Air Force (all with different mobilisation times), local defence and Home Guard units (all with their own specific tasks and equipment). The basic concept was total defence and the military resources were combined with an extensive civil defence program. Local defence and Home Guard units were the foundation of defence against a strategic assault. Local defence units were to defend specific targets for a specific time, to allow mobilization of line units.

### **Introduction**

Sweden remained neutral during the Second World War but consciously analysed the developments in the war. Particularly interesting was Finland and the developments on the Eastern front. Many Swedish officers served in the Finnish army and their

experiences were transferred to the Swedish Defence Forces. Influential studies focused on operation Overlord - from the German perspective and on *Weserübung*, the German invasion of Norway in 1940 - from the Norwegian perspective. For much of the Cold War, the Swedish military anticipated a Soviet invasion over the Northern border combined with an amphibious assault on the Southern and Eastern shores. The defence staff designed several different types of units to meet such an invasion. There were the ordinary line units from the Army, Navy, Coastal Artillery and Air Force (in effect all of these units were reserve units as the Swedish military did not have any standing units), local defence units and Home Guard units, all with their own specific tasks and equipment.

The Second World War changed the map of the Baltic Sea region. In 1944-1945 the Soviet Union reconquered the Baltic States and annexed those parts of Eastern Poland that it had occupied in September 1939. Poland on the other hand was moved westwards into previous German territories. Eastern Prussia was divided between Poland and the Soviet Union. Finland had made peace with the Soviet Union in 1944 and then pushed the German forces out of Northern Finland. In the Paris Peace treaty of 1947, Finland accepted a Soviet base in Porkkala close to Helsinki. In 1948, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed between Finland and the Soviet Union. The Soviet position in Finland remained strong for much of the 1950s. Swedish defence expanded both during the war and also after 1945 particularly in terms of equipment. In 1942 the defence structure was changed specifically on the local level with regional and local staffs planning local defence. Many of the operational changes came into effect after 1945. The equipment and the organisation of 1945 had a long life in the Swedish armed forces and most of it went out of service only in the 1980s. It is important to analyse the defence organization that was created around 1945 because it was the one that was continuously updated and reformed throughout the cold war.

This paper discusses the importance of the lessons of the Second World War for Sweden. What were the most important lessons implemented in the total defence structure of Sweden during the Cold War? The author will discuss the studies made of the coastal defence systems in Normandy and their effect on the Swedish Coastal Artillery defences. He will also discuss the various types of local defence units and line units designed to face a Soviet invasion, also in combination with the fear of a strategic assault. In any case, local defence and Home Guard units were the foundation of Swedish defence against a strategic assault.

### **The Defence Organisation in the late 1940s**

In the summer of 1944 the Commander in Chief, General Helge Jung, initiated the studies leading up to the 1945 Official Report on Defence published in 1947. The initial purpose was to analyse the final stages of the Second World War and future potential threats to Sweden. The study identified the anticipated means with which an attacker would try to conquer Sweden. These were unlimited strategic bombing and the use of the quickly-evolving missiles. The report stated that Sweden was not as vulnerable to air attack as for instance Great Britain, Germany or Japan had been during the war, due to the low population density and developed civil defence. It suggested that any invasion would start with massive bombing to break all resistance as quickly as possible. Nuclear weapons would also have to be anticipated, although the nuclear bombs of the late 1940s were few in number and could not be used everywhere. The enemy would use surprise in combining air attacks with air assault, the historical examples came from the allied air assaults in Normandy in June 1944, Operation Market Garden in September 1944, and an allied landing east of the river Rhine in March 1945. Another form of attack would be a combined airborne assault and coastal invasion. The most obvious example mentioned was Normandy. The German defences in Normandy were taken as a

point of departure for the defence against a coastal invasion. The important thing was that the Germans were inferior in numbers, but still they managed to hold the allies locked in for several weeks. The final form of attack was the invasion over the Northern border. An anticipated attack over land would come along every possible road and be massively superior. The land attacks would come as a combination of infantry, armour and motorised units supported by air and often in combination with airborne assaults. The most important examples were the Soviet attacks on Finland 1939-1940 and the allied attacks on Germany both in the East and West 1944-1945. These three forms of attack could be combined and launched with surprise against various areas.

A small, non-aligned state had to use all available resources to inflict losses on the enemy and at the same time avoid being annihilated. Parts of the country would inevitably be occupied and infrastructure destroyed. In the report, the great importance of resistance in the occupied areas was raised. The inspiration came from the resistance movements and the partisan war during the Second World War. In Swedish form the concept was called *Fria kriget* (i.e, "the free war").<sup>1</sup>

After the plan of a Scandinavian defence alliance had failed in 1949, the strategic point of departure for Sweden in the late 1940s was to remain non-aligned. The situation in the Baltic where East and West met increased the risk for Sweden to become involved in a future war. As a result, the defence forces had to be strong enough to deter an attack. The only real enemy was the Soviet Union, and a Soviet attack would have to mean help from the West. During the 1950s the *Marginaldoktrinen* (the Marginal Doctrine) emerged, meaning a Soviet attack on Sweden would be part of a major war between the blocks. The result was that Sweden only had to face a

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<sup>1</sup> Jung, Helge, *Vårt framtida försvar: Överbefälhavarens förslag* (Malmö: Norstedts 1947) p. 80-100.

margin of the Soviet forces, maximum of 30 divisions, as the rest had to be used in the West and against Norway and Finland.<sup>2</sup>

### **Line units, Local Defence Units and Home Guard**

For much of the 20th century the Swedish defence organisation contained the same elements. Since 1901 defence was based on conscription and most conscripts served around one year at age 19-20 and were recalled every four years for refresher training. After basic training conscripts were assigned to "the line units" i.e. reserve units. In the army three battalions made a regiment, and from 1948 the brigade replaced the regiment as the combat unit. At the same time the division (*fördelningen*) was changed from a standardised organisation to tailored divisions with specific tasks in different regions.<sup>3</sup> The Navy consisted of the Navy proper, i.e. the ships and the Coastal Artillery (from 1902). Together they were called *Marinen* (i.e. "the Marine"). The air force was established as a service in 1926 and conscripts mostly had support duties in it.

Conscripts remained in the line units until around 30-35 years of age and then transferred to local defence units where they remained until age 47. The local defence units were first organised in 1885 under the name *Landstormen*, consisting of older conscripts with the task of defending fortresses. During the First World War *Landstormen* served in the initial stages protecting the mobilisation of line units. *Landstormen* usually served closer to their home than did line units.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Wallerfelt, Bengt, *Si vis pacem - para bellum: Svensk säkerhetspolitik och krigsplanering 1945-1975* (Stockholm: Probus 1999) p. 120-121.

<sup>3</sup> Hugemark, Bo, "Hela landet skall försvaras: Politisk, strategisk och operativ bakgrund", i Hugemark, Bo (ed.) *Den stora armén* (Stockholm: Medströms 2015) p. 29. For example the 13th Division was allocated to southern Sweden and consisted of 3-5 armoured brigades.

<sup>4</sup> The research on *Landstormen* is very sketchy and most things written are various local jubilee books.

In 1942 important changes to the defence organisation were made as the reformed geographical division of the country came into force. Seven military regions (*militärområden*) covered the country and had the major responsibility for regional defence and staff duties. Until 1942 the army divisions were allocated to the various geographic regions. After 1942 the divisions were more mobile and subordinate to the commander in chief. Each military region was commanded by a regional commander with the rank of Major General/Rear Admiral and subdivided into Defence Areas (*Försvarsområden*) under the command of a Colonel/Commander. The defence areas were responsible for planning local defence, constructing fortifications and preparing for the defence of the area. In 1942 many of the *Landstormen* units became the local defence units subordinate to the defence areas. The majority, about 2/3 of all units in the army belonged to the local defence category.<sup>5</sup>

In April 1940 the Home Guard or (*Hemvärnet*) was founded, partly in response to the German attacks on Norway and Denmark. It was a voluntary organisation consisting of older men and boys between the age of 15 and 19. In many cases, local shooting associations formed the basis for the Home Guard. They had simple uniforms (initially only an armband) and the rifles were kept at home. They had the task of protecting the mobilisation of local defence units and line units. The Home Guard was also expected to fight off airborne assaults. As the equipment was kept at home, mobilisation was very quick. By 1941 there were approximately 71 500 men in the Home Guard, a level maintained until the late 1990s.<sup>6</sup> The tasks of the Home Guard remained the same during the Cold War although the equipment was modernised.

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<sup>5</sup> Modin, Sven-Åke, "Bönderna på schackbrädet: Lokalförsvarsförbanden - vialt stöd för brigaderna" i Hugemark, Bo (ed.) *Den stora armén* (Stockholm: Medströms 2015) p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> Bojerud, Stellan, "Hemvärnet 1940-1990" i Kjellander, Bo (ed.) *Hemvärnet 1940-1990: En jubileumsbok* (Stockholm: Norstedts 1990) p. 56. Jfr Brink, Lars, *När hoten var starka: Uppkomsten av en väpnad folkrörelse* (Göteborg: Text och bildkonsult 2009).



The system varied over the years, but its elements remained roughly the same. It is important to point out the difference between the peacetime establishment and the wartime organisation. In peace, training depot regiments trained conscripts for the wartime organisation. In times of war, the peacetime regiments ceased to exist and the wartime organisation took over. For example, a peacetime depot/training regiment trained and organised 1-2 brigades and a host of other local defence battalions. There were no standing army units in peacetime, apart from the Home Guard with very short mobilisation time.

## **Defence against Airborne Assaults**

A Soviet attack on Sweden during the Cold War was believed to start with massive bombing and possibly nuclear weapons followed by airborne assaults on vital sites, while an attack came across the sea towards the Stockholm area or Skåne and/or across the border in the North. The enemy troops coming by air were deemed to be lightly equipped with antitank weapons and therefore vulnerable to heavy and determined counterattacks.<sup>7</sup> As the enemy would use surprise, the line units would be mobilising and not ready for a counterattack. The defence would therefore rest heavily on local defence units and the Home Guard. From 1942 the local defence units were organised under the defence areas and merged into battalions. Initially there was no standardised organisation for local defence battalions: they were of various sizes, had different equipment and were named after their commander. More standardised local defence battalions, such as the model 69 bicycle infantry battalion (*Cykelskyttebataljon m/69*) emerged in the 1960s.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Jung, *Vårt framtida försvar* p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> Modin "Bönderna på schackbrädet" p. 168. A model 69 bicycle infantry battalion consisted of approximately 800 men armed with small arms, 81mm mortars and light anti-tank weapons.

The defence plan against enemy airborne assaults was a tough defence of airfields, important infrastructure and built-up areas, in order to win time. Initially the defence rested on the Home Guard and local defence units, combined also with civilians if need be. The defence rested on fortifications, so called Local Defence Companies (*värnkompanier*) consisting of bunkers and fortifications of different kinds.<sup>9</sup> For example, the local defence of Stockholm (defence area 44) in 1956 consisted of two battlegroups (North and South). In the central areas, defence was the responsibility of military police, Home Guard and surveillance units. To defend against airborne assault, bicycle battalions were deployed close to larger fields where landings were anticipated. One unit was the 10th Battalion deployed around fields South of Stockholm, together with the 404th Machinegun Company and the 401st Local Howitzer Battery. There were several infantry battalions deployed together with machinegun companies and artillery at vital landing sites to defeat airborne assaults. The Home Guard deployed to protect vital infrastructure and manned local defence companies. Local air bases were protected by local defence companies often with bunkers and fortifications. The air force also had air base battalions consisting of between 800-1500 men, depending on the type. These battalions also contained local defence units.

Local defence also incorporated air defence. In 1956 this consisted of the 3rd Territorial Anti-Aircraft Regiment with four battalions, with a total of 33 firing units.<sup>10</sup> The task of these local

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<sup>9</sup> Jung *Vårt framtida försvar* p. 90.

<sup>10</sup> Roth, Thomas, *Försvaret av Stockholm under kalla kriget: Planerna, organisationen och hotbilden* (Stockholm: Svenskt militärhistoriskt bibliotek 2013) p. 79–85. A machinegun company consisted of 14 watercooled machineguns model 36, anti-tank weapons and 81mm mortars. A Local defence howitzer battery usually consisted of four 105mm howitzers. Localdefence companies often had old tank turrets fixed in bunkers. The Home Guard in central Stockholm comprised around 2000 men. Outside the city there were an additional 10 Home Guard battalions – roughly 8 000 men. The 3rd Territorial AA Regt included 77 20mm, 32 40mm, 36 75mm and 18 105mm AAGs.

defence units was to win time for the line units to mobilise. In Stockholm in 1956 there were two infantry and one armoured brigades tasked with defeating the airborne assaults after the local defence had fixed the enemy in the prepared defensive systems. *“It is therefore of the utmost importance that the local defence associations – including the Home Guard – ultimately defend their positions and impede the deployment of the opponent, and the mobile forces – in the air and on the ground – quickly assemble and attack rapidly.”*<sup>11</sup>

During the Second World War, schoolchildren were also involved in the defence against airborne assaults. In 1940, defence education for both boys and girls from the age of 13 was initiated in schools. They could take part in defending the community against attack from age 16. Boys practiced rifle shooting, grenade throwing and platoon exercises. Girls practiced air raid protection and medical training. The boys would be dispatch runners but were trained also in basic field engineering.<sup>12</sup> The obligatory training of children was discontinued from 1945 and instead voluntary military education commenced.

Later, during the cold war and with expansion of the Soviet airborne forces the defence organisation was amended. A Soviet attack around Stockholm was expected to consist of one airborne division (7 000 men) around Arlanda airport, and four regiments at specific places north and south of the city. Smaller airdrops and helicopter assaults could take place over the entire area. During the Cold War the local defence organisation swelled partly due to the increasing numbers of conscripts, meaning that units were rotated quicker. Conscripts were also trained directly for service in local defence units. One important unit type that was developed was the infantry battalion specialised in fighting in cities and built-up areas. These battalions served as local defence in the major cities and were

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<sup>11</sup> Jung, *Vårt framtida försvar* p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Larsson, Esbjörn "Att fostras för landets försvar: Värntjänstutbildning för pojkar och flickor under andra världskriget", *Militärhistorisk tidskrift* (2015:1) p. 89-134.

basically line units in the local defence organisation. In Stockholm, there were six City Infantry Battalions (*Stadsskyttebataljoner*).

### **Defence against a Coastal Invasion**

During the Second World War amphibious warfare developed with the invasion of Italy, Normandy and in the Pacific. Sweden as a maritime nation and with an extremely long coastline always had to manage amphibious warfare. In 1902 the Coastal Artillery was founded as a specific service in the Marine to fight in the archipelagos. Coastal fortresses were manned by the Navy until 1902.<sup>13</sup> In the 1930s the coastal defences of Stockholm and other archipelago areas were moved further out in the archipelago. The coastal defences around the major ports consisted of coastal artillery batteries of different calibres, often older naval guns. Most were fixed fortifications but there were also mobile batteries.<sup>14</sup>

The 1947 official report concluded, much in the same way as for defence against airborne assault, that a concentrated, tough defence of ports and strategic locations was vital. Defences hinged on highly protected and well-camouflaged fortifications with 360-degree defences. Local defence units protected the fortifications to win time to allow mobile units to counterattack. The Swedish plans were quite similar to the German defence plans in Normandy in 1944.<sup>15</sup>

In 1953, Major Bertil Stjernfelt published the book *Alarm i Atlantvallen* (*Alarm in the Atlantic Wall*). This would become a popular book analysing the German defences in Normandy. Stjernfelt conducted field trips to the Normandy beaches in the late 1940s, interviewed German generals and admirals including

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<sup>13</sup> There had been coastal artillery/archipelago artillery/amphibious units since the 17th century. Particularly in the 18th and early 19th centuries, the Archipelago Fleet existed and merged with the regular Fleet in 1823.

<sup>14</sup> See for example Sobéus, Urban, *Havsbandslinjen i Stockholms skärgård 1933–1945* (Stockholm: Militärhistoriska förlaget 2000).

<sup>15</sup> Jung *Vårt framtida försvar* p. 95.

Rommel's naval advisor Vice-Admiral Ruge, and took part in American analyses. He analysed the construction of German coastal artillery batteries and concluded that they suffered serious deficiencies in construction and strength. One problem was that the invasion had been studied through the lens of the attacker, and that the strength of the Atlantic Wall had been overrated. It was strong in some places and weak in others. The allied barrages and bombings were successful against batteries in the open, but less so against fortifications. Special Forces had been successful while improvised infantry assaults usually failed. Most important for the defence of coastal artillery batteries was the combination of fighting spirit and good protection Stjernfelt concluded. The flat terrain in France had benefitted the attacker, while no attacks had been made on archipelagos. Stjernfelt pointed out that coordination was of the essence as the German defences had been constructed by the various services according to different principles. The best coastal defence batteries were those constructed by the Navy. Equally important for the development of amphibious warfare and coastal artillery were studies of the Korean War and the American landings at Inchon.<sup>16</sup>

An enemy invasion over the sea was anticipated either in the Stockholm area or in the south of Sweden (Skåne). The defence was organised in several sequential layers. The first units to meet the enemy were the submarines deployed outside the ports in the Baltic and in several lines across the Baltic Sea. Then came the air force attack aircraft in combination with the surface-attack ships and sea mines. Minefields were to be laid off the coast, while command-detonated mines were laid in inlets and sea-lanes. After that followed the coastal artillery and local defences and finally the

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<sup>16</sup> Stjernfelt, Bertil, *Alarm i Atlantvallen* (Hallstavik: Svenskt Militärhistoriskt bibliotek 2007) p. 179–195; Scholander, Arne, "Landstingningen vid Inchon", *Aktuellt och historiskt: Meddelande från Försvarsstabens krigshistoriska avdelning* (1955) p. 5–50.

Army. This was synonymous with defence in depth with a combination of air, naval and land forces.<sup>17</sup>

Following Stjernfelt's analysis and the increasing threat of modern nuclear weapons, the coastal artillery was reformed during the 1950s.<sup>18</sup> The conclusion that the Germans in Normandy were disorganised led to reforms in how Swedish coastal defences would be coordinated. In 1956 the first Coastal Artillery Brigade (*Kustartilleribrigaden*) was organised, within the regional coastal artillery commands. For example, Stockholm Coastal Artillery Defences (*Stockholms kustartilleriförsvär - SK*) was a coastal defence command established in 1942 to combine coastal artillery with local defence units. The Stockholm archipelago was a separate defence area (*Försvärsområde 46*), but was part of the Stockholm Coastal Artillery Defences. The defences of Stockholm included three coastal artillery brigades and independent battalions. Each brigade consisted of several fixed coastal artillery battalions and local defence units. For example, Coastal Artillery Brigade 3 (*Kustartilleribrigad 3*) protected the southern inlets of Stockholm archipelago. In the late 1960s, it consisted of three fixed coastal artillery battalions called (*Spärrbataljoner*) with command-detonated mine stations, two mobile coastal artillery batteries, two anti-aircraft companies, three bicycle infantry battalions, local defence units and Home Guard. Potential landing sites were covered by local defence fortifications of the same type mentioned earlier (either with tank turrets mounted on bunkers or machinegun nests).<sup>19</sup> Each fixed

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<sup>17</sup> Jung *Vårt framtida försvär* p. 90–93.

<sup>18</sup> Three new types of batteries were designed: Light batteries 75mm model 57 of which 30 batteries were built 1957–1966. Medium batteries 105mm model 50 of which 6 were built 1958–1968. Both types were well protected, nuclear-safe and had good defences against air and land attack. Heavy batteries of 152mm model 40 also existed on several places as did older batteries with guns ranging from 280mm down to 57mm.

<sup>19</sup> Spärrbataljon Ornö (1 heavy battery 105mm, 3 light batteries 75mm & 2 minestations), Spärrbataljon Mellsten (1 heavy battery 105mm, 4 light batteries 75mm & 3 minestations), Spärrbataljon Askö (1 heavy battery 105mm, 2 light

battery consisted of three guns, each self-contained and with ground protection in the form of fortifications and local defence units with mortars, anti-tank weapons and light anti-aircraft weapons.

The purpose of these combined coastal artillery/local defence units was to protect the vital ports from invasion. Most ports were prepared for destruction in peacetime, with specifically designed explosive charges to destroy the wharves. Another purpose was to inflict as heavy losses as possible to weaken the enemy, to win time to allow the reserves in the form of armour and infantry to counter-attack. The conclusions from Normandy was that the German counter-attacks were slow, undetermined and too weak. Therefore, it was instilled that all counter-attacks had to be concentrated, rapid and ruthless.

## **Defence against a Land Invasion**

Sweden have land borders only with Norway and Finland and as the potential aggressor was the Soviet Union, a land invasion would come from the east through Finland and/or Norway. The most serious case was a combined land invasion in the north and amphibious assaults against Stockholm. This case was not the most likely, but occupied a large part of the strategic planning. One problem was demographic, as the population in the North was not large enough to man the units needed to defend it. Therefore, soldiers had to be transported north from the south, preferably in peacetime.<sup>20</sup> The geography of the region favours the defender with few roads, weak infrastructure, cold climate and deep forests. Any attacker would also have to pass through either Finland or Norway, or both to reach the Swedish border. The defence of the extreme

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batteries 75mm & 1 minestation), 2 mobile coastal artillery battiers 105mm model 65. Roth *Försvaret av Stockholm* p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> The transport problem is discussed in Gustafsson, Bengt, "Milo ÖN - flank till Nordnorges avvärjningsområde" i Hugemark, Bo (ed.), *Den stora invasionen: Svenskt operativt tänkande under kalla kriget* (Stockholm: Medströms 2017) p. 59.

north was based on the fact that there were no roads from the east in the direction of Narvik – the most probable Soviet target until 1977. The only communication link up until then was the railway.

The 1947 official report stated that the north was of utmost strategic importance for all sides in the Cold War. The analysis of the Second World War suggested that the defence should not be deployed too close to the border, but instead create a delaying zone to win time. The official report particularly pointed to the Soviet offensives in Karelia and Operation Bagration in Belorussia both in the summer of 1944 as examples of enemy behaviour. The delaying zone should be a defence in depth supported by fortifications manned by local defence units. Their task was to slow the enemy down with ambushes, mines, prepared defensive positions and destroyed infrastructure. *“Fortifications that the enemy has passed, may not be abandoned but should be defended to the last; through this the enemy’s support and use of roads is obstructed. Through constant attacks against the enemy's flank and back, where Home Guard units thanks to their local knowledge can actively contribute, the defender will force the enemy to deploy ever greater forces to protect the lines of communication.”*<sup>21</sup>

Swedish forces should avoid meeting the enemy in open country as the enemy possessed superior firepower. Reserves would hide in the forests and attack enemy flanks and rear. Support of these units would be difficult, because they had to be lightly equipped. This required light equipment, and. The basic assumption for these tactics was that the enemy was tied to the roads for support. If the enemy had ranger units and light infantry in the forests these tactics would be impeded. It was clear that local success would not lead to victory but the purpose was always to win time until help could arrive. It was of the utmost importance to avoid destruction, at least for the line units, and trade space for time.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Jung *Vårt framtida försvar* p. 98.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid* p. 97-99.



It is obvious that the inspiration for these delaying tactics came from the Finnish experience during the Winter War, particularly the battle of Suomussalmi in December and January 1939–1940. A single Finnish infantry division of three regiments annihilated two Soviet divisions of which one was the crack, mechanized 44th division. The so-called *Motti* tactic meant that the Finnish units surrounded the enemy through the forests. The Russians were jammed along the only road. The Finnish units split the enemy into smaller isolated pockets and defeated them one by one. One factor was also the extreme cold during the winter of 1939–1940 and many Soviet soldiers froze to death. The battle of Suomussalmi was described in detail in Sweden already in 1940.<sup>23</sup> Many Swedish officers also fought in the Finnish army and soon the north of Finland was defended by the large Swedish Volunteer Corps. The *Motti* tactic was already quite well known and to be the task of the ski infantry. The first Swedish ski infantry unit was founded in October 1910 as Ski-infantry battalion (*Skidlöparbataljonen*) of the Norrbotten Regiment (*Norrbottens regemente*). During the Winter War the battalion was deployed close to the Finnish border in Övertorneå and after the German attack on Norway in April it was transferred to the Norwegian border in Abisko. In 1945 the battalion became the foundation of the Army Ranger School (*Arméns jägarskola*) and later on Lappland Ranger Regiment (*Lapplands jägarregemente*) in Kiruna.<sup>24</sup>

### **Delaying Battle and Local Defence in the North**

The specific Swedish situation facing a potential Soviet assault over the land border called for a specific doctrine. Swedish units would

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<sup>23</sup> Siilasvuo, Hjalmar, *Striderna i Suomussalmi* (Stockholm: Medén 1940).

<sup>24</sup> Barck, Åke, *Lapplands jägarregemente 1945–1995* (Kiruna: Lapplands jägarregementes kamratförening 1995); Nyström, Bror Oscar och Skeppstedt, Sven (eds.), *Boden: fästningen, garnisonen och samhället* (Boden: Kungl. Bodens artilleriregemente 1990).

almost always be numerically inferior but still they had to inflict heavy casualties on the enemy and avoid being annihilated. The doctrine of *Avvärjningsstrid*<sup>25</sup> implied inflicting casualties while maintain your own strength.<sup>26</sup> *Avvärjningsstrid* was a combination of offensive and defensive movements trying to achieve local or tactical superiority. This became the hallmark of the Swedish infantry's operational thinking during the Cold War, particularly in the north.

The basis for the defence was that the enemy depended on the few roads going east to west/southwest from Finland to Sweden and Norway. From the military strategic point of view all infrastructure had to be subordinate to defence requirements. As a result there was no road between Kiruna and Narvik until 1977 as the military strongly opposed expanded infrastructure, as it would require more troops to defend the area. One contention was that another road also increased the risk of an attack on Sweden as the Norwegian ports became more accessible.<sup>27</sup>

In the operational planning for the defence of the north, there were several zones of defence. The north consisted of the Regional Command North (*Militärområde Övre Norrland*) under the command of a Lieutenant General. In turn the extreme north consisted of four defensive areas: Kiruna (*Försvansområde 66*), Kalix (*Försvansområde 67*), Boden (*Försvansområde 63*) and Umeå (*Försvansområde 61*). The border between Finland and Sweden followed the Torne River and parallel to Torne River ran Kalix River. The distance between the two rivers was between 50 and 60 kilometres. This area was the delaying zone and the Forward Defensive Zone ran along the Kalix River. In front of the delaying zone were ranger units and paratroopers to scout the enemy centre of gravity. All roads in the delaying zone would be destroyed. Mines and ambushes would slow the enemy

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<sup>25</sup> *Avvärja* means to ward off.

<sup>26</sup> Arméreglemente: Applikatoriska exempel. D. 4, Försvaret och fördröjningsstrid: text och bildhäfte (Stockholm: Arméstaben 1953).

<sup>27</sup> Froste, Marie, "Vägen blir till medan du går: Debatten kring mellanriksvägen Kiruna-Nordnorge 1958-1965" Opubl. B-uppsats i militärhistoria Vårterminen 2013.

down. Behind the forward defensive zone was the Rear Defensive Zone along the Lule River approximately 100 to 200 kilometres from the Kalix River. The area between the Forward and Rear Defensive Zones consisted of six operating areas – three forward and three to the rear. Each operating area was prepared for delaying the enemy through defensive battles and had one transport and depot battalion each to prepare deployment of line units.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1980s the local defence units in the forward defensive zone were organised into Border Regiments (*Gränsregementen*) that were in fact specialised Border Defence Brigades. Three regiments (661st, 662nd, 663rd) were subordinate to the Kiruna defence area and three (671st, 672nd, 673rd) to the Kalix defence area. The disbandment of line brigades meant that many infantry battalions from disbanded brigades were transferred to local defence units and as the local defence increased so did the need for extended staffs. Each border regiment was controlled by a Type A Defence Area Group Staff (*Försvarsområdesgruppstab typ A*) and consisted of two or three border infantry battalions, one ranger company, fortification companies, Home Guard units, local defence engineer companies and local defence anti-aircraft companies.<sup>29</sup> Each regiment also had artillery forts. A Border infantry battalion (*Gränsinfanteribataljon*) consisted of two Norrland infantry companies with over-snow vehicles and one local defence infantry company consisting of local troops. The artillery forts consisted of old naval guns emplaced in extensive forts along the forward delaying zone and the road

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<sup>28</sup> Gustafsson "Milo ÖN" p. 62 and 67.

<sup>29</sup> There were three types of Defence Area Group Staffs (*Försvarsområdesgruppstab*). Type A was more or less a brigade staff (it could control several battalions in coordinated battle), Type B was a battalion staff (it could control a battalion coordinated with independent companies). Type C was a company staff (could control a company coordinated with independent platoons).

delaying zone. One of the most powerful forts was *Siknäsbatteriet* by the coast in the forward defensive zone with eight 152mm guns.<sup>30</sup>

As mentioned earlier it was of the utmost importance to determine the center of gravity of the enemy. To that end the defence area commanders had a total of four Light Rifle battalions (*Fältjägarbataljoner*), six Norrland Ranger Battalions, 14 Independent Ranger Companies and eight Border Ranger Companies. Apart from the local defence units mentioned above the two defence area commanders would be reinforced with line units.<sup>31</sup>

The assembly areas of the line units was between the two defensive zones. The units consisted of six to eight Norrland Infantry/Infantry Brigades organised into three divisions. As mentioned earlier, the divisions did not have a standardised organisation. Instead, each division had a distinct purpose and was assigned units accordingly often a mix of line units, local defence units, and Home Guard. For example, the 15th Division (*Fördelning 15*) consisted of the 19th Norrland Infantry Brigade (*Norrlandsbrigad 19*) and 44th Infantry Brigade (*Infanteribrigad 44*). There was also an Artillery Regiment Staff to coordinate all artillery in the area and many other units.<sup>32</sup> The other two divisions had a similar mix of

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<sup>30</sup> In all there were 15 120mm guns and 13 152mm guns in 8 forts in the forward defensive zone. In the rear defensive zone some of the forts were older. In all the rear zone comprised 24 120mm guns, 15 152mm guns, 16 84mm guns and 32 57mm guns in 9 forts. See Ekman, *Sten Kalixlinjen – kalla krigets lås i norr: befästningarna, fasta artilleriet, de svenska planerna och det sovjetryska anfallet* (Hallstavik: Svenskt militärhistoriskt bibliotek 2013).

<sup>31</sup> Gustafsson "Milo ÖN" p. 69–70. The reinforcements consisted of 1 Norrland Infantry Brigade, 7 Independent Norrland Infantry Battalions, 6 Transport Platoons, 1 SP Gun Battalion, 4 Field Artillery Battalions, 1 Air Defence Battalion, 3 Anti-Aircraft Companies, 3 Engineer Battalions and 2 Independent Engineer Companies.

<sup>32</sup> Gustafsson "Milo ÖN" p. 71. The 15th Division had 2 Tank Battalions, 3 Bicycle Infantry Battalions, 4 Local Defence Companies, 13 Local Defence Platoons, 1 SP Gun Battalion, 1 Field Artillery Battalion, 1 Fortress Artillery Battalion, 1 Local Defence Gun Battalion, 1 Local Defence Gun Company, 1 Air Defence Battalion, 1 Anti-Aircraft Artillery Battalion, 2 Local Defence Anti-Aircraft Platoons, 1 Engineer Battalion, 2 Engineer Companies, 1 Heavy Machine Company, 1 NBC

units. The regional commander also commanded units from the Marine (naval units, Navy Rangers and Coastal Artillery), Air Force (Fighters and Reconnaissance aircraft, base units and Air Defence units) as well as the paratroopers and the 1st Army Helicopter Battalion. The Commander in Chief could also assign attack aircraft from the 1st Air Group (comprising 3-4 wings).

### **Local Defence Units during the Cold War**

Although the Swedish defence has always included local defence units of various types, the Second World War changed the dimensions and organisation. First, the Second World War reinforced the concept and need for total defence, particularly for a small non-aligned state. To deter an enemy attack, the defence forces had to be as strong as possible and supported by an extensive civil defence organisation. From the Swedish point of view, the Second World War reinforced the perception that the defence helped deter a German attack, especially the longer the war raged on.

Second, the analysis of the fighting in the Second World War led to the conclusion that the tasks of local defence units increased. The technological development with air and amphibious assault increased the areas that had to be protected. Especially the conclusions drawn from the German side in Normandy created an integrated defence system with air, naval, coastal artillery and army units. Local defence units were extremely important in these defensive systems.

Third, during the Cold War the defence forces initially expanded and strengthened the organisation from 1942 with three different but interconnected types of army forces: line units, local defence units and Home Guard. The local defence organisation grew during the Cold War as the number of conscripts increased and as the number of line units diminished.

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Platoon, 1 Transport Company, 2 Transport Platoons and 1 Traffic Direction Platoon.

Fourth, one factor that was usually not mentioned was that the analysis of Normandy showed that the units manning the German beach defences were more or less wiped out within 24-36 hours. This was also anticipated for many of the fortifications protecting vital infrastructure and the local defence units defending them. Attacks by a determined enemy on bunkers defended by older men with old equipment would always be a problem for the defender. On the other hand, although the defenders were rarely told this was their purpose. Local defence units would have been sacrificed to win time for the line units, perhaps 24-36 hours.

Would this system have worked in the Cold War? The answer is probably yes, as the sheer size of the local defence organisation meant that it was impossible to destroy everything. On the other hand, most local defence units were of low quality and would not have been able to resist very long. One of the reasons for the strong local defence organisation was the importance of conscription. It was politically unacceptable not to have every able man conscripted. The army reinforced the concept by maintaining the need to protect important infrastructure. The downsizing of the army from the 1970s onwards actually meant that the line battalions were transferred to local defence - increasing the quality of local units. This was a way for the army to replace line units with local units, the kind of "moonlighting" brigades. Hence the need for larger defence area staffs.



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## **The Role of Territorial Units in the Romanian Defense System (1941-1989)**

**Abstract:** The territorial defense forces play an important role in a country's military establishment, having the mission to support and to enhance the actions of the active defense forces through specific activities and to ensure an efficient operation in order to prevent and reduce the consequences of an unexpected attack against the country. In 1941, the Fixed Regional Battalions of the Ardeal Group were created. Their main task was to defend, together with the border troops, the territories situated near the demarcation line imposed by the Second Vienna Award. During the Communist era, the Patriotic guards were formed in order to provide additional defense in case of a foreign attack. Though having in common the defense mission, these two types of territorial defense forces had specific roles and scopes.

This paper provides a brief analysis on the foundation and development of the territorial defense units during 1941-1989, their characteristics and peculiarities, as well as on their role in the defense system and doctrine of the Romanian state.

**Keywords:** territorial defense, Fixed Regional Battalions, Patriotic guards, defense doctrine, territorial units.

The territorial defense forces had always played an important role in Romanian military system, having the mission to support and



to enhance the actions of the active defense forces through specific activities and to ensure an efficient operation in order to prevent and reduce the consequences of an unexpected attack against the country.

This paper provides a brief analysis of the territorial defense forces in Romanian military system, focusing on the foundation and development of the territorial defense units during 1941-1989, their characteristics and peculiarities, as well as on their role in the defense system and doctrine of the Romanian state.

Both in medieval and in modern times, the defense of the country was ensured by a military system based on the permanent (regular) army and popular defense forces.

In 1864, the military reform carried by Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the ruler of the Romanian Principalities, addressed the need to modernize the Romanian military system by merging the Romanian particularities with the new strategies developed by other countries, inclining mostly towards the Prussian system. During the reign of King Carol I (1866-1914), the "Law on the organization of the Armed Forces" was enacted in 1868. According to the provisions of the law, the organization of the Armed Forces was to be based upon a mixed system, comprising two elements: the core of the permanent (regular) army, with its reserve and the territorial defense forces, formed by border guards, the Dorobanti (infantry militia troops) and their reservists.<sup>1</sup>

This mixed system was considered to be the most suitable for Romania, a relatively small sized country, with insufficient human and material resources for maintain a strong permanent army. In 1872 and 1874, a series of measures were taken. According to this

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<sup>1</sup> Gheorghe, Ion and Corneliu Soare, *Doctrina militară românească (1968-1989)* (Romania Military Doctrine (1968-1989)), (București: Editura Militară, 1999), 130-31. Iosipescu, Sergiu, *Armată și societate, reformă și modernizare în România secolului al XIX-lea* (Army and Society, Reform and Modernization in Romania in the XIX Century), In *Reforma militară și societatea în România (1878-2008)*, (Military Reform and Society in Romania (1878-2008)), ed. Petre Otu, (București: Editura Militară, 2009), 28-29.

measures, the territorial forces became the Territorial Army comprised of regiments of Dorobanti (infantry) and Calarasi (a light cavalry).

However, over the course of time, it became obvious that the Territorial Army was less prepared for combat in comparison with the permanent army. Therefore, the territorial troops underwent a process of reorganization and permanentization. Permanentizing the territorial troops was considered to be the best solution to strengthen the armed forces, and the first steps in this direction were taken in 1889.<sup>2</sup>

Later on, in 1908, this process was completed, and the popular-territorial element was removed from the structure of the military system. The situation was preserved in the interwar period, with the exception of the military training of the youth for the future the military service.

New changes were made in 1941. In October 1941, the General Staff presented a study regarding the “defensive organization of Romania”. According to this study “the highest priority should be given to the western front”. It also emphasized the need to “study all problems in connection with an eventual Romanian-Hungarian armed conflict.”<sup>3</sup> The concern for the strengthening of the military presence at the border with Hungary had produced the decision to create regional fixed battalions (in December 1941) in the Eastern Carpathians and the Apuseni Mountains. The battalions were named after the regions where they organized: “Bihor”, “Vrancea”, “Neamț” and “Bucovina”, having the mission “to block the main

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<sup>2</sup> Georgescu, Maria and Sergiu Iosipescu, *Reforma organismului militar între modelul francez și cel german*, (The reform of the Military Body between French and German Model), In *Reforma militară și societatea în România (1878-2008)*, (Military Reform and Society in Romania (1878-2008)), ed. Petre Otu, (București: Editura Militară, 2009), 61-62

<sup>3</sup> Alexandrescu, Ion et al., *Istoria militară a poporului român* (The Military History of the Romanian People), vol. VI, (București: Editura Militară, 1989), 445.

directions of the enemy's action in this part of the border."<sup>4</sup> The battalions were assigned a specific area for carrying their combat mission, as well as for recruitment. The commanding officers were selected from among active and reserve officers and non-commissioned officers. The personnel was recruited from the villages and communes from the region. Usually, the recruits were well familiar with the surroundings and well adapted to life in the mountains.<sup>5</sup> The main task of the regional fixed battalions was to offer support for the border guards. These battalions were designed as separate military units, with a lighter equipment in comparison with the regular infantry troops. The mission of the regional fixed battalions was to facilitate the intervention of the regular troops by intervening against the enemy, forcing the enemy to fight against units specialized in guerrilla war, delaying its entry into the national territory. They also had the mission to conduct information operations.

Initially, the battalions had a double subordination. From the operational point of view they were subordinated to the Mountain Troops. The Mountain Troops were also in charge with their training. However, solving administrative, disciplinary and mobilization issues was the responsibility of the General Inspectorate of Gendarmerie. In July 1942, the fixed battalions were transferred under the subordination of the Border Troops, due to the fact that their main mission was to support the border guards. Later on, the number of regional fixed battalions increased, having an important role in the events after August 1944, when Romania joined the Allies.<sup>6</sup> Their new mission was to cover the demarcation line on

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<sup>4</sup> Duțu, Alesandru and Petre Otu, *Pe țărmul nord-pontic. 17 iulie 1941 – 4 iulie 1942* (On the North-Pontic Shore. 17 July 1941- 4 July 1942), (București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1999), 31.

<sup>5</sup> Otu, Petre and Gheorghe Vartic, *Restructurări sub spectrul războiului*, (Restructuring under the Specter of War), In *Reforma militară și societatea în România (1878-2008)*, (Military Reform and Society in Romania (1878-2008)), (București: Editura Militară, 2009.) 222.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

the Transylvania Plateau. The battalions existed until September 1944.

Indeed, Romania has a history of using territorial forces, however, a first coherent structure, based on concepts of military doctrine, was formed in August 1968, when the Communist authorities decided to create the Patriotic guards, under the direct command of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

It is worth mentioning that a form of so called Patriotic guards were initially created by the communists in the years of 1942-1944, having the mission to engage in "armed insurrection" against the Antonescu government. In reality, the "Patriotic guards" were paramilitary formations that terrorized the population and the state institutions, and caused subversion and confusion - the main ingredients of a communist takeover. Composed of "the most advanced and determined workers in the fight against fascism, communists and communist youth", the "Patriotic guards", were under the command of Emil Bodnăra, one of the leaders of the Communist party, and were seconded by "groups of patriots with local missions, to create general confusion in the fascist state apparatus, through sabotages and agitation."<sup>7</sup> After the coup against Ion Antonescu, on August 23, 1944, these Patriotic guards contributed to the installment of the communist regime, operating "in cities and even in some villages" as forms of "citizen control against speculators, thieves and other delinquents."<sup>8</sup> In the following years, the guard gradually lost its utility. The formations were reactivated in 1956, once the Hungarian revolution broke up, but they gradually slipped into obscurity after the retreat of the Soviet army.

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<sup>7</sup> Institutul de Istorie a Partidului de pe lângă C.C. al P.M.R. (Institute of History of the Romanian Workers' Party), *Lecții în ajutorul celor care studiază istoria P.M.R.* (Help lessons for those who study the history of the Romanian Workers' Party), (București: Editura Politică, 1960), 449-50

<sup>8</sup> Loghin, Leonida and Alexandru Petricean, *Gărzile patriotice din România* (The Patriotic Guards from Romania), (București: Editura Militară, 1974), 28-53.

In 1968 the political situation of the Eastern Bloc was marked by two major events: the Prague Spring and the invasion of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. On August 18, the Soviets took the decision to use military force in order to compel the Czechoslovak authorities to subordinate to Moscow's will. The decision was put into action on the night of August 20-21.

Though the Romanian political leaders, did not agree with the developments in the Czechoslovakia, they consistently opposed an intervention in the internal affairs, advocating the right of a government to manage the internal problems of its country. This position showed a division within the Eastern European block: on the one hand there was the group led by Soviet Union, on the other hand - the disobedient group, comprising Yugoslavia, under Josef Broz Tito leadership, Czechoslovakia after the Prague spring, Albania and Romania. Romania's inclusion into the was not only due to the Czechoslovakian issue, but also as the result of the policy imposed by Ceausescu who tried to avoid the subordination of Romania's national interest to those of Moscow.

The Romanian government was taken somewhat by surprise by the decision to invade Czechoslovakia. Firstly, because Ceausescu was not invited to attend the conference on August 18, and, secondly, because Romanian communist authorities did not expect a military intervention of the Warsaw Pact against one of its own members. Even so, the reaction of the Romanian authorities, was prompt and very harsh. The situation was discussed by the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in the morning of August 21, and it was decided to condemn the invasion, and to strengthen, by any means, the defense of the homeland. In this context, it was decided to form the Patriotic Guards, as popular defense forces. On the same day, during a mass rally held in Bucharest, Ceausescu condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia and asked the population to resist a possible threat of a similar Soviet invasion against Romania.

In Ceausescu's perception, Soviet Union became more than a source of insecurity, it turned into a real threat against country's national security and, even more important, against the ruling team itself. This acknowledgment contributed to a growing feeling of vulnerability and urged Bucharest leadership to focus on strengthening the Romania's defense capabilities.

Between 1969 and 1970, Romania started the process of "nationalization" of defense and a new system of national territorial defense was to be implemented following the Yugoslav pattern of the "generalized defense". Consequently, it was called for mobilizing all of the country's human and material resources and a new force - the Patriotic Guards - was established/re-established.<sup>9</sup>

In 1972 the Law 14 concerning the organization of the National Defense was enacted. The law established the organizing principles of the Patriotic guard, its subordination and composition, as well as its tasks and missions.

Being a public security organization, during peace time, the Patriotic guards had the mission to assist the Border troops. During wartime they would provide assistance to the ground forces, and operate as guerrillas if their areas were invaded by the enemy, defending strategic objectives and carrying out logistical operations in order to halt the invader.

Enrollment in the Patriotic guards was voluntary, in theory, but mandatory in reality. The age limit for men was 60 years, and 55 for women; the age limit could be extended upon request. The minimum age required to become a member of the Patriotic guards was of 21 years, for both sexes.

The guards were organized into militarized units (battalions) and sub-units (companies and platoons) in almost every county, municipality, town, village, and industrial or agricultural enterprise,

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<sup>9</sup> Rijnoveanu, Carmen and Daniela Șișcanu, *From the War of the Entire People to NATO membership: the first phase of the Romanian military reform in Regular and Irregular Warfare: Experiences of Historical and Contemporary Armed Conflicts*, ed. Harold E. Raugh, (Belgrade: Institute for Strategic Research, 2012), 153.

operating under the command of the first secretary of the local Romanian Communist Party apparatus.<sup>10</sup>

Concerning the chain of command, the patriotic guards were conceived as a distinct (parallel) structure in relation to the army. The communist authorities have never offered an explanation regarding this decision. One can assume that one of the reasons that stood behind this decision was to prioritize regional characteristics of the actions and involvement of the local authorities in solving problems connected to the organization, equipping effort and management of the patriotic guards. From this point of view, there were certain advantages in the sense of relieving the army from the burden of providing resources and organizing the activities of the territorial defense units. This, however, could not compensate the deficiencies generated by the parallel structure in terms of military command and actions. During peacetime, such deficiencies were less visible, but during wartime this type of command hierarchy would have caused difficulties. In any case, this type of organization was an original one. Comparing to other countries that have adopted the military doctrine of total national defense, Romania was the only country that had created territorial defense units that were not subordinated to the army, placing them instead under political and civilian command. In other systems, the local government organs were obligated to provide economic and social support for the territorial forces which were subordinated to the Ministry of Defense. The Romanian government did the opposite. According to the law, the Ministry of Defense had to offer support for the Patriotic guards, to collaborate and cooperate with them, while their military leadership was directly subordinated to the central and local organs of the Communist Party organs. This type of organizational structure could also be explained by the desire of the Communist Party to

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<sup>10</sup> Moraru, Gheorghe, *Gărzile patriotice, tradiție și actualitate* (Patriotic Guards, Tradition and Present-day), (București: Editura Militară, 1979), 44-45.

ensure a direct control over a military force, independent from the army.<sup>11</sup>

Concerning the deficiencies generated by this parallel military structure, they were more evident during joint military exercises or while making assessments of eventual operations in a potential armed conflict. In this context, Patriotic guards could operate either in subordination of military units, if they were dislocated in the area of responsibility of these military units, or independently.

In the first case, the Patriotic guards subunits were integrated in the army's combat units, being subordinated to the military line of command in charge of military operations. At the same time, the Patriotic guards had to establish cooperation and to collaborate with other military subunits that were involved in these operations. In order to solve issues that could have risen from this double subordination, the commander of the military unit and his staff had to take a series of measures including: to contact the local defense councils to establish the terms of assuming control over the subunits of the Patriotic guards; to establish contacts with the subunit's commander and his staff; to assess subunit's training, capabilities and combat experience; to give assignments, etc.

Normally, a larger military unit, such as a division, operating on a larger territory, covering two or three counties, would have needed a lot of time and effort to get in touch with the local defense councils and local government to get all the necessary data and establish how to integrate the Patriotic guards' subunits.

In the second case, when the Patriotic guards had to operate independently, the military decisions would have become the responsibility of their commanding officers. It is hard to believe that the party committee secretaries could have met these demands. Moreover, that would also mean that the staff of the Patriotic guards would be in charge with the combat operation, while the

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<sup>11</sup> Gheorghe, Ion and Corneliu Soare, *Doctrina militară românească (1968-1989)* (Romanian Military Doctrine (1968-1989)), (București: Editura Militară, 1999), 126-28.



commanding officers of the military units had to help them by mobilizing the necessary human and material resources. This type of role inversion would violate the principles of warfare, and, in particular, relations between the commanding officers and the staff.<sup>12</sup>

Despite these deficiencies, the role of the Patriotic guards, in the context of Total Defense Military Doctrine, was considered important. However, military theorists believed that it would have been much more appropriate to subordinate the Patriotic guards to the Ministry of Defense. This type of subordination would have ensured a proper military training and instructions for combat, as well as the respect for the chain of command, thus making the territorial defense units more efficient.<sup>13</sup>

In 1989, the Patriotic guards comprised about 7 hundred thousands, both men and women. During the events that took place at the end of December 1989, a few thousands of members of the Patriotic guards were mobilized and sent to Timisoara, in order to intervening against the protesters, however the plan failed. The members of the guard switched sides and fraternized with the population gathered in the center of the city.

By the Decree nr.35 of December 31, 1989, the Patriotic guards became subordinated to the Ministry of Defense. After the events of 1989, the military reform became a major focus for the new political leadership. The Romanian defense establishment opted for a western model of military transformation. The communist military doctrine of the “War of the Entire People” was abandoned, along with the political structures within the army. Thereby the Patriotic guards were dissolved.

In September 1993, Romania submitted its official application for NATO membership, and in January 1995 it became associate member of the European Union. By joining Partnership for Peace Program in 1994, Romania manifested her political and military

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 129.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 130.

commitment to NATO. The shift from the territorial defense specific concepts to a collective defense and countering asymmetric risks reshaped the assessment of the national security approach and of the missions to be performed by the Romanian Armed Forces.

## **Conclusions**

As stated previously, territorial defense forces had always played an important role in Romanian military system, having the mission to support and to enhance the actions of the active defense forces. Though the characteristics of the territorial defense forces may vary, their common feature is the fact that they represent a form of a military preparation and involvement of the society for providing local protection and security enhancement. At all times, the territorial defense forces were formed with local human resources and materials and had to conduct tasks connected with the defense of particular regions within the country's territory. They were designed for regular and irregular combat operations within areas of responsibility and for providing support to the operational forces and to the civil defense structure.

In Romania's case, like in many other cases, one can describe the territorial defense forces by defining them as a part of armed forces, with one exception - the Patriotic guards. Romania was the only country that had created territorial defense units that were not subordinated to the army, placing them instead under political and civilian command. Whether it was a decision based upon the desire of the Communist Party to ensure a direct control over a military force, independent from the army, motivated by a mild mistrust in the military superior command, is still a subject of debate. This theory has no documented support and has only a speculative nature.

In the light of recent developments in the geopolitical sphere, when the security environment is facing new threats and challenges, the matter of territorial defense forces resurfaced and

became a subject of public discussions, however, the issue was not yet officially approached by the state institutions.

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## **Goodbye Moscow: Transformation of the Czechoslovak Military's Foreign Relations between 1989 and 1992**

**Abstract:** The paper deals with the transformation of the Czechoslovak National Army after the Cold War. Especially, it is focused on the International Affairs Administration of the General Staff in 1989 - 1992 and it analyzes how the Velvet Revolution changed the agenda of this department. After the Velvet Revolution, Czechoslovakia began to break through the ties of the Warsaw Pact and to systematically search for a new international security foothold. Quite naturally, the process of the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact went hand in hand with the establishment of new relationships with the country's former NATO enemies. The mandate of the International Affairs Administration changed after the 1989 revolution, and those leaders who remained in the Military had to adapt to the country's new international political orientation. Surprisingly, many did not find this adaptation difficult.

### **Introduction**

This paper explores the transformation of the Czechoslovak People's Army following the end of the Cold War. It focuses on the International Affairs Division within the General Staff of the CPA in the period of 1989 to 1992 and analyzes how the Velvet Revolution changed the agenda of this particular office. After the Velvet Revolution, Czechoslovakia began to break the ties of the Warsaw Pact and searched systematically for a new international security foothold. Quite naturally, the process of the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact went hand in glove with the process of establishing

new relationships with the country's former NATO adversaries. The mandate of the International Affairs Division changed correspondingly after the 1989 revolution, with the remaining military leaders compelled to adapt to the country's new international policy. Interestingly, many did not find this adaptation to be difficult.

### **Gorbachev's arrival**

In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the role of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR and put in motion a gradual transformation of the international order. This was evident, among other indicators, in the Helsinki Process, which included the adoption of the Stockholm Document on confidence and security building measures in September 1986. The road to disarmament was explored at the highest levels of leadership in the USA and the USSR at this time and involved a multi-layered process that was reflected in the agendas of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. From the perspective of the Czechoslovak People's Army, it was clear that it needed to react to the changing situation in the international arena. The most visible response was the creation of the International Affairs Division within the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the key focus of this paper. The mandate of the new office was to assist the military with the growing body of work relating to the Helsinki Process, and more specifically the disarmament process. Before Gorbachev's time, the Czechoslovak military was accustomed to the certainty of Moscow calling all the shots. Once the Soviet reform process got underway, uncertainty began to grow within the ranks of the General Staff.<sup>1</sup> The Czechoslovak military explored ways of responding to the developments in Moscow and this exploration included the area of international relations. Indeed, before Gorbachev's arrival it would have been unthinkable for the General Staff to require an

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with General Major Jiří Diviš, conducted by the author on 23. 5. 2018 and recorded in the author's personal archive.

independent department with a complex structure such as the International Affairs Division. Creation of the division at a time of a changing international security environment gave new meaning to the concept of international relations. Until then, the General Staff did not have a comprehensive department involved in diplomatic activities.<sup>2</sup>

The International Affairs Division began its activities at the beginning of 1989, its genesis marked by a certain degree of tension. Its organizational structure followed the Soviet model and cannot be viewed as an expression of the military's emancipation from Moscow.<sup>3</sup> The first chief of the division was Colonel (later Major General) Jiří Jindra who had led the General Staff's office for oversight of financial and economic matters, including the management of foreign currency reserves. The division was an elite department within the General Staff, which was evident from the fact that it was partly based on the structure of the military's Intelligence Division also located within the General Staff. Indeed, soldiers who had experience with intelligence activities represented the Czechoslovak military in Madrid and Stockholm negotiations. Simply put, the International Affairs Division managed international contacts, international economic matters, and issues relating to international law. In addition to its disarmament agenda, it had a department responsible for managing contacts with international military attachés.

The International Affairs Division worked closely with the Intelligence Division on matters relating to disarmament and relation-building with NATO member nations, although witness testimonials vary on this matter. Regardless, a challenge the division encountered in filling designated positions was a general lack of knowledge of foreign languages. This was even more evident after

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Návrh organizační struktury a působnosti Správy zahraničních vztahů, 15. 6. 1988. MNO 1988, Box 229, Ref. No. 006892, Central Military Archive, Prague, Czech Republic.



the Velvet Revolution, when for some time the military did not have a sufficient number of qualified staff with English (or French or German) language skills.

### **Velvet Revolution**

The Velvet Revolution represents a pivotal moment in the history of Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic. The country's new leadership under the helm of President Václav Havel changed the course of the country's international policy. Czechoslovakia broke free from the Warsaw Pact and worked on establishing relations with former Western enemies under the slogan "return to Europe". The military reacted to these changes with a certain degree of inertia, which was evident in the fact that International Affairs Division's activities immediately following 17 November 1989 did not show any major shift in the department's position. Members of the division continued their work under Jiří Jindra's leadership, and this included participation in disarmament negotiations as well as organizing deployments of soldiers to international missions abroad, with which - except for observer missions - the Czechoslovak People's Army had little prior experience. In general, Václav Havel's circle of advisors did not hold a great deal of trust in the military leaders.<sup>4</sup> This in spite of the fact that during the period of 1990-1992, Czechoslovakia was actively engaged in developing relations with NATO and this process necessitated the involvement of members of the International Affairs Division who had a lot of experience in the pre-revolution military. There were no other options after all and even though some (even high-ranking) staff had worked with the Intelligence Division prior to the revolution (or perhaps because of this), they adapted to the new situation quite easily as they seemed to harbour no illusions about the past regime. Oral history research conducted by the author has confirmed that the International Affairs Division also had members who had served in

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<sup>4</sup> Interview with Alexandr Vondra, conducted by the author on 14. 2. 2018 and recorded in the author's personal archive.

the military for ideological reasons, and whose disillusionment about post-November developments grew with time.

A significant change in the framework and the functioning of the International Affairs Division became first evident in Jindra's assessment of achievements in the training year 1989-1990, which he presented on 29 October 1990. In his presentation, Jindra spoke of a change in the geopolitical framework and the end of rivalry between East and West. He stated that Germany's reunification "was being understood as the first step towards the unification of Europe", and noted that "Czechoslovakia was encouraging an internal transformation of the nature of the Warsaw Pact, so that as an important political organization the Pact can continue to actively participate in the process of creating a whole-of-Europe (i.e. not bloc-specific) security framework."<sup>5</sup>

### **Václav Havel in Strasbourg**

During the three-year period between 1990 and 1992 there was a lot of support in Czechoslovakia for a security arrangement that was not bloc-specific. It is thus not surprising that this idea was expressed in an assessment made by the chief of the International Affairs Division. The idea was also backed for some time by President Václav Havel, although it is important to note that he never equated the two military groupings. Speaking in Strasbourg on 10 May 1990, Havel stressed that "NATO was created as a security tool to be used by Western European democracies against the danger of Stalinist Soviet expansion, while the Warsaw Pact was created as something of an offshoot of the Soviet Military and a tool of Soviet policy". Havel also quickly recognized that a reformed NATO would become the basis of a new security structure in Europe.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Rozbor náčelníka správy zahraničních vztahů GŠ splnění hlavních úkolů ve výcvikovém roce 1989-1990, 29. 10. 1990. FMO 1990, Fonds of the International Affairs Division of the General Staff, Box 83, Ref. No. 021839, Central Military Archive, Prague, Czech Republic.

<sup>6</sup> Václav Havel, Luboš Dobrovský, eds., *NATO, Evropa a bezpečnost demokracie: výběr z projevů, článků a rozhovorů 1990-2002* (Pardubice: Theo, 2002), 18.

The primary research for this paper suggests that the idea of a not bloc-specific security framework helped members of the International Affairs Division to adapt to the new era. Their day-to-day work was no longer defined by ideology, allowing them to focus on using their professional expertise in Czechoslovakia's negotiations about conventional armed forces on the continent, which were concluded with the signing of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. The treaty was signed in November 1990 at the Paris summit of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe by 22 heads of states from NATO and former Warsaw Pact countries. The International Affairs Division anticipated that once the treaty came into force, Czechoslovakia would host up to 37 inspections on its soil and have an opportunity to conduct 50 inspections in treaty countries.<sup>7</sup> Representatives of the International Affairs Division were also involved in international negotiations aimed at building greater trust among states with the help of airspace monitoring as the Treaty on Open Skies was signed in Helsinki in 1992 and banning chemical and biological weapons. After 1989, the International Affairs Division underwent organizational restructuring in which the responsibilities of individual departments were realigned. The division gradually strengthened its pivotal role in fostering the military's international relations, all in close cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### **Deploying armed forces abroad**

The changes taking place within the International Affairs Division in the period between 1989 and 1992 can be illustrated in the way in which the organization altered its approach to, and manner of, deploying armed forces to international operations or missions. The division had deployed representatives to UN observer missions

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<sup>7</sup> Zápis o předání funkce náčelníka správy zahraničních vztahů GŠ, 20. 7. 1991. FMO 1991, Fonds of the International Affairs Division of the General Staff, Box 86, Ref. No. 031060, Central Military Archive, Prague, Czech Republic.

already prior to the Velvet Revolution, but after November 1989 deployments of armed forces became an opportunity to demonstrate the country's new line of international policy. This was most palpable during preparations for the deployment of the Czechoslovak chemical unit to the Persian Gulf, where it joined coalition efforts to oust Saddam Hussein from Kuwait.

The sponsor of this effort was the division's Department for UN Peacekeeping, which was officially created on 1 June 1990 but had its roots in the pre-revolution period. The changing geopolitical position of the Czechoslovak Army, renamed as such in 1990 was also evident in the fact that beginning from October 1990, Iraqi students were not allowed to study at the Military Academy in Brno.<sup>8</sup>

After 1989, the Czechoslovak military began to re-establish contacts with several armies of NATO member nations, including the United States of America, Canada, the United Kingdom, Italy, Belgium and Spain. Greatest advancement in this area came in the form of cooperation with the German Armed Forces (Bundeswehr), underpinned by a program of collaboration between the Czechoslovak and German Armies for the period of 1990 to 1992 and a joint proclamation by the ministers of defense of the two nations.<sup>9</sup> Success in this area may have been aided, among other factors, by Germany's interest in stabilizing the Central European region. Another aspect of engagement related to the USA/USSR collaboration on nuclear disarmament where the United States wanted to confirm how many OTR-23 ballistic missiles were located on Czechoslovak soil, and whether the information that had been

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<sup>8</sup> Rozbor náčelníka správy zahraničních vztahů GŠ splnění hlavních úkolů ve výcvikovém roce 1989-1990, 29. 10. 1990. FMO 1990, Fonds of the International Affairs Division of the General Staff, Box 83, Ref. No. 021839, Central Military Archive, Prague, Czech Republic.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

provided to Washington by Moscow was indeed accurate.<sup>10</sup> The International Affairs Division presumably coordinated US inspections of Czechoslovak units, with American specialists visiting Czechoslovakia between 19-22 March 1991. (Czech historiography has not yet conclusively established whether there were nuclear warheads on Czechoslovak soil or not.)<sup>11</sup>

On 20 June 1991, Major General Jiří Jindra handed his role over to his deputy, Major General Jiří Diviš, who led the International Affairs Division as an entrusted and not appointed chief. Although Diviš had worked previously with the Intelligence Division's Western military circuit, he continued quite pragmatically in his predecessor's footsteps by developing relations with NATO and its member states.

### **Conclusion**

Czechoslovakia's political leadership with Václav Havel at the helm created its own international policy and did not fully trust the military, especially in the early phase of the transformation process. This sentiment changed gradually. The new political elite's opinion of the armed forces changed in part by the participation of Czechoslovak and – beginning from 1993 – Czech soldiers in foreign missions (Persian Gulf and the Balkans), which were initially coordinated by the International Affairs Division. By 1992 the tide of change had also reached the organization, which on the basis of staffing numbers, was a significant office within the General Staff. Its oversight responsibility included at the time the Czechoslovak training centre for UN peacekeeping and the Czechoslovak unit of UN peacekeeping forces in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR unit). The 1990s were a time of frequent organizational change for the Czech armed forces and this impacted even on the International

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<sup>10</sup> Zápis o předání funkce náčelníka správy zahraničních vztahů GŠ, 20. 7. 1991. FMO 1991, Fonds of the International Affairs Division of the General Staff, Box 86, Ref. No. 031060, Central Military Archive, Prague, Czech Republic.

<sup>11</sup> Prokop, Tomek, "Raketové nosiče jaderných zbraní na území Československa," *Historie a vojenství* 61, no. 3 (2012): 73-91.

Affairs Division, which ceased to exist in its original form between 1992 and 1993. The Ministry of Defense of the newly independent Czech Republic had a different strategy for overseeing international relations, though the new department created for this purpose (Foreign Affairs Section of the Ministry of Defense) built on the work that had been initiated by the International Affairs Division.

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## **The Baltic and the Federal German Navy in the Final Stages of the Cold War**

**Abstract:** This paper discusses the development of the operational thought and defensive concepts of the Federal German Navy during the final stages of the cold war.

The Federal German Navy was the largest NATO-force in the Baltic Sea and responsible for the containment of the Soviet and Warsaw Pact Baltic Fleet. To achieve this it also had the Royal Danish Navy's forces under operational control. Germany's concept to defend the eastern Baltic was based on attrition and applied NATO's forward defense doctrine. Submarines and fighter bombers would attack Soviet forces as they emerged from their ports, followed by coordinated fast patrol boat attacks and further aerial strikes, using the east-west dimension of the Baltic as a whole to weaken the Soviet forces' offensive capabilities before they entered German territorial waters. At a further stage massive minefields would block the passage into the Danish narrows and help prevent amphibious operations against the German-Danish coast. The second German operational area was the Northern Flank and the North Sea, which played an increasing role in the late 1980s. The Northern Flank gives interesting insights into the limits of NATO's operational planning during the transition from crisis to conflict. Analyzing the underlying operational idea and relying on recent research on Warsaw Pact offensive plans that mirror German assumptions, the paper seeks to answer whether the German Navy's concept of operations would have had any chance of success.

In 1956 the Federal German Navy was founded as the youngest branch of the Federal Armed Forces. The new navy, which had to

rely in the beginning on Allied ship donations, grew to the most powerful NATO-navy in the Baltic in less than 20 years. What looked like the backyard of NATO territory was the main focus of German security interest because the main threat of Warsaw Pact naval forces and its coastal front was threatening German as well as Danish territory. Even for the whole alliance the Baltic should have been a maritime theatre of interest. Whilst the Royal Navy and the US Navy were planning large scale big theatre operations in the Greenland-Iceland-UK-Gap (GIUK-Gap), Warsaw Pact forces in the Baltic could be a major reinforcement to the soviet northern fleet and worsen the situation for the Western forces there. For the Allied maritime forces in the GIUK-area the containment of the soviet Baltic Fleet could ease the operational planning for NATO's SACLANT-area. This containment served German as well as alliance's interests and the most capable maritime force of NATO was the Federal German Navy. That's why the Baltic is not only of interest to the history of territorial defence but also an interesting topic of cold war history. Its worth to be researched for the JOINT and COMBINED-arms operations, but this article focusses on the German Navy and is part of a larger research project on her history. Here the focus lies on the concept and operational as well as tactical planning of the Federal German Navy from the mid-1980's for the Baltic region.

In the 60s the soviet naval capability was so overwhelming, that a German operational study concluded that in case of a conventional soviet attack NATO forces would be annihilated in the Baltic Sea within 48 hours. Consequently, the German Navy started a large modernization program to counter the main threat: modern long range missile systems. The second conceptual paper of the navy, the "Zweite Konzeption der Marine" from 1972 stated: "*With the beginning of 1972 the achievability of the tasks of the navy is not sufficiently guaranteed.*"<sup>1</sup> The materiel and technological gaps between the Soviet and the German forces were too large.

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<sup>1</sup> Johannes Berthold Sander-Nagashima, *Die Bundesmarine 1950 bis 1972. Konzeption und Aufbau*, (München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006), 420.



At the beginning of the 1970s the Navy received new material to narrow the tactical and operational gaps of the last two decades. The best material to be used until now was the slowly ageing F-104 G Starfighter aircraft,<sup>2</sup> the three guided missile destroyers of the modified Charles F. Adams-class, torpedo-boats and submarines. To overcome the so called “guided missile crisis” Germany bought 20 Exocet equipped “La-Combattante-II” guided missile boats from France. They served as the Tiger-class or better known as class 148. In 1976 the new nonmagnetic Type 206 submarines entered service, and in 1976 the German built Type 143 or Albatross class fast patrol boats entered active service.<sup>3</sup>

While the modernization of the German Navy went slower than planned, the growth of the Soviet fleets continued unabated. Moscow aimed to become the world’s largest navy. The oil crisis of 1973 showed clearly how dependent the defense of Europe was on strategic resources. And these resources had to be transported via the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC). At the same time the Soviet Union was able to show NATO her capabilities in conducting concentrated long distance and big theatre maneuvers. OKEAN 1975 as well as SUMMEREX 1985 were rated as a success.<sup>4</sup> Naval strategic planners worried about the possibility of a unified Northern and Baltic Fleet in the northern North Sea trying to interrupt the SLOCs of NATO in the North Atlantic. This posed a new threat to the Allied naval forces: the Northern Flank. The 1985 analysis of the Soviet maritime maneuvers concluded: *“The (German) conceptual orientation towards the whole Northern Flank area proved to be right. The own operational aim to concentrate on the forward defence of the Northern Flank territory after the successful defence of the Baltic is the right conclusion. In*

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<sup>2</sup> BArch BM1-9221, Fü M III 1, Operational Concept and Employment of German Navy’s TORNADOS, Bonn June 3rd 1985, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Sander-Nagashima, Die Bundesmarine 1950 bis 1972, 395 f.

<sup>4</sup> Die Ostseezugänge sind eine strategische Schlüsselposition. Interview mit Vizeadmiral Helmut Kampe Befehlshaber der Alliierten Seestreitkräfte Ostseezugänge, in *Marineforum* 1/2-1986, 10 f.

*the future new material will provide the right means.*"<sup>5</sup> In the German understanding the Northern Flank was the area of the northern North Sea and the Norwegian Sea, but NATO understood it as a contingent space running from the North Cape including the Baltic and the southern North Sea. Due to the US and UK's shift of priority toward the Norwegian Sea<sup>6</sup> it created a problem of Allied force generation in the southern North Sea, where Germany would try to offer more of its blue water capabilities.<sup>7</sup> But the main focus was still the Baltic and so this offer did not weaken the German force strength and operational capabilities there.

For NATO and Germany it looked as the best way to contain the Warsaw Pact forces in the Baltic, to prevent a unification of their Baltic and northern fleets. The responsibility to fulfill this task lay in the hands of the Commander of the Naval Forces of the Baltic Approaches (COMNAVBALTAP) which was always a Danish or a German vice admiral. The German Commander-in-Chief of the German fleet (Befehlshaber der Flotte) was a subordinate commander of the COMNAVBALTAP and called Flag Officer Germany (FOG). Seventy percent of the German naval forces were assigned to the Baltic part of COMNAVBALTAP.<sup>8</sup> The other units operated under the authority of the Commander German North Sea Area (COMGERNORSEA). Germany contributed the major part of NATO's maritime forces in the COMNAVBALTAP-area and this means it was mostly a German task to contain the soviet forces in the Baltic.

A further improvement of the position of the COMNAVBALTAP came with new materiel. In 1982 the sharpest

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<sup>5</sup> BArch BM 1-13756, Fü M III 1, Pressepräsentation SUMMEREX 85, 12.09.1985, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Eric, J. Grove, *The Superpowers and Secondary Navies in Northern Waters during the Cold War*, in *Navies in Northern Waters 1721-2000*, ed. Rolf Hobson and Tom Kristiansen, (London, Taylor and Francis, 2004), 219.

<sup>7</sup> BArch BM1-9221, Fü M VI 1, GE presentation: Update on German Maritime Planning, Bonn may 28th 1985, 1 f.

<sup>8</sup> Rainer Feist, 25 Jahre NATO-Kommando „Baltic Approaches“, in: *Truppenpraxis*, 5-1987, 500 f.

sword of the navy, the multi role combat aircraft (MRCA) Tornado, was introduced, carrying modern HARM anti-radiation and Kormoran anti-ship missiles. It was reported operational in fall 1983 with 36 aircraft in Naval Air Wing 1. By the end of the decade both jet wings were equipped with a total of 112 Tornado aircraft. With this improvement it was possible to destroy soviet forces from a large standoff distance or without entering their danger zone. From that point on German materiel was at least as good as the Warsaw Pact standard, if not better. But it must be considered that in quantity the ratio was still 1:5,75 in favor of the Warsaw Pact against NATO's Baltic assets. No reinforcements could be expected by the COMNAV BALTAP. That's why the German C-in-C, Vice Admiral Fromm, realized that his forces (German and Danish) were "...standing alone without any prospect of reinforcements."<sup>9</sup> That was the backdrop of the relief of the US-Navy and the Royal Navy in the North Sea. The strain on the Federal German Navy was increased.

The Baltic forces of the Soviet Navy amounted 722 ships and boats in 1985, containing 84 submarines, 25 destroyers, 48 frigates, 255 combat vessels, 142 mine vessels, and 187 landing craft.<sup>10</sup> The Polish navy added three submarines, one destroyer, three corvettes, 57 combat vessels, 51 mine vessels and 41 landing craft.<sup>11</sup> Three corvettes, 58 combat craft, 51 mine vessels, and 12 landing craft were added by the East German Navy. This totaled up to 1,002 combat units available to the United Baltic Fleet.

Only 24 submarines, 54 combat craft (40 missile armed fast patrol boats), around 50 minesweeper and 112 jet aircraft were planned by the Federal German Navy for the Baltic. Eight submarines, 10 frigates, 16 combat craft and 13 minesweeper were

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<sup>9</sup> Günter Fromm, Standortbestimmung der deutschen Flotte, in: *Marine-Rundschau*, 11-1982, 578.

<sup>10</sup> Mikko Viitasalo and Bo Österlund, *The Baltic: Sea of Changes*, (Helsinki, National Defence College, 1996), 30. (<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/39979671.pdf>)

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

added by the Danish navy.<sup>12</sup> These numbers show clearly how desperate the situation for NATO forces was: 175 units were facing 1,002 WP units (1:5,75). All they could do was to rely on superior training, equipment, operational concepts and tactical procedures. And this was even correctly analyzed by the East German military and probably the secret service MfS (Ministerium für Staatssicherheit). Its eastern cousins referred to the technology used by the Bundesmarine as modern. They even realized the effort to constantly modernize and utilize the most sophisticated technology available. No unit was expected to be old fashioned.<sup>13</sup>

The operational concept was based on NATO's Concept of Maritime Operations (CONMAROPS) from 1981. CONMAROPS was a good example of the MC 14/3 flexible response strategy and gave great flexibility. In 1987 the Alliance formulated three strategic principles:

1. Keep the initiative: although NATO was a defensive alliance, the aim was to use offensive operations already in a crisis to prevent the enemy from the free deployment of his forces for a deliberate attack.
2. Containment: the use of advantageous geographic positions to deny the enemy the access to vital regions of the alliance.
3. Defense in Depth: this meant the use of all space and distance to wear down the enemy forces all the way from their home bases toward the combat zone.<sup>14</sup>

The NATO-concept blended perfectly into the German understanding of conventional defence: forward defence or

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., Appendix 8.

<sup>13</sup> *Die Streitkräfte der NATO auf dem Territorium der BRD*, ed. Wolfgang Weber, (Berlin, Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1989), 241.

<sup>14</sup> Peter M. Swartz, Preventing the bear's last swim: The NATO Concept of Maritime Operations (CONMAROPS) of the Last Cold War Decade, in *NATO's Maritime Power 1949-1990*, ed. I. Loucas und G. Marcoyannis, (Piraeus, European Institute of Maritime Studies and Research, 2003), 58.; Clemens Doepgen, *Die Konzeption der Nord- und Ostseeverteidigung der Bundesmarine von den Anfängen bis 1986*, (Bonn, Diss. Phil., 1999), 266.

“Vorneverteidigung.” As the main frontline state of the cold war it was always Germany’s vital interest to keep the combat zone as far east as possible. For the Bundeswehr this understanding meant to begin offensive operations as soon as possible. And the Bundesmarine adopted the maritime approach to this, which allowed the use of the freedom of the seas right from the start of any tension. Some retired German navy officers have the feeling, that it was a major German approach and effort to integrate German operational thinking into a NATO key document.<sup>15</sup>

The main operational and tactical concept of the German Navy was the maritime joint-arms operation called three-dimensional-warfare. This meant coordinated surface, subsurface and aerial attack at one time. Focal point for the planning process and tactical control of the forces was the new computer-equipped Fleet Headquarter at Glücksburg.<sup>16</sup> This establishment provided real-time command and control (C2) capability for the whole fleet as well as for the commander of the fleet. It was one of the most sophisticated establishments in NATO enabling a new standard of C2 for the employment of maritime forces. Even the tactical units were equipped with superior communication devices. At sea, the modern units used Link-11 data exchange for the creation of a recognized surface picture and over the horizon targeting procedures to reduce possible combat losses. This meant that one unit provided target data and the other units could operate in a silent mode without using their radar, leaving the enemy uncertain about the German force strength. So, it can be concluded, that the German Navy used every possible means to improve quality to compensate for its lack of quantity.

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<sup>15</sup> Peter Monte, Die Rolle der Marine der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in der Verteidigungsplanung für Mittel- und Nordeuropa von den 50er Jahren bis zur Wende 1989/90, in *Deutsche Marinen im Wandel. Vom Symbol nationaler Einheit zum Instrument internationaler Sicherheit*, ed. Werner Rahn, (München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005), 586 f.

<sup>16</sup> BArch BM1-9221, German Mine Warfare Operational Concept and Planning (Summer 1985), 3 f.

The FOG's operational plan had three main objectives:

1. Defense of the enemy landing party and destruction of its offensive forces in the western and central Baltic Sea.
2. Securing its own SLOC and attacking the opponent SLOCs.
3. Contributing to the protection of reinforcements and supply shipping in the northern flank area.

For the assumed operations of the Warsaw Pact, there were four plans of the COMNAV BAL TAP and one for the mobilization phase. A closer look into the mobilization concept reveals its importance to the overall defence concept. It was the cornerstone of possible operations. When tensions would arise, it was the task of naval aviation to start increased reconnaissance and surveillance with Tornados and Breguet Atlantic maritime patrol aircraft (MPA). Submarines would move into the preplanned patrol areas, equipped with mines ready to be laid as soon as hostilities broke out. Fleet service reconnaissance craft were also tasked to gather information about the Warsaw Pact forces. It followed a twofold approach. At first it fulfilled the military requirement to collect target data and to create a complete picture about the enemy forces' locations as well as having the combat units already in the operational areas as far east as possible according to CONMAROPS. Even in case of a surprise attack German forces would be able to counterattack and slow down the soviet forces.<sup>17</sup> The second task was a political one. Whilst all military preparations had to be done quickly and decisively, the available German maritime forces were a precious political device for escalating or deescalating according to the Flexible Response strategy. Aircraft and submarines could make a show of force and show very early in a crisis NATO's decisive will to defend its territory. And even the absence of these assets would underline the political will to deescalate. In case of a failure to deescalate, four major battle plans were drawn up, according to the assumed operational concept of the Warsaw Pact forces.

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<sup>17</sup> BArch BM1-9221, Fü M III 1, Operational Concept and Employment of German Navy's TORNADOS, Bonn June 3rd 1985, 5.

Three of FOG's operational plans focused on different attack plans of the Warsaw Pact and one dealt with a defensive enemy, leaving offensive operations in the hands of the German Navy:

1. A massive attack preceding an amphibious landing would be delayed and attacked with submarines, naval aviation, and mine barriers. The missile armed fast patrol boats would be held back so that they would be available to attack the landing force. Aerial attacks would start, as far as possible in the east, while the submarines remained in their patrol areas or were allowed to use chances on the transit to attack.
2. In case of an amphibious assault, in addition to defensive mine actions and submarine attacks, concentrated attacks by fast patrol boats and naval aircraft were planned. Minefields were planned in the Fehmarnbelt and Lübeck Bight. The fast patrol boats were to establish naval superiority in the Bay of Mecklenburg and fend off the amphibious forces already west of Bornholm. Naval aircraft and submarines would have to begin their attacks as far east as possible.
3. In case of sporadic attacks of the enemy, the Warsaw Pact forces would be counterattacked by fast patrol boats and fighter-bombers and submarines, as well as by continued defensive mine actions. The fast patrol boats should wait to avoid wear and tear in the Kiel Bay and the Danish straits and carry out surprise attacks on attacks on the Bay of Kiel only in favorable moments. Again, the naval air wings would carry the brunt of the air battles and would continuously attack enemy naval forces and supplies.<sup>18</sup>
4. However, if the Warsaw Pact reacted defensively and only protected its own SLOC, NATO would resort to offensive mine laying. Air attacks would be rare, while naval and submarines would continue to be offensive. The goal would be to expand control beyond Mecklenburg Bay to the east. Naval aviators

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<sup>18</sup> Christian Jentsch, Der Gegner hieß Warschauer Pakt. Die Verteidigung der Ostsee am Ende des Kalten Krieges, *MarineForum*, 6 - 2019, 36 f.

were also to attack enemy ships in the harbor, while air defense positions and port facilities would be destroyed by aircraft of the Air Force. Fast patrol boats should only carry out selected attacks during the night or during bad weather or aggressively lay minefields in Mecklenburg Bay. As far as possible, surveillance aircraft or combat aircraft should always be used. While in the first two scenarios, the frogman company for special operations was involved in guard duties and should be used offensively against an opponent's equipment in case of failure. The Danish Naval Forces found their operational area in the southern Sound outlets and in the central Baltic Sea around Bornholm. Their main tasks were to secure their own mine operations and the defense of landing forces. The latter had to take place in coordination with the FOG. The operational plan clearly shows the priority given to naval aviation, submarines and mine action units. A use of missile armed fast patrol boats should be made only after careful consideration to avoid attrition.<sup>19</sup>

Here arises the question about the likelihood of a defensive Warsaw Pact operation. According to operational documents from Poland, until 1986 the United Baltic Fleet assumptions were oriented towards the offensive. The last Polish war plan from 1986 contained one strategic offensive and one strategic defensive option.<sup>20</sup> In 1986 Warsaw Pact's strategy changed significantly. Up to this point the Soviet forces relied on superior numbers and therefore relied on the offensive into NATO's territory. But now the forces changed to defensive operations, where the offensive was part of massive strategic counterattacks.<sup>21</sup> Force assumptions of the east were quite

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>20</sup> Czeslaw Szafran, *Die Seekriegsflotte der Volksrepublik Polen in der Vereinten Ostseeflotte des Warschauer Paktes*, in *Die Streitkräfte der DDR und Polens in der Operationsplanung des Warschauer Paktes*, ed. Rüdiger Wenzke (Potsdam, Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, 2010), 91 f.

<sup>21</sup> Zbigniew Moszumanski, *Die Polnische Küstenfront auf dem Westlichen Kriegsschauplatz*, in Wenzke, *Die Streitkräfte der DDR und Polens*, 74.



correct, except the aerial aspect. They estimated 200 ships and boats together with 500 aircraft. For the southeastern Baltic two German fast patrol boat squadrons and up to six submarines as well as one Danish fast patrol boat squadron and three submarines were expected. They correctly assumed the deployment of two German boat squadrons to the Baltic exits. Only the expectation of Norwegian forces in this area was wrong. Their assumptions about Western operational principles were close to the actual German concept. So, Polish admirals believed that NATO would concentrate on control of the sea in the western Baltic by the implementation of what the German Navy would call three-dimensional naval warfare. They even expected the incorporation of land-based precision weapons, like cruise missiles – but here they were wrong.<sup>22</sup> The Warsaw Pact's military intelligence gathered quite correct information on NATO's capabilities, based on secret service work, reconnaissance and open source intelligence.

According to the defensive plan, the United Baltic Fleet did not remain in harbor. Main operational aim was the sea control up to the line Trelleborg-Travemünde and the destruction of NATO's maritime forces in the western Baltic and the straits.<sup>23</sup> For offensive operations NATO's assumptions were correct in expecting massive amphibious operations and the forcing of the straits by the soviet Baltic Fleet supported by the East German and Polish Navy. As a strategic asset the Warsaw Pact planned with nuclear weapons in the Baltic coastal front. In 1986 129 tactical and 84 operational-tactical missiles, 52 bombs and 16 artillery shells with nuclear warheads were available in this region.<sup>24</sup> If they were used this would have resulted in the total destruction of the western Baltic region – Denmark and Northern Germany. It was a vital German interest to avoid a nuclear inferno and therefore the Bundeswehr relied on superior conventional forces. The Federal German Navy had no

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<sup>22</sup> Szafran, *Die Seekriegsflotte der Volksrepublik Polen*, 93.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>24</sup> Moszumanski, *Die Polnische Küstenfront*, 81.

access to allied nuclear weapons and no delivery vehicles, and unlike the army and air force, had no training in their employment.<sup>25</sup> Superior material was one thing, but to counter the massive superiority of the WP maritime forces in the Baltic the Navy had to concentrate on its tactics and command and control as force multipliers.

In a next step some tactical concepts for the employed German naval forces, reconstructed from surviving archival material will be introduced. Although the General Defense Plan (GDP) of the German Navy did not survive, we can reconstruct the plans by using the General Execution Plan and a presentation of the Navy staff for the British admiralty in May 1985. According to the last document, 18 type 206 submarines were available for the defense of the Baltic approaches but they had to stand up against an increased ASW-capability of the Warsaw Pact Navies. Navy helicopters were to be used ship-based in the Northern Flank territory and ground-based in the Baltic for ASW- and ASUW-actions. Other fields of operations for the helicopters were AEW, TPT and SAR.<sup>26</sup> ASW-Aircraft would operate in both sea areas. For ASUW-operations 40 modern missile equipped fast patrol boats could be used. As a last effort, new mine warfare vessels would conclude the balanced concept.<sup>27</sup>

Beside the submarines the Naval Air Arm was the strongest weapon in the hands of the COMNAV BALTAP: *“Being a flexible asset for a rapid concentration of combat power and a good means for penetrating heavy enemy defences, our TORNADOs will mainly be employed in the Baltic.”*<sup>28</sup> Following the German concept of forward defense, in a first

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<sup>25</sup> The German Army and Air Force possessed artillery systems and strike aircraft capable of delivering nuclear warheads. In the event of war US warheads could be handed over by US forces to the German armed forces. This concept was called Nukleare Teilhabe (nuclear participation). The nuclear warheads were already stored on German territory.

<sup>26</sup> BArch BM1-9221, Fü M VI 1, GE presentation: Update on German Maritime Planning, Bonn may 28th 1985, 4.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 5 f.

<sup>28</sup> BArch BM1-9221, Fü M III 1, Operational Concept and Employment of German Navy's TORNADOS, Bonn June 3rd 1985, 3.

step the attack aircraft were planned to operate east of Bornholm to neutralize and contain enemy offensive capabilities to deny the use of this area as an assembling area and as a transport route, and to reduce the pressure in the western Baltic and NATO territory. Only groups of two aircraft would fly these sorties in low-low-low-mission profiles, equipped with ECM pods, chaff, flares and air-to-air missiles for self-defense. West of Bornholm the Tornados had the mission to prevent the seizing of NATO-territory and the forcing of the straits. It was a quick-reaction capability with short distances to cover. Here they would attack as a concentrated force, operating together with other assets of the German fleet. This meant a very strong coordination process prior to the missions. Attacks in the Northern Flank area before the arrival of STRIKEFLEET was only complementary to the employment in the Baltic.<sup>29</sup>

Another integral part of the GDP was the German Mine Warfare concept. It went hand in hand with the other warfare areas. Offensive mining east of Bornholm was planned by aircraft and submarines to canalize ships traffic and prepare attack areas for the submarines and aircraft. West of Bornholm minelaying fell into the responsibility of the Fast Patrol Boats to interrupt coastal routes and harbor approaches as well as the mining of the routes of advance of the Warsaw Pact landing forces. Defensive minefields were planned in the Danish straits, to protect the own assembly areas, the supposed landing zones and at last the Baltic approaches. Due to the assumption, that Warsaw Pact forces would try to prevent it; the risk had to be dispersed over many small units.<sup>30</sup> A new technological threat was posed by the WP hovercrafts denying minefields. But for the future NATO mine-hunting hovercraft may have been an option.<sup>31</sup> The mine-countermeasure plans saw the

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 3 f.

<sup>30</sup> BArch BM1-9221, German Mine Warfare Operational Concept and Planning (Summer 1985), 3f.

<sup>31</sup> BArch BM1-9221, FÜ M VII, Deutsch-Britische AdmtStGespräche Rüstung am 08. und 09.10.1985 in London. Bonn, October 11th 1985, 2.

German MCM forces split up between the North Sea and the Baltic. They expected to have enough forces together with the few Danish MCM units for the BALTAP area. Fifty percent of the boats were equipped with advanced systems like parametric sonars and remote-controlled drones.<sup>32</sup>

In the late 1980s financial pressure was something new to the German navy after more than 30 years of prosperous growth. The budget of the ministry of defense dropped to 2,4 % of the gross domestic product. In numbers this meant 19% depreciation by increasing personal and material costs. Especially material costs were rising due to the long life span of some ships and boats. For the first time in its history the Navy had to realize, that a 1:1 replacement of older units was impossible in the future.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, C-in-C Vice Admiral Mann ordered in 1987 a fleet inventory to plan a fleet for the future. "Navy 2005" was the name of the new concept and its main priority was to maintain sophisticated technology on the same level with the allied navies and remain superior to the soviet level. Achieving this ambitious aim meant reducing numbers. Assuming that the Warsaw Pact would retain its level of ambition for the future the German planners knew that the operational situation in the North flank and especially in the Baltic would become worse. Even if the future did not look so bright in 1989 the Bundesmarine still contributed about one third of all maritime NATO-forces in the Northern Flank area.<sup>34</sup>

What no expert in the West correctly analyzed was the extremely bad economic situation in the eastern European countries. All the effort put into the improvement of sophisticated military material was one step stone towards a catastrophic collapse of national economies. This was one reason too why the dissatisfaction

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 5 f.

<sup>33</sup> Rudolf Arendt, Die Bundesmarine als Flotte im Bündnis, in *Entschieden für Frieden. 50 Jahre Bundeswehr 1955 bis 2005*, ed. Klaus Jürgen Bremm, Hans-Hubertus Mack, Martin Rink (Berlin, Rombach, 2005) 133 f.

<sup>34</sup> BArch BM1-13754, Die Marine. Konzeption und Auftrag, 1989, 13.

of the people grew into public protest. In 1989 the whole German Democratic Republic imploded and in the next two years all other partners of the Warsaw Pact including the Soviet Union. The effect on the NATO was dramatic – but this time in a positive manner.

What remained from the late Cold War operational planning of the Federal German Navy? Following NATO-doctrines it went from confrontation to cooperation and later on integration. Due to the new political and strategic development new threat arose in form of the “New Wars,” resulting in long lasting international missions around Africa and the Mediterranean. Germany was surrounded by friendly nations and high intensity warfare in the Baltic became increasingly unlikely. Just after the Navy got rid of the Tornado fighter bombers and fast patrol boats new diplomatic and strategic tensions arose in the eastern Baltic with Russia. In 2016 Vice Admiral Andreas Krause explained the new dimension of the Baltic to the German Navy.<sup>35</sup> Already in 1993 C-in-C, Vice Admiral Weyher, said in front of all retired admirals of the German Navy that only some years ago the enemy coast was right off Travemünde and that in the medium future only two enemy points would remain: Königsberg (Kaliningrad) and St. Petersburg.<sup>36</sup> Even if Russia may be a new threat, the political geography had changed in favor of NATO. Now the largest part of the southern Baltic coast belongs to alliance countries, except Kaliningrad.

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<sup>36</sup> BArch BM1-14199, Rede des Inspektors der Marine, Vizeadmiral Hein-Peter Weyher, anlässlich der 7. Informationstagung für pensionierte Admirale und SanOffz im Admiralsrang am 02. Juni 1993 in Rostock, 25.

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## **Federation, Confederation, Alon's Plan and Other Territorial Options Between the Israeli and Jordanian Regimes**

Keywords: Israel, Jordan, West Bank, Plan

Immediately after the Six Day War, several operative proposals were submitted to the Israeli government on how to manage and handle the new territories that Israel had acquired during the war. The shock of victory was quickly replaced by the need to deal with approximately one million local inhabitants and extensive swathes of land. The government made an immediate decision to start settling the new land to create territorial continuity and to provide Israel with strategic depth and maximum security by joining the Jordan Valley and the West Bank with the narrow strip of coastal land that had been Israel's from before the war. Four proposals on handling the territory and the local population were submitted. Three of them were from government ministers: Allon, Galili, and Dayan. The third came from King Hussein of Jordan. Why were so many proposals submitted and what did they contain? Were these proposals fully or partially implemented, or did the government choose to ignore them altogether? Did the government choose to proceed with the policy of immediately settling the territories without taking other members of government's stances into consideration? This article examines the four proposals and describes what became of them while conducting a close inspection and comparison of each proposal's content. The article relies on numerous primary sources of information from Israeli and American archives, as well as the testimonies from the proposal

writers' autobiographies. These are succinctly presented according to the publication's requirements.

### **The Allon Plan**

On June 26, 1967, Yigal Allon submitted a document entitled *The Future of the Territories and Handling the Refugee Problem* to Prime Minister Eshkol.<sup>1</sup> In the document, Allon outlined a detailed peace plan addressing Judea and Samaria, and Gaza. As a comprehensive peace plan, it also addressed the Golan Heights and the Sinai, and was aptly named the Allon Plan. Between 1968 and 1977, the State of Israel established 76 new settlements in the newly captured territories subsequent to the war, according to the tenets of the Allon Plan. There are amended drafts from different dates, including February 27, 1968, December 10, 1968, January 29, 1969, September 23, 1970, and the most recent version that was presented to the government plenary session on July 17, 1972.<sup>2</sup> A revised version was submitted to Prime Minister Meir on September 15, 1970 on the evening she flew to the United States.

Allon's plan was unique in that its tenets were implemented de facto, and political discussions were conducted in Israel and abroad with external parties, such as official American representatives, foreign governments, and King Hussein of Jordan. The plan was not endorsed by the Israeli government for internal and foreign policy

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<sup>1</sup> National Archives, "Occupied Territories General," (A 7309/16), 1968; Ibid., "Occupied Territories Economic Development," (A 7309/20), 1968; Yad Tabenkin Archives, Block 41, Container 9, File 5, "The Allon Plan," 1968; National State Archives, RG, 59 General Records of the Department of State, Central Foreign Policy Files 1967-1969, Political and defense, POL 7 Israel to POL 12 ISR, Box 2225. Ibid., "Israeli Request for MRS." Meir's Visit to Washington and her Reply Letter to the President," 21/5/1969; Ibid., "Israeli Deputy Prime Minister visits Denmark," 24/9/1969; Ibid., "Allon's Visit," 10/9/1968.

<sup>2</sup> Yad Tabenkin Archives, "The Allon Plan," Block 41, Container 9, File 5, 1968; National Archives, "Protocols from the Labor Party Meetings," A. 7022/13, 7022/14, 1968.

reasons.<sup>3</sup> The reasons included the fact that Allon respected Eshkol's opinion and agreed not to present the plan for a government vote out of concern that it would spark a crisis.

Allon presented his plan at his party's meetings, and it was accepted as a potential concept for implementation. The party even adopted the plan's suggestions and incorporated them in the party's platform for elections to the Knesset. When Allon formulated his plan, he only took Israel's side into account while overlooking the Arab perspectives. Allon did not explore whether the local population wanted to be annexed under Israeli or Jordanian sovereignty. Nor did Allon seek Jordan's opinion before formulating his plan; only later did he attempt to persuade the Jordanians to accept Israel's position on the issue. As stated, the government did not endorse the plan as policy, so Allon acted independently when he implemented the guidelines of his plan in Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories.<sup>4</sup>

The plan was based on the idea of territorial compromise that represents Israel's position. The idea was to retain control of areas strategically important to Israel's security, such as the Jordan Rift Valley and the Samaritan mountain region. The plan also proposed to relinquish control of land captured during the war that was densely populated by local Arab residents, rendering these

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid; Ibid; Ibid, "Israel-Jordan Talks, Meir-Hussein," 1971-1972, A 112/6, 1971-2; Ibid., "Letters and Synopses of Government Meetings and Prime Minister Meetings with U.S. Representatives," A /71141, 1968-71; U.S.A., National State Archives, RG, 59, General Records of the Department of State, Central Foreign Policy Files 1967-1969, Political and Defense, POL 7 Israel to POL 12 ISR, Box 2225; Ibid.; Ibid., "Israeli Request for MRS." Meir's Visit to Washington and her Reply Letter to the President," 21/5/1969; Ibid., Ibid., "Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Visits Denmark," 24/9/1969; Ibid., Ibid., "Allon's Visit," 10/9/1968; Ibid., Ibid., "Appointment with Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon," 20/8/1968; Ibid., Ibid., "Recommendation that Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon be received by the President and by Yourself (Secretary of State) - Action Memorandum," 19/8/1968; Ibid., Ibid., "Allon Tests his Strength," 7/2/1969.

<sup>4</sup> Yigal Allon was the Head of the Ministerial Committee on Settlement Affairs. He was superseded by Minister Yisrael Galili.

territories unessential to Israel's security. The premises of the plan are: first, peace with Arab countries and the Palestinians is possible and necessary, and Israel must immediately resolve the political future of the territories captured during the Six Day War. Second, the geo-strategic integrity of Israel must be protected to enable defensible borders and prevent future wars. Third, the State of Israel must maintain a Jewish majority to ensure the existence of a Jewish democratic state according to the Zionist vision. Fourth, the Palestinian nation will be given the option of self-determination without undermining the State of Israel's security, and to choose political ties with Jordan or with Israel. An Israeli initiative to the refugee problem is a humanitarian and political issue, which is just as much an Israeli need as an Arab one.

The arrangements that Allon proposed based on the Green Line described the following scenario: Israel's eastern border will be the Jordan River and the line bisecting the Dead Sea from North to South and the continuation of the Mandate border<sup>5</sup> throughout the Arava Desert. A 15 km-wide strip of land west of Jordan will be added and incorporated to the State of Israel. In the Judean Desert area, including Kiryat Arba, the strip will be up to 25 kilometers wide and link the Negev to the Jordan Rift Valley. The Jericho area will have a corridor from the East Bank of the Jordan River to the West Bank. There will be a crossing between Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip, enabling contact between the population of Judea and Samaria and the population in Gaza and free passage to a port in Gaza. The entire Jerusalem area will be annexed to the State of Israel. Negotiations will be conducted between the State of Israel, the residents of the densely Arab populated areas in Judea and Samaria, the Gaza Strip, and Arab countries to determine a consensual

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<sup>5</sup> Over the years, the Mandatory Border was determined and agreed upon along three fronts: the southern border, the northern border, and the eastern border.

autonomous government in those areas. With regards to the other borders, only necessary adjustments would be made.<sup>6</sup>

Ten years after Allon conceived the plan, he was asked whether he still believed in it, and whether he still thought it could be an appropriate solution to the reality in Israel.<sup>7</sup> His response was unequivocally affirmative and stood the test of time. Even after a period of ten years, Allon was convinced that his proposal was an opportunity not to be missed. It would give Israel the security it needs to safely exist and enable negotiations with its neighboring states to reach a regional peace agreement. He stated: "I am in favor of negotiations without preconditions while knowing in advance that each side may raise suggestions that the other party finds unacceptable... anyone that acknowledges Israel's right to defend itself will eventually come to terms with border adjustments that enable this. We did not conquer Judea and Samaria from the Palestinians, but from Jordan, which attacked us. During nineteen years of Arab rule of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the

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<sup>6</sup> National Archives, 7309/16, Occupied Territories - General, 1968; Ibid., 7309/20, Occupied Territories - Economic Development, 1968; Yad Tabenkin Archives, "The Allon Plan, Plan Clarification and Principles," Block 8-15, Container VII, File 31772; Ibid., "The Allon Plan - Seminar," Block 41, Container 9, File 5, 27.6.1990; Ibid., "To the Cabinet Secretary from Yigal Allon," Block 15 Allon M/H, Container 18, File 1, 23.9.1970; Ibid., Block 15 - Allon, "Personal - For Publication, Letter Received," Block 15 - Alon, Container 19, File 7, 4.10.68, 10.1068; Ibid., "To Mr. Yigal Allon, Deputy Prime Minister, Prime Minister's Office," Block 15 - Allon, Container 19, File 2, 1968; Ibid., "Allon Plan, Outline for Lecture, Yigal Allon," Block 15, Container 4, File 5, 1968; Ibid., "About the Allon Plan," Block 45, Container 48, File 1, 22.9.1972; Outline of the Allon Plan, Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allon\\_Plan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allon_Plan)

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Minister Yigal Allon: "Yigal Allon Questions and Answers," *Al HaMishmar*, 2.12.1977; Yad Tabenkin Archives, Block 15, Container 4, File 5, "Allon Plan Questions and Answers"; Avi Shlaim, *King Hussein - Political Biography*, (Or Yehuda: Kinneret, Zmora-Bitan, Dvir Publishers, 2009), 247-256; Moshe Zak, *Hussein Makes Peace - Thirty Years and Another Year on the Path to Peace*, Ramat Gan: Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University Publisher, 1996, 29-21.

Palestinian notion was not realized. So, let's not be more righteous than the Pope."<sup>8</sup>



<sup>8</sup> Interview with Minister Yigal Allon: "Yigal Allon Questions and Answers," *Al HaMishmar*, 2.12.1977; Yad Tabenkin Archives, "The Allon Plan - Questions and Answers," Block 15, Container 4, File 5.

To resolve the refugee situation, Allon proposed starting with one sample settlement plan in the West Bank or in Sinai. All construction costs were meant to be covered by the State without requesting any foreign aid. However, Allon stressed that UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees) would have to take responsibility for the refugees and their rehabilitation. Allon further proposed the establishment of "one government authority that would concentrate and coordinate all the research and actions in the territories."<sup>9</sup>

The Israeli government did not officially endorse the proposal, but over the years it acted according to the plan in Judea and Samaria, and also in Gaza. Allon submitted another amended proposal to the government in February 1968, in which he outlined the need to immediately settle the Jordan Rift Valley in order to create an additional Israeli presence to the military presence in the area. Allon believed that building several security settlement outposts in the Jordan Valley would give Israel territorial continuity and security strength. Allon wrote the following in his proposal to the government: "Israeli civilian and military presence in the Jordan Rift Valley is an irreplaceable border adjustment, and the location of the settlements must be planned in a way that will leave all the options open for different solutions."<sup>10</sup>

With regards to Jerusalem, Allon wanted the government to make it a priority to expand construction there. In May 1969, Allon wrote another proposal to the government, in which he requested the immediate expansion of the Greater Jerusalem area.<sup>11</sup> The minister also demanded that Israeli law and municipal government be applied to the annexed territories wherever the Israeli

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<sup>9</sup> National Archives, "Occupied Territories - General," A 7309/16, 1968; *Ibid.*, "Occupied Territories Economic Development," 7309/20 A, 1968; *Ibid.*, "The Refugees, Draft B" 7032/10 A, 1968; Yad Tabenkin Archives, Block 8-16, Container VII, File 31772.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> From The Jerusalem Law (1980).

government saw fit. Allon's explanation to the importance of his proposal was the city's allure to Israelis and new immigrants wishing to settle there, forming the foundation for establishing the city's master plan on suitable land with regards to size, and to immediately begin developing new projects in Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup>

The night that Prime Minister Meir traveled to the United States to meet with President Nixon in September 1970, Allon gave her another document that included maps. In the document's preface, he wrote: "most of the proposed borders are like red lines that cannot be waived and I hereby see them as the only alternative to the Rogers Plan."<sup>13</sup> Allon went on to detail yet again what he thought were the principles of the future map of Israel and the state borders that will be determined as part of a peace agreement. First of all, the borderlines need to be strategically defensible. Secondly, the state borders should be anchored in the Jewish people's historical right to the Land of Israel from an ethical standpoint. Later they would have to guarantee the Jewish character of the State of Israel, and be politically realistic. Allon stressed that every border should have strategic requirements as first priority. He also added that as long as no peace agreement exists between Israel and its neighbors, Israel would continue to maintain the ceasefire lines. These lines are repeated in various different versions, but the gist remains the same.

Allon also discussed the instability of the territories and the threat of a hostile superpower influence, and he explained that the situation may not enable Israel to have bases or military patrols in areas under Arab sovereignty, which is why, according to Allon, these types of arrangements should not be relied upon as permanent.

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<sup>12</sup> National Archives, "Occupied Territories - General," 7309/16, 1968; Ibid., A 7032/10, The Refugees, Draft B, 1968; Ibid., "Protocols of the Labor Party Meeting." A. 7022/13, 7022/14, 1968 - 1971; Yad Tabenkin Archives, Block 8-16, Container VII, File 31772; Avi Shlaim, *King Hussein*, 247-256.

<sup>13</sup> National Archives, "Occupied Territories - General," 7309/16, 1968; Ibid., A 7032/10, The Refugees, Draft B, 1968; The Rogers Plan is an American peace plan with three different versions from different periods, aptly named after the Secretary of State William P. Rogers.



The fourth tenet dealt with controlled demilitarization of territories with strategic necessity, which perhaps should have been one of the rudiments of the security arrangements, however demilitarizing such areas cannot be an alternative to truly defensible borders that will be under Israeli legal sovereignty and military control. Another important tenet for Allon was that the borders need to be established on a topographical system that was supposed to be a permanent obstacle for defensive deployment against mechanized ground forces and a basis for control of the forces' territory. The borders were meant to give the state reasonable strategic depth and ensure a warning system that will alert the approach of enemy planes as early as possible. Allon also noted the problem of terrorism, stating that the possibility of guerilla warfare and terrorism needed to be taken into consideration.<sup>14</sup>

With regards to the Golan Heights, Allon wrote that Israel must have a standpoint about the border with Syria. The Golan Heights house the country's main water sources, which provide water to the South of Israel as well, making it necessary to protect the Golan, the Upper and Lower Galilee, and the Jordan Valley. Allon planned a line of topographical outposts that would block inroads into Israeli territory and provide protection to offensive deployment when and if necessary. The line was also supposed to enable advance warning of the approach of enemy planes from afar.

### **Minister Yisrael Galili's**

#### **Plan for the Occupied Territories: The Galili Document**

On March 27, 1972, the Minister without a Portfolio, Yisrael Galili, wrote a letter to then Prime Minister Golda Meir, where he presented several suggestions to manage and handle the population of the Occupied Territories. In this letter, like many others that came before and after it, Galili outlined the options that were available to the State of Israel when it came to handling the newly captured

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<sup>14</sup> National Archives, "Occupied Territories - General," 7309/16, 1968; *Ibid.*, A 7032/10, The Refugees, Draft B, 1968.

territories subsequent to the Six Day War. When the document was written there was no organized plan for what to do with and in the territories. This document, in addition to the others, formed the basis for an official document that Galili wrote a little over a year later, prior to the elections for the 8th Knesset in December 1973, and was named the Galili Document after its author. This document has 16 points that give a general outline of how to handle the population and the land in the Occupied Territories. Galili drafted the final document as a compromise version among members of the government, since it was necessary to approve the Labor Party's platform before the elections. The Galili Document presents a compromise where there are no "winners and losers."

In March 1972, Galili said to Prime Minister Golda Meir: "I consider it imperative that a certified briefing is sent to the delegates - ambassadors and their assistants - which will include a certified breakdown of the border-related decisions, firstly, obligatory defensible borders. Israel demands new, permanent, defensible borders that are recognized and anchored in peace treaties and significant changes to the previous borders, meaning territorial changes that signified a change of sovereignty. Galili stated that Israel would not return to the 1948 armistice lines and to the Mandatory international border. The demand for border changes also applied to the border with Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Israel aspired to have consensual border changes that would be achieved through negotiations. Galili later elaborated: "Israel is not only referring to 'presence,' 'leasing' and so forth beyond the previous lines."<sup>15</sup> Galili reiterated by stating that in addition to setting new borders, Israel would demand various security arrangements, such as demilitarization of certain areas.

The minister reiterated that as it appears in the State of Israel's guidelines, Israel aspires to contractual peace agreements with the neighboring Arab countries. However, in the absence of peace "the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., "Minister Yisrael Galili to Ms. Golda Meir, Prime Minister, Jerusalem," file 7067/8, 27.2.1972.

State of Israel will continue to fully uphold the situation, as stipulated with the post-Six Day War ceasefire agreements. Israel will consolidate its status throughout the ceasefire space as required by the state's security and development needs."<sup>16</sup>

Second was the peace border between Israel and Egypt. The previous border, meaning the Mandatory international border, will be relocated south, to Sinai. The Gaza Strip will be an integral part of the State of Israel, and Israeli control will continue to Sharm el-Sheikh. Furthermore, there will be territorial continuity between Sharm el-Sheikh and the State of Israel until a certain point on the Mediterranean coastline. Galili stated in the document that the width of the strip had not yet been determined. Also discussed was the guarantee of demilitarization of certain Egyptian areas in the Sinai. Galili mentioned that Israel did not intend to control the entire Sinai, or even most of it. The third issue dealt with Israel's border with Jordan. Galili stressed to Prime Minister Meir that the government had not yet decided on a well thought out territorial plan, on not adopting the Allon Plan or any other organized plan. The government had not yet formed an official position regarding the state borders, and in practice the government referred to significant changes to the border with Jordan and not to mild adjustments alone. Galili emphasized that a united Jerusalem is the capital of the State of Israel, and that the rights of the clergy of the various religions to the holy places be recognized. The minister added that the Jordan River will be the security border, and that the Jordanian army will not cross the West Bank. With regards to the Jordan Valley and the settlements on route to Ein Gedi, other than the corridor connecting Jordan to the concentrated Arab populations in the West Bank, they will be an inseparable part of the State of Israel. The minister stated this to the Prime Minister, who publicly stated that she did not aspire to add six hundred thousand Arabs from the West Bank to the State

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, *ibid*.

of Israel. Galili ruled out the establishment of another Palestinian state in Jordan's West Bank.

With regards to Israel's border with Syria, Galili said that a change to the international border was required. He believed that the State of Israel needed to keep the northern front and said that Israel would not relinquish the Golan Heights and would not return to the Mandatory border. The settlements in the Golan Heights indicated the Israeli government's intention with regards to its border with Syria in this region. Regarding Lebanon, Galili presented the Israeli government's position, which was that signing a peace treaty with Lebanon according to the current border was the right thing to do, as was done after the War of Independence. On the territorial and border issue, it was imperative to discuss negotiations with the Arab countries. The minister reiterated that negotiations had to be conducted without preconditions. "The Israeli government will not give a UN emissary or the Arab countries any preliminary territorial commitment that will be demanded as a condition for negotiations. "The government will not demand that the Arab states give it any pre-commitment on the territorial issue. The borders will be determined during negotiations, consensually and not coercively by other parties."<sup>17</sup>In the next sections of Galili's letter it says that in order to alleviate the start of negotiations, the government preferred to avoid explicitly specifying all of Israel's ultimate territorial claims. The minister demanded that this be done in time under concrete circumstances and during negotiations. He went on to add that Israel outright rejects the version of Security Council Resolution 242, meaning withdrawing from all the territories to the previous borders, and that Israel's response to Ambassador Jarring from February 26, 1971 still stands.

Galili justified his position to the Prime Minister by saying: "We reject definitions that our policy is one of 'expansionism' or 'annexation.' We strive for defensible borders, which require

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<sup>17</sup> "Minister Yisrael Galili to Ms. Golda Meir, Prime Minister, Jerusalem," file 7067/8, 27.2.1972.

significant changes to the previous lines. With reservations of the term 'annexation' one must be cautious not to mislead the public that we want to come to reconcile with the previous lines (the Mandatory border or the lines that preceded the Six Day War). On the issue of demilitarization of the territories (after the border changes) - we do not believe in 'mutual demilitarization,' since we reject demilitarization of areas in the State of Israel's territory. We rule out the establishment of an 'international force' in Israel's territory. Israel is prepared to conduct peace negotiations with each of its neighboring countries separately and also to sign a separate peace agreement with each of its neighbors."<sup>18</sup> In Labor Party meetings and in discussions among the government ministers the proposal of a plan of action for the territories was raised several times. There were several people that opposed the proposal who expressed their concern of taking a stand on the future of the territories.<sup>19</sup>

Subsequent to the two proposals that were submitted to the government, the Defense Minister Moshe Dayan submitted his own proposal on how to handle the territories and the local population, a document entitled *The Policy for the Territories for the Next Four Years*.<sup>20</sup> Dayan listed ten requirements to promote the needs of the local population and the settlement concept in the Occupied Territories. The first requirement was a deal on the refugee issue. Dayan stated that approximately one hundred million more Lira had to be added as an annual budget for the existing refugees. The second clause discussed the development of Gaza and Judea and Samaria. Dayan demanded the addition of a substantial budget to develop the territories. The next topic was urban and industrial centers. With regards to Jerusalem, Dayan's intention was to expand the urban population and industry southward, northward, and eastward, beyond the Green Line. There was also mention of planning Yamit and expediting its development to make it an urban-

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Bloch, "Galili Document and the Allon Plan," *Davar*, Tel Aviv, 19.8.1973

<sup>20</sup>"Protocols of Labor Party Meetings." A. 7022/13, 7022/14, 1968 - 1971.

regional center in the Rafah Plain. The need to build a deep-sea port south of Gaza regardless of the development of the Haifa and Ashdod ports was also discussed. Kiryat Arba was mentioned in the context of an expedited continuation of industrial and population development, and setting up a town at the Tomb of Samuel. Regarding the area of Qalqilya-Tulkarem, it was necessary to establish an industrial area in Kfar Saba on the 1,200 dunams of absentee land and to give Jewish entrepreneurs the option of conducting planned and controlled industrial and residential construction projects in the area. The Golan Heights was also a destination for the construction of an urban industrial center.

The issue of settlement was the fourth point in Dayan's proposal, and he wrote about establishing more towns like the Jewish Agency's Department of Settlement Affairs proposed and about guaranteeing the budget required to develop the existing settlement. The following points were encouraging the establishment of industrial factories in the territories and exploring giving preference to the territories to increase urban population, rural settlement, and the establishment of industrial factories. The seventh requirement was purchasing land. The Director of the Israel Land Administration was required to purchase land in the territories to make them available for settlement and to build private and public factories on them, and for the purpose of future land swaps. Companies and individuals purchasing land and property could also be approved, if they were intended for construction and for political and security purposes. It was later stated that the residents of the territories could work in Israel in a controlled and supervised manner to ensure the employment conditions and salaries were comparable to those in Israel. With regards to ties with Jordan, Dayan wrote that the affinity and ties of the residents of the territories with the Kingdom of Jordan should be encouraged and strengthened. The tenth and final tenet of Dayan's document pertained to promoting local employees from the territories to administrative positions, including senior positions in the

government service on civilian issues, and that these positions should be given to the local Arabs as soon as possible.<sup>21</sup>

Subsequent to the rejection of Dayan's proposal, a compromise proposal drafted by the minister Galili was offered. After several protracted discussions of the Labor ministers, lasting over four meetings,<sup>22</sup> the final version of the joint summary was reached. The summary was achieved between ministers from the Labor Party with regards to the plan of action in the territories. The final version of the conclusions among the ministers Pinchas Sapir, Moshe Dayan and Yisrael Galili was submitted to Prime Minister Meir on August 14, 1973. On September 3, 1973, Minister Yisrael Galili brought the version entitled *Summaries and Recommendations on the Plan of Action for the Next Four Years* for discussion and approval by the government, and it was nicknamed the Galili Document. The document was first discussed among the party in early September and then a second time, three months later, after the Yom Kippur War on December 5, 1973.<sup>23</sup>

The introduction stated that the summaries reached were not a matter of consensus among the party and the Alignment, but rather recommendations of Labor ministers. The Prime Minister was mentioned as someone that should have brought the summaries to approval by the certified institution, in other words, the party and the government. The summaries expressed the Alignment's platform for the elections, and were included as part of the government's overall plan of action. Once the main points of the plan of action were set to receive the government's approval, the details of the operative plans were supposed to be executed. The operational budgets were included in the government's annual

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<sup>21</sup> National Archives, "Protocols of Labor Party Meetings," A. 7022/13, 7022/14, 1968-1971.

<sup>22</sup> The Labor Party held numerous discussions on the issue of how to formulate the party's platform before the next elections with an emphasis on dealing with the new territories and the local Arab population. Yad Tabenkin Archives, "The Israeli Labor Party Secretariat Meeting," Block 3-12, Container 93, File 5.

<sup>23</sup> Moshe Dayan, *Avney Derech*, 560-553.

budgets. The four-year plan of action from 1973 did not entail a change in the political status of the territories and the civilian status of the inhabitants and the refugees.

The fundamentals of the proposal were that the next government would continue to act on the basis of the policy adopted by the current government from the aspects of development, employment and services, economic ties, open bridges, autonomous activity and renewing the municipal representation, orders by the military government, rural and urban settlement, rebuilding the refugee camps, controlled and supervised employment of the Arabs from the territories in Israel. Regarding rehabilitation of the refugees in the Gaza Strip, it was proposed that a plan of action would be determined for a four-year period, and the required funding to implement the plan would be allocated. The main elements of the plan are the change in housing conditions, i.e. the establishment of residential neighborhoods for refugees in proximity to the camps, the rehabilitation of the camps and their inclusion in the municipal responsibility of the neighboring cities, vocational training, promotion of health and education services, creating employment opportunities in trade and industry professions, encouraging residents' initiatives to improve the standard of living.

The following point pertained to development in Judea and Samaria. It was specified that a four-year plan must be drawn up and funding guaranteed to develop the economic infrastructure and promote essential services, such as health and education, promoting the water system for the population, promoting vocational and post-secondary education, improving electricity, communication and transport services - road improvements and access routes, develop trade and industry professions as sources of employment for residents, improving refugee housing, assistance to municipal authorities. Also, as part of funding the plans in the Gaza Strip and in Judea and Samaria, the agreements between the Treasury and the Ministry of Defense would be implemented once approved by the government. An effort would later be made to obtain external



funding for the refugee rehabilitation plans and development in the territories. The sixth issue dealt with benefits for Israeli entrepreneurs in the territories. It was written that benefits would be given to encourage Israeli entrepreneurs to build industrial factories in the territories (per the proposal of the Minister of Commerce and Industry to the Ministerial Committee of Economic Affairs on August 1, 1973). The seventh issue dealt with autonomy of the residents in Judea and Samaria. Assistance was mentioned with regards to the autonomy of the population pertaining to education, religion, services, and in fostering patterns of democracy in social and municipal life. Senior civilian positions in the government services will be manned as much as possible by the local residents. It was also written that the open bridges policy would continue. The ninth point dealt with employment of the residents of the territories in Israel. The employment of the residents of the territories in Israel and in the Jewish farms in the territories would be controlled from a numerical and regional aspect. Measures would be taken to guarantee that the employees had employment conditions and salaries that were comparable to those in Israel.<sup>24</sup>

The next issue dealt with outposts and settlements. It was concluded that new towns would be built, and that the array of settlements would be reinforced. The population will be increased by trade and industry. When the government budgets are set, each year the required resources for the new settlements will be determined according to the Department of Settlement Affairs' recommendations and with the approval of the Ministerial Committee on Settlement Affairs with the four-year aim of building more towns in the Rafah Plain, the Jordan Valley and in the Golan Heights, an urban industrial town in the Golan Heights, a regional center in the Jordan Valley, development north east of the Kinneret and north west of the Dead Sea and to build the planned water

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<sup>24</sup> Dan Patir, "The Full Version," 15.8.1973; Daniel Bloch, "The Galili Document," 19.8.1973; Mordechai Gazit, *The Peace Process (1969-1973)*, (Yad Tabenkin: United Kibbutz Movement Publisher, 1984), 19-27.

works. When developing the settlement areas in the territories, public and private governmental entities will also be included, as part of the approved plans.

With regards to the regional center in the Rafah Plain, it was concluded that continued development of the regional center there would be guaranteed for eight hundred residential units by the years 1977-1978. Industrial development and settlers willing to move there with their own resources would be encouraged. The next issue focused on land concentration in the territories and its acquisition. More action would be taken to concentrate land for the purpose of the existing and planned settlement (acquisitions, government land, absentee land, land swaps, arrangements with the residents). The Israel Land Administration will be activated to increase land and asset purchases in the territories for the needs of settlement, land development, and land swaps. The Administration will lease land to companies and individuals to implement approved development plans. The Administration will also act to purchase land through every effective means, including by means of companies and individuals, in coordination with the Administration and on its behalf. Purchasing land and assets by companies and individuals will be approved only in verified cases where the Administration cannot or does not want to purchase the land itself. The body that is certified to grant these approvals will be the Ministerial Committee. The approvals will be given on condition that the acquisitions are intended for constructive factories and not for profiteering, and not as part of the government's policy. The Israel Land Administration will also work to acquire land purchased by Jews.

The next topic that was mentioned was Jerusalem and its environs. It was concluded that the population and industrial development of the capital and its environs would continue beyond the area to which Order Number 1 applied.<sup>25</sup> An effort would thus be made to purchase more land, and the government lands would

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<sup>25</sup> IDF archives, "Proclamations published by the IDF by the commander of the regional forces," 117/1970.

be utilized as part of the territory east and south of Jerusalem that the government decided to close. The fourteenth tenet stated that the government resolution from September 13, 1970 regarding the settlement of the Tomb of Samuel should be implemented. With regards to a port south of Gaza, it was written that subsequent to the trend of expedited development of the Rafah Plain, the basic information of the proposal to build a deep sea port south of Gaza will be explored within two-three years: physical stats, economic viability, political considerations, and once the findings are concentrated and a concrete plan submitted, the government would make a decision on the matter. The final tenet that appears in the document is an industrial center for Kfar Saba. It was decided that the required conditions would be guaranteed to build an industrial center for Kfar Saba beyond the Green Line and to develop Israeli industry in the Qalqilya and Tulkarem areas.

### **King Hussein's Federation Plan**

On March 15, 1972, the Jordanian radio broadcasted King Hussein's announcement to reorganize the Hashemite Kingdom and turn it into a United Arab Kingdom. The plan was announced for several reasons. First, it offered the Palestinians a common holding point, especially the local residents of the West Bank, in a way that would preserve Palestinian identity as part of an Arab state. The King believed that the residents would prefer to be under autonomous federative Arab rule than be under Israeli rule. Second, Hussein wanted to be the Palestinians' representative instead of militant Fedayeen leaders that previously tried to oppose his rule. Furthermore, the King wanted to reach a solution regarding the West Bank in a way that would get him the land back, and thus ensure it is restored to his people. For the most part, Hussein believed that this act would increase his leadership stature among the moderate Arab community. This is how he planned to restore the Arab countries's support for him and subsequent economic support of Jordan, which

was discontinued as a result of the suppression of sabotage activities of terrorist organizations in the Kingdom.

The plan was to divide The Kingdom into two main autonomous districts: Palestine and Jordan. According to the plan, these districts were supposed to be run as a federation. The districts would share a central government with a national assembly, and a government in Amman. According to the plan, Amman was supposed to be the capital of the Jordanian district, and Jerusalem the capital of the Palestinian district. Each district was to have a Governor General to rule internally, a government, and a people's council. The plan was that the government in Jordan would ultimately be responsible for external and security affairs, and there would be one central army, with the King at its head. The central judiciary would be under the authority of a central high court. The judiciary in each district would be independent. The King drafted the plan in secret and did not share it with Israel, the United States, or with the Arab countries. The backlash was swift. Hussein was condemned for his plan by all parties. Israel vehemently refused to give up Jerusalem and the territories in the West Bank.

The day after Hussein announced his plan, Golda Meir gave a speech at the Knesset on March 16, 1972 . Golda Meir said that the King pretended to manage territory that was not in his possession, and that if he wanted to reach any sort of agreement he would need to do it through negotiations. Golda Meir attacked the King's unilateral plan, since the term "peace" was not mentioned even once, and it was not based on an agreement. Golda Meir fumed over "the King's pretentiousness to assign Jerusalem - the eternal capital of Israel, as the capital of Palestine."<sup>26</sup> The other Arab countries dismissed the plan since the territory being discussed was under Israeli military rule. Palestinian protest movements even called Hussein a "traitor" for speaking on their behalf and "trying to sell"

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<sup>26</sup> National Archives, "The Prime Minister's Announcement in the Knesset," A 7033/6 Contact with Jordan, 16.3.1972. Golda Meir's speech at the Knesset podium was assertive and peremptory.

them to the Israelis. The Arab Federation Presidential Council that took place in Cairo on March 11-14, 1972 published a condemnation against King Hussein's unilateral announcement and condemned his decision as an affront to the Arab people. Rogers told the King that the United States would not take a public stand with regards to his plan because his plan was viewed as an internal Jordanian matter. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat cut diplomatic ties with Jordan.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, *ibid.*, "King Hussein's Speech on Jordanian Radio about the Federation Plan," 15.3.1972; Ibid., "Jordan - King Hussein's Announcement," 15.3.1973; Ibid., "A Plan to Establish a United Arab Kingdom," 15.3.1972; Ibid., "The Prime Minister's Announcement in the Knesset on Day," 16.3.1972; Ibid., "The Hussein Plan," March 72; Ibid., "Federation/Federation Presidential Council Announcement regarding Hussein's Plan," 18.3.1972; Ibid., A 7245/10, UN General Assembly, "A Peace Plan with Jordan," 10.1.1969; Ibid., A 7033/6, Contact with Jordan, "Hussein's Plan," 17.3.1972; National Archives, A 7033/6, Contact with Jordan, "Hussein's Visit," 28.3.1972; Ibid., "Hussein," 2.4.1972; Ibid., "Jordan - King Hussein's Interview to *An-Nahar*," 4.4.1972; Ibid., "Hussein's Visit," 7.4.1972; Ibid., A 7245/10, UN General Assembly, "A Peace Plan with Jordan," 10.1.1969; Avi Shlaim, *King Hussein*, 298-310; Moshe Zak, *Hussein Makes Peace*, 191-193; The Golda Meir Commemoration Site, "The Meeting Between Prime Minister Golda Meir and King Hussein," 25.9.1973. <http://www.goldameir.org.il/archive/home/he/7/1250416247/jordan-300569.PDF.pdf>; U.S.A. National State Archives, Foreign Relations of the United States 1969-1976, Volume XXV, Arab-Israeli Crisis and War, 1973, Department of State, Washington, "Memorandum from Harold H. Saunders of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)," Washington, January 26, 1973, p. 46; Ibid., "Memorandum for the President's File by the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger), Sub. Meeting with King Hussein of Jordan, Political Adviser Zayd Rifa'i and Henry A. Kissinger," Washington, February 6, 1973, p. 65; Ibid., "Memorandum from Herold H. Saunders of the National Security Council Staff of the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger), Sub. Jordan-Israeli Developments," 25.5.1973, p. 226); Ibid., "Memorandum from Herold H. Saunders of the National Security Council Staff of the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger), Sub. Middle East - Where the Arab-Israeli Issue Stands and Broader Strategy Toward the Area," 30.8.1973, p. 288; Ibid, RG, General Records of the Department of State, Sub. Numeric Files 1970-1973 Political and Defense, DEF 12-5 ISR, Box 1748 NWDPH - 2 1997, "Connection Between Israeli and Jordanian Arms Requests," 4.3.1970; Ibid., RG, General Records of the Department of State, Central Foreign Policy Files 1967-1969,

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## **The Post-War Transformation of Czechoslovak Army: the Slovak Experience from Battlefield to Rear and Logistics Area**

**Abstract:** The study deals with the postwar development of Czechoslovak armed forces with a special focus to Slovak context. The end of the war meant a significant milestone for Czechoslovak armed forces. First of all, the country had to build its defence system from the very beginning and fulfilled the task by merging different units with various equipment – western units armed with British weapons, eastern army corps organized according to Soviet standards and finally newly established/re-build units that were equipped with German trophy or pre-war Czechoslovak items. Much changed in the political sphere as well. Slovak leaders and high-ranking military officers spent much effort to have more impact on the development of the armed forces than Slovaks used to have before the war. The Czecho – Slovak differences and different war-time experience was another source of complications. The army became a subject of political struggle, too. Despite the fact that it was not involved in direct conflict, the army had to deal with irregulars from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army or participated on post-war population transfers. And finally, the communist coup and subsequent changes had an enormous impact on the army as well. In the study authors would like to present the Slovak experience of changes of Czechoslovak armed forces under very difficult post-war international and domestic conditions.

With the end of the Second World War the Czechoslovak armed forces entered the path of turbulent changes. Results of the worst armed conflict in history changed Europe in unprecedented manner. Czechoslovakia participated in the conflict mostly with its army contingents fighting under British or Soviet command. The only exception was the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in Slovakia that fought German forces in Slovakia from August until October 1944. This experience, as well as the political steps taken by the Czechoslovak government in exile re-shaped the country more than the exile politicians expected. Among them the Treaty on Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-war Collaboration concluded between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Union in December 1943 was especially important. The division of spheres of interest during the Big Three conferences meant the expansion of Soviet influence on the post-war development of Czechoslovakia.

In the final months of the war, the members of Czechoslovak and Slovak executive bodies (members of Corps of Commissariats that were established during the Slovak national uprising in 1944) returned to Czechoslovakia. At first, the tasks of the Commissariat for Military Issues had to deal with issues related to mobilization of conscripts for the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps as well as coordination with the recently established National Committees and establishment of new garrisons. Later on issues related to vetting of former members of the Slovak army and their incorporation into the Czechoslovak armed forces became more important. However, since the Headquarters of the Liberated Area under General Antonín Hasal also functioned in Košice at the same time, there were overlaps in jurisdiction. Both institutions ceased to exist in April 1945 when the Ministry of National Defense was established.<sup>1</sup>

## **The Re-establishment of Czechoslovakia**

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Štaigl and Štefanský Michal, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska VI. 1945 – 1948*, (Bratislava : Magnet Press 2007), 20.



In 1945, Czechoslovakia was re-established. Despite being among the victors it suffered significant territorial losses as it handed over the territory of Subcarpathian Ruthenia to Soviet Union. Due to heavy damage it suffered during the war, the country urgently needed reconstruction and to re-establish its armed forces, a long run task. At the beginning of April 1945, Czechoslovak government declared its program in Košice. With regard to the army, the government program emphasized the traditions established during the war. It named four major components to become the core of the army (armoured brigade, airmen, army corps in the USSR and partisans/soldiers of the uprising). The Red Army would be the model for rebuilding of Czechoslovakia's own military. According to the spirit of the government program, Slovak national units consisting of Slovak soldiers and officers, using Slovak as the command language were supposed to be formed and deployed within Slovak territory. This program meant discontinuity with the previous military traditions: it revoked the apolitical standing of the armed forces, and confirmed the existence of Soviet style political officers responsible for propaganda and for purging collaborators. Soldiers were expected to learn from the Soviet experience and the governmental program declared an interest in inviting Soviet instructors who would influence the future development of Czechoslovak armed forces.

In April 1945 General Ludvík Svoboda, commander of the Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR, was appointed as the new minister, and General Mikuláš Ferjenčík was appointed to the post of State Secretary (after the 1946 elections he was replaced by Ján Lichner). Since July 1946 a branch office of the state secretary had its seat in Bratislava, led by Lieutenant Colonel Milan Polák, to secure coordination between the ministry and Slovak bodies. Within a short time the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps was reorganized as the 1st Czechoslovak Army, its brigades were reorganized as divisions and deployed along the borders. On 25 May 1945 the government approved the provisional peacetime structure of the Czechoslovak

armed forces that divided the country into four military districts. The one in Slovakia was called Military District 4 with headquarters in Bratislava. Brigadier Mikuláš Markus was appointed as commander. One of his first tasks was to secure order with special focus on the area of southern and eastern Slovakia. This territory had been returned to Czechoslovakia after more than six years of Hungarian occupation.

### **Military District 4**

The military district consisted of Army Corps VII and Army Corps VIII, each consisting of two infantry divisions. The reinforcement units were one tank brigade, four artillery brigades, one air defence artillery regiment, an air division as well as engineer and signal corps units. All infantry divisions consisted of three infantry regiments, and one battalion each of submachine gunners, artillery, anti-tank artillery, engineer and signals. Each division also had a reconnaissance company and a chemical warfare protection company. In October 1945, the 4th Infantry Division was reorganized into the 4th Fast Division consisting of a tank brigade, an infantry brigade, two artillery battalions and other units.

As a result of already outlined previous development, the Czechoslovak army had several different types of units, trained under different systems and equipped with various weapons. The 1st Czechoslovak Independent Armoured Brigade Group, equipped with British weapons, was still involved in siege of Dunkerque in May 1945. Czechoslovak pilots from Britain flew British aircraft. All these weapons, acquired with British loans, was the property of the Czechoslovak Army. At the same time, units of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR fought German forces in the territory of Moravia. This formation was trained by Soviet instructors and equipped with Soviet arms. Once it entered Slovak territory it conscripted new recruits. Many of them were former soldiers, officers as well as guerrilla fighters of the former Slovak army, who fought in the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in Slovakia during the

Slovak National Uprising in 1944. Soldiers of the Slovak uprising were mostly armed with pre-war Czechoslovak weapons from the depots of the former Slovak army. To make the situation even more complicated, new units also used captured German weapons. Some of these weapons were produced in Czechoslovakian armament factories during the war and also after 1945.

Of course, the combat power of the units varied. This was true especially due to differences between experienced troops equipped with modern weapons and new conscripts who trained with older equipment. To present a brief example of the variations in equipment, many units were armed with pre-war Czechoslovak small arms, artillery and tanks; some units were equipped with Soviet weapons - T34/85 and IS-2 tanks, La-5 and La-7 fighters; British equipment existed in some units with Cromwell VI tanks and Spitfire fighters as well; finally there were captured and manufactured German weapons - all types of infantry weapons as well as SdKfz 251 armoured personnel carriers.<sup>2</sup>

### **Strategic Development**

Despite abandoning pre-Second World War traditions, Czechoslovakia did not change its security strategy in this period - quite the opposite. The strategic analysis remained the same as in 1930s - military planners presumed that Germany would be able to rebuild its industrial capacities with a very probable shift towards militarism. Due to border insecurities, and the possible threat of internal nationalism and revisionism, planners also viewed Hungary as a potential threat. Also Poland was a possible threat to the territorial unity of Czechoslovakia due to the border disputes. Thus, the situation reminded similar to the late 1930s with the possible necessity to defend against attacks from German (possibly also from

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<sup>2</sup> Jan Štaigl, „Unifikácia výzbroje čs. armády a jej vplyv na zbrojný priemysel na Slovensku na začiatku 50. rokov.“ In *Sovětizace armád střední a jihovýchodní Evropy po druhé světové válce. Sborník vojenské akademie věnovaný mezinárodní konferenci 12.-13.11.2003 v Brně.* (Brno 2004), 101-106.

Austrian) territory, as well as Hungarian and Polish aggression. The close cooperation with the Soviet Union therefore was considered a must for the military commanders and planners as well. These calculations changed only with the changing political circumstances in 1948.<sup>3</sup>

However, the only real threat to Czechoslovakia's territory in this period were irregulars and former partisans. These groups, of course, did not intend to conquer territory nor were they a serious threat to the Czechoslovak army itself. They posed a security threat on a lower level but still the threat had to be met. In 1945 most of these irregulars were found on southern borders, where criminal groups from Hungary attacked border towns in Slovakia to loot shops for shortage goods. Those incidents were mostly dealt with by police and gendarmes, but also requested military assistance. The conflict between Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA) on the one side and Polish and Soviet armed forces on the other side was more important and had great influence on internal politics as well.

### **Operations Against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army**

The operations against UIA was the most important fighting action of Czechoslovak army in post-war history of the country. First raids of UIA fighters into the territory of north-eastern Slovakia took place in summer 1945. Units of the Military District 4 paid more attention to the southern border of Slovakia and to northern regions that were to be returned to Poland. Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division Colonel Emil Perko sent two companies to secure the area and asked Soviets for cooperation. But the insurgents avoided confrontation and left the country while Czechoslovak army did pursue them only reluctantly. To counter possible attacks in the future and due to worsened security situation in Poland, special task force "Jánošík" was created under command of Lieutenant Colonel Ján Stanek in December 1945. Czechoslovak military authorities concluded a

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<sup>3</sup> Štaigl and Štefanský, *Vojenské dejiny*, 100.

cooperation agreement with the Soviets at that time as well and a few months later also with the Polish side. However, when in April 1946 UIA made several raids, propaganda issues and anti-communist agitation, the taskforce (at that time under code-name "Otto") was not able to deal with them. During several encounters, UIA members even tried to influence Czechoslovak soldiers with anti-communist and anti-Soviet rhetoric. UIA fighters again tried to avoid confrontation with Czechoslovak army, superior in numbers and equipment. In the second half of April 1946, all UIA units left Czechoslovak territory. Shortly thereafter, a stronger task force unit was created – task force "Ocel" – under command of Colonel Jan Heřman consisting of 14 mechanized and submachine gunner battalions, several independent infantry companies, two combined artillery batteries, one tank battalion, two companies of armoured (reconnaissance) vehicles and an air squadron. In July 1946 the task force was renamed "Teplice" and consisted of over 11 000 officers and men.<sup>4</sup> Its task was to secure borders and prevent UIA fighters from entering Czechoslovak territory. The unit cooperated with the Polish Army.<sup>5</sup>

After the Polish victory over the Ukrainian insurgents in 1947, commanders of UIA decided to cross the Polish border back into the USSR to carry on fighting. Others tried to reach the American occupation zone in Germany. "Sotnia's" (full companies) as well as individual smaller groups tried to force their way through Czechoslovak territory. Czechoslovak units in close cooperation with the Polish army prepared countermeasures, mostly to guard the border and help Polish forces to encircle the enemy. In several cases,

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<sup>4</sup> Alexej Maskalík: Ukrajinská povstalecká armáda v povojnovom vývoji karpatského regiónu: banderovci - fakty, mýty a legendy. In *Vojenská história*. 3/2008, 162-166.

<sup>5</sup> For more information see: Michal Šmigel, „Banderovci versus československá armáda (Vojenská konfrontácia na území Slovenska v rokoch 1945 – 1946).“ In *V tieni červenej hviezdy. Prenikanie sovietskacie do slovenskej (československej) armády v rokoch 1944 – 1948. Zborník z konferencie. Bratislava 27.10.2006*, ed. P. Šoltés. (Bratislava : Katolícky akademický spolok ISTROPOLITAN 2007), 117-136.

joint operations were conducted to clear UIA forces on Czechoslovak territory. Among the biggest successes of Czechoslovak armed forces was the defeat of company "Burlak" and the capture of commander Volodimir Szczygielski "Burlak" at the beginning of September 1947 on Slovak territory. In mid-October 1947 task force "Teplice," was dissolved and the security tasks regarding UIA were assigned to the Ministry of Interior. From that point on the army provided only support to the security forces.<sup>6</sup> During the clashes with UIA, 14 Czechoslovak soldiers were killed and many more wounded. These operations against the UIA were connected to the political struggles of the time, as UIA fighters stood as a symbol for "white partisans" fighting communism.

### **The Politics of the Czechoslovak Army**

The Czechoslovak armed forces became a political battlefield too. The communists intended to strengthen their influence over all armed bodies of the state. With regard to the army they at first considered purging the "old" officer corps. Officers who served "in the East" and who were strongly influenced by the Soviet environment and military doctrines created a foothold for communist advance in the army. However, since the numbers of communists were too small, the army faced general lack of officers and even calling up reserve officers did not solve the situation. From the communist perspective it even worsened the situation, as many reservists were anti-communist. The leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party had to start looking for new recruits within the existing officers corps, and the party functionaries had to look for "compromise candidates" when appointing officers to important posts in the army or Ministry of National Defence. Despite the slow

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<sup>6</sup> Michal Šmigel', *Banderovci na Slovensku 1945 - 1947. (Niektoré aspekty pôsobenia jednotiek Ukrajinskej povstaleckej armády na území krajiny)*. (Banská Bystrica : Katedra História Fakulty humanitných vied Univerzity Mateja Bela - Ústav vedy a výskumu Univerzity Mateja Bela 2007).

rise in number of communist officers, the situation was not critical from their point of view as several important figures “from the East” held key posts. The minister of the national defence General Ludvík Svoboda, the former commander of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in USSR was the most obvious example.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, communists were quite successful in shaping the cleansing process according to their own needs. In fact, this became one of the major tools for elimination of undesirable officers from the armed forces. At first, officers of higher ranks were released from the army. Within the first wave that lasted until the end of year 1945, almost 53 percent of generals and over 50 percent of colonels who applied to return to the army were turned down. It happened despite the fact that almost 40 percent of the unsuccessful candidates were active in resistance. In 1946 the communists succeeded in forcing one quarter of all serving generals into retirement, and in these cases usually no regard was paid to their previous accomplishments. Communists also succeeded in the liquidation of the pre-war corps of generals who were in many cases replaced by members of the Communist Party or people with a predisposition to be loyal at least. But despite all the effort and successes, they were not able to gain a majority within the officer corps.<sup>8</sup>

The purging process had Slovak peculiarities. There were significant differences when compared to the situation in the western part of the republic. The main reason for it is rooted in the Second World War. Slovakia as an independent country within the German sphere of interest had an army of its own. The Slovak army participated in the German campaign against Poland and, more

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<sup>7</sup> František Hanzlík, *Vojenské obranné zpravodajství v zápasu o politickou moc 1945--1950*. (Praha : Úřad dokumentace a vyšetřování: 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Alex Maskalík, „Sovietizácia pri výstavbe veliteľského zboru čs. armády v rokoch 1945-1948.“ In *V tieni červenej hviezdy. Prenikanie soviétizácie do slovenskej (československej) armády v rokoch 1944 - 1948. Zborník z konferencie*. Bratislava 27.10.2006, ed. P. Šoltés. (Bratislava : Katolícky akademický spolok ISTROPOLITAN 2007).

importantly, Slovakia declared war against Soviet Union in the Summer of 1941 and sent almost 50 000 men to fight alongside the Wehrmacht and other allies. Late in the summer of 1941 it decreased its contribution to 2 divisions (circa 20 000 men). Since the army needed a professional corps of officers, many of those who held the rank of lieutenant in 1939 were quickly promoted to majors or even lieutenant colonels within the next few years, especially those who served on the eastern front. Later on, many of these officers joined the Slovak National Uprising in 1944 and were promoted again. So when Czechoslovak government declared the purging of the officers corps in 1945 it was granted that former Slovak army officers would not be persecuted en bloc. In fact, only those who did not join the anti-Nazi resistance were to be held responsible in criminal cases. But then again politics came in. In the cases when Slovak officers who fought against the USSR and then in 1944 against Germany, and publicly declared any negative opinions towards communism were usually publicly labelled as collaborators. The main reason for this tactics was to intimidate soldiers and officers who did not agree with the political line of Communist Party.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, following the government program from Košice, the government was responsible for providing adequate representation of Slovaks at the higher command level, i.e. corps, division and also in the central military administration. Slovak political representatives requested 25 percent of command personnel in the higher ranks, as well as in the higher command and staff functions to be Slovaks. At the beginning of 1946, there were 1 420 Slovak officers within the armed forces – approximately 12 percent of the officer corps. This number rose to almost 2 200 officers (16,4 percent) by 1948.

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<sup>9</sup> Alexej Maskalík and Igor Baka: K povojnovým osudom dôstojníkov 1. čs. armádneho zboru v ZSSR. In *Karpatsko-duklianska operácia - plány, realita, výsledky (1944 – 2004)*. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie vo Svidníku 30. septembra - 1. októbra 2004. (Bratislava : Vojenský historický ústav, 2005), 241–255.



Due to the May 1946 elections, which were won by the communists on the national level and by the Democratic Party in Slovakia, communists adopted a new strategy. Suspicions of anti-state conspiracies started to be cast over Slovaks in the armed forces and particularly over those who fought the USSR in 1941–1944. To strengthen “political reliability” the government decided to transfer units – the Slovak 9th Infantry Division was moved from western Slovakia to Southern Moravia and the 6th Infantry Division vice versa in June 1946.<sup>10</sup> Slovak conscripts were to serve in garrisons in the Czech part of the republic after the autumn of 1946 (this measure lasted until 1989).

The purge was a slow process, but there were other means. The two most important tools available in the army were the Directorate of Culture and Education and the Directorate of Defence Intelligence. Both institutions were new within the organization of the Czechoslovak army, and originated in the Czechoslovak units fighting alongside the Red Army. Although political agitation was forbidden, the political service (Directorate of Culture and Education) was in the hands of the communists, who did their best to influence the ideology of the soldiers and especially that of the younger officers. The work of political officers was directly inspired by the Red Army political commissars. Among their duties, the most important was to provide educational activities and lectures focused on explaining the current political situation and the alliance with the Soviet Union. In many cases these activities resulted in open

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<sup>10</sup> Jan Štaigl: K niektorým otázkam existencie slovenských národných jednotiek v čs. armáde po 2. svetovej vojne. In *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka 1996*. (Brno : Masarykova univerzita - Česko-slovenská komise historiků, 1996), p. 127-137.  
Alex Maskalík: Reflexie národnostných vzťahov pri výstavbe vyššieho veliteľského zboru československej armády v rokoch 1945 – 1969. In *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka 2009*. (Brno - Bratislava : Academicus-Codiprint 2009), 99–107.

agitation for political goals of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.<sup>11</sup>

Another tool for raising communist influence in the army, that proved especially effective, was the military counterintelligence – Directorate of Defence Intelligence. It was established in January 1945 by General Ludvík Svoboda, without the approval of the Czechoslovak government and without any subordination to the existing intelligence service of the Czechoslovak Army. The newly established body had broader competences than the existing intelligence service. It had executive and investigative powers. The military counterintelligence was commanded by first lieutenant Bedřich Reicin and lieutenant Karel Vaš, both of them collaborated with the Soviet intelligence services. At first, they focused on recruitment of agents within the army corps, fulfilling counterintelligence tasks as well as military police duties. Soon they acquired new tasks, for example the surveillance of civilian inhabitants liberated territories, deportations of civilians to Gulags or providing aid to Soviet authorities searching for Soviet refugees and forced repatriation. Since its establishment, the military counterintelligence organisation was gathering compromising material on individual officials of the Ministry of National Defence as well as political opponents. These documents were provided to the leaders of the Communist Party. It also established “black funds,” illegally wiretapped telephones (the telephone of the minister of national defence included), as well as recruited and sent agents abroad.<sup>12</sup>

### **Victorious February 1948**

The communist coup in Czechoslovakia changed everything. For the country the “victorious February 1948” itself meant full integration

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<sup>11</sup> Jan Štaigl, „Formovanie a vývoj dôstojníckeho zboru čs. armády na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1948“. *Vojenská história*, 4/2007, 61–89.

<sup>12</sup> František Hanzlík, *Bez milosti a slitování. B. Reicin – fanatik rudého teroru*. (Nakladatelství Ostrov : Praha 2011).

into the Soviet sphere of interest, where Czechoslovakia played an important role. Especially in the military field. Communists therefore initiated vast changes in the officers corps, often resulting in political trials. It took only a few years until the “sovietisation” of the armed forces was finished.

From the point of view of military planning, Czechoslovakia was in a unique position when compared to rest of the Soviet bloc countries. It had no Soviet troops garrisoned within its territory, and it had a large arms industry with modern facilities. Therefore, the new political orientation of the country resulted in many changes that came fully into existence in the 1950s. Since Hungary, the traditional foe, became an ally, Czechoslovakia started a vast redeployment of units (especially tank and artillery units) towards the western part of the country to strengthen its military capacities towards Germany. The final outcome of these movements and the role of Czechoslovakia in Soviet plans was the “Czechoslovak front” that for the first time appeared in mid-1950s.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, Czechoslovakia, due to its industrial tradition and potential, was tasked as an “engineering” country and switched its economy to heavy industry in the early 1950s. Weapons producing facilities were among the most important. This was true especially in Slovakia, where huge factories, later upgraded to trusts were founded. In the end, Slovakia, due to its geographical position and development became the rear area responsible for logistics and production. And, in case of war, also a place where the government could work in safe shelters or a last place of retreat for the Czechoslovak People’s Army, before the attack of the “imperialist foe” is repelled and the advance of the victorious armies of the East towards the Atlantic begins.

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<sup>13</sup> Jan Štaigl: Slovensko v koncepcii výstavby čs. armády ako vojska prvého operačného sledu sovietskeho bloku v rokoch 1948 – 1968. In *Historie a vojenství*. 3-4/2003, 661–665.

History in Bratislava. His work has been devoted to military history 1914 - 1939, Czechoslovak resistance movement 1914 - 1918 and defence organizations in Czechoslovakia in the interwar period. He has written a monograph *Branné organizácie v Československu 1918 - 1939* [Defence organizations in Czechoslovakia 1918 - 1939], and co-written a number of publications, such as *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska IV, 1939 - 1945* [Military History of Slovakia, Volume IV 1939 - 1945], *Ozbrojené sily Slovenskej republiky. História a súčasnosť 1918 - 2005* [Slovak Armed Forces: Past and present 1918 - 2005], *Vojenské osobnosti československého odboje 1939 - 1945* [Military personalities of the Czechoslovak Resistance Movement 1939 - 1945], *Slovakia: Military Chronicle* etc. He is also an editor of many proceedings, e. g. *Exiting War: Post Conflict Military Operations*, *General Štefan Jurech 1898 - 1945*, *Karpatsko-duklianska operácia - plány realita, výsledky 1944 - 2004* [Carpathian-Dukla Operation: Plans, Reality and Results 1944 - 2004]. He is the Head of the Military History Section of the Slovak History Association, and a member of the Slovak-Czech Historians' Committee.

Matej Medvecký, PhD. (1977), studied History and English language and literature at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Comenius University in Bratislava (2002) and obtained also his PhD in Slovak history (2007) there. In 2004 - 2013 he worked in the Nation's Memory Institute as a researcher with main focus to the security and intelligence apparatus in Slovakia during the World War 2 and the Cold War. He published 3 books related to WW2 and post-war security and intelligence apparatus in Slovakia. Since 2014 he works as senior researcher at the Department of the Military History Research of the Institute for Military History in Bratislava where the main topic of his research is the post-WW2 period. He is co-author of book on history of Slovak aspects of the Czechoslovak People's Army in 1969 - 1992. He is member of the scientific board of the Institute for Military History, member of editorial board of magazine

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Securitas Imperii (Prague).



**PART II**  
**THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE: TERRITORIAL DEFENSE**  
**FORCES: NEW TASKS AND NEW MISSIONS**





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## **Hungary's Territorial Defence Forces: a Key Component of National Resilience**

**Abstract:** Since the end of the Cold War, significant social, political, economic and technological developments have taken place. The “peace dividend” proved to be ephemeral –in addition to some old security challenges appearing again, new ones also emerged. The characteristics of warfare have changed in fundamental ways, and the world's large and small powers had to adjust, reform their armed forces, adopt new doctrines, acquire new equipment. As most other European states, Hungary also reduced its armed forces at the end of the Cold War, and now has to build them up again, in order to meet the new security challenges. In addition to acquiring new equipment and reorganizing the regular forces, Hungary is also raising reserve forces. One reservist category, the volunteer territorial defense reserves, promises to put the country's defense on a new footing, and at the same time strengthen the bonds between the armed forces and society.

**Keywords:** postmodern war, non-state actors, territorial forces, territorial defense, hybrid warfare

### **Peace dividend at the End of the Cold War**

The end of the Cold War ushered in a brief period of international optimism: although armed conflicts were still taking place in various corners of the world, the specter of nuclear Armageddon came to an end as the confrontation of the great powers ended. Most nations

took this opportunity to reap a “peace dividend,” and significantly reduced their military spending. Hungary was no exception: in the three decades between the demolition of the Berlin Wall (1989) and 2019 military expenditures declined from 2.79 percent of GDP to 1.08 percent.<sup>1</sup> The authorized personnel strength was reduced from 126,000 to 24,000, the conscription system was suspended<sup>2</sup> in favor of an all-volunteer force. Major units were disbanded, the reserve forces were allowed to dwindle to nearly zero, and a lot of equipment was withdrawn from service and sold or scrapped. As a result some significant military capabilities (e.g. heavy artillery) were lost.

The focus of the gradually (but quickly) shrinking Hungarian Defence Forces (HDF) shifted from large-scale conventional operations to peacekeeping missions first in the Balkan Peninsula, than farther afield. When the country joined NATO in 1999 the focus shifted to participation in operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Training, and such equipment acquisitions and capability development as took place were all geared to expeditionary operations.

The suspension of conscription had a deleterious effect on the relationship between the armed forces and the Hungarian society. Conscription may have been an unpopular institution, nevertheless, national defense had been a truly national affair that had impacted on nearly every Hungarian family when military and border guard bases had dotted the country and all able-bodied males had been

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<sup>1</sup> Hungary Military Spending/Defense Budget 1968-2019. Macrotrends - The Premier Research Platform for Long Term Investors.

<https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/HUN/hungary/military-spending-defense-budget>

<sup>2</sup> National defense remains a fundamental duty of every citizen. The Basic Law (constitution) contemplates the conscription of all able-bodied males in case of certain national emergencies. *Basic Law of Hungary, Article XXXI*. Office of the President of the Republic.

[https://www.keh.hu/magyarorszag\\_alaptorvenye/1515-Magyarorszag\\_Alaptorvenye&pnr=13](https://www.keh.hu/magyarorszag_alaptorvenye/1515-Magyarorszag_Alaptorvenye&pnr=13)

called to serve for a certain period of time. Shifting to a professional force undoubtedly improved the capabilities of the remaining units, but it also removed from society the cohesive effect of the experience of serving the nation for a period of time, until someone else takes up the task. As the annual induction of thousands of young men ended, and many garrison towns were evacuated in the course of downsizing, the armed forces gradually became isolated from the rest of Hungarian society.<sup>3</sup>

As large numbers of dismissed officers and non-commissioned officers struggled to find new careers, the prestige of military service (not very high to start with), has declined significantly, and general interest in defense matters (also not very high to start with) also declined. Nothing illustrates this better than the fact that the public pays little attention to, and knows next to nothing about, the participation of the Hungarian contingents in expeditionary operations in remote theaters. A certain complacency has also developed: Hungary joined NATO on the eve of the alliance's intervention in Kosovo, and subsequently many Hungarians feel that the country does not need armed forces at all, because "the NATO will defend us."

### **Wake-up calls**

However, during the last decade or so there were a number of wake-up calls, warning the country's decision makers that the security environment was changing, and national security in general, and the armed forces in particular, needed serious attention:

- The Russian cyber attack against Estonia in 2007, military operations against Georgia in 2008 and against Ukraine since 2014, and interference in internal affairs of other nations from the Balkans to the United States showed that Russia was recovering from its deep and long-lasting decline of power.

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<sup>3</sup> László Ujházy. *Tartalékos szövetségek a NATO-ban* (Reservist association in NATO). PhD thesis. Zrínyi Miklós national Defence University, Budapest, 2011. p. 5.

Russia was not only becoming more assertive in advancing its interests, but it was often doing it in novel ways, employing its instruments of state power and achieving warlike objectives, while remaining below the threshold of war.

- The swift and unexpected rise of the Islamic State, and the inability of the Syrian government to suppress the disparate and factitious opposition forces suggested that non-state actors were becoming dangerous and powerful belligerents.
- New developments in science expanded the means of warfare. The use of force also appeared in cyberspace, and opened new dimensions both in the course of crises, and in their management. The new capabilities that evolved as a result of technological development further enhanced the military tools available to politics.
- The mass migration crisis that started in 2015 threatened to overwhelm the capabilities of both the transit and the destination countries. It also posed a significant security challenge, since the local authorities were often unable to establish the identity, nationality and background of the migrants arriving in their jurisdictions. As the terrorist attacks in Paris (13 November 2015) showed, this was a very real security threat.<sup>4</sup>
- Societal trends were beginning to affect security as well. Ten years after the suspension of conscription the isolation of the armed forces from the rest of Hungarian society was complete.

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<sup>4</sup> James Rothwell. "Majority of Paris attackers used migration routes to enter Europe, reveals Hungarian counter-terror chief." The Telegraph, 2 October 2016. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/02/majority-of-paris-attackers-used-migration-routes-to-enter-europ/>; <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/02/majority-of-paris-attackers-used-migration-routes-to-enter-europ/>; Amie Gordon. "Seven of the nine jihadis involved in the Paris terror attacks entered Europe through Hungary by pretending to be refugees." Mail Online, 10 October 2016, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3829986/Seven-nine-jihadis-involved-Paris-terror-attacks-entered-Europe-Hungary-pretending-refugees.html>.

As the economy was improving, and the population was getting older, the armed forces found it difficult to attract recruits.

The Hungarian government responded to the challenge of the changing security environment with a comprehensive program, whose purpose is to improve the capabilities of the regular forces, restore the relationship between society and the armed forces, and at the same time prepare society to adapt to the changed security environment. The Zrínyi 2026 Program was announced in early 2017 (the program was named after a 17th century Hungarian general and poet, Miklós Zrínyi). It encompasses the procurement of significant quantities of new, up-to-date equipment, reorganization of the HDF's command structure, raising new units – in effect, transforming the HDF into a high-quality, 21st century force.<sup>5</sup>

### **Hungary's First Real Postmodern Security Challenge**

Although the Hungarian Defence Forces (HDF) have participated in expeditionary operations in the Balkans and West and South-East Asia since the 1990s, their operations did not affect Hungary or its people directly. The first time new security challenges impacted on Hungary occurred in 2015, in the context of mass migration from the Middle East, West Asia and North Africa.

There were days in 2015 when over 10,000 people arrived at the Hungarian-Serbian (and later the Hungarian-Croatian) border and entered Hungary across the “green border,” away from the regular highway and rail crossing points. The border police and the immigration authorities – both organized for routine border traffic – were overwhelmed. Human trafficking networks, quick to recognize opportunities for profit, immediately started operating. To handle

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<sup>5</sup> 1298/2017. (VI. 2.) Kormány határozat a Zrínyi 2026 Honvédelmi és Haderőfejlesztési Program megvalósításáról (Government Decision 1298/2017. (VI.2) on the Realization of the Zrínyi 2026 Program for the Development of National Defence and the Defence Forces).

the obvious potential societal, economic and security risks, Operation Common Will (Közös Akarat művelet) was launched.

The operation had a threefold mission: gain control of the crisis situation that mass migration caused in Hungary's affected counties; prevent further illegal border crossings; build and control a security fence along the affected sectors of the border. The expected end state also had three components: a halt to illegal border crossings in mass, due to the temporary border security fence and continuous presence of the security forces; reduction of human trafficking to minimum; control of the entry of migrants into the Schengen area in accordance with the applicable laws and regulations. In order to execute the operation, police reinforcements (including elite anti-terrorist police commandos) were rushed to the southern border, and the armed forces were deployed as part of the operation, in order to assist the civil power.

As a result of the government's decisive actions the massive flow of migrants changed direction away from the Hungarian border. Although at the time the Hungarian government was severely criticized in several international (as well as domestic) forums, the fact remains that the measures it took, and the operations of its police and military forces were in line with the provisions of national and European Union border control regulations. Operation Common Will is still ongoing, and there is no way to tell how long it will have to continue.

The operation showed that the HDF were neither trained, nor equipped, nor organized for internal security or border security tasks. Their deployment on a mission they were not designed for required some serious improvisation in command and control, task organization, and training. The operation also highlighted the fact that the HDF did not have adequate reserves to surge personnel on unplanned missions, as needed. In spite of these shortcomings the HDF have performed creditably. An unforeseen benefit of the operation was a much improved opinion of the armed forces among the civilians in the border region.

## **The Volunteer Territorial Defense Reserves**

When conscription was suspended in 2004, the general expectation was that a long period of peace would follow the cold war and small, professional military forces would be sufficient to guarantee national sovereignty. Hungary's reserve forces were allowed to melt away, until they were reduced to nearly zero by 2010.<sup>6</sup> At that time a decision was made to encourage former soldiers who had left the service in the course of earlier force reductions, but were still under the age limit for retirement to sign up for reservist service. This measure increased the number of reservists to several thousand (5,300 in 2017). However, that manpower pool has been drained by now: many of the prior-service reservists are reaching the upper age limit for military service, and are being released.

The Zrínyi 2026 Program addresses this issue as well: one of its significant element is to ramp up the reserve forces through the recruitment of two service categories. The *volunteer operational reservists* (önkéntes műveleti tartalékosok), as the name suggests, are employed as a backfill to the regular units, and they provide some of the special skills and abilities the armed forces need only occasionally. The *volunteer territorial defense reservists* (önkéntes területvédelmi tartalékosok) comprise an entirely different organization: a non-deployable local defense force, present in appreciable numbers in every town and village, and every city district. When all the planned units are raised, they will double the personnel strength of the HDF, and they will also contribute to the restoration of the relationship between the armed forces and society, and thereby boost national resilience in the face of new threats and challenges.

The seven regions of the volunteer territorial reserve force cover all 19 counties (the HDF's regular units are deployed in 10 counties).

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<sup>6</sup> The actual number (17 individuals) was hardly better than zero. Ujhazy. p. 7.

The plan calls for one company in every administrative district (197 in all). The boundaries of each company's area of responsibility coincide with those of the district, the battalion's with those of the county, and the regiment's with those of the region comprised of several counties. Thus the reserve forces play a liaison role between the civilian population and the regular forces.

At the time of this paper's publication the authorized personnel strength of the volunteer territorial reserve forces is 20,000. Since this is still a "work in progress," actual strength is about 8,000.<sup>7</sup> Most of the companies have already been raised, although some of them are still in the process of organization and are seriously understrength. However, in two regions (one in the eastern and one in the western part of Hungary) the companies have already reached at least 50 percent authorized strength, and were organized into two regiments. The current plan is to organize further regional regiments, as the companies in a region reach reach 50 percent of their authorized strength.

The goal is to achieve operational capability by 2026, defined as 21 battalions in seven regiments, and an additional 8 guard battalions, with a total personnel strength of 20,000 trained soldiers.<sup>8</sup> The units are non-deployable: when mobilized, they perform their duties in the area where they were raised: within the boundaries of the county, and preferably within the district. Anyone who desires to take a more active role in the defense of the country can either apply to join the regulars (if he can meet their higher standards, e.g. the physical fitness requirements), or he can join the operational reserves.

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<sup>7</sup> János Hegedűs. "A magyar honvédség tartalékerejének aktuális helyzete." (The current situation of the Hungarian Defence Forces reserve." *Honvédségi Szemle*, 2019/3. pp. 46-60.

<sup>8</sup> Takács, Attila G. "Territorial Defence Forces: A Key Element of Hungary's Resilience in Postmodern War." Presentation at the conference on National Resilience: Opportunities and Challenges in a Changing Security Environment, Budapest, Hungary, May 9-10 2018.



In order to avoid mass outflows when a particular age group reaches the age limit for military service, recruitment targets all age groups. Also, it proceeds according to principles that differ from previous practice: it takes into account not only the changing circumstances and the needs of the armed forces, but also the requirements of the citizens. In time the reserve force will not only to provide backup manpower for the armed forces, but through the experience of voluntary service it is expected to rebuild the trust and cohesion between the HDF and society.

Training and preparation for support tasks are obviously the two primary peacetime missions for the reserve units. Training is designed to be a challenging, but positive experience. It is tailored to the sociological characteristics of the various age groups: generations X, Y and Z cannot be addressed using the same approach, but they do supplement each other's capabilities, strengths and weaknesses.

Besides training, another function of the reserves is readiness to assist the civil power and/or respond to local emergencies. In today's security environment it is impossible to predict when and where a terrorist attack would take place, and industrial or natural disasters can occur with little or no warning. Immediate response makes all the difference between containing the damage and managing the consequences, or letting the incident turn into a major catastrophe. The situation can be on the way to immediate resolution if the responder is a trained, organized and locally available force that has access to some heavy equipment and can be mobilized quickly to support of the local authorities. It can also prepare the ground for the deployment of a regular military force, if that is required.

Hungary is not threatened by a hybrid challenge at present. However, should the situation change in the future, a well-trained, well organized territorial reserve would be an invaluable defensive asset and serve as a very effective "societal vaccine" against the subversion and low intensity aggression of such threats. The units are a permanent presence of the state's coercive power. They can be

mobilized and armed at short notice to reassure the citizens and deter the aggressor. Since the reservists are familiar with the area and its population, they are quick to recognize outsiders and unusual circumstances, and respond immediately. And since they are protecting their home environment, they are highly motivated to succeed. Although their training and combat readiness may be less than those of the regular forces (or those of the aggressor), their thorough and detailed local knowledge, support of the local population and high motivation compensate to a great extent for such deficiencies as they may have.<sup>9</sup>

At this time a conventional war directly involving Hungary is even less likely than a hybrid challenge. But, again, this positive situation may change, and should that happen, the territorial reserve forces would again have a crucially important role to play. They would maintain the permanent presence of the state's military power throughout the country, thereby providing security, control of the population, and a deterrent to behind-the-lines operations. They would be one of the most important elements of such measures to maintain national resilience as the protection of critical infrastructure, movement control, and. They would also serve as an economy of force measure, freeing the more combat capable regular units from routine rear area security tasks.<sup>10</sup>

However, the territorial defense reserve forces do a great deal more than just civil defense or rear-area security. They have the potential to be true territorial defense forces, in the fullest sense of the term. Some units are already training such combat tasks as operations in urban terrain. If they are provided with heavy firepower (primarily anti-armor and air defense) and secure communications, they could make the task of any invader very complicated.

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<sup>9</sup> Kiss, Álmos Péter. "Milícia – kétélű kard a felkelés elleni harcban" (Militia: double edged sword in counterinsurgency). *Sereg Szemle, Székesfehérvár*, 2011/1. pp. 68-88.

<sup>10</sup> Takács. "Territorial Defence Forces."

Yet another – crucially important – function of the reserves both in peacetime and in crises, one that no other organization or institution can perform, is that of societal barometer. The reservists are not just in daily contact with the population – they *are* the population. Their cumulative experience, and their behavior can serve as an invaluable feedback both to the HDF’s command echelon and to the government. The number of new volunteers versus the numbers resigning, their standards of discipline and their duty performance serve as a better gauge of the people’s expectation of the government success or failure in a crisis than any public opinion survey.<sup>11</sup>

## **Conclusions**

The boundaries between peace and war are becoming indistinct; the identification of the enemy is increasingly complicated; developments in technology produce new ways of war. Although asymmetric and hybrid warfare seem to become dominant forms of warfare, we must not assume that conventional war has disappeared. Every country must confront the changed characteristics of warfare, and the changed security environment. Hungary has recognized the characteristics of the new type of conflict in time and is providing an adequate answer. It gave an adequate response to the challenge of mass illegal migration in 2015, and achieved its designated end state. However, instead of sitting back complacently after this success, the government recognized the need to modernize the armed forces, and initiated a development program. In the course of this Zrínyi 2026 Program Hungary not only improves the capabilities of its armed forces, but also sets enhanced societal resilience as one of its goals.

Societal resilience is the product of many components. However, these components really depend on the moral fabric of society. The armed forces must be a constituent part of that fabric. This is

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<sup>11</sup> Kiss. “Milícia.”

particularly important today, because identity has become the goal of warfare, and the increasingly urbanized society itself has become its primary military target. National resilience can be developed through technical means, and – subject to the availability of resources – can be quickly restored. Identity, which provides the moral foundation of society’s cohesion, can also be developed – but unfortunately it cannot be easily restored. The HDF’s initiative to raise a large volunteer territorial reserve force is a promising step in the direction of restoring the bond between the armed forces and society, and thereby contribute to restoring an important component of national identity.

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## **Territorial Defence Force in Support of Civil Defence**

MOTTO: "Territorial defence is a form of involving civilian participation in defending one's area."<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

The provision of lasting state security in the modern world would be impossible were it not for the cooperation of national protection and defence forces under the military defence system, consisting of mobile operational forces, territorial defence, civil defence and national defence. Civil and military defence overlap at various national defence readiness states (peace, crisis and war), and their mutual penetration is critical to the effectiveness of national defence. In the 20th century warfare caused terrifying personal and material losses to all humanity. Thus, national defence embraces, through its preparation and conduct, the protection of humanity as a fundamental part of national security and national defence. Moreover, in the 20th century, apart from military threats, the scale of non-military threats related to the concentration of industry, population, etc. soared. Facing these threats is only possible by launching an efficiently functioning system of state and common defence involving the military and civilian forces.

**Key words:** Civil defence, territorial defence,

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<sup>1</sup> Nowak Jeziorański, Jan. *"Polska z Bliska,"* Kraków 2003, p.132

## **Contemporary National Protection and Defence**

For millennia, wars (aggression and defence) have been fought as pitched or general battles waged by dynastic states. Those “Wars of Kings” involved thousands of mercenary soldiers or “slave armies” and thus excluded the participation of entire societies. Since the emergence of nation states at the beginning of the nineteenth century (as a result of the American and French revolutions) wars have been fought by entire nations,<sup>2</sup>the hostilities involved whole societies and were conducted on the entire territories of states, using the full breadth of available resources. In the 20th century hostilities caused terrifying personal and material losses to nations, hence national defence began to include the preparation and conduct of civil defence as the foundation of common national protection and defence. Moreover, apart from the classic military domain, the scope and extent of the emerging 21st-century threats include a range of non-military threats related to industry density, climate change, population migrations, technical and natural disasters, social conflicts, etc.

Tackling the challenges of either war or non-military threats requires capabilities that can only be acquired through such organisation of the defence system as will incorporate mobile operational units and common territorial defence forces. It is only in this way that, with the support of civil defence, comprehensive defence of locations throughout the country is ensured. Such a structure of modern national defence system that includes territorial defence takes full strategic advantage of defending one’s land from the aggressor, simultaneously ensuring that neither the state nor its nation should succumb to the enemy.

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<sup>2</sup> von Clausewitz, Carl. “*O wojnie*”, Lublin 1957, p.732

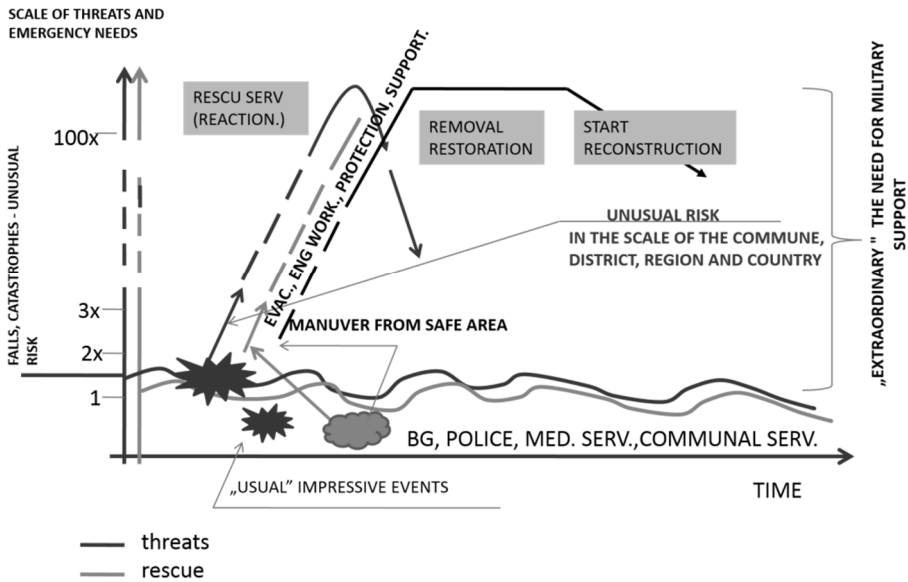


Fig. 1. Diagram of threats and emergency needs<sup>3</sup>

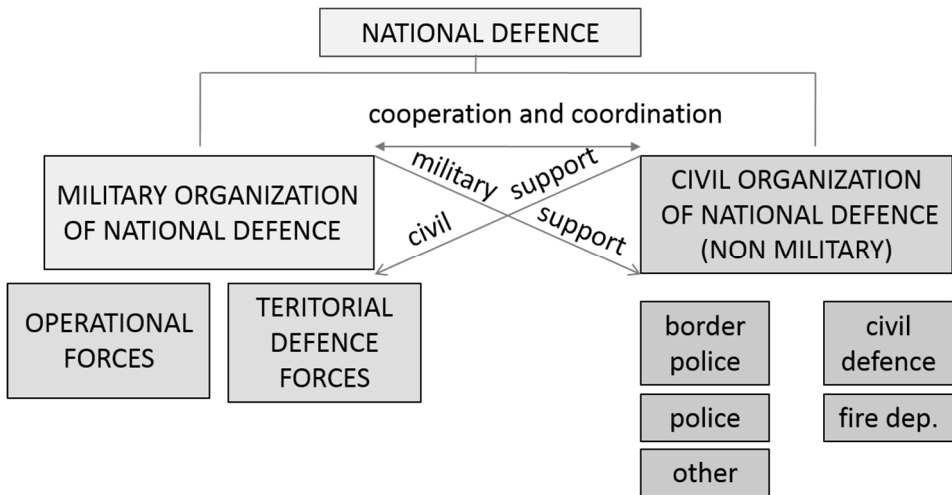


Fig. 2. The overall structure of national defence<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by the author, based on the lecture by J. Marczak.

<sup>4</sup> Drawn by the author, based on Władysław Sikorski, "Przyszła Wojna." Warszawa 1984 p.89

## Civil Defence in Support of Territorial Defence

Civil defence, as an element of common national defence, has been defined in a number of legal documents. Protocol I additional to the Geneva Convention of 1949 defines *civil defence* as “the performance of some or all of the (...) humanitarian tasks intended to protect the civilian population against the dangers (...) of hostilities or disasters and also to provide the conditions necessary for its survival.”<sup>5</sup> In Polish legislation the definition of *civil defence* is proposed in Article 137 of the Act of 21 November 1967 on universal obligation to defend the Republic of Poland: “*Civil defence is aimed at protecting people, companies, publicly used facilities and cultural heritage, saving and providing assistance to people suffering from war, cooperating in order to combat natural disasters, environmental threats and to remove their negative consequences.*”<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, particular states exhibit a different understanding of the concept of civil defence, several sources of which may be given, including historical experience in the field. However, there are common features that may be distinguished, e.g. the fact that civil defence predominantly focuses on helping people and protecting property during catastrophes and natural disasters. In many countries, the scope of the term is considerably broader as it is frequently assigned not only to one formation but to all non-military organisations active in the field of national security.<sup>7</sup>

In Poland civil defence personnel consists of individuals obliged to serve in civil defence formations on the basis of *an organisational assignment card* for clerks in public administration, health care and other institutions that are associated with civil defence tasks and are, therefore, implicitly incorporated to serve in the OC (Obrona Cywilna – Civil Defence). Approximately 300.000

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<sup>5</sup>An extract from Protocol I additional to the Geneva Convention of 1949 on victims of international armed conflicts, Civil defence in light of international law applicable in armed conflict.

<sup>6</sup> Act of 21 November 1967 on universal obligation to defend the Republic of Poland

<sup>7</sup> Kiler, Waldemar. *Obrona cywilna*, Warszawa 2001. p. 16.



people are estimated to perform OC tasks in Poland. According to current legislation, all OC entities are required to establish cooperation with the territorial defence forces within the assigned Areas of Responsibility. The fundamental elements of cooperation are as follows:

- Providing logistic support to the WOT (Wojska Obrony Terytorialnej-Territorial Defence Forces), which applies in particular to the delivery of materiel stored in civil defence warehouses (particularly decontamination and disinfection materials and equipment, sanitary materials and bandages), securing temporary accommodation, health care, emergency water supply, shelters not used by the civilian population, etc. The above information is found in the civil defence plans at the various administrative levels (cities/communes, counties, voivodeship). Nevertheless, reports suggest that the emergency materials in OC warehouses are understocked and constitute an insufficient reserve for Territorial Defence Forces.
- Exchanging information, in particular regarding the terrain, resources and threats. The cooperation potential in this sphere is particularly promising, especially considering the data gathered in Regional Crisis Management Centres that may prove of significant interest for WOT. Furthermore, all information collected in civil defence units of the public administration offices may similarly be considered a key element in the planning of WOT activities. Currently, the contamination and infection data exchange and cooperation of analytical and alarm centres are governed by a dedicated, professional system. In this respect, an important share of the work is performed at the Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Training Centre (*Centrum Szkolenia Obrony przed Bronią Masowego Rażenia*), a teaching unit at War Studies University which conducts cyclical training and workshops for civilians, thus acting towards the unification of civil and military procedures.

- Ensuring public order (fire safety) on roads or in the field. From the perspective of OC, fire safety and protection are highly prominent. This is due to the initiative and recommendation of the Chief of National Civil Defence of Poland (OCK – *Obrona Cywilna Kraju*) for rescue/fire formations composed of volunteer fire brigades. However, the matters are considerably more chaotic with respect to the cooperation in order to ensure public order. In the sphere of public order protection, the OC formations used to be manned by the personnel of municipal/city guards, whose numbers currently are being reduced, or they are even disbanded. The competent and trained guards are not appointed to other formations due to a strong trend for the liquidation of OC formations.
- Rescue operations for the armed forces. Surprising though it may seem, such regulations do exist in international law, where Protocols Additional to the Geneva Convention mention providing assistance to “military victims, particularly those who are *hors de combat*” by OC forces.<sup>8</sup>
- Evacuation of individuals from areas under threat, especially due to the presence of armed forces. Clearly, the process of evacuating people and animals is complicated, but in the event of combat operations in a given area it is essential. The organisational unit competent in matters of planning and conducting evacuation is the population evacuation/reception team. The decision is made by the competent head of OC, at the request of the military commander in charge of the defence preparation.
- Providing moral support for soldiers, in particular for families of soldiers on duty or deceased is justified and by all means desirable.
- Organisation and planning in the scope of creating OC documentation at various administrative levels. In this area there

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<sup>8</sup> An extract from Protocol I additional to the Geneva Convention of 1949 on victims of international armed conflicts, Civil defence in light of international law applicable in armed conflict.

are numerous compatibility issues regarding the use of identical procedures and symbols, e.g. regarding the use of various sets of graphic signs/characters on maps, which are often not intelligible for the military party.

- The training for OC personnel and citizens. This area is beset by a range of problems, from a small number of training sessions organised for Civil Defence personnel, to the infrequency of such training for civilians. As a result, the current situation requires substantial improvements.

In conclusion, the presented possibilities (limitations) of the cooperation between OC and WOT indicate a clear lack of precisely defined corrective actions that could be implemented by the supreme authorities. However, there is a notable increase in the number and scope of *grassroots* initiatives. The importance of OC for the health and safety at a workplace is growing in importance both for employees as for employers, jointly striving to exist and successfully compete in the free market.

### **Conditions and Requirements of Common Territorial Defence in Support of Civil Defence**

Natural hazards such as floods, droughts, storms, etc, have occurred since well before the dawn of man. Along with the development of civilization, their force and effects have been intensified by human activity—the use of poisonous, radioactive substances or environmental pollution. The concentration of these threats, their pace and coincidence in a specific location and time result in a drastic increase in the demand for a decisive and immediate response on the part of specific forces and measures. Limited reaction capabilities from standing forces and services, including the fire service, police, veterinary inspection, etc. have resulted in the capabilities being outweighed by the requirements, and therefore the emerging demand to develop a new reaction model.

The needs and challenges ahead of common Territorial Defence with respect to supporting civil defence in an organised and timely

manner is one of its key tasks, next to the execution of combat missions. Common territorial defence is an indispensable element of support forces. Proper training (preparation) of troops for the provision of support to civilian structures, as well as their proper organisation as required by given circumstances are key to the execution of the primary tasks to perform by these troops, i.e. acquiring the capabilities essential for providing support to the communities in need becomes crucial in the case of emergency. Therefore, nowadays, the structures, equipment and training of Territorial Defence Force should account for, promote and provide its capability to rescue, as well as to protect.

Currently in Poland one of the crucial impediments to successful cooperation between WOT and OC is the gradual development of WOT units, which are developed westwards from the eastern border. Within a few years, the forces will acquire full capacity throughout the country. Another challenge the Polish Armed Forces (Siły Zbrojne Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej – SZRP) must confront is further modification of the command structure, which has been evolving for several years and its final form is still emerging. As far as the lack of pinpointed direction of WOT development is concerned, it appears to have already contributed to the emergence of several problems, such as the lack of, *inter alia*, regional or local command bodies of OT units. Moreover, it seems evident that at the voivodeship level the voivodeship military staff is the natural command body. However, owing to recent changes in the regulations for the military staffs, the exercising of command of OT units on the voivodeship level is not included in their duties; what is mentioned is the coordination of army activities with public administration. An additional issue is the size of the areas under particular Commanders of Conscription Offices – extending over several counties – which is counterproductive for their cooperation with public administration.

Under the current legislative state in Poland the tasks of WOT and OC overlap; therefore, their cooperation in these areas is possible. The areas in question are as follows:

- Monitoring threats
- Executing tasks related to the assessment of the effects of phenomena occurring in the area of hazards;
- Performing search and rescue tasks;
- Evacuation of injured individuals and property;
- Preparation of temporary accommodation for evacuated individuals in designated places;
- Engagement in the protection of property abandoned in areas of threat;
- Isolating the area of threat or rescue operations;
- Performing prevention, rescue and evacuation from threatened buildings or historical sites;
- Conducting activities requiring the deployment of specialised technical equipment or explosives provided by the Polish Armed Forces;
- Removal of hazardous materials and their neutralisation, using the human and material resources of the Polish Armed Forces;
- Removal of radioactive contamination;
- Performing tasks related to the repair and reconstruction of technical infrastructure;
- Engagement in ensuring that communications routes are open;
- Providing medical assistance, sanitary tasks and ensuring anti-epidemic security.<sup>9</sup>

The highest form of cooperation between the Polish Armed Forces (primarily WOT) and OC will consist in the preparation and coordination of joint territorial defence activities with the non-military subsystem in various crisis scenarios. In other words, the

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<sup>9</sup>Announcement of the Speaker of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 26 January 2017 on consolidated text of a bill on crisis management (DziennikUstaw of 2017 (Journal of Laws) Item 209).

common national defence will emerge as an outcome of the cooperation of these two subsystems. As one of its constituents, WOT will contribute to the said cooperation by executing the following tasks in its area of responsibility:

- linking the structures of central and local authorities with territorial force command bodies at the central, regional and local level;
- coordination and cooperation of activities in peacetime for standing elements of Territorial Defence with authorities, services, guards and other public benefit organisations;
- promotion of training of active and reserve force at OT units on threats for the benefit of the military and Civil Defence;
- constant mobilisation and alert readiness of OT forces for immediate support of the authorities and the public;
- providing specialised organisation and equipment of OT units adjusted to the conditions and nature of military and non-military threats;
- joint training of OT elements with the authorities and other elements of common national defence.

Joint activities of OT and UP (Układ Pozamilitarny – Non-military Service) is the foundation for forming new systemic solutions in the constantly evolving Polish Armed Forces command system, particularly at the regional level. It is only through effective synchronisation of these two components in an emergency that the common national defence system can acquire the capability necessary to respond to the challenges of the contemporary and forecasted geopolitical situation. In peacetime, it is crucial that the issue of non-military system support is approached from the perspective of large-scale rescue operations, which have proved to become an increasing problem in recent years due to changing climate conditions.

Therefore, it seems that the efforts of the Armed Forces and, in particular, the Territorial Defence Forces, in the provision of support to universal Civil Defence should increase in the years to come.

However, a scenario to avoid is neglecting the support of the non-military formations and the use of the army as a substitute, taking over the tasks of civil administration, thus becoming a low-cost labour force in an emergency.

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## **The Future Home Guard in Greenland: Its Tasks, Organization and Political Significance**

**Keywords:** The Arctic, Civil-Military Relations, Home Guard, Defense Policy.

### **Introduction**

In recent years, international interest in the Arctic has increased as climate change is making the region increasingly accessible. Not only is the receding sea ice opening up new shipping routes across the Arctic, but exploitation of the region's natural resources is also facilitated. This process is slow but steady. When combined with recent changes in the global balance of power, the net result is that the strategic importance of the High North has grown significantly over the last decade – and is poised to grow even more in the coming years.<sup>1</sup>

The colossal island of Greenland experiences these changes at a point in its history where most political parties and the majority of the native Inuit population are striving for eventual independence, thereby dissolving the union with Denmark. As part of the Danish Realm (*Rigsfællesskabet*), Greenland currently enjoys complete autonomy, but shares foreign and defense policy with Denmark and

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<sup>1</sup> Pauli Järvenpää & Thomas Ries, "The Rise of the Arctic on the Global Stage," in James Kraska (ed.), *Arctic Security in an Age of Climate Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 129-144.

the Faroe islands.<sup>2</sup> While prior to the introduction of Self-Government in 2009, defense and foreign policy was (almost) exclusively managed by Denmark, the last decade has witnessed increased involvement by the government in Nuuk – the capital of Greenland – in defense and foreign policy questions. The most recent example of this is a variety of initiatives aimed at strengthening the relations between the armed forces of the Danish Realm and the society of Greenland. In this article, we study the debate about a possible military volunteer organization in Greenland and how the plans have progressed so far. The text builds on interviews with politicians from Denmark and Greenland, researchers, the Arctic Command and the Greenlandic Police about their expectations and opinion regarding such an organization. Our respondents represent a rather small, but centrally placed group who is either directly involved or has an interest in the development of Greenland, politically, economic and militarily. Supplementing these interviews have been reports on the development in the Arctic as well as political agreements such as defense bills.

### **The Drive for Independence and the Conceptualization of a Volunteer Force**

The first steps towards independence were taken in 1979 when Greenland was granted Home Rule, thereby gaining responsibility for certain administrative government areas. This made it possible for Greenland to leave the European Union six years later, following a referendum. The latest step towards independence came in 2009 when the Greenland Self-Government Act came into force. Nowadays, only foreign policy and defense matters are the prerogative of the Danish government. While there are consultation mechanisms with the Greenland government also within these two

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<sup>2</sup> Mininnguaq Kleist, "Greenland Self-Government and the Arctic," Dawn Alexandra Berry, Nigel Bowles & Halbert Jones (eds.), *Governing the North American Arctic. Sovereignty, Security, and Institutions* (Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 247-252.

spheres, the limited involvement of Greenland in military affairs is illustrated by the fact that – in contrast to Denmark – conscription does not exist (and never has) in Greenland. This does not mean that persons residing in Greenland do not have the right to serve in the Danish forces. Like female Danish citizens, all citizens of Greenland have the right – but not the duty – to serve in the armed forces. However, the number of persons with Inuit background currently serving in the Danish Armed Forces or having previously served there is unclear – primarily due to the Danish data protection legislation.<sup>3</sup>

The majority of the population currently supports independence, but the debate on how and when to declare independence continues to divide the Greenlandic population. Some demand independence immediately and at any cost while most recommend patience until Greenland is ready to take responsibility without support from Denmark and without adverse consequences to Greenland's finances and welfare system.<sup>4</sup> If the latter group prevails, the road to full independence seems long: As of today, the public sector in Greenland is financed by Denmark to a significant degree: The public expenses directly or indirectly paid by Denmark amount to around half of Greenland's GDP.<sup>5</sup>

On this background, defense and foreign policy constitutes areas where Greenland can increase its political influence and consistently has done so over the last decade. Both areas are not only highly symbolic, but also fraught with immense political implications – as shown by the recent offer by President Trump to buy Greenland, signifying that the US is keenly watching developments in Greenland. Assuming full control over foreign policy and defense would, however, add significantly to

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<sup>3</sup> *Forsvarsministeriets fremtidige opgaveløsning i Arktis: Særlig analyse vedrørende involvering og ansættelse* (Copenhagen: Forsvarsministeriet, 2016), Appendix 11, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Breum, *Balladen om Grønland* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Jørgen Schultz-Nielsen, "Hvordan skaffer man lige 5 mia. kr.," *Sermitsiaq*, 15 May, 2019.

Greenland's financial challenges. Not only is the government apparatus small, the tasks undertaken by the Danish Armed Forces around Greenland are significant (and costly), as they range from sovereignty preservation and surveillance through search and rescue, fishery inspection and icebreaking to medical evacuation from remote villages to central hospitals.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, the last decades have seen a growing political interest both in Denmark and in Greenland in how to engage the politicians and the population of Greenland in defense matters. In preparation for Self-Government, a report was presented in 2003 by the Self-Government Commission. It included a vague request for Greenland and the Greenlandic people to become more involved in the military tasks of the Danish Realm, and it even proposed to consider an introduction of conscription.<sup>7</sup> Initially, these words gave rise to virtually no action, and the first practical step was only taken in 2012 when the Greenland Command moved to Nuuk. The Command which later – when merged with Faroese Command – was renamed the Joint Arctic Command, had previously been located in Grønnedal, a remote spot in southern Greenland. This meant that there had been limited interaction between the military and the population of Greenland.

In 2011 *Kongeriget Danmarks Strategi for Arktis* (The Kingdom of Denmark's Strategy for the Arctic) addressed the challenges and possibilities in the Arctic caused by climate change, calling for a strengthened cooperation between the Arctic states as well as a strengthening of surveillance and SAR capabilities. The military's presence was to become more visible. The report also included short passages calling for the involvement of Greenlandic citizens in the

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<sup>6</sup> Niels Bo Poulsen, "A defense force for domestic consumption?" In Carmen Sorina Rijnoveanu & Jakob Brink Rasmussen (eds.), *The Use of Military Forces in Domestic Affairs: Lessons from the Past, Current Issues and Future Developments: Proceedings of the 17th Annual Conference of the Euro-Atlantic Conflict Studies Working Group* (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 2018), 58-68.

<sup>7</sup> *Betænkning afgivet af Selvstyrekommisionen* (Copenhagen: Selvstyrekommisionen, 2003), chapter 4.

support of the military's civilian tasks.<sup>8</sup> Examples such as coastal rescue and sea surveys were mentioned, but no tangible steps were suggested. The following year, the Danish Centre for Military Studies published the report *Samfundshåndhævelse i Grønland* (Community enforcement in Greenland) – a study of how the resources of the Greenlandic civic society can be involved in developing the capacity to secure its own future development.<sup>9</sup> The report recommended to seek inspiration in how the Danish Home Guard organizes volunteers as a way of securing the involvement of the local population in the tasks of the military. Applying these experiences to Greenland would, it was suggested, increase the general knowledge of the military in the Greenlandic society and strengthen the resilience of the local communities. Importantly, the report did not recommend establishing an armed organization such as the Danish Home Guard, but rather to tap into civilian resources and use them in cases of emergencies, such as coastal search and rescue operations or environmental hazards. The underlying logic was that the security environment around Greenland was stable and peaceful.<sup>10</sup>

Concrete ideas on how to engage civic society in defense-related matters were eventually presented in the AGFOA (“Working group on Enhancing the Ministry of Defense Missions in the Arctic”) report from 2016. This report was the result of a prolonged process with the MOD at the helm, and it presented a survey of the military resources that were present and the capacities that could be deployed to the Arctic.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the report offered an insight into how the contribution by the armed forces to Greenland could be improved, including a Greenlandic wish for a volunteer force.

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<sup>8</sup> *Kongeriget Danmarks Strategi for Arktis* (Copenhagen: Udenrigsministeriet, 2011), 19-21.

<sup>9</sup> *Samfundshåndhævelse i Grønland* (Copenhagen: Center for Militære Studier, 2012), II.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Forsvarsministeriets fremtidige opgaveløsning i Arktis* (Copenhagen: Forsvarsministeriet, 2016).

Limited funding implied that such a force would be a cost-efficient solution, accommodating both the need of the military and the Greenlandic wishes. The report i.a. concluded that there was an unexploited potential in the Greenlandic population, which, if formalized or organized, could be mobilized in support of the tasks of the military.<sup>12</sup> The report presented two suggestions as to how this could be done. First, a loosely structured volunteer reporting system where locals would phone in observations to the authorities, inspired by the Danish project *Havmiljøvogterne* (marine environment patrollers) in which civilian boat owners would report oil spills and other noteworthy observations at sea.<sup>13</sup> The Greenlandic equivalent could be named Greenlandic Marine Patrollers or Greenlandic Patrollers and could improve the surveillance of Greenland's coastal waters.<sup>14</sup> Second, a more traditional volunteer organization structured according to the model of the Danish Home Guard – but also inspired by the Canadian Ranger Corps – was envisaged as a way of enhancing the ability to mobilize manpower in emergency situations.<sup>15</sup> It was estimated that such projects could be implemented quickly and would be cost-efficient, and it was the expectation that they could become permanent institutions from about 2017 if evaluations turned out positive.<sup>16</sup> Like the reports and studies previously mentioned, the AGFOA report was also based on a scenario in which the future would be characterized by “cooperation and competition” rather than “confrontation and conflict” in the Arctic.<sup>17</sup>

## The First Steps

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<sup>12</sup> Forsvarsministeriets fremtidige opgaveløsning i Arktis, 201 and 203.

<sup>13</sup> Forsvarsministeriets fremtidige opgaveløsning i Arktis, 123.

<sup>14</sup> Forsvarsministeriets fremtidige opgaveløsning i Arktis, 68 and 241.

<sup>15</sup> Ritzau, “Regeringen: Grønland skal have sit eget hjemmeværn,” *Berlingske Tidende*, June 21, 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Forsvarsministeriets fremtidige opgaveløsning i Arktis, 241.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

The task of building a volunteer force in Greenland was initially given to the Danish Home Guard, indicating that the original vision was to create an institution with considerable resemblance to the Home Guard. The history of the Danish Home Guard goes back to the early Cold War era and from the beginning, it became an integral component of the armed forces. Its tasks primarily related to territorial defense. Albeit the Home Guard has since evolved and now covers a broad range of assignments, including assistance with traffic control at large public gatherings, assistance during civil emergencies and addressing environmental hazards, it is still a highly militarized organization under the command of an army general.<sup>18</sup>

The 2016 AGFOA report explicitly referred to another possible model that might provide useful input – i.e. the Canadian Rangers.<sup>19</sup> The Rangers date back to the Second World War. At that time, their role was to patrol the Canadian Far North and their members were equipped with rifles and expected to participate in defending the vast Canadian North. This task has later been removed from the Rangers' task list in favor of three basic tasks: 1) conducting surveillance and presence patrols, 2) operations in support of local communities, and 3) maintaining a Canadian Armed Forces presence in local communities. Operating in an environment similar to Greenland and recruiting about one third of their 5,000 “soldiers” from various indigenous groups in the Arctic regions of Canada, the Rangers seem to be an ideal source of inspiration for the future volunteer force in Greenland. The Rangers are part of the reserve force structure of the Canadian Armed Forces, and they only receive limited training, equipment and pay. Yet, it is a force which allows the Canadian state to tap into the knowledge and resources of local indigenous communities. Moreover, the ranger concept tackles the

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<sup>18</sup> Jens Ole Christensen, *Hjemmeværnet - Historien om det folkelige forsvar* (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 2017).

<sup>19</sup> *Forsvarsministeriets fremtidige opgaveløsning i Arktis*, Appendix, May 11, 2015, 54ff.

challenge of reaching out to indigenous communities and helps redefine the relationship between the central authorities and the periphery. Concerning the applicability of the ranger model to Greenland, certain observations need to be addressed. First of all, the efficiency of the Rangers is debated. While the Rangers are generally seen as an important enabler and an important link to local communities, some lament their lack of combat training and modest degree of organization. The claim that the Rangers are no more than a “rag-tag force” is reinforced by the facts that the local Ranger groups elect their own leader, by the absence of formal military training or annual skill checks and by the lack of a fixed retirement age. Yet, as argued by Lackenbauer, the Rangers should not be measured by the standards of a conventional force as they are not meant for wartime fighting.<sup>20</sup> An alluring aspect of the Canadian experience with a ranger force is that it has contributed to providing agency to indigenous people, has bridged cultural gaps between instructors from the Canadian forces and local instructors and serves as a platform for gender equality by generating many female leaders.<sup>21</sup>

When developing a volunteer force, it is natural for the group under the Arctic Command to seek inspiration, e.g. by looking at the Icelandic ICE-SAR volunteer rescue association and the Danish Home Guard, as well as the Canadian Rangers, but as the group remarks about the Rangers, “*everyone has been over there to have a look at them, except for us.*” It does, however, “*make sense to draw inspiration from them.*”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “‘Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada’s North’: Media Misperceptions of the Canadian Rangers, Indigenous Service, and Arctic Security,” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19, No. 2 (2018): 157-192.

<sup>21</sup> Magali Vullierme, “The Social Contribution of the Canadian Rangers: A Tool of Assimilation or Means of Agency?” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19, No. 2 (2018): 193-211; Lackenbauer, “Indigenous Communities.”

<sup>22</sup> Project group under the Arctic Command, interviewed on 07.05.2019 in Nuuk.



It remains undisclosed to what extent the Canadian Armed Forces were given an active role in advising the relevant authorities after the work to establish the volunteer force in Greenland began in 2017. That year, the Danish Home Guard sketched out the road towards initiating a Greenlandic version of a home guard by 2018. The original plan was to start by setting up a unit of 30-40 volunteers in Nuuk. A spokesperson from the Home Guard commented that the organization was well suited for the job as it had previously contributed to the establishment of a home guard in Estonia after that country gained independence. "Now we just have to wait and see if the home guard mindset is also sustainable in Greenland," the spokesperson declared.<sup>23</sup> This statement seems to indicate that the prevailing concept shortly after the AGFOA report was a sort of copy-paste of the Danish Home Guard model rather than building up a genuinely new type of force.

However, with the defense agreement for 2018-2023, responsibility for the project shifted from the Home Guard to the Arctic Command.<sup>24</sup> In the process the project changed from establishment of a home guard to an unarmed volunteer force that should assist the military in non-military areas.<sup>25</sup> The reason for the changes is not entirely clear. One explanation could be that it was viewed as more logical that the Arctic Command, which was already well established in Greenland, should develop the project. From this point of view, it would be easier to attract volunteers to an organization that the locals are already familiar with rather than to an organization with no previous presence in Greenland. In addition, the project had clearly assumed a character that made it politically quite sensitive, and Arctic Command may well have sought better access to important local stakeholders. Another

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<sup>23</sup> *Hjemmeværnsmagasinet*, May 2017, 18.

<sup>24</sup> *Forsvarsforlig 2018-2023 (Copenhagen, Folketinget, 2018)*.

<sup>25</sup> See a brief description of the project at "Arktisk Kommando søger sagsbehandler til projektorganisationen for frivilligstyrken," <https://job.sermitsiaq.ag/da/arktisk-kommando/job/arktisk-kommando-soger-sagsbehandler-til-projektorganisationen-frivilligstyrken>

possibility could be that the Danish armed forces preferred the project to be placed under its own auspices rather than the Home Guard which is an independent agency. It is also possibly that the change of responsibility from the Home Guard to the Arctic Command was a reflection that the project had eventually become less ambitious and far-reaching than originally envisaged.

### **Local Perspectives on the Volunteer Force Project**

No matter what the true reasons were behind the changes in the concept of a home guard between 2016 and 2018, it is clear that from the very beginning the project was meant to not only galvanize the capabilities of the defense force in Greenland, but also to serve as a vehicle for extending Danish-Greenlandic relations into a new sphere. The 2018 defense agreement states that the military's activities in the Arctic are to be built on a strong relationship between the local population and the Danish Armed Forces.<sup>26</sup> It mentions both strengthening the possibility for people from Greenland to do voluntary conscription service and the training of volunteers to support the military in its task with main focus on civilian tasks such as environmental protection, as mentioned above using the label "Greenland Patrollers." It is envisaged that the Greenland Patrollers should receive training by military instructors.

However, even if the aim was a military basic education, most political actors seem to disregard its military content. Instead, they focus on how the competences obtained through such training may contribute to the development and strengthening of local society. It is evident that to the Greenlandic politicians we met, the project has the potential to strengthen Greenland's pursuit of independence.<sup>27</sup> This is hardly surprising as other observers have noted that every policy initiative that comes from Denmark, as virtually every

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<sup>26</sup> *Forsvarsforlig 2018-2023*, 11 (Copenhagen, Folketinget, 2018).

<sup>27</sup> Interviews in Copenhagen and in Nuuk in May 2019.

political topic does, becomes a part of the independence debate.<sup>28</sup> One Greenlandic politician interviewed for this article expressed that through participation in tasks so far carried out by the Danish defense force, the people of Greenland would move further down the route to independence.<sup>29</sup> The practical implications and economic costs associated with assuming responsibility for some or all tasks carried out by the Danish Armed Forces are, however, a topic that is often neglected when discussing independence. Greenland has neither the economy nor the manpower to maintain a defense force similar to the Danish deployment in Greenland. To the above mentioned politician, one of the goals of the volunteer force would be to make the Danish military contribution more visible to the public: *“people need to see the purpose of the military and the Arctic Command.”*<sup>30</sup> This would give the local population a greater understanding of what independence would require. Our informant emphasized that in the present situation, the country needs the Arctic Command, but at the same time the people of Greenland are also able to contribute to the military, strengthening it at low cost. As a part of this, the informant wants to work for an *“equal partnership”* rather than a *“big brother-little brother relationship, with Denmark as the older brother.”*<sup>31</sup>

At stake are also different perceptions of security and of Greenland’s spatial demarcation. One informant offered the observation that with the limited involvement of the Greenlandic society in the protection of Greenland and its territory in the Arctic, most people only have a vague idea of the existence of a border and what it takes to monitor those who cross it.<sup>32</sup> In this case, participation in a volunteer civilian force would generate the

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<sup>28</sup> Kristian Søby Kristensen (Centre for Military Studies) and Ulrik Pram Gad (Aalborg University), interviews in May 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Informant A, member of Inuit Ataqatigiit, interviewed on 29.04.2019 in Copenhagen.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Informant B, member of Inuit Ataqatigiit, interviewed on 21.05.2019 in Nuuk.

knowledge and capacity needed to enforce its sovereignty when Greenland becomes independent, and, as stated by the informant, it is not possible for Greenland “to be an independent country if it cannot enforce its own sovereignty. ... As an independent country we have to mentally, educationally and otherwise prepare at some point to defend our own country ... and ... to create a structure of what it means to protect one’s country. ... It is necessary to know who enters and exits the area of Greenland, for how long they stay and for what purpose... (but) ... guns are not needed for this.”<sup>33</sup> The said informant furthermore noted that there is an immense gap between the visibility of the police and the armed forces. The military is only visible when a ship enters port while the police has long been an integral part of society. The way in which the utility of the armed forces is perceived did, however, change with the tsunami of June 2017. The tsunami, which was caused by a rockslide, completely destroyed the small settlement of Nuugaatsiaq, killing four persons. The ensuing rescue action carried out by the Danish Armed Forces resulted in the evacuation of close to one hundred inhabitants and demonstrated the need for a robust force capable of carrying out such tasks.

According to another Greenlandic politician, the military as an institution in Greenland is “a Danish construct” and not natural to the people of Greenland.<sup>34</sup> Rather than seeing the volunteer force as a means of strengthening the cohesion of the Danish Realm by engaging the Greenlandic population, this respondent sees it as a demonstration of how Greenland is moving towards independence. If Denmark were really interested in involving the local population, it would be a more substantial step from Danish side – according to the politician –if the volunteer force included the employment of more people from Greenland in the armed forces present on the island. However, as an independent country Greenland should not seek to replace the Arctic Command, but “make a deal, like Iceland,

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Informant C, member of Nunatta Qitornai, interviewed on 29.04.2019 in Nuuk.

*with NATO.*"<sup>35</sup> Though, as long as the Danish Realm continues to exist, this informant sees benefits for both parties and would like Greenland to have more "*insight into the role of the Arctic Command in the Arctic.*"<sup>36</sup>

None of the people interviewed expressed any interest in creating a Greenlandic armed force, and they shared the belief that the people of Greenland are not warlike. This is explained by the harsh living conditions in the Arctic where, throughout history, the inhabitants have depended on each other to survive. The result is allegedly a culture that is not akin to conflict, but instead is used to aiding one another. While this may be seen as a rather idealized image of Inuit culture, it is not an isolated opinion in Greenland that its people have developed a mentality where warfare is not natural to them. A large segment of the population shares this perception which may have significant consequences for the future of a Greenland Home Guard. A volunteer military organization like a home guard can only attract members if there is an interest in and willingness to participate in an activity whose purpose – directly or indirectly - is to ultimately defend a country through violent force. A home guard does have other competences such as assisting civilian authorities in emergency situations, but its original purpose is to allow civilians to participate in the defense of their country. Such an organization would be challenging to create in the absence of a perceived foreign threat. This problem probably explains why the notion of a volunteer organization under the Danish Armed Forces so far has only been described as having civil society-oriented tasks, rather than serving hardcore military needs.

### **An Umbrella Organization: Developing the Project of a Volunteer Force**

In order to handle the task to develop and implement the volunteer project a project group was established by Arctic Command, the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

group is led by a member of the Danish Emergency Management Agency assisted by a representative from the Danish Home Guard and a Greenlander of Inuit decent, combining professional knowhow on emergency assistance and the functions of a Home Guard with local and cultural knowledge. Initially the group faced a problem with their task description, as it contained the Danish word *beredskab*, which is not easily translatable but can mean a standby force or an emergency force. To the project group the term was a challenge, as it contains different meanings to civilian and military organizations. A clarification of the purpose of the volunteer force was therefore badly needed. Additionally, the wording of the proposal indicated it to be a permanent, educational organization, an impossible proposition due to insufficient funds. Following this initial confusion, the project group came up with the idea of establishing an umbrella organization under which volunteers could be coordinated, covering already existing initiatives. The first steps involved creating a Facebook page, which quickly gained hundreds of members, and drawing up a list of contact persons in the various towns. Based on this and in combination with positive feedback on the Arctic Command's Facebook page from locals concerning the Danish Armed Forces' operations, the group became convinced that a solid support for a volunteer organization could be found in the Greenlandic society. "When the shit hits the fan, people step up". What the project group identifies as needed is a structure or organization which can formalize the willingness to assist.

The primary target group of the volunteer force is seen as people aged 40 to 60 with their own boats. Such persons are attractive because they have years of experience and expertise navigating their native areas. The extent to which such volunteers are able to physically assist in emergency situations is still debated. A plan for more standardized training and equipment must be developed and implemented before the authorities foresee employing these volunteers in more demanding types of service. As of now, the idea is to create an organization inspired by the Danish

Marine Environment Patrollers, but besides reporting pollution, the Greenland Patrollers would also supply information that can be used in military operations as well as for civilian purposes. It could be local weather data, data on animal movements or other information which the organization could gather upon request through its network or it could be keeping an eye out for suspicious movements by individuals or ships.<sup>37</sup> Initially, the volunteers will mainly be used to report observations rather than act. If this part of the project proves a success, next step could be to attract younger members, and a junior organization might even become relevant. In this case, it is the expectation of the local politicians that it would give young members of the Greenlandic society competencies they can use in other walks of life. This part of the project obviously draws heavily on the Canadian Rangers who operate a special youth organization: the Junior Canadian Rangers.

Considering the Greenland police force's perspective on the matter adds useful insight into the development of a volunteer force. According to the chief of police in Greenland, Bjørn Tegner Bay, the Greenlandic police understands the volunteer force as primarily representing a need associated with the responsibilities of the armed forces, but the police nevertheless sees opportunities in the force and is interested in using it. The volunteers might thus be asked to report things out of the ordinary when sailing in isolated areas. Moreover, if the police know that the boat owners have the right training and equipment, they are seen as a possible asset by the authorities in coastal rescue operations as well as possible players when searching for missing people in the wilderness. One conflict does, however, exist as a civilian volunteer organization already exists under the fire department and according to the police, it would have been more logical to place the new force here, if it was not supposed to assist the military. The police sees itself and the military as two important representatives of the Danish Realm. Both provide essential services

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<sup>37</sup> Project group under Arctic Command, interviewed on 07.05.2019 in Nuuk.

to society, and it is believed that the future volunteer force might enhance the relationship to the population. Nevertheless, while the police believe it is perceived by the population as the police of Greenland and an organic part of society, the same does allegedly not apply to the military. Due to the infrequent calls of the Navy's ships at port and due to the isolated position of its headquarters until the Arctic Command relocated to Nuuk, the defense force was much more aloof from society. While the police train its members in Greenland at its own facilities, the military still lacks suitable premises for training of locals. Still, respect and goodwill towards the navy's gray ships is widespread. The Greenlandic member of the project group developing the volunteer force recalled that as a child he was told by his father that "*those out there, you can always count on them for help*" referring to the Navy.<sup>38</sup> However, in order for the people of Greenland to take ownership of the military, it has to "*reflect the demography*" which cannot be done though a volunteer organization alone, but requires employment of more people from Greenland in the military together with people from Denmark.<sup>39</sup>

The success of the planned volunteer force rests on the willingness in relevant parts of the population to do volunteer work. The fostering of a strong civic society has been a priority to the government of Greenland, and the project group has identified several existing organizations it may gain experience from. The idea is to build on the already existing local willingness to engage in volunteer work and to establish an organization that channels parts of the ongoing activities in the direction of the volunteer force. This means that the volunteer force most likely will be organized as an umbrella organization. According to our informants, they envisage that this structure will ensure that the spirit of a home guard will form the outer shell and provide a structure, under which different volunteer tasks can be performed by volunteer groups already in

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<sup>38</sup> Project group under Arctic Command, interviewed on 07.05.2019 in Nuuk.

<sup>39</sup> Bjørn Tegner Bay, Chief of Police in Greenland, interviewed on 07.05.2019 in Nuuk.



existence.<sup>40</sup> The volunteers should thus have the opportunity to participate at the level they desire, ranging from members supporting the Greenlandic Patrollers, calling in observations, and to the ones interested in receiving training that makes them capable of assisting the authorities in rescue operations in coastal waters and on land.

Potentially, the future volunteer force can also become an important asset in addressing another threat: wildfires. Already occurring, with the ongoing global warming such fires are bound to become more frequent and likely to cover vast areas. Greenland has a well-functioning fire department, but it could utilize the volunteer force's members to keep track of or - with the proper training - to take part in fighting the fires. The volunteer force is initially not expected to attract large numbers of people, but as there is a limited number of present volunteers, the force will eventually have to attract those not already engaged in volunteer work in order not to risk competing with other organizations for volunteers.

No matter what, the volunteers must also see a clear purpose of their work, and in order to do so, the project group and the police deem it important that the volunteer force is perceived as a Greenlandic force with a name and symbols that are referring to Greenland and not Denmark. In that sense, the future volunteer force evidently also plays a role in the "Greenlandization" of one of the last areas where Greenland does not enjoy full independence - defense and security matters. Significantly, the most prolific of all military units in Greenland, the elite Sirius sledge patrol (a specialized military unit patrolling the unpopulated and vast Eastern Greenland), has so far not had a single soldier from Greenland. It would be a true symbolic break-through if a native Inuit eventually became a member of the Sirius patrol. Also, no officers with Inuit background have so far served at the Arctic Command. If such steps were taken in addition to more

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<sup>40</sup> Project group under Arctic Command, interviewed on 07.05.2019 in Nuuk.

Greenlanders generally becoming part of the military, it would be difficult to see the military as a Danish institution rather than a force representing Greenland.<sup>41</sup>

Although, as described above, the future volunteer organization seems civilian rather than military in spirit, the idea of a regular home guard in Greenland has not been completely abandoned. It is still the ambition to test the potential for establishing a regular home guard company under the umbrella model. A small number of reservists from the Danish Home Guard reside in Greenland and some of them have expressed an interest in forming the core of a Greenlandic Home Guard. Incorporating this group of people could provide the volunteer force with crucial experience and increase its possibility of success. How the challenges of training, equipment and storage of weapons are to be addressed is still unclear. As with the volunteer force in general, the further progress of the home guard is still very much in the making.

### **The Changing Security Landscape in the Arctic**

Since the first ideas about engaging the population of Greenland in activities related to the defense force were put into words, the security situation in the Arctic has changed significantly. As mentioned above, the base scenario of the 2011 Arctic Strategy and the 2016 AGFOA report was that the Arctic would remain a low-tension zone. Recent developments have, however, challenged this notion. In the annual risk assessment published by the Danish Defense Intelligence Service in November 2018, it was noted that, although the Arctic coastal states still pursued a cooperation-oriented agenda, there was an increased risk of tension.<sup>42</sup> In September 2019, Defence Minister Trine Bramsen went even further and declared that the security situation around Greenland amounted to one out of four principal threats and challenges facing the Danish Realm (the other

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<sup>41</sup> Ulrik Pram Gad (Aalborg University), interviews in May 2019.

<sup>42</sup> *DDIS Risk assessment 2018* (Copenhagen: Danish Intelligence Service, 2018), 9.

three being terror, Russia in the Baltic region and cyber threats).<sup>43</sup> Her statement came in the wake of two significant events. In May 2019, during a ministerial meeting in the Arctic Council, the U.S. Foreign Minister Michael Pompeo declared that the peaceful cooperation in the region was giving way to “a new age of strategic engagement in the Arctic, complete with new threats to the Arctic”.<sup>44</sup> Pompeo explicitly accused Russia and China of militarizing the region, i.e. of seeking to control it by means of nontransparent investments. A few months later, it was leaked that the U.S. President Donald Trump was considering an offer to Denmark of buying Greenland - thereby demonstrating the sustained interest the U.S. takes in Greenland.

Thus, it is becoming increasingly evident that the Danish Armed Forces in Greenland cannot merely undertake activities benefitting civil society. They also need to assume a robust posture and to address the risk of non-NATO states probing the borders of Greenland. To the Arctic Command, the future volunteer force may become an important asset in asserting Greenland’s defense: intelligence gathering in the form of observations of any clandestine foreign presence. The geography of Greenland is vast, and surveillance of the entire island is an impossible task. Fishermen or hunters associated with the volunteer force may, however, contribute to enhancing the intelligence picture by functioning as sensors spread out across Greenland. As of today, people do call in with observations of noteworthy events, but not always through the most effective channels. Training the future volunteers in gathering and sharing information of potential military relevance with the Arctic Command would widen the military’s intelligence picture of the Arctic.

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<sup>43</sup> Mads Korsager Nielsen, “Forsvarsminister vil skruer op for danske Nato-missioner,” DR.dk, September 3, 2019. <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/forsvarsminister-vil-skrue-op-danske-nato-missioner>

<sup>44</sup> Michael R. Pompeo, “Looking North: Sharpening America’s Arctic Focus,” May 6, 2016, State Department.

## Conclusion

Since Self-Government was established in 2009, Greenland has experienced drastic changes to its domestic and external situation. The economy is still fragile – some would argue more than ever – and Greenland’s position within the Danish Realm is dynamic with the government of Greenland vying for as much independence as possible, yet being restrained by the economic dependence on Denmark. The future Greenlandic volunteer force is just a small part of this complex picture, but it is a good reflection of significant aspects of the intricate relationship between Denmark and Greenland. First and foremost, there are evidently different expectations associated with the volunteer force in the two parts of the Realm. Hardly surprising, the politicians in Nuuk appear to see the project as a way of gaining influence in an area where Greenland has so far been underrepresented, i.e. defense matters. It is, however, striking that the emphasis is not on extending national conscription to Greenland or on setting up a militarized home guard. Rather, the future volunteer force is likely to be geared towards tasks supporting civil society. This seems to reflect a genuine belief among many politicians in Greenland – and their voters – that there is no external threat to Greenland.<sup>45</sup> Certain politicians have even envisaged that Greenland can gradually build up a fully non-militarized home guard, capable of carrying out all civil society related defense assignments. According to the proponents of this idea, the money could be generated by decommissioning the Danish defense infrastructure in Greenland and reallocating the means to a non-militarized Greenlandic home guard.<sup>46</sup> In contrast, the Danish

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<sup>45</sup> Marc Jacobsen and Ulrik Pram Gad, “Setting the scene in Nuuk: introducing the cast of characters in Greenlandic foreign policy narratives,” eds. Kristian Søby Kristensen and Jon Rahbek-Clemmesen, *Greenland and the International Politics of a Changing Arctic* (London: Routledge, 2018), 11-27.

<sup>46</sup> Pele Broberg, “Partii Naleraq: Lad grønlandsk hjemmeværn overtage Forsvarets opgaver,” May 29, 2019, [Altinget.dk](http://Altinget.dk).

government is keenly aware that the American conviction of a threat in the Arctic from China and Russia needs to be taken very seriously. This explains why the Arctic Command is interested in utilizing a possible volunteer force to improving its intelligence picture of the Arctic in a cost-efficient way.

Currently, there is only one point where the diverging expectations correlate. Both visions depend on the armed forces providing training, equipment as well as financial and logistical support, but it remains to be seen whether the resources and local volunteers materialize. Also, it is an open question whether the different expectations as to the tasks which the volunteer force should be assigned can be reconciled.

When asked if the volunteer force should be seen as a sign of new challenges due to climate change, as a symbol to bridge Danish-Greenlandic differences or as a signal of rising military threats, the people interviewed for this article had different interpretations. Many saw no contradiction between the three positions and believed that there was some truth to them all. Perhaps, rather than asking if the volunteer force or home guard is a sign, a signal or a symbol, we should see it as arising due to a complex situation generated by Danish-Greenlandic relations, recent developments in the Arctic and global security and environmental trends. Eventually, it will be developments along all three of these axes that will determine what the future volunteer force will look like and which role it will assume.

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## **Territorial Defence Forces in the Crisis Management System**

**Keywords:** national security of the Republic of Poland, challenges and threats for state, territorial defence forces, crisis management

### **Territorial Defence Forces in the Crisis Management System**

Changes in the Command and Control System of the Polish Armed Forces and the establishment of the new type of troops of the armed forces, *i.e.* Territorial Defence Forces, determine the need for redefining the approach to the support of the Non-Military System by the Polish Armed Forces in the aspect of non-military threats. In the new approach, it is essential to clarify the capabilities of OT (*Obrona Terytorialna* – Territorial Defence)<sup>1</sup> brigades with respect to their performance of tasks under crisis conditions and determining the principles of their cooperation with crisis management bodies, advisory and opinion-making bodies, crisis management centres and executive systems (services or inspections). This paper presents the concept for the engagement of WOT (*Wojska Obrony Terytorialnej* – Territorial Defence Force), and identifies the main legal and organisational problems requiring systemic solutions.

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This research paper presents the results from the study conducted at the Fundamentals of National Security Institute of War Studies University and was funded from the statutory activity funds for the research task: Modern and Future Threats to Security, Task No. II.1.23.0, Bursary No. 821.

<sup>1</sup> All abbreviations are listed at the end of this paper.

## **The National Security System of the Republic of Poland**

The sense of security is one of the fundamental human needs, the fulfilment of which determines efficient functioning and development of each entity – be it an individual, an organisation, a community or a state entity. Security may be regarded, therefore, as one of the most desirable values; this is further substantiated by the vast scientific interest in the field, which has been focused on optimising the security levels, also in the context of civil protection.

The provision of national security (and thus the security of the citizens), in the broad understanding, necessitates defining its key terms, implementing the system and improving it according to requirements.

The national security system consists of all bodies responsible for state security in the light of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland and relevant laws, *i.e.* bodies and institutions from the legislative, executive and judicial authorities, including Parliament, the President of the Republic of Poland, the Prime Minister, the Council of Ministers, central government administration authorities and other state central offices and state institutions. It is a system that encompasses elements of external and internal security, which focuses on ensuring national security as far as the socio-economic development of the country is concerned.

SBN's (*System Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego* – National Security System) primary organisational and operational outlet is SOP (*System Obronny Państwa* – State Defence System), which is operated to ensure the protection of vital national interests, particularly the sovereignty and independence of the Polish state, its right to territorial integrity and to the inviolability of its borders. The key purpose of the system is to guarantee military security and maintain the potential of the state by exhibiting the capability to effectively respond to external political and military crises, and in the event of war – to immediately repel aggression.

There are several important components building up SOP. On the central level, there are the armed forces and government services and institutions dealing with prevention and countering of external threats, ensuring public safety, conducting rescue operations and protecting people and property in an emergency, while on the regional level – local authorities and other legal entities, including entrepreneurs creating industrial defensive potential and performing national defence tasks.

In addition to SOP, another system playing a vital role in the provision of national security is the SZK (*System Zarządzania Kryzysowego* - Crisis Management System). SZK is a national security management system responsible for the prevention and handling crises through planned actions and procedures, reacting in the event of emergency situations and reconstructing infrastructure to its original condition.

### **Crisis Management System**

Issues related to crisis management are regulated by the Act of 26 April 2007 on Crisis Management.<sup>2</sup> The Act unifies the nomenclature and specifies authorities and their tasks in the performance of crisis management activities.

On 19 September 2009, the amendment to the Act on Crisis Management came into force. The purpose of this amendment was, *inter alia*, to clarify the doubts regarding the implementation of the provisions of the Act, to establish the grounds for the creation of an effective and legible crisis management system, to unify the documentation and rid and prevent duplication of documents, to improving the civil planning process by means of introducing the planning cycle, to specify the entities authorised to participate in the said process and to establish their competence in the development of crisis management plans.

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<sup>2</sup> *Dziennik Ustaw* 2007, No. 89, Item 590.

According to the amended act, a crisis situation is “a situation that impacts negatively on the safety of people, property in large sizes or the environment and produces significant restrictions on the operation of competent public administration authorities due to the inadequacy of possessed capabilities and resources.”

In practice, for this situation to occur, it two elements must occur:

- the situation must adversely affect the security of people and property or the environment to a significant extent;
- the situation must cause significant restrictions on the activities of competent public administration bodies due to the inadequacy of its capabilities and resources at their disposal.

What can be inferred from this provision is that when the capabilities and resources of an authority responsible for crisis management are sufficient to address the emerging problem, it does not qualify as a crisis situation. Therefore in practice, in accordance with their respective regulations, particular public services are assigned full responsibility for combating threats requiring an immediate response. In this case, individual services and inspections undertake autonomous actions in the provision of routine support for other services (based on joint plans and procedures).

Should a threat be outside the scope of routine activities of individual services or authorities (sudden threat/emergency), the general administration authority has the right and obligation to order actions other than those resulting from the adopted plans and procedures, such as in the event of a threat to which none or more than one of the services feel competent. Although this situation does not yet exhibit the characteristics of a crisis, it is no longer qualified as a routine operation.<sup>3</sup>

An exceptional type of crisis is an emergency, characterised by the inability to combat the threat following common constitutional measures. The effect of introducing a state of emergency may be: a concentration of power in the hands of the president and

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<sup>3</sup> Witold Skomra. *Zarządzanie kryzysowe. Praktyczny przewodnik po nowelizacji ustawy*, (Wrocław: Presscom, 2010), 26.

government, a limitation of rights and freedoms of citizens, changes in the structure and principles of state organs functioning, as well as changes in the legislative system. Depending on the threat and the anticipated development of the situation, an emergency may trigger the declaration of a natural disaster, a state of emergency or martial law.<sup>4</sup>

Crisis management – under the provisions of the Act – is the activity of public administration authorities constituting an element of the national security management system, whose objectives are to prevent crisis, prepare to control them through planned actions, respond in the event of crisis situations, removing their effects and reconstructing resources and critical infrastructure to its original state.

### **The Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland in Crisis Management – the Current State**

The Polish Armed Forces constitute an element supporting the crisis management system. Their participation in the performance of crisis management tasks is specified in the acts: on universal obligation to defend the Republic of Poland, on the state of natural disaster and on crisis management.

Article 3.2 of the Act on the universal obligation to defend the Republic of Poland specifies that “the Polish Armed Forces may also participate in combating natural disasters and removal of their effects, anti-terrorist and property protection tasks, search operations as well as rescue or protection of human health and life, clearing areas from explosives and dangerous military materials and

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<sup>4</sup> Introduction of states of emergency is regulated by the following acts: *Ustawa z dnia 18 kwietnia 2002 r. o stanie klęski żywiołowej* (Dz.U. Nr 62 z 22.05.2002 r. poz. 558 z późn. zm.); *Ustawa z dnia 21 czerwca 2002 r. o stanie wyjątkowym* (Dz.U. Nr 113 z 20.07.2002 r. poz. 985 z późn. zm.); *Ustawa z dnia 29 sierpnia 2002 r. o stanie wojennym oraz o kompetencjach Naczelnego Dowódcy Sił Zbrojnych i zasadach jego podległości konstytucyjnym organom Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Dz.U. Nr 156 z 25.09.2002 r. poz. 1301 z późn. zm.).

their neutralisation, as well as in the implementation of crisis management tasks.”

Article 18 of the Act on the state of natural disaster stipulates that “if in a crisis situation the use of other capabilities and resources is impossible or may prove to be insufficient (...) the Minister of Defence may provide the *voivode* with subunits or units of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland (...) and assign them to perform tasks aimed at countering or removal of the effects of natural disaster.”

The main document regarding the use of the Polish Armed Forces in crisis situation management is the Act on crisis management, regulating the rules for the use of the Polish Armed Forces by the State in crisis situations. The legislator regulated the issues of civil planning, monitoring of the current situation, protection of critical infrastructure, the structure of the management system and the rules of engagement of the Polish Armed Forces in crisis situations. The crisis management process introduced in the Act specifies the planning and preparation, the procedures for the cooperation of central and local self-government administration with the Armed Forces and selected private sector entities (owners and possessors of critical infrastructure) in the event of extraordinary threats, as well as response to threats and the removal of their effects.

Article 25 Paragraph 1 of the Act on Crisis Management reads that “if in a crisis situation the use of other capabilities and resources is impossible or may prove to be insufficient, unless other regulations state otherwise, the Minister of Defence, at the request of the *voivode* may provide him with subunits or units of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland, hereinafter referred to as the “Armed Forces units” and assign them to carry out crisis management tasks.”

Article 25 Paragraph 3 of the Act on Crisis Management lists the crisis management tasks that the Polish Armed Forces may participate in the execution of:

- participation in monitoring threats;
- performing tasks related to the evaluation of the effects of phenomena occurring in the area of threat;
- performing search and rescue tasks;
- evacuating the affected population and property;
- performing tasks aimed at preparing conditions for the temporary accommodation of the evacuated population in designated places;
- participation in the protection of property abandoned in the area of threat;
- isolating the area of threat or the place of rescue operation;
- performing security, rescue and evacuation at endangered buildings and historical sites;
- conducting works requiring the use of specialist technical equipment or explosives from the resources of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland;
- removing dangerous materials and their neutralisation, using the forces and means provided by the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland;
- removing chemical or biological contamination and infections;
- removing radioactive contamination;
- performing tasks related to the repair and reconstruction of technical infrastructure;
- participation in ensuring the communication routes are open;
- providing medical assistance, sanitary and anti-epidemic tasks.

Local Military Administration Authorities (TOAW - *Terenowe Organa Administracji Wojskowej*) play an important role in crisis management. In the Regulation of the Minister of National Defence of 4 March 2010 on *Voivodeship* Military Staffs and Military Conscription Offices, Paragraph 5 stipulates that the tasks of heads of *Voivodeship* Military Staffs include, *inter alia*:

- coordinating the development and use of military units and subunits for the purposes of combating natural disasters and the elimination of their effects, protection of property, search and rescue operations and protection of human health and life by:

- cooperation with the *voivode* in the scope of planning and coordinating the participation of specified units of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland in rescue operations as well as prevention and removal of the effects of disasters and natural disasters,
- cooperation with the voivode and commanders of military units in the planning and organisation of logistic projects pertaining to the non-military defence system on behalf of the military units moving or being repositioned in the voivodeship or conducting combat operations therein,
- cooperation with the voivode in planning projects aimed to protect the population of the voivodeship, including the evacuation of families of the professional military personnel;
- participation in the implementation of tasks in the field of crisis management in the *voivodeship* by:
  - participation in the works of the voivodeship crisis management team;
  - participating in planning the use of units and subunits of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland as part of the voivodeship crisis management plan;
  - cooperation with public administration authorities and services in the field of monitoring threats in the voivodeship and planning protection of critical infrastructure, resulting from Article 3 Paragraph 2 of the Act of 26 April 2007 on crisis management;<sup>5</sup>
  - agreeing on the voivodeship crisis management plan pursuant to Article 25 paragraph 4 of the Act referred to in point c.

The cited ordinance also sets out the crisis management tasks of Commanders of Military Conscription Offices, which consist in:

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<sup>5</sup> *Dziennik Ustaw* 2007, No. 89, Item 590 and 2009 No. 11, Item 59, No. 85, Item 716 and No. 131, Item 1076



- participation in the implementation of tasks in the field of crisis management as part of the territorial operations of the Military Conscription Office through:
  - participation, if necessary, in the works of local government crisis management teams at the poviats and gmina level in the administered area,
  - presenting the head of the Voivodeship Military Staff with conclusions and materials for the voivode to conduct threat analysis in individual poviats and the voivode's recommendations for poviats crisis management plans.

Engagement of the Polish Armed Forces under crisis management is formalised, and is initiated at the request of the *voivode* in whose territory the crisis occurred. The *voivode* (or other crisis management authorities, *i.e.* the head of the commune, mayor, the president of the city or *staroste*) is obliged by the Act on Crisis Management to establish the crisis management team, headed by the president. The team is an advisory body formulating opinions for the *voivode*. The team consists of heads of services, inspections and guards from a given level (*e.g.* Voivodeship Police Commander, Voivodeship State Fire Service Commander, *etc.*), representatives of the Voivodeship Office assigned to crisis management tasks and Head of the Voivodeship Military Staff (field experts may also be invited). The *voivode* also defines the rules of work of the team, which operates in two modes: normal (according to the schedule of meetings) and “emergency” (in the event of a crisis).

In crisis, when it is resolved that *voivodeship's* capabilities and resources are insufficient, the *voivode* may request the Minister of National Defence to support the performance of tasks in the field of crisis management by the units or subunits of the Polish Armed Forces (pursuant to Article 25 of the Act on Crisis Management). The head of the WSzW (or his representative) provides assistance to the *voivode* in terms of the content of the application.<sup>6</sup> The application

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<sup>6</sup> Alternatively, the request may be sent by *starostes* if they resolve that SZ RP support is required.

should contain a detailed description of the situation, the scope of support tasks and the detailed needs in terms of the capabilities and resources required of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland. In addition, the application should specify the expected date of the engagement of units/subunits of the Polish Army in tasks and indicate the representative of public administration authorities responsible for coordinating the activities (from the lead authority specified in the security matrix in the crisis management plan) and other bodies participating in the crisis response, including their contact details. The applicant should also specify the location where the deployed forces and means will be received and stationed (if the conditions allow, subunits should be stationed at military facilities located in the area of planned activities).

The application is sent to the Minister of National Defence for the attention of the Armed Forces Operational Command (DORSZ – *Dowództwo Operacyjne Rodzajów Sił Zbrojnych*), which then prepares a draft decision for the Minister of National Defence. After approval of the decision, subsequently sent via DORSZ to e.g. the Armed Forces General Command (DGRSZ – *Dowództwo Generalne Rodzajów Sił Zbrojnych*), which prepares and sends orders to units providing forces and funds to the Military Task Force (WZZ – *Wojskowe Zgrupowanie Zadaniowe*). With the establishment of WZZ, it becomes subordinate to DORSZ (under the direct coordination of the Land Operations Centre – Land Component Command – COL-DKŁąd). The WZZ is deployed in the area of activities indicated in the application, where the lead authority (e.g. *Voivodeship State Fire Service Commander*) coordinates the activities. The WZZ can be supported by additional forces and resources, if necessary (upon filing subsequent applications or on the initiative of the Ministry of National Defence). Upon completion of the activities, the *voivode* submits an application for termination of support, while the WZZ commander compiles a final report from the activities.

In the circumstances of absolute urgency, the procedure may be initiated directly “by phone” by the Armed Forces Operational

Command, provided that forces and resources are allocated in accordance with the departmental crisis management plan<sup>7</sup> and plans for the use of provided units. However, the procedure does not release the obligation with respect to the preparation of the application and of the decision and order documentation.

### **The concept of use of Territorial Defence Forces in crisis situations**

The situation becomes more complicated when the use of subunits/units of Territorial Defence Force (WOT - *Wojska Obrony Terytorialnej*) is concerned. Given the present legislative state, WOT (Territorial Defence Brigades) are not authorised in the crisis management system of the Ministry of National Defence. Another barrier in their use is the fact that in the majority of cases the brigades have not yet reached the state of readiness (and in certain cases have not yet initiated the formation process). In addition, the activities of the brigades are closely related to their permanent areas of responsibility AOR (SRO - *Staty Rejon Odpowiedzialności*), which correspond to the administrative boundaries of *voivodeships*.

During the decision-making game code-named "Hot July," held at the War Studies University in July 2017, representatives of WOT and operational forces analysed the capabilities of OT brigades considering the execution of statutory crisis management tasks. The developed scenario (the author of this paper took an active part in the construction of the scenario, and provided expertise during the implementation of the decision game) specified the task areas in which OT brigades would participate in the future. Of the fifteen task areas, the Territorial Defence Forces Command determined ten in which it would be able to participate, including:

- participation in monitoring threats;
- performing tasks related to the assessment of the effects of phenomena occurring in the areas of threats;

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<sup>7</sup> A new, modular crisis management plan is being currently developed, according to the RCB guidelines.

- performing search and rescue tasks;
- evacuating the population and property;
- performing tasks aimed at preparing conditions for the temporary accommodation of the evacuated population in designated places;
- participation in the protection of property left in the area of threats;
- isolating the area of threat occurrence or the area of rescue operation;
- performing security, rescue and evacuation tasks at endangered buildings and sites;
- participation in ensuring that the communication routes are open;
- providing medical assistance and performing sanitary, hygienic and anti-epidemic tasks.

It ought to be mentioned that the majority of tasks listed above will be implemented in cooperation with the provided subunits/units of the operational troops.

Apart from the declarations of readiness on the part of WOT to perform the crisis management tasks, it is of the essence to conduct an in-depth analysis of the relevant legal acts in order to determine the scope of changes that will enable the inclusion of WOT subunits/units in the crisis management system.

Another distinct lack in legislation is with respect to specific engagement procedures for OT subunits/units. Based on the research conducted for the purpose of this paper, it was resolved that the WOT engagement model in crisis management should take the following form.

The factor initiating WOT engagement will be information on the occurrence of a crisis event:

- upon receiving the notification, the specified elements of services, inspections and guards (police patrols, fire service, emergency teams, etc) are directed to the place of the incident;
- suspecting that the event may be determined as a crisis situation (in legal terms), the person in authority of the rescue services

provides detailed information to the *poviat* crisis management centre, PCZK, and to the duty service of the OT brigade;

- the situation is analysed in terms of its potential development, escalation and the resulting threats by the duty service of PCZK, and subsequently, the information is passed to the crisis management authority (*staroste*);
- at the request of the crisis management authority, a meeting of the *poviat* crisis management team, PZZK, is organised;
- a liaison officer from the OT brigade is assigned to take part in the work with PZZK in order to establish cooperation with public administration authorities in the scope of potential provision of support by OT subunits;
- after the situation has been fully analysed, PCZK notifies the Voivodeship Crisis Management Centre – WCZK;
- in the case of the indications that as a result of unfavourable developments the situation could spread to neighbouring *poviats* and/or the exceed the capability to the *poviat* to provide response action to the events, the provincial crisis management team, WZZK, is launched;
- having received the necessary information from the liaison officer working with PZZK, and upon obtaining the positive decision from the OT Brigade Commander, the duty service launches the Support Assessment Team – ZOW (Zespół Oceny Wsparcia), which is deployed at the place of the incident;<sup>8</sup>
- the information on the engagement of ZOW is sent by the BOT duty service to the duty service of the Territorial Defence Forces Command – DWOT (Dowództwo Wojsk Obrony Terytorialnej);
- on the site of the incident, ZOW establishes cooperation with the head of rescue operations, i.e. KDR (Kierujący Działaniami Ratowniczymi) and Local Public Administration Authorities – TOAP;

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<sup>8</sup> The time span between the engagement and performing tasks on site shall not exceed 6 hours.

- ZOW determines the scope of support by means of the forces and capabilities of the OT brigade, following the recommendation obtained from the BOT Commander;
- the BOT commander requests the DWOT for permission to alert the Territorial Military Service, which is subsequently notified via technical means of communication. Simultaneously, DWOT is preparing a preliminary report for the Minister of National Defence – for the attention of DORSZ duty service – regarding the initiation of the procedure for supporting public administration by BOT;
- a liaison officer from BOT is referred to work with WZZK (presumably, at this stage the request of the staroste, i.e. the head of the PZZK, will have been prepared for the voivode to submit a formal application to the Minister of National Defence for granting support of BOT subunits);
- supported by the liaison officer from BOT and the Chief (or a representative) of the Voivodeship Military Staff, WSzW, the voivode (head of WZZK) prepares and files an appropriate application to the Minister of National Defence (for the attention of DWOT and DORSZ);
- based on the received application, DWOT prepares a draft decision of the Minister of National Defence, and if the requested support exceeds the capabilities of BOT, the relevant draft decision regarding the support for public administration by operational forces is also prepared by DORSZ;<sup>9</sup>
- after the Minister of National Defence has issued a positive decision, the WOT Commander issues an order on the basis of the decision to deploy BOT in crisis response, which is sent to the BOT Commander;
- the Territorial Support Subunit – TPW (Terytorialny Pododdział Wsparcia) is formed and transferred to the area of operations.

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<sup>9</sup> A further procedure describing the support by operational forces may be conducted according to the current regulations.

TPW is commanded by a designated commander, while KDR is responsible for coordinating activities on the site of the incident;

- once the crisis situation is under control (the Polish Armed Forces support is no longer required by the public administration authority), the staroste applies to the voivode to send a request to the Minister of National Defence regarding the termination of support by TPW;
- as in the case with the first application, supported by a liaison officer from BOT and the head (or a representative) of the Voivodeship Military Staff – WSzW, the voivode (head of the WZZK) prepares and sends the relevant application to the Minister of National Defence (for the attention of DWOT and DORSZ) concerning the termination of support by TPW
- based on the received application DWOT prepares a draft decision of the Minister of National Defence;
- after the Minister of National Defence has issued a positive decision, the WOT Commander orders to end public administration support by BOT; the order is sent to the BOT Commander;
- the Territorial Support Subunits, TPW, are moved to permanent disposition site and reorganised; next, BOT Commander submits a report to DWOT, which is subsequently submitted to the Minister of National Defence;
- if the circumstances when public administration requires support in reconstruction works (to restore the objects or infrastructure to the original state from before the crisis), BOT Commander informs DWOT about the launch of the Reconstruction Support Team – ZWO (Zespół Wsparcia Odbudowy), which is deployed in the destruction area;
- on-site, ZWO supports TOAP in assessing losses and damage, and the potential reconstruction support by BOT;
- based on the report received from ZWO, WOT Commander issues a decision to support public administration in restoring the

damaged property or infrastructure to the original state engaging BOT forces and resources.

In conclusion, the presented WOT engagement and deployment procedure as part of the crisis management system is a proposal put forward by the author of this study. However, it needs to be recapitulated that close attention should be given to a number of legal and organisational factors that will determine the possible use of OT subunits in the event of a crisis.

To begin with, there is a justified need to carry out a comprehensive overview of legal acts, ranging from the Act on Crisis Management, through secondary legislation – in the form of rules, regulations and ordinances, *etc.*, with respect to introducing changes that would enable the use of subunits of Territorial Defence Forces as part of crisis management. The amendments must essentially account for how WOT is to function in crisis management, given that certain brigades still yet to have reached readiness for action (while others have not started the formation process). The role of OT brigade commanders in the system should also be precisely defined, that is both at the subunits use planning stage as well as at the stages of preparation to and performance of crisis response and reconstruction tasks (including the division of competences between the OT brigade commander and the head of the WSzW, the commander of the OT battalion and the WKU commander). From the legal standpoint, it is also important to define the rules for the use of TSW soldiers (volunteers) who, unlike professional soldiers, cannot perform long-term tasks (*e.g.* due to their employment-related commitments).

Secondly, subjecting for review the Command and Control System of the Polish Armed Forces and the formation of troops of the new type, *i.e.* Territorial Defence Forces, determine the need for new solutions considering the support of the non-military system by the Polish Armed Forces considering non-military threats. One of the essential aspects in this area is to define the capabilities of OT brigades in terms of the execution of tasks during the crisis response



phase and establishing the principles of their cooperation with crisis management authorities, advisory bodies, crisis management centres and executive systems (services, inspections and guards).

The third aspect concerns the need to set up information links between the existing elements of the crisis management system and WOT (*e.g.* duty services) and defining the nature of these relations.

Lastly, it is of utmost importance to provide joint training with representatives of public administration at the level of *gmina, powiat* and *voivodeship* in the scope of cooperation with OT brigades/battalions in the administered area. This will enable, on the one hand, to express the needs of the administration, and on the other, to determine the capabilities of a given OT brigade/battalion and the rules for their use and cooperation with services, inspections and guards.

This research paper presents the results from the study conducted at the Fundamentals of National Security Institute of War Studies University and was funded from the statutory activity funds for the research task: Modern and Future Threats to Security, Task No. II.1.23.0, Bursary No. 821.

### **List of abbreviations**

WOT – Territorial Defence Force [*Wojska Obrony Terytorialnej*]

WCZK – Voivodeship Crisis Management Centre [*Wojewódzkie Centrum Zarządzania Kryzysowego*]

WZZK – Voivodeship Crisis Management Team [*Wojewódzki Zespół Zarządzania Kryzysowego*]

TOAW – Local Military Administration Authorities [*Terenowe Organa Administracji Wojskowej*]

TOAP – Local Public Administration Authorities [*Terenowe Organa Administracji Publicznej*]

TSW – Territorial Military Service [*Terytorialna Służba Wojskowa*]

TPW – Territorial Support Subunit [*Terytorialny Pododdział Wsparcia*]

WSzW – *Voivodeship Military Staff [Wojewódzki Sztab Wojskowy]*  
WKU – *Military Conscription Office [Wojskowa Komenda Uzupełnień]*  
COL-DKŁąd – *Land Operation Centre – Land Component Command [Centrum Operacji Lądowych – Dowództwo Komponentu Lądowego]*  
DORSZ – *Armed Forces Operational Command [Dowództwo Operacyjne Rodzajów Sił Zbrojnych]*  
DGRSZ – *Armed Forces General Command [Dowództwo Generalne Rodzajów Sił Zbrojnych]*  
PCZK – *Powiat Crisis Management Centre [Powiatowe Centrum Zarządzania Kryzysowego]*  
PZZK – *Powiat Crisis Management Team [Powiatowy Zespół Zarządzania Kryzysowego]*  
GCZK – *Gmina Crisis Management Centre [Gminne Centrum Zarządzania Kryzysowego]*  
GZZK – *Gmina Crisis Management Team [Gminny Zespół Zarządzania Kryzysowego]*  
SZ RP – *Polish Armed Forces [Siły Zbrojne Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej]*  
BOT – *Territorial Defence Brigade [Brygada Obrony Terytorialnej]*  
SRO – *Area of Responsibility [Staty Rejon Odpowiedzialności]*  
ZOW – *Support Evaluation Team [Zespół Oceny Wsparcia]*  
ZWO – *Reconstruction Support Team [Zespół Wsparcia Odbudowy]*  
SDiK SZ RP – *Command and Control System of the Polish Armed Forces [System Dowodzenia i Kierowania Siłami Zbrojnymi Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej]*

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## **Cyber Reserves: A New Addition to Territorial Defence Forces**

### **Abstract**

Cyberspace is increasingly becoming a key terrain in modern conflict. Cyber attacks could potentially lead to strategic level challenges, especially when used in combination with one or more other instruments of power. Because of its strategic significance, nation states try to organize their cyber defence at the strategic level and provide available forces for these efforts. The main problem is that the most qualified and talented professionals in the field earn high salaries in the commercial sector, and are usually not readily accessible for the government to employ them. A potential solution for many states is the establishment of cyber reserve forces.

**Keywords:** cyber warfare, cyber defence, reserve

### **Cyber Defence in Modern Conflict**

The purpose of territorial defence forces, as their name suggests is to contribute in some way to a state's ability to defend its national territory. In this sense, cyber defence cannot be considered territorial defence, because cyberspace is not confined within geographical boundaries. Yet it is a real and essential element of our societal life, crucially important for all kinds of communications and works as a neural system of a nation's critical infrastructure.

Cyberspace means a network of interconnected computer systems, and the information flow within that network. As such, the best way to conceptualize it is as a new dimension, a new domain of

warfare or a new battlefield. Because of its importance in societal interactions and the proper functioning of a state's infrastructure, cyberspace has become a key terrain in modern conflict.

It is widely debated how dangerous and damaging a cyber attack can be. So far, the best-published incidents were far from being decisive at the strategic level in a serious conflict. Most of the attacks are of a scouting nature, aimed at intelligence collection, specifically as part of industrial or economic espionage. Especially on its own, cyber warfare has a limited effect on the target, which applies even to the most fearsome and damaging attacks, like the blackout of Maersk computer systems, or successful cyber attacks against the Ukrainian power grid. However, there is no guarantee that this situation will always remain as it is today.

Cyber warfare has its special place in modern conflict, as the framework concept of hybrid warfare suggests. The novelty of this theory is debated, but one thing is certain: the emergence of cyberspace as a new domain of conflict. In the framework of modern hybrid warfare, cyber attacks can have an effect on several different spheres of society, and combined with other methods, they can have devastating cumulative effects and outcomes. In the hybrid warfare framework, an actor can escalate vertically, by implementing more and more drastic measures of the same instrument of power, or horizontally, by introducing a new instrument of power, hitherto not used in the conflict. Cyber attacks can be a way of escalation in the informational instrument of power, and it can block effective coordination between the instruments of power of the targeted entity. (See Figure 1.)

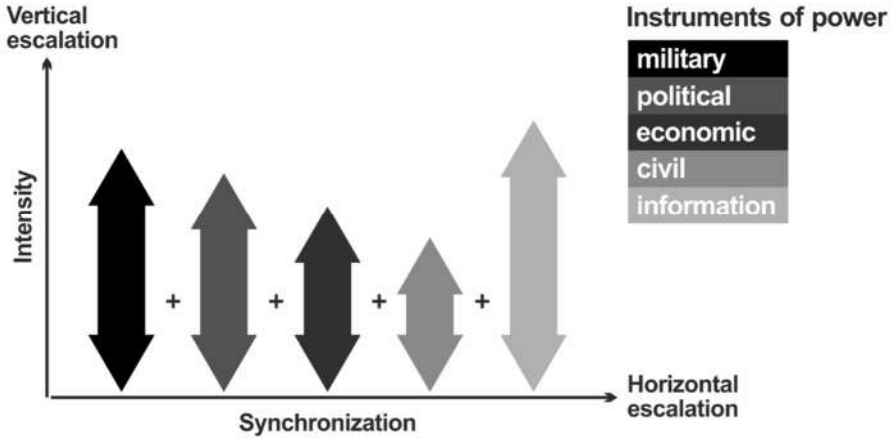


Figure 1. Horizontal and vertical escalation<sup>1</sup>

The circular diagram (Figure 2.) on the next page represents society's spectra along the PMESII acronym.<sup>2</sup> The attacker can start a first order effect using one of the instruments of power at his disposal. The causes and effects are non-linear, and lead to synergistic outcomes. In a possible scenario, a cyber attack can lead to a first order effect that can support other first order effects in achieving a second order effect as a strategic goal, or maybe just a milestone towards a desired endstate. The society under attack will slowly progress from the inside to the outside of the circle, from the normal state of affairs through crisis to an emergency situation.

Because cyber attacks can potentially lead to strategic problems, cyber defence capabilities are also considered to be of strategic importance. As European examples show, authorities have mandate and coordination responsibilities across sectors – like the ANSSI in France, or the Bundesamt für Sicherheit in der

<sup>1</sup>Patrick J. Cullen and Erik Reichborn-Kjennerud: *MCDC Countering Hybrid Warfare Project: Understanding Hybrid Warfare*. (s. 1.: Multinational Capability Development Campaign, 2017)  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/647776/dar\\_mcdc\\_hybrid\\_warfare.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/647776/dar_mcdc_hybrid_warfare.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> Political, Military, Economic, Social, Informational, Infrastructure

Informationstechnik in Germany. At the level of the military, as appropriate for a domain of strategic significance, cyber commands are considered to be at an equal level with other service branches such as the land, air or naval forces.<sup>3</sup>

A military attack in the information spectrum leads to a first order effect in the information and political spectrums which moves the target status into 'crisis'. This subsequently leads to a second order effect in the infrastructure spectrum which moves the overall target status to 'emergency'.

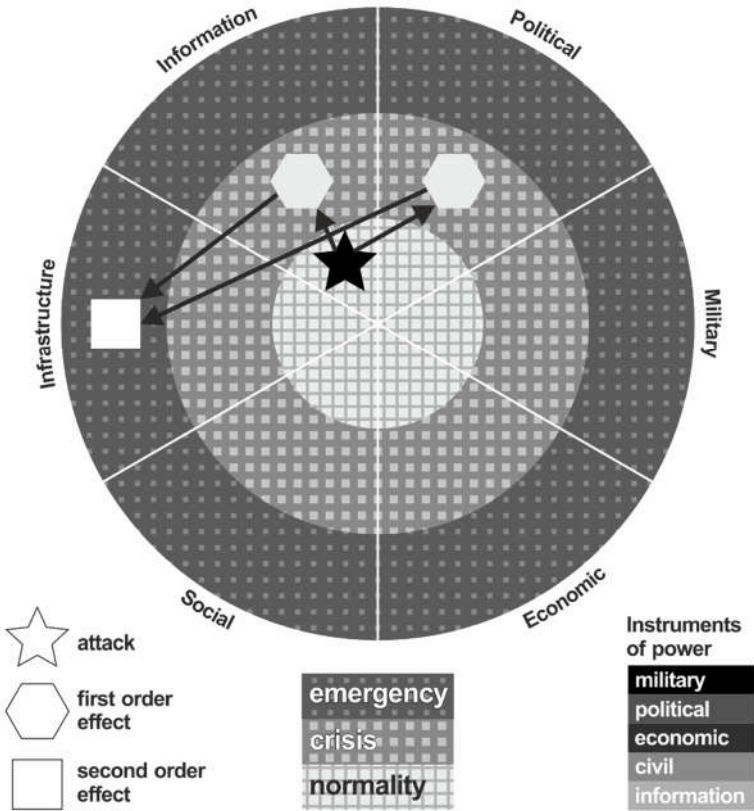


Figure 2. Analytical framework of hybrid warfare<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Heiner Kiesel, “Bundeswehr cybersecurity center trains elite counterhackers”. *Deutsche Welle*, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://www.dw.com/en/bundeswehr-cybersecurity-center-trains-elite-counterhackers/a-43210036>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 14.



The Bundeswehr's Kommando Cyber und Informationsraum (Kommando CIR) incorporates several other activities, not only pure cyber defence, for example IT, Information security, Operational Communications, Geo-information. The US CYBERCOM is one of ten Unified Combatant Commands, which sets cyber warfare on equal footing with other operations around the globe. The armed forces usually have an important role in cyber defence, as they are in position to provide the increased manpower in a short time when needed. The main problem is the availability of human resources, because IT experts with cyber defence skills are highly sought after and command high salaries in the job market. In several countries, the shortage in manpower is reduced by the establishment of a cyber reserve force within the framework of the armed forces.

### **Cyber Reserves in the Service of Nations**

The Kommando Cyber- und Informationsraum is still in the process of building up its planned strength to 13 500 personnel by 2021.<sup>5</sup> The Bundeswehr has already got about twenty thousand individuals with varying levels of IT expertise. In order to recruit more qualified personnel, it started a recruitment campaign among new target groups, which goes beyond the current recruitment strategy of the army reserves. The main goal is to establish a knowledge transfer between the army on one side, and civil society, government and the private sector on the other. This way, IT experts employed in the commercial sector would not have to leave their well-paid jobs to serve national interests, they do not have to choose between cyber defence and their career path.<sup>6</sup> One target group is professionals for

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<sup>5</sup> Lars Hoffmann, "Germany Creates Cyber, IT Defense Branch," *Defence News*, accessed December 9, 2018.

<https://www.defensenews.com/global/europe/2016/04/27/germany-creates-cyber-it-defense-branch/>

<sup>6</sup> Sumi Somaskanda, "Germany struggles to step up cyberdefense". *Deutsche Welle*, accessed December 9, 2018. <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-struggles-to-step-up-cyberdefense/a-44979677>.

a specific project. These include experts from academic institutions and leaders from the private sector. Another target group is those soldiers who leave the Bundeswehr when their contract is over, or for any other private reasons. Thirdly, the recruitment aims to engage individuals with no former military background, mostly on open events and professional forums. This call is also aimed at those who want to volunteer or conduct unarmed draft service. They take part in cyber defence exercises and training courses with the army.<sup>7</sup> The Bundeswehr University also started a new masters degree in cyber defence, but this is a longer term project for securing better qualified and more numerous personnel.

The Army Reservist Union, the Reservistenverband supports the army to meet its reserve recruitment goals, and keeps track of qualified personnel in a purpose-built database. Within the Reservistenverband, the Cyber Reservist Working Group (RAG Cyber - Reservistenarbeitsgemeinschaft - Cyber) offers reservists further IT and cyber defence related training and courses, and updates their database. RAG Cyber is in direct contact with the vice-commander of KDO CIR, who is at the same time the responsible person for reservist affairs. As KDO CIR has a wider profile than pure cyber defence, they are also interested in other experts, like lawyers, journalists, geographers, etc. RAG Cyber database also helps finding these professionals. Members of this working group can use the database as a lifelong learning platform.<sup>8</sup> Joining volunteers do not have to be experts from day one. If they have the

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<sup>7</sup> 2017. "Cyber-Reserve: Bundeswehr öffnet sich für ITInformationstechnik-Community", Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, accessed 09 14, 2018. <https://www.bmvg.de/de/aktuelles/cyber-reserve-bundeswehr-oeffnet-sich-fuer-it-community-11166>.

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Vorhölter, "So hilft die RAG Cyber bei der Suche nach IT-Experten," *Die Reserve*, accessed September 18, 2018, <https://www.reservistenverband.de/magazin-die-reserve/so-hilft-die-rag-cyber-bei-der-suche-nach-it-experten/>

interest and some experience, they can also benefit from the training offered by the army in exchange for their service.<sup>9</sup>

France has similar institutions, and the army has similar roles to the German model. In 2017 the army established its own cyber warfare command. Since 2013 there have been regular training events with the involvement of students from polytechnic universities. These exercises are also good opportunities for recruitment. In the upcoming years they intend to increase the military personnel employed in this field to 3200, instead of about a mere 100 six years ago. This number would be supplemented by about 4400 reservists. The French military offers a starting salary for their cyber specialists equivalent to the French average wage.<sup>10</sup>

According to a 2014 government decision, the Ministry of Defense works together with ANSSI and the Gendarmerie to establish a cyber reserve – *Le Réseau cyberdéfense de la réserve citoyenne*, RCC or Citizens' Cyber Defense Reserve. This cyber reserve force would only be mobilized in case of a national emergency.<sup>11</sup> RCC advocates for the strategic importance of cyber defense and connects professionals, experts, and interested students in a network. It works in six sub-groups, each with a specific focus: 1. elected officials and journalists, 2. youth, 3. citizen responsibility, 4. think tanks, 5. small and medium enterprises, and 6. corporations.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Tobias Zech, "Warum die Cyber-Reserve so wichtig für den Reservistenverband ist," interview by Benjamin Vorhölter, *Die Reserve*, accessed December 9, 2018, <https://www.reservistenverband.de/magazin-die-reserve/cyber-reserve-interview-zech/>

<sup>10</sup> Marine Pennetier, "Under threat, France grooms army hackers for cyber warfare," *Reuters*, accessed September 17, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-cyber/under-threat-france-grooms-army-hackers-for-cyber-warfare-idUSKBN1771B2>

<sup>11</sup> Melissa Hathaway, Chris Demchak, Jason Kerben, Jennifer McArdle, and Francesca Spidalieri. "France Cyber Readiness at a Glance." *Potomac Institute for Policy Studies* 09, accessed September 17, 2018, [http://www.potomac institute.org/images/CRI/CRI\\_France\\_Profile\\_PIPS.pdf](http://www.potomac institute.org/images/CRI/CRI_France_Profile_PIPS.pdf), 17.

<sup>12</sup>Philippe Vitel and Henrik Bliddal, "French Cyber Security and Defence: an Overview." *Information and Security: An international Journal* 32. (2015), accessed

The United Kingdom also realized the importance of supplementing their services with specialists in the field of cyber warfare, and the need to extend the recruitment to part-time options. The Joint Forces Cyber Group, established in 2013, is a cross-service unit of two cyber warfare sub-units, and the Joint Cyber Reserve Force.<sup>13</sup> This reserve was established with the specific goal of incorporating the IT knowledge and expertise of the private sector into the military. They specifically target individuals who might otherwise be unable to join the Reserves for lack of physical fitness or unwillingness to respect disciplinary standards.<sup>14</sup> The main motivating factor is the training offered in the Reserve Force – which will be highly valued in the commercial sector as well. Other than this, the benefits include: pay when mobilized, tax reductions, pension scheme, paid leave days for the training time and free access to military sports facilities.

According to the mission statement of the U.S. Army Cyber Command, “it integrates and conducts full-spectrum cyberspace operations, electronic warfare, and information operations, ensuring freedom of action for friendly forces in and through the cyber domain and the information environment, while denying the same to our adversaries.”<sup>15</sup> Founded as early as 2009, it was originally defensive in mindset, but it is increasingly building offensive capabilities. A 2017 RAND research conducted among army reservists revealed that there is a big untapped cyber potential in the

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September 17, 2018, doi: 10.11610/isij.3209,  
[https://it4sec.org/system/files/3209\\_france.pdf](https://it4sec.org/system/files/3209_france.pdf).

<sup>13</sup> Joint Forces Command, “Working for JFC,” *Joint Forces Command*, accessed June 24, 2019, <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/joint-forces-command/about/recruitment>

<sup>14</sup> Ben Farmer, “Fitness test waived for MoD reservist cyber warriors,” *The Telegraph*, accessed June 24, 2019, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/defence/11360976/Fitness-tests-waived-for-MoDs-new-reservist-cyber-warriors.html>

<sup>15</sup> *U.S. Army Cyber Command*, accessed June 24, 2019, <https://www.arcyber.army.mil>.

reserve component.<sup>16</sup> There is both skill and interest to use it in the service of national interests. Recruiting reservists can sometimes have advantages over active duty personnel. In certain fields they can have a more cutting edge and up-to-date knowledge than active duty personnel, because they constantly have to use their skills in real-life situations.

Cyber defence exercises, like Cyber Shield 19 in April 2019, bring together National Guard and leading private sector professionals and academia. The framework of P3 (Private Public Partnership initiative) provides institutional education and Training with Industry.<sup>17</sup> These inter-agency training events are of key importance to increase cooperation during critical cyber attacks affecting critical infrastructures and service providers of the military.

One of the best published cyber incidents, the 2007 attacks occurred in Estonia after a decision of the government to remove a Soviet era monument.<sup>18</sup> Even though these were D-DOS attacks type (distributed denial of service), a less sophisticated and quite easily fendable group of cyber strikes, with directed information packages overwhelming the targeted system, there is still need for more personnel and expertise to defeat them. Estonia's response for the situation was to create a volunteer reservist force called up only on a case-by-case basis. The active duty component is minimal, and their regular activity is to monitor cyberspace and forecast and detect cyber strikes.

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<sup>16</sup> Isaac R. Porche, et al. "Cyber Power Potential of the Army's Reserve Component." *RAND Corporation*, accessed June 24, 2019, [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1490.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1490.html).

<sup>17</sup> Jamie Schwandt, "Reserve Should Take Cyber Mission and Go West," *Association of the United States Army*, accessed June 24, 2019, <https://www.ausa.org/articles/reserve-should-take-cyber-mission-and-go-west>.

<sup>18</sup> David Blair, "Estonia recruits volunteer army of 'cyber warriors'," *The Telegraph*, accessed September 17, 2018, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/estonia/11564163/Estonia-recruits-volunteer-army-of-cyber-warriors.html>.

The country's reservist community, the Defence League has a unit for cyber defence, involving hundreds of professionals and academics in the field, including lawyers and economists. This unit is only mobilized in case of a larger scale cyber attack. When not in military service, members of this force are employed in the private sector for high salaries. Estimates about the number of volunteers show that about 1% of all IT professionals are in the force.<sup>19</sup> This level roughly corresponds to, or even surpasses the proportion of a volunteer military force in a society.

### **Dilemmas and conclusions**

The main concept is similar in all the examined cases, the lack of available professional workforce causes these states to channel the IT knowledge and the human resources available in the civil and commercial sector to the defence forces. The best way to achieve this is the enlargement of the military reserves by conducting directed recruitment activities among new target audiences. In certain countries, like the United Kingdom or Australia, the lowering of appearance, physical and disciplinary standards is considered to be an available option to appear as a more attractive employer in the eyes of this target audience. In France and Estonia we can talk about a kind of "civilian reserve," so it is not always necessary for the people integrated into these forces to have the legal status of a soldier. This way the chance of friction can be minimized between the cyber reservists and other reserve military personnel in cases where the former have to meet lowered standards of fitness, discipline and appearance, which the latter could find a form of discrimination.

This perception could have a negative effect on morale, since the message it conveys to the rest of the reserve forces is that their work is not really as important, they can be replaced easily, whereas cyber reservists form a privileged group. If we look at the problem

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

from the viewpoint that soldiers are required by their oath to protect their country even at the cost of their life, then the same level of self-sacrifice, and the attached standards of discipline, organizational culture and other requirements must all apply to cyber reservists as well. If the state wants to access the knowledge and experience of people who do not find military service attractive enough because of certain requirements of this profession, then it seems to be a logical and acceptable compromise that these individuals do not have to become soldiers in their legal status. On the other hand, it is not certain that these military requirements will necessarily scare away all people with a valuable IT knowledge, experience, or even just interest. And why would their professionalism be lacking compared to those, who are unfit for military duty and its organizational culture because of their personality?

Analysing foreign examples we can conclude that establishing a cyber reserve force is not the exclusive way to strengthen cyber defence capabilities, but a kind of bridging mechanism, accompanied by the training and education of active duty personnel, which is a longer term solution. Reserves are looked upon as a tool to reinforce the relationship between the nation and the military, through which the available know-how and experience can be transferred to the military. Above this, in case of emergency, when a larger number of experts are needed to fend off an extended cyber attack, then a quickly accessible, mobilizable force is available. In case of reserve soldiers or civilians, this system requires a clearly defined and regulated mechanism of being available on call.

The problem of political oversight and constitutional control is often a recurring criticism of increasing cyber defence capabilities, since their activities in cyberspace raises the possibility of violating civil liberties, and it must be guaranteed that these forces can only conduct defense, anything offensive must have a parliamentary mandate. Regarding this question it must be stressed that the ability of cyber defence is inseparable from the ability of a cyber attack, as many country's cyber strategy reflects this fact. The developers of

defence systems must be able to find out how to attack those systems. It is another question that they must not use these skills without proper constitutional control.

The simulation exercises serve as a useful tool for the maintenance and further development of these crucial skills, which are attended by cyber defence reserve forces, governmental institutions and representatives of the commercial sector, as international examples show. Other than serving the good cause and the nation's interest, the knowledge transfer can also serve as a motivation factor for the young professionals or students joining these reserve forces, since they can access specialized knowledge in regulated and legal circumstances, which will be highly valued in their professional life. A similar motivating factor could be for those interested in information technology and cyber defence to obtain a marketable, recognized qualification during their service in the reserves. A working system for this could be established in cooperation with international allies or the domestic IT business sector.

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## **The Impact of Asymmetric Warfare on the Military Profession and Structure: Lessons Learned from the Ottoman Military**

**Keywords:** Ottoman Empire, asymmetric warfare, leadership, combat training, Balkans

The asymmetric challenges which are targeting the modern states and their armed forces by opponents who refuse to engage them in modern, conventional warfare poses to remain the most critical problem for the time being. For most of the decision makers, scholars and soldiers the key question is how to fight or counter the unconventional opponents (including all sorts of terrorists and insurgents) who are waging or trying to wage a total war against all aspects of states and international system. And as a part of this problem, how to reorient or retrain armed forces which are trained and organized for conventional war against continuously evolving unconventional tactics and techniques of ever-elusive and invisible enemies.

Unfortunately we are paying limited attention to the effects and impact of fighting and training against asymmetric challenges on military profession and its structure. The urgency of the current crisis certainly has an important effect on this neglect but it is not the only one. The purpose of this paper is to remind the importance of this much neglected issue and to clarify the structural reasons behind it.

First of all we need to define what we understand under the asymmetric challenges. Even though the term “asymmetric conflict/warfare” was coined as early as 1970s, it has gain the

attention of the public only after the fateful 9/11 attacks and follow on terrorist attacks targeting different countries in an unprecedented orchestration. However as a concept asymmetric warfare remains to be defined clearly. Furthermore during this period of reincarnation or reinvention the term “asymmetric” has come to include so many strategic and military concepts and ideas that it literally becomes a liability, rather than an asset.<sup>1</sup>

The nature of asymmetric warfare is different from the classical/conventional warfare in the sense that combatants use totally different tactics, techniques and weapons according to their asymmetric strategies and obviously there is much more need for unity of efforts and intelligence operations.<sup>2</sup> That is why, irregular/unconventional warfare, low-intensity conflict, unrestricted warfare, guerilla warfare even terrorism are some words used for asymmetric warfare interchangeably. Counterinsurgency (COIN) is the term most widely accepted as emphasizing fourth generational, network-centric aspects of asymmetry.<sup>3</sup> In brief basic aspects of asymmetric or unconventional warfare are based on indirect approach, stealth, surprise, protracted or attritional, patient, casualty tolerant, aimed on eroding the opponent’s will to fight by demonstrating that the cost of continuing the fight is higher than the ends warranted. From the perspective of our inquiry this paper confines the compass of asymmetric warfare to deal with conflicts between states and non-state actors.

Asymmetric threats are not new, nor is the strategist’s attention to them. In every era, from the pre-modern to the present day, weak forces utilize surprise, technology, innovative tactics, or what some might consider violations of military etiquette to challenge the strong. Therefore, historical roots of asymmetric warfare and lessons

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<sup>1</sup> Stephan J. Blank, *Rethinking Asymmetric Threats*, (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute. 2003), 1-15

<sup>2</sup> FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, (Washington D.C.: Headquarters U.S. Army, 2006)

<sup>3</sup> Colin Gray, “Irregular Warfare: One Nature, Many Characters.” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* Winter, 2007.

learned from the past conflicts may enrich our understanding of it. In this respect and from the perspective of our inquiry the military history of the Ottoman Empire has a great potential. Throughout much of its existence, the Ottoman Military was an effective fighting force with professional military institutions and organizational structures. As the world's dominant military machine from 1300 to the mid-1700's, the Ottoman Army led the way in military institutions, organizational structures, technology and tactics. However its counterinsurgency campaigns and rich experiences are largely forgotten. Similar to the French and British colonial experiences with low intensity conflicts or small wars, the Ottoman military had to allocate an important percentage of its combat effectives and time to fighting against various types of insurgents, social bandits and tribal warriors. Its continuous occupation with counterinsurgency operations left its stamp on the identity and performance of the military as an institution and on its officers.

From the very beginning the Ottoman military had been tasked to provide internal security and public order. The main duty of the military units, especially the famed Janissaries, was to act as local constabularies during peacetime. Even during mobilization a certain percent would remain behind to perform these duties. Consequently even though, as time went on, the administration established various police and other constabulary organizations to deal specifically with law enforcement duties, the Ottoman military remained an important policing instrument.<sup>4</sup>

The breaking away of independent Greece (followed by the independence of Serbia, Romania, Montenegro and Bulgaria) started a process which the Ottoman administration had little understanding of or the means to counter. The Ottoman governing elite did not fully understand the level of threat posed by separatist nationalist movements. They saw the threat from a traditional perspective and employed traditional methods such as negotiation

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<sup>4</sup> G. W. Swanson, "The Ottoman Police", *Journal of Contemporary History*, (January-April 1972), 243-252.

with traditional local leaders, trying to crush rebellions with conventional military power only.

After the success of the first wave of separatist nationalism the empire had to face a second wave. The Berlin Peace Treaty of 1878 which was signed after a series of humiliating defeats against Russians recast the Ottoman Balkan possessions in such a way that it was not militarily feasible to defend them against either foreign aggression or internal insurrection. All of the newly independent Balkan nations had significant national minorities left within the Ottoman Balkan provinces (better known as Macedonia and Thrace) and irredentist plans were quickly hatched to create larger Christian states by swallowing large portions of Ottoman territory. So it is unsurprising that immediately after the signing of the Berlin Treaty a second wave of separatist nationalism began with many Christian minorities demanding union with their respective motherlands.

Sultan Abdülhamid II and his advisors were unable to create an effective and viable strategy to deal with this second wave of separatism. In fact the administration paid much attention to the effects of this wave of nationalism on its diplomatic relations with the Great Powers in order to avoid interventions. However, the problem of how to deal with it internally was totally left in the hands of the military. The army high command neither refused the duty nor created a strategy. Instead it handed over the duty to the respective field army commanders, who were in most of the cases governors also. These generals (all of whom were commissioned from the households of the *grandees*) usually did not bother themselves with the problem but passed it down to their subordinate commanders, who were actually in the field fighting against the insurgents.

In short the counterinsurgency campaigns against separatist nationalist movements were left entirely in the hands of regiment and battalion level junior officers, who were on their own without any clear orders and without the cooperation of other government agencies. Moreover, in addition to their military responsibilities,



these officers often had to perform civil governmental duties such as education, sanitation, reconstruction and even tree planting.<sup>5</sup>

To make the things far worse for the Ottomans the separatist Macedonian Slav nationalist groups (especially the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - IMRO) was further radicalized by the introduction of Italian anarchism and Russian nihilism during 1890s. IMRO members and other Balkan separatists made effective use of the military potential of the civilian population. The population provided them with sanctuary, food, intelligence, funding and recruits. They had support bases in neighboring countries and most often had the direct support of the host country armed forces in terms of expertise, weapons and sometimes personnel. In comparison the junior Ottoman officers had to learn how to conduct counterinsurgency operations against these guerrilla organizations by themselves.<sup>6</sup>

Without doubt the most important factor for commanding officers in counterinsurgency operations is the quality of the officers, rank and file. The quality of the weaponry and equipment would certainly reduce the need for numerical strength but it would not compensate for lack of highly trained and well-led troops. The Ottoman military of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was obviously superior to its pre-reform predecessors but it was (except Military Academy graduate officers) still far below the level of its western counterparts and was not ready and trained to fight against ideologically motivated, well-led and well-equipped guerrilla fighters. However the Ottoman soldiers were obedient, sturdy, brave and most importantly tolerated heavy casualties. Even though most of the

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<sup>5</sup> Enver Pasha, *Enver Paşa'nın Anıları*, edited by H. Erdoğan Cengiz, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991) 48-51. and Kazim Karabekir, 1995, *Hayatım*, edited by Faruk Özerengin, (İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 1995) 496

<sup>6</sup> Duncan Mc Vicar Perry, "The Macedonian Cause: A Critical History of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, 1893-1903", (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan 1981) 4-12, 26-83, 272-298; Karabekir, *Ibid.* 409, 427, 447, 468-469; Fikret Adanır, *Makedonya Sorunu Oluşumu ve 1908'e Kadar Gelişimi*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996) 108-171.

contemporary western military observers of the Ottoman army were highly critical of the performance of its officers, in reality they accomplished great feats under such adverse conditions.

Clearly the weaponry of the Ottoman soldiers and constabularies was obsolete and the officers tried to compensate it with numerical strength which destined to create more problems, instead of solving the original one. The ever problematic Ottoman logistics collapsed under the sheer volume of provisions, ammunition and transport needs. Most of the officers had to spend several rotations (sometimes whole careers) in Macedonia fighting against these ideologically motivated, well-equipped and well-led guerrilla organizations on their own. Their main problem was the lack of government support as well as a lack of doctrinal tactics to combat these unconventional fighters. The administration was more than happy to leave everything to the officers on the scene without providing substantial support unless the situation became completely unmanageable. This was also true for the wider Ottoman public in that ordinary citizens paid limited attention to the problem even in neighboring provinces. In effect, combat units became alternative military schools and mess-halls became clubs where one could discuss anything without fear of prosecution.<sup>7</sup>

In a relatively short time they understood the importance of support by the population and made use of not only the potential of the Muslim population but also of the enmity between various Christian groups. For example Greeks were valuable allies in predominantly Macedonian or Bulgarian regions whereas Bulgarians were Ottoman allies in Greek dominated areas. Surprisingly the Ottoman high command remained aloof from the formulation and application of counterinsurgency doctrines and operations. And even publication of any military manuals or texts on the subject was forbidden. There was no curriculum regarding

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<sup>7</sup> Halil Kut, *İttihat ve Terakki'den Cumhuriyete Bitmeyen Savaş: Kutülamare Kahramanı Halil Paşanın Anıları*, (İstanbul: 7 Gün Yayınları, 1972) 24-27; Karabekir, *Ibid.* 443; Perry, *Ibid.* 17-19, 129, 155-156, 182-184.

counterinsurgency in any military school and even purely military discussions about the subject were discouraged. Similarly the administration tried its best not to inform public about anything related with insurgencies, rebellions or social unrest.<sup>8</sup>

Thanks to the administration's efforts to isolate conflict zones from the wider public and because of its distancing itself from insurgency-related problems, the officer corps in a unique blend of initiative gained control of the conflict zones. Consequently, independent of the administration and the high command, various tactics and techniques were invented and more or less an unofficial but widely accepted uniform counterinsurgency doctrine was in use after 1900s. As active combatants on the frontiers they were visibly reminded of the empire's shrinking borders and loss of provinces. The constant fear of the imminent loss of the Ottoman Balkans especially shaped their perspective. They were also well aware of Great Power interventions and their activities within the empire. Resentment toward the presence of foreign diplomats, military observers and missionaries was widespread. Ottoman officers increasingly became conscious of the insufficiency of the official state ideology and general lack of patriotism.<sup>9</sup>

Two other factors played an important role in shaping the political consciousness of the officers. The first factor was the effect of the ideologies of their guerrilla enemies. The constant conflict created channels of information between combatants. The militant nationalism of the guerrillas, the continuous flow of political thoughts, their way of propaganda and organization greatly inspired the officers. The second factor was the solidarity between officers and the local Muslim (especially those who were Turkish) population. For obvious reasons the Muslim population felt

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<sup>8</sup> Niyazi, *Hürriyet Kahramanı Resneli Niyazi Hatıratı*, edited by Nurer Uğurlu, (İstanbul: Örgün Yayınevi, 2003), 148-152, 175-183; Kut, *Ibid.* 30-50; Karabekir, *Ibid.* 379-383, 407-411, 468-475, 503-518; Perry, *Ibid.* 266-271.

<sup>9</sup> Niyazi, *Ibid.* 149-155; Kut, *Ibid.* 24-27; Karabekir, *Ibid.* 360-396, 470-488, 529-535; Adanır, *Ibid.* 255-259, 262-266.

themselves deserted by the administration. The only agents of the government who were trying to protect them from the attacks of the various guerrilla groups and to provide various civil services were officers of the Ottoman army. They not only fought the insurgents but also built and repaired roads, bridges, schools, mosques and performed other public tasks. Understandably a strong bond of solidarity was established between these groups and the military.<sup>10</sup>

In the end they applied what they had learned. Seeing the autocratic regime of Abdülhamid as the root of all ills and problems the Ottoman officers founded secret organizations (the most famous of them was Committee of Union and Progress) by imitating the Balkan insurgents. Some of them supported various types of military *coups d'état* while others, under the influence of their counterinsurgency experience, advocated mutiny and guerrilla warfare. Despite much preparation and secrecy events unfolded without a master plan after a failed plot in 1908. Officer conspirators rebelled and took refuge in the mountains. The civilian population joined the cause of the officers by holding public demonstrations and sending mass petitions to the sultan. In the end Abdülhamid gave up under intense pressure and restored the constitution that he had suspended in 1878. All of a sudden officers became the praetorian guards and kingmakers and they preserved this position until the final collapse of the empire.<sup>11</sup>

The Ottoman officers did not have time to enjoy their victory and newly gained political power. The French formula of liberty, equality and fraternity managed to rally the citizens of the empire for a few months only. The so-called revolution of the second constitution just did the opposite in enlarging the fault lines and fractures between the various ethnic and religious groups. Only three years after the proclamation of constitution the Balkan states decided to carve out a share from Ottoman Balkan provinces (a goal in which the insurgents had failed) by making use of their

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<sup>10</sup> Enver, *Ibid.* 69-71; Niyazi, *Ibid.* 157; Kut, *Ibid.* 51-53; Adanır, *Ibid.* 200-201.

<sup>11</sup> Enver, *Ibid.* 57-69, 77-121; Niyazi, *Ibid.* 165-324; Adanır, *Ibid.* 183-187.

conventional forces. The Ottoman military had been schooled in asymmetric warfare, and was defeated in detail by symmetric opponents.

From all aspects the governing elite of the Ottoman Empire failed the acid test of the management of asymmetric warfare. They neither performed their chief duty of managing the conflict politically nor gave support to the military. The commanders and units on the ground did not get precise definition of aim against which they could build up missions, plans and other operational aspects. They also suffered from lack of resources and logistics to carry out such an immense task. Moreover the Ottoman high command did not bother to fill the vacuum; instead it turned a blind eye to the urgent requests coming from the field commanders. Their approach towards the military training and doctrine was no other than go-with-what-you-know. Understandably the junior field commanders became de facto decision makers and practitioners at their own peril without political leadership, clear-cut aim and tasks but most importantly in the absence of exit strategy. By giving the whole responsibility (unofficially and illegally) to the junior officers and letting them do what they wanted the administration effectively lost all control and was never able to get it back.

The politico-military effects of asymmetric warfare on the Ottoman Military were far more complicated. We can make use of Daft's theoretical model to understand the impact of asymmetric threats over the military profession, organizational structure and educational requirements.<sup>12</sup> The reaction of any given armed forces against the changes in circumstances is mostly either structural (formalization) or developing training (cultural) programs. The types and order of change reactions towards the asymmetries are mostly accidental and not holistic. At first stages, small-scale piecemeal changes or reactive rather than preemptive decisions were taken; then, it became large-scale grand design and unorthodox or

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<sup>12</sup> Richard L. Daft, *Organization Theory and Design*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, (Cincinnati, OH: South-Western College Publishing, 2001)

unexpected responses were developed to deal with asymmetries. In addition, isomorphism not only for the unit structure and training processes but also the strategies and structures of all headquarters of military and security institutions is a very apparent outcome. There is a twofold reaction to asymmetric warfare: the tendencies for professionalization (individual-based), and for institutionalization (organization-based).

Neglected by its government and high ranking generals, the structural changes born out counterinsurgency experiences affected the Ottoman Military slower than customary. The peculiar side of the Ottoman experience is that the official institutional structure remained as it had been, but a parallel unofficial structure was created by the veterans of the counterinsurgency campaigns. Facing danger and hardship every day, their shared experiences in the mountains and valleys of the Balkans created a special and privileged brotherhood within which every member knew and supported each other. Not surprisingly this unofficial structure transformed into a conspiracy committee which was clearly adopted from Balkan insurgents. In terms of training aspects the situation was grimmer. The veterans had to create their own unofficial parallel training facilities in which barracks, mess-halls and officers' clubs became alternative schools. Creation of parallel or alternative mechanisms increased the isolation of the Ottoman officers and they literally lost touch with the realities of the outer world.

The military outcomes of this isolation had profound effects on the conventional wars of the following decades including Balkan Wars, World War I and the Turkish Independence War. First of all most of the Ottoman officers preferred small unit tactics and techniques to large scale operations. According to them mobility, stealth, surprise and unconventional small-unit tactics were keys for the success. During the Balkan Wars, company and battalion level units were able to beat enemy units if they were employed independently but when the same units were a part of a regiment or higher units they were unable to reach the same level of efficiency

and most often were soundly beaten. For example corps size territorial defense units failed to protect their respective area of responsibility whereas a company grade officer with token small units and civilian volunteers managed to stop Greek regular and irregular units and covered a hundred kilometers long strip of mountainous border region for months.<sup>13</sup>

The second effect is closely related with the first one. The officers schooled in counterinsurgency often suffered difficulty in adjusting themselves to the realities of conventional warfare and massive firepower. They became used to insurgents with limited firepower. So when faced with the combination of entrenched infantry and modern fire power they did not adapt well. Similarly most of the regular soldiers were veterans of long counterinsurgency campaigns and suffered difficulties understanding the dynamics of conventional warfare. They learned their trade the hard way (especially during the Gallipoli Campaign).<sup>14</sup>

The third effect was that of employing irregular bands in conventional operations. Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa (literally special organization), a paramilitary secret organization is the most famous example. During World War I, Ottoman administration led by the Committee of Union and Progress decided in creation of guerrilla bands from conventionally useless unruly tribal warriors, adventurers and former convicts under the leadership of highly politicized officers. Mahsusa bands and operatives saw action in nearly all major theaters of operations and in fact took over the responsibility of the Iraqi front for nearly a year, albeit creating much tension and ill will with conventional units. However the Mahsusa operations did not meet the exaggerated expectations of its founders. The idea to make use of the military potential of tribal and other

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<sup>13</sup> Bekir Fikri, *Balkanlarda Tedhiş ve Gerilla: Grebene*, (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1978).

<sup>14</sup> Remzi Yiğitgüden, *Birinci Dünya Harbinde Türk Harbi: Çanakkale Cephesi Harekatı*, vol. 5, book 2, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1978), 175-182, 191-211, 365-393.

conventionally useless groups and individuals, as a concept, was novel. But the Mahsusa leaders neither understood the dynamics of the biggest conventional war ever, nor the selfish, pragmatic and ever fluid loyalties of the tribal warriors and other problematic characters, who were mostly trying their best to gain as much as they could from the ongoing conflict.<sup>15</sup>

The Fourth effect was initiative. The Ottoman officers were well accustomed to act independently and to receive short, task oriented operational orders. However, this well established sense of initiative sometimes was instrumental in officers disobeying orders. A very good example is the conduct of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), future president of the Turkish Republic, then the commanding officer of the 19<sup>th</sup> Division (the sole operational reserve of the 5<sup>th</sup> Army which was tasked to defend Dardanelles Strait). During the fateful day of April 25, 1915 Australian-New Zealand Corps (ANZAC) landed at Arıburnu region. The commanding general Liman von Sanders did not understand the urgency of this landing and stubbornly kept the division in its original assignment. Mustafa Kemal openly disobeyed the orders of his superior and committed his division against the ANZACs. His move not only saved the day but also the whole defense.<sup>16</sup>

The fifth and the last effect was no other than training and education. Surprisingly the veterans of asymmetric warfare proved to be equally helpless as their predecessor Sultan Abdülhamid in creation of viable training and educational system that would accommodate lessons learned from asymmetric warfare. Evidently they sought to transfer and to adapt their experiences into Ottoman

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<sup>15</sup> Philipp H. Stoddard, *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, (Turkish translation of the English original *The Ottoman Government and the Arabs, 1911 to 1918: A Study of the Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*), translated by Tansel Demirel, (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1994), Arif Cemil Denker, *Birinci Dünya Savaşında Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa*, edited by Metin Martı, (İstanbul: Arma Yayınları, 2006), Hüsamettin Ertürk, *İki Devrin Perde Arkası*, edited by Samih Nafiz Tansu, (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1957).

<sup>16</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Arıburnu Muharebeleri Raporu*, edited by Uluğ İğdemir, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986). and Yiğitgüden, *Ibid.* 12-37.



military training system. Immediately after coming to power unconventional warfare and counterinsurgency topics became the part of the academic curriculum of the Military Academy. New books and articles were published and these issues were discussed profoundly. However no body tried to integrate it with the conventional military subjects. Conventional lessons and subjects have remained side by side with the asymmetric ones without any intercourse. The complexity of asymmetry demanded concentrated effort and structural changes. To make the things far worse, the German Military Advisory Mission and officers without counterinsurgency experience increasingly despised the merits of of studying asymmetric warfare. According to them the lessons and experiences of asymmetric warfare have nothing to do with modern conventional wars. So they effectively curbed any chances of integrating asymmetric lessons with the conventional military body.

As a conclusion there is no clear-cut approach to training for asymmetric threats and transferring lessons learned. But it is very obvious that we need to find ways to integrate asymmetry into conventional military training and educational system without jeopardizing the accumulated knowledge. Learning and adapting remain the key elements. Nevertheless learning process and transformational applications could not be institutionalized. The reason for that the strategy developing mechanisms or organizational structure could not protect its flexibility forever. Change is not becoming permanent adaptation process. No modern military has the luxury to ignore the current and future asymmetric threats. But At the same time we need to be careful about the after effects of asymmetric experiences (including the political repercussions).

The case example of this study, the Ottoman military failed to achieve it. The Ottoman army as the military arm of a pre-industrial multi-ethnic peasant-based empire encountered huge difficulties accommodating itself to the demands of prosecuting asymmetric and symmetric wars the same time. The empire and its military

blurred the relations and distinctions between civilian and military sides due to the legacy of asymmetric warfare. Clearly the old and new Ottoman administrations were ill-equipped to deal with highly politicized officers who were unknowingly imitating their former insurgent opponents. The same is true for the Ottoman military which was not able to adapt or to transfer valuable experiences and lessons of decades long asymmetric warfare into conventional military structure and thinking. However these Ottoman failures are providing us much needed case examples in order to get an understanding of the complexity of asymmetric warfare and its largely neglected effects on military profession.

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## **The Territorial Component - an Advantage or Obstacle to the Development of Modern Armed Forces: The Example of the Slovenian Armed Forces**

### **Abstract**

The territorial forces of the Cold War have to be understood through the prism of two points of view. The first, functional, saw in the territorial component the possibility of total mobilization and maximization of defense capability in a specific area. The second was related to the loss of a monopoly on armed force within an individual country, since the territorial component represented an additional source of defense power that was not necessarily and in all respects fully subordinated to the central defense power of a country's armed forces. All this proved to be a justified fear of the Yugoslav People's Army (in Slovene: JLA), as the territorial components in the individual republics became the nucleus of the national armed forces of each republic. In the case of Slovenia's independence, the territorial defense force became an adversary which, despite its apparent inferiority in firepower, defeated an army that was the fourth most powerful one in Europe at that time. However, territoriality had its roots in the historical development of the Slovenian defense identity. The question that remains unanswered and worth an in-depth analysis, however, is whether territoriality, imbued with tradition, military identity and a specific military culture, at a time of changing security challenges, a re-

engineered geo-strategic security architecture and new tasks of the armed forces through the prism of alliance engagement is an advantage or an obstacle to the future development of the Slovenian defense forces.

**Keywords:** armed forces, territorial defense, military tradition, military identity, territorialisation of military system

### **The Theoretical Foundation on Armed Forces**

In the theory of armed forces, territoriality represents an important component, which can be defined from two standpoints:

- It is the fundamental implementation of the armed forces tasks, which have, from the very beginning of the armed forces, mainly been aimed at protecting the territory, seen by a certain community as its property, from a variety of threats. This has been and will undoubtedly remain the basic task of the armed forces even in the new security architecture, which manifests itself in the armed forces' activities within the collective defence system.<sup>1</sup>
- It is the fundamental principle of recruitment or enlistment of armed forces members. This task has traditionally depended on a certain territorial component, as the integration of recruits into the territorially-defined community has had an extremely significant influence on the mobilization responsiveness as well as on the speed of its implementation.<sup>2</sup> The territorial component has been all the more crucial to ensure the success

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

<sup>2</sup> Kim Hudson and Don Henk, »Strategising in an era of conceptual change: Security Institutions and the delivery of security in the 21st century,« in Very Francois and Esterhuyse Abel (ed.) *On Military Culture: Theory, Practise and African Armed Forces* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2014).

and especially engagement of the armed forces members in the realisation of military operations. All of this is generally understood under the general term of combat morale<sup>3</sup>, which has been directly associated with the concept of territorialised community (homeland) defence.

### **Territorialisation of a Military System**

From these foundations, it follows that the territorial component is the very aspect that importantly constructs, gives meaning, and facilitates the existence and functioning of the armed forces. Moreover, the most fundamental facts are ingrained in the very essence of the armed forces:

- Military tradition is a reflection of the social culture, i.e. the norms and patterns of behaviour that are upgraded with the system of the military profession.<sup>4</sup> As such it is a collection of the territorially conditioned and specific characteristics of an individual community. The territory and its history represent an important part of the military tradition and define not only the operations of the individual armed forces, but rather make for an indelible element of their military identity.
- Military identity represents the foundation of any military organisation.<sup>5</sup> Its legitimacy and contents stem from the military tradition, and as such it not only defines the tasks of any individual armed force, but also constructs and brings meaning to its existence. The territorial component plays a special role in this regard, as it underlies the symbolism of the armed forces and their tasks.

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<sup>3</sup> D. Ilisoi and D Nagy, *Patriotism and Military Values, Management and Socio Humanities* (Brasov: "Henri Coanda" Air Force Academy, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> S. Kiernan, *Authentic Patriotism: Restoring America's Founding Ideals through Selfless Action* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> F. Manning, "Morale, Cohesion and Esprit de Corps," in Reuven G, Mangelsdorf D. A, (eds), *Handbook of Military Psychology* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991), 453-54.

- The military/combat morale has been associated with the territory ever since the existence of the armed forces.<sup>6</sup> The defence of the territorialised community (homeland) is certainly the highest value of the armed forces and their primary purpose. For the greater part of military history, the participation in defence operations has been inseparably linked with citizenship and the individuals' political rights in the society. Sociologically, the (in)ability of community members (traditionally men) to function within the system of the armed forces would result in negative social evaluation.

**The change of the territorial concept** has always represented the necessary redefinition of the armed forces, which has then manifested itself in the form of professionalisation on the one hand and the distancing of the armed forces from the civil society on the other hand.

If, precisely because of their integration into the territorial environment, the armed forces once represented its exclusive and most important part, and they were later an essential part of the life of any civil society, today this is no longer the case. The constant and overly hurried alteration of the modern societies' territorial concept undoubtedly represents an important factor of the diminishing importance of the armed forces' territorial component.

Not long ago, it was precisely the territoriality of the armed forces that would define an individual society, which saw this as the **foundation for its identity**.<sup>7</sup> The changed state borders after the end of the Cold War, the completely different understanding of security, and especially the definitions regarding who and how should ensure this security have been and still remain the most important factor of armed forces reforms. The armed forces should supposedly be

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<sup>6</sup> R. MacCoun et al, "Does Social Cohesion Determine Motivation in Combat? An Old Question with an Old Answer." *Armed Forces and Society* 3, no. 1 (2005), 1-9.

<sup>7</sup> Vladimir Prebilič and Jelena Juvan, "The Slovenian Armed Forces and patriotism." *Diplomacy and statecraft* 30, no. 1 (2019), 99-117.

highly professionalised and specialised, but the territorial concept is increasingly missing from the equation, as the tasks of the modern armed forces more and more often transcend the territorial limitations of the states. The system of collective security, which focuses not only on compatibility but also on interoperability, sees the territorial understanding of the armed forces' tasks and their concept of activities as an obstacle rather than encouragement in achieving the defence capabilities regarding the security goals thus envisioned.<sup>8</sup>

At the same time we have witnessed the **redefinition of the territorial concept**. The lowest common denominator is supposed to be represented by the groups of allied countries. This has resulted in new foundations for the establishment of a new concept of military identity in which territoriality is spatially no longer understood as the territory of an individual member state, but rather as the territory of the whole alliance – i.e. the territory of indirect responsibility for security, involving territorially more extensive tasks of the armed forces.<sup>9</sup>

This involves the following **paradox**: the existence, activities, and successful realisation of the individual armed forces' tasks are inseparable from territoriality, which, however, represents an extraordinary challenge in the modern collective security defence systems. This challenge manifests itself during the joint operations of the allied armed forces and in the reservations of the states regarding the formation and further intensification of the cooperation of member states in the field of defence.

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<sup>8</sup> D. Jordan and J. Kiras, *Understanding Modern Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Vladimir Prebilič and Damijan Guštin, »From a nation of lackeys to a nation of warriors : transformation of the Slovenian national attitude to combat 1941-1945 and 1990-1991,« in Paschalidou E. S. (ed.) and Ortner, Christian M. (ed.), *The warrior's ethos, the national psyche and soldiery: proceedings of the 15th Annual Conference of the Conflict Studies Working Group of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, Athens, Greece* (Athens: Hellenic Army General Staff, Army History Directorate, 2016).



It is possible to claim that **without the establishment of a new, territorially broader social identity, it will be impossible to ensure any further progress regarding the close cooperation in the defence of the allied member states.** Moreover, the consequences of the strengthening sovereignty have also been evident in the field of defence, where discussions regarding the fundamental tasks of the armed forces and questions whether the armed forces, their missions, and thus also their training should be restricted to the states' national territories are becoming increasingly frequent.

### **Example: Slovenian**

#### **Armed Forces**

Historically, the Slovenian ethnic territory – the foundation of today's Republic of Slovenia – was a strategically important transition route (referred to as the Ljubljana Gap) between the Pannonian Basin, the North Italian Plain, and the North Adriatic area.<sup>10</sup> Politically and militarily, the area around this passage was once dominated by several great empires – from the 10th to the 18th Century the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, then the Austrian Empire, and finally by Austro-Hungary. For roughly a thousand years, this was the state-political framework of the military control over this area. Its population, which formed the Slovenian nation towards the end of the 18th century, also served in the armed forces of these empires. As a rule, strong armed forces components would be established here because of the strategic importance of this passage.<sup>11</sup>

The Austrian Empire was one of the first to establish a territorial component. In the Austrian provinces, the *Landwehr* (home guard) was established in 1808. The Home Guard consisted

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<sup>10</sup> Vladimir Prebilič, »Zur geostrategischen Bedeutung Sloveniens - Vorteil oder Flucht?« in *Die Alpen im kalten Krieg : historischer Raum, Strategie und Sicherheitspolitik* (München: Oldenbourg, 2012), 313-324.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Bassett, *For God and Kaiser : the Imperial Austrian Army from 1619 to 1918* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2016), 11-99.

of all combat-capable volunteers between 18 and 60 years of age, who had not previously served in the Army and had until then been excused from military service.<sup>12</sup> The Home Guard consisted of battalions and companies. Styria had to provide thirteen battalions with 13,800 men, Carinthia five battalions with 5,900 men, while Carniola and the Littoral with Trieste had to provide fifteen battalions with 15,700 men.<sup>13</sup> The Home Guard was not trained well enough to take part in very demanding military operations, and it was also poorly equipped and armed. It was restored after the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>14</sup>

After the formation of modern armed forces in the middle of the 19th century, Austro-Hungary placed an emphasis on the newly-established territorial armed forces component, tasked with defending this territory. With the new military legislation of 1868, Home Guard as an independent territorial component of the armed forces was established. In Hungary the *Honvédség* (also Home Guard in Hungarian) was established, similar to the *Landwehr* in the Austrian part of the Monarchy, because of political pressure – due to the Hungarian demand for a separate Hungarian Army.<sup>15</sup>

Regardless of these political implications, five *Landwehr* regiments were established in the Slovenian part of the Austrian half of the state and deployed around the wider area between Graz and Pola and the Austrian-Italian border by the river Soča (Isonzo). In the defence plans, two of these regiments were tasked with

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<sup>12</sup> »Ustanovitev domobranstva,« *Učiteljski tovariš*, June, 12, 1908, no. 24, 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Gorazd Ropič, *Deželna bramba in črnovojniki* : diplomsko delo (Ljubljana: G. Ropič, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Basset, *For Got and Kaiser*, 120; Peter Urbanitsch (ed) and Adam Wandruszka (ed), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918: Band 5, Die Bewaffnete Macht* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 199-202.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Urbanitsch (ed) and Adam Wandruszka (ed), *Die Bewaffnete Macht*, 417-430, 634-686. By the Austrian Defence Act (RGI. 41/1889, §4) »the Landwehr is tasked in time of war to support the Army and to defend the homeland; in peacetime, and by exception, also to maintain law and order and security of the homeland.«

defending the border area by the river Soča (26th and 27th regiment).<sup>16</sup>

The system of staffing the joint Army was adapted to the territorial nature of defence in Austria-Hungary, as it was exceedingly territorially oriented. Each infantry regiment was raised in a single recruitment area, while cavalry and artillery regiments were raised in a single or several neighbouring recruitment areas.<sup>17</sup>

The Austro-Hungarian defence at the river Soča between 1915 and 1917 represents an important reference point for the territoriality of the Slovenian military tradition. In the awareness of the Slovenian population, this defence has gained a dimension of a nationally-relevant defence of the Slovenian homeland.<sup>18</sup> Also for this reason, the Austro-Hungarian command assigned an above average share of Slovenian national units to this front, as it counted on their active participation.<sup>19</sup>

The dissolution of Austria-Hungary divided the Slovenian space geostrategically, as the western part as far as Ljubljana Gap went to Italy, while the eastern part from the end of Ljubljana Gap to Maribor was annexed to the new Southern Slavic national state: the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (October-December 1918), subsequently renamed as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and

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<sup>16</sup> »Imperial Royal Landwehr,« Wikipedia, last modified October, 25. 2019. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial-Royal\\_Landwehr#Mounted\\_State\\_Rifles](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial_Royal_Landwehr#Mounted_State_Rifles)); *Die k.k. Landwehr-Gebirgstruppen : Geschichte, Uniformierung und Ausrüstung der österreichischen Gebirgstruppen von 1906 bis 1918* (Vienna : Militaria, cop. 2006).

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> John Macdonald and Željko Cimprič, *Caporetto and the Isonzo campaign : the italian front 1915-1918* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2011); Igor Grdina, *Svetovna vojna ob Soči. 1 Evropski zaplet* (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2009); ed), *Soška fronta 1915-1917 : kultura spominjanja* (Dunaj = in Wien: Slovenski znanstveni inštitut = Slowenisches Wissenschaftsinstitut ; Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2010); Marija Jurić-Pahor, *Memorija vojne : soška fronta v spominski literaturi vojakov in civilistov* (Celovec: Mohorjeva, 2019).

<sup>19</sup> Janez J. Švajncar, *Svetovna vojna 1914-1918 : Slovenci v avstro-ogrski armadi* (Maribor : Pokrajinski muzej, 1988); Petra Svoljšak and Gregor Antoličič, *Leta strahote : Slovenci in proa svetovna vojna* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2018).

Slovenes, and from 1931 as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.<sup>20</sup> The defence of this territory thus gained a new dimension, as its territorial defence was indeed important, but not decisively so for the state with the emphasis on the axis between the basin of the river Sava, Belgrade, Drina basin, and Vardar basin.<sup>21</sup> All of the defence and force planning in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia followed this main strategic orientation. The focus of Yugoslav defence changed in the middle of the 1930s, when the strategists and subsequently also the state focused on the defence of this area by constructing a defence line and thus undertook to defend the territory behind the fortified line (so called Rupnik Line).<sup>22</sup>

The **Partisan warfare of the resistance movement** during World War II was basically territorial as well. The Slovenian Partisan Army (as part of National liberation Army of Yugoslavia), as a highly developed guerrilla army, was exceedingly territorially defined and oriented in terms of combat, even though attempts were made to upgrade it with the capability of manoeuvring in the field.<sup>23</sup> It even developed the basis for a separate territorial component, the so-called detachments in comparison with the so-called brigades, which were supposed to be manoeuvre units.<sup>24</sup>

After World War II, the Socialist Yugoslavia within the somewhat altered borders (all of the Postojna Gate territory now

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<sup>20</sup> Jože Pirjevec, *Jugoslavija : 1918-1992 : nastanek, razvoj ter razpad Karadjordjevićeve in Titove Jugoslavije* (Koper: Lipa, 1995).

<sup>21</sup> Mile Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca : 1918-1921* (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1988), xx; Mile Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca - Jugoslavije : 1922-1935* (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 1994), 206-40.

<sup>22</sup> Miloš Habrnál, *Rupnikova črta in druge jugoslovanske utrdbе iz obdobja 1926-1941* (Dvůr Králové nad Labem : J. Škoda - Fortprint, 2005); Aleksander Jankovič Potočnik, *Rupnikova linija in Alpski zid : utrjevanje Rapalske meje med letoma 1932 in 1941* (Vrhnika: Galerija 2, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> Damijan Guštin, »The Partisan Army – Armed Resistance in Slovenia during World War II,« in *Resistance, suffering, hope : the Slovene Partisan Movement 1041-1945* (Ljubljana: ZZB NOB Slovenije ; Trieste = Trst: ZTT = EST : SKGZ, 2008), 48-61.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, 58.

belonged to Yugoslavia) developed a similar defence doctrine. The Cold War contributed to this, and the initial division between the Western and Eastern blocs ran precisely along Yugoslavia's western border. After 1950, Yugoslavia refrained from opting for either of the blocs and decided on an independent defence instead. This involved the strengthening of the territorial component of its armed forces. Initially, this component represented approximately ten percent of the Yugoslav Army's structure, while later it gradually increased to one fifth.<sup>25</sup>

In 1968, the Yugoslav political and military leadership established an additional territorial component that was initially improvised. However, already in the same year it was converted to a systemically separate territorial formation of the armed forces. These structures were initially called the units of the total national defence, while as of 1971 they were referred to as the Territorial Defence. The latter was organised by the republics, as eight separate military formations. Their task was to defend the territory of each individual republic or autonomous province, even in case that the opponent should occupy the area. In total, these units consisted of approximately 1,100,000 troops. In Slovenia, the number of its members amounted to around 83,000, which represented approximately 45 percent of all the military conscripts from Slovenia. Because of the Slovenian national identification, the Territorial Defence of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia had an important place in the Slovenian society.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Bojan B. Dimitrijević, *Jugoslovenska armija 1945-1954 : nova ideologija, vojniki i oružje* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2006); Zvezdan Marković, *Jugoslovenska ljudska armada: (1945-1991)* (Ljubljana: Defensor, 2007); Bojan Dimitrijević, *Od Staljina do Atlantskog pakta : armija u spolnoj politici Titove Jugoslavije 1945-1958* (Beograd: JP Službeni list SCG, 2005); Bojan B. Dimitrijević, *Jugoslovenska narodna armija u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji : 1945.-1968* (Zagreb: Despot Ininitus, 2017).

<sup>26</sup> Boris Bolfek, *Nastanek in razvoj slovenske TO : 1968-1990* (Ljubljana: Zveza veteranov vojne za Slovenijo : Defensor, 2018); Roman Novak, *Podoba teritorialne obrambe Slovenije v časniku "Delo" med leti 1968 in 1989 : diplomsko delo* (Ljubljana: R. Novak, 2005).

Immediately after the declaration of the independent and autonomous state on 26 June 1991, an armed conflict broke out that Slovenia faced with a partially supplemented Territorial Defence, which, however, formally still operated as the territorial component of the Yugoslav armed forces. The conflict's level of intensity and complexity was such that the almost fully-manned territorial component of the Slovenian state was able to cope with it, and the territorial organisation even strengthened the effectiveness of the Slovenian side. Slovenia therefore achieved its independence using the purposefully-defined territorial component of the armed forces.<sup>27</sup>

### **Slovenian Army 1991–2018**

In view of the circumstances, in the initial period of the Republic of Slovenia, its Army remained territorially organised, as the threat level and thus the need to defend the Slovenian territory from any incursions of the Yugoslav Army from the neighbouring Croatia was still considerable. On 3 February 1992, the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia adopted a general plan of organising, equipping, arming, and training the Slovenian Army.<sup>28</sup> Its organisation was based on the **concept of the armed neutrality** of the Republic of Slovenia. According to this plan, the Slovenian Army was supposed to consist of 45,000 troops, 18,000 of which were supposed to belong to its manoeuvre part. The Army's peacetime complement acquired a strengthened reserve army, manned by the conscripts discharged from the regular complement. In this period, the organisational structure of the Territorial Defence of the Republic of Slovenia was

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<sup>27</sup> Tomaž Kladnik, et al, *Vojaška obramba Slovenije : 1990-1991* (Ljubljana: Defensor, 2011); Janez J. Švajncer, *Obranili domovino : teritorialna obramba Republike Slovenije v vojni za svobodno in samostojno Slovenijo 1991* (Ljubljana: Viharnik, 1993).

<sup>28</sup> Tomaž Kladnik, *Slovenian Armed Forces in the service of Slovenia*, 2nd supplemented ed. (Ljubljana: Defensor, 2007), 34; Damijan Guštin, »Defence of the Republic of Slovenia 1991-2004 : from individual to collective defence,« *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 56, no. 3 (2016), 91.

divided into the manoeuvre and territorial component. The territorial component or the territorial forces consisted of approximately 27,000 troops, which represented approximately 60 percent of the Army's full complement. It had a permanent and wartime complement. The territorial component was integrated into the Territorial Defence Headquarters of the Republic of Slovenia, seven provincial Territorial Defence Headquarters, and 27 regional Territorial Defence Headquarters.<sup>29</sup>

The territorial commands and units remained active even after the adoption of the Defence Act of 1994. However, the size of territorial units was reduced to around 7,400 troops.<sup>30</sup>

In 1998 a thorough reorganisation of the Slovenian Army began with the aim of adapting it to the entry into NATO (The National Strategy for the Accession of Slovenia to NATO, 1998). Among other things, the territorial military commands were restructured as well. The Strategy of the Military Defence of the Republic of Slovenia, adopted at the time, provided for the restructuring of the armed forces into rapid reaction forces, main defence forces, and auxiliary defence forces. An organisational adaptation of the armed forces (the division into mobile and stationary forces) was carried out.<sup>31</sup>

The subsequent reorganisation of the Slovenian Army in 2002 involved the reduction of the territorial forces as well. In 2003, the Slovenian Army became a professional army with a planned strength of 7,500. The territorial forces were supposed to consist of a voluntary contractual reserve consisting of 1,500 members, but this plan was never fully implemented.<sup>32</sup> In the following year, 2004,

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<sup>29</sup> Ibidem; Alojz Šteiner, *Slovenska vojska med tranzicijo in transformacijo* (Ljubljana: Slovenska vojska, Center vojaških šol, 2015), 20-1.

<sup>30</sup> Šteiner, *Slovenska vojska med tranzicijo in transformacijo*, 21-4.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem; Guštin, »Defence of the Republic of Slovenia 1991-2004 : from individual to collective defence«, 94.

<sup>32</sup> Sonja Majer, *Prostovoljna pogodbeno rezerva v Slovenski vojski : diplomsko delo* (Ljubljana: S. Majer, 2006); Jelena Juvan, Rok Zupančič, Erik Kopač, »Prostovoljna pogodbeno rezerva : (1. del)«, in *Slovenska vojska* 18, May 28, 2010), no. 8, 23-25; Jelena Juvan, Rok Zupančič, Klemen Grošelj, *Prostovoljna*

Slovenia joined NATO. The accession process involved a series of military structural reforms and reforms of the defence system in general. The formation of the forces included in the collective defence completely overshadowed the issues regarding the Army's territorial component.<sup>33</sup>

In the medium-term defence programme of the Republic of Slovenia for the years 2016–2020, the very existence, let alone the development of the territorial forces dedicated to operations in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia, became of secondary importance. All of the available resources were aimed at adjusting the Slovenian Army to the NATO standards and at preparing the forces for the operations taking place outside of the Slovenian national territory in the framework of NATO.<sup>34</sup>

Due to the refugee crisis in 2015 and other security or even military threats nearby (for example in the Ukraine, as well as the wars in Libya and Syria), demands appeared in the public that apart from taking part in NATO, the Slovenian Army should focus predominantly on the defence of the Slovenian territory. Simultaneously, the financial crisis and the consequent 40 percent reduction of the defence budget severely impaired the technological modernisation and adaptation of the Slovenian Army to the NATO standards in particular.<sup>35</sup> The following radical proposals appeared:

- unification of all security forces into a police-military formation,
- withdrawal from the NATO structures,

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pogodbena rezerva : (2. del),« in *Slovenska vojska* 18, June 11, 2010, no. 9, 20-22; Jelena Juvan et al, »Prostovoljna pogodbeni rezerva : (3. del),« in *Slovenska vojska* 18, June 25, 2010, no. 10, 29-31; Klemen Grošelj, Jelena Juvan, Rok Zupančič, Primerjalna analiza prostovoljnih pogodbenih rezerv Češke, Nemčije, Velike Britanije, Belgije in Nizozemske,« in *Mednarodne razsežnosti varnosti Slovenije*. 303-33.

<sup>33</sup> Albin Gutman, »From Gaining Independence to the Slovenian Armed Forces,« in *Kladnik, Slovenian Armed Forces in the service of Slovenia*, 43.

<sup>34</sup> Šteiner, *Slovenska vojska med tranzicijo in transformacijo*, 171-191.

<sup>35</sup> *Kladnik, Slovenian Armed Forces in the service of Slovenia*, 70-1.



- restoration of the Territorial Defence,
- establishment of a voluntary national guard, and even
- reintroduction of conscription.<sup>36</sup>

Fifteen years after the Slovenian entry into NATO, the adaptation of the Slovenian Army to the collective defence system is under a strong influence of the tradition and military experience of its leading cadre. The tradition of the Slovenian Army is closely related precisely to the Territorial Defence, which was evidently a territorial force. The same applies to the main source of military tradition – the Slovenian Independence War of June and July 1991, in which territorial forces fought against manoeuvre forces. A significant part of the commanding staff at the highest level is also personally involved with the territorial component of military operations (the staff either originates from these military formations, or they participated in the Ten-Day War of 1991).

Furthermore, the Slovenian military identity was once influenced by the less than fully realised Slovenian national independence. The Slovenian military identity used to be – since military organisation is almost always related to state organisation – exceptionally handicapped, as the Slovenian national identity was once not based on the sense of belonging to a certain state. Therefore, the individual members of the armed forces had to resolve this dichotomy in their own way, on the personal level, be it either through assimilation, refusal to join a military organisation, or even retirement. Consequently, the presence of Slovenian staff in the professional military structures of Austria-Hungary and in particular the Yugoslav Army (as well as, as of the first post-WWII generation, in the structures of the Yugoslav People's Army) was

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<sup>36</sup> Vladimir Prebilič, Damijan Guštin, »Crisis and the military system, military system in crisis : Yugoslavia - Slovenia : the 1930s, 1980s, and the present time,« in Past through present : thoughts on military history at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war. Euro Atlantic Conflict Studies Working Group. Conference 2012 (2012 ; Vienna) (Wien: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, 2013), 250-5.

modest. This was an important element in the creation of “the new times,” as military identity had to be established completely anew.

## **Conclusion**

In the case of Slovenian armed forces, we can perceive the armed forces' territorial component as a strong, even decisive factor of the military history and tradition and thus also its identity. At the same time, the environment, security threats, and expectations towards the defence structures have changed radically. From this viewpoint, the territorial component of the armed forces can only be different and can by no means be restored by resorting to the traditional foundations. However, no serious efforts have been noted that the territorial component could be even theoretically outlined in light of the new circumstances or realised by establishing a functioning territorial component on the basis of the current organisation. From this viewpoint, the territorial component is urgently needed; yet it is also more of an obstacle than an advantage because of the influence of the elements of the tradition. But one thing must not be underestimated – regardless of changed security challenges, the territorial component of modern armed forces is and will remain of the utmost importance, because it provides the legitimacy for their very existence.

Undoubtedly the military organization is a specific societal organization that differs from other organizations by certain fundamental characteristics. The military profession also has its own legalities and characteristics. The willingness to sacrifice one's own life for the homeland is one of these characteristics, which are closely related to the military profession and military service. Patriotism is the one indispensable element in the existence and operation of the defence system through which individuals integrate into the defence system and among other factors also enables efficient and effective task implementation. But the sense of profound patriotism originates from defending the homeland. Neglecting, disregarding and

underestimating the territorial component means to question the existence of the defence forces and one cannot expect readiness and preparations of the younger generations to fill the ranks of armed forces. And this is exactly the core problem of all modern defence systems that are insufficiently addressed by decision makers. Even worse, public misperception transmit responsibility of defence of territory on the system of collective defence what are the political elites to be blamed.

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## **New Threats and Changes to the National Security of the Republic of Poland in the Twenty-First Century as a Result of the Evolution of the New Generation of War**

MOTTO: Si vis pacem, para bellum<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

The security of the Republic of Poland, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, is determined by geographic, political, social, economic and military factors. Moreover, the security of a nation-state is also influenced by national identity, culture and history. Modern security studies identify national security utilizing two essential concepts, which are challenges and threats. Security challenges are new situations, in which inalienable needs are appearing, requiring the formulation of responses and the application of actions. Their origin can be of economic, political, military, social and cultural nature. They are affecting a state, and can be related to various factors, such as governance and economy, including availability of mineral resources.

The second important concept is that of threats to security. They can be defined as factors detrimental to national security, such as natural disasters and industrial catastrophes, globalization, social marginalization, poverty and hunger, crises or wars, epidemics,

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<sup>1</sup> Latin: "If you want peace, prepare for war". This famous phrase, adopted from Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, book 1 is considered to be the earliest expression in Latin, considering the classic deterrence paradox. Milner, N.P., *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1996), 63.



pandemics, collapse of states, the political or economic instability, unemployment or migration. Traditional security threats also include both conventional military aggression and various forms of asymmetrical aggression, such as terrorist or cyber attacks and clash of civilization. Research has shown that state security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century relies on the quality of response to both conventional and asymmetric threats and challenges.

Another conclusion from the conducted research is that political, economic or social crises are new treats for security state. Moreover the concept of security model consist short table for “hard power” and “soft power.”

**Keywords:** national security of the Republic of Poland, challenges and threats for state, asymmetric threats, hybrid and cyber war

The classic security of the nation state is defined as freedom from threats that could be posing a risk to its survival.<sup>2</sup> It is related to ensuring territorial integrity, sovereignty, freedom of choosing political decisions, conditions ensuring survival, existence as well as prosperity and development of the state. Key political thinkers, who contributed to the creation of the modern idea of the nation state, such as Montesquieu, Hugo Grotius or Seneca, have indicated that security is both a condition and a process. National security is a foundation of nation states, allowing their existence, which makes it a permanent factor in international relations. Because nation states are the main actors of such relations, international security strongly depends on a sense of national security in both individual states, and in groups of nations forming international organizations like NATO and the European Union. When applied to Poland, this classic understanding of state security, was traditionally focused on the

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<sup>2</sup> Wojtaszczyk, Konstanty Adam, *Bezpieczeństwo państwa*, (Warszawa: Aspra JR F.H.U. 2009), 11.

results of a confrontation of the strength and power of the powers neighbouring Poland. This understanding of state's security is still relevant today, although many additional factors were added. Currently, the state security of Poland can be perceived as:

- condition – of true lack of threats or neutralization of them, peace, internal order and certainty of state's existence;
- process – actions of the state's institutions and services, maintaining national integrity, internal security, legal order, protection and defence of borders;
- need – the foundation of the undisturbed existence of state institutions and the protection of priority values (prosperity, life, health, dignity, law and family);
- value – as preferred by the nation, social group, power and / or society;
- function – the effective and efficient activity of the state's institutions, authorities and services seeking to neutralize threats threatening the institution of the state;
- ability – the preferred feature of the state and its key elements, such as authorities, decision-making centres, and executive measures to effectively neutralize military, economic, cultural and cybernetic threats to the state.

Traditionally, security of Poland has been and is understood, based on historical experiences, in the context of existence in the central part of the continent, which results in strong influence by both eastern and western powers. Since its very beginning, when the country was united and baptised by the ruling Piast dynasty in 966, Poland came under attack from virtually all directions, although in time two main historic directions were formed: western (Germany) and eastern (Russia).

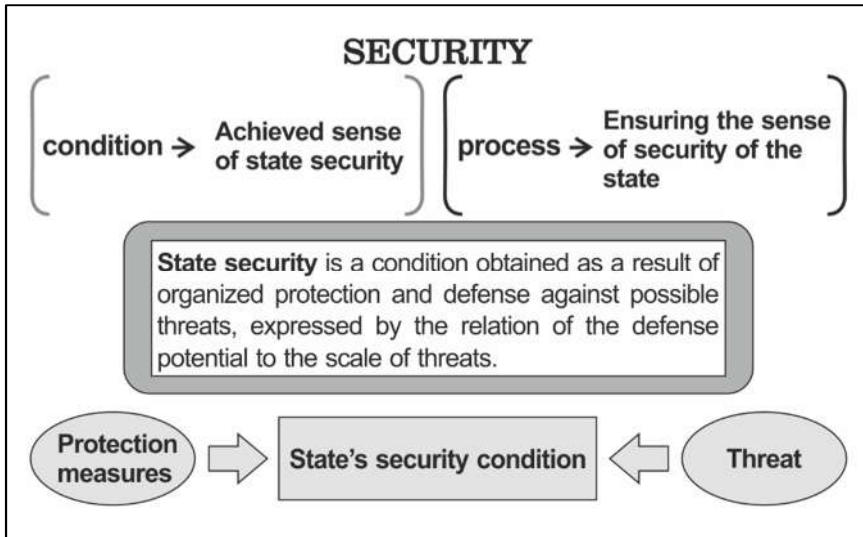


Figure 1. *The security of the Republic of Poland.*<sup>3</sup>

Threats originating from these two directions were countered by maintaining a strong army and internal security of the state as well as providing strong economic base by ensuring sufficient food (especially grain) production, that also became a mainstay of Polish trade relations with other countries, but the army's ability to protect the borders and territorial integrity was always a crucial factor. At present, the military, or hard power factor is considered secondary to soft power (including economic, social and cultural) factors by Western political scientists. However, armed conflicts and their evolution occurring in 21<sup>st</sup> century, indicate that the military factor is still very important. The main task of maintaining Poland's security is to meet the needs of Polish society. These are the needs related to:

- Effective authority of the state at the central and all territorial administrative levels: Województwo (province, often translated as voivodship), powiat (county) and gmina (municipality or commune).

<sup>3</sup> Drawn by the author, based on: Stańczyk, Jerzy. *Współczesne pojmowanie bezpieczeństwa*: Warszawa 1996.

- Providing food, water, healthy air and medical services related to the existence of the nation and social groups.
- Allowing access to financial and monetary resources guaranteeing services and purchase of goods needed for the functioning of social groups.
- Providing the ability to protect the population in the event of a natural disaster, catastrophe, technical failure or war.
- Displacement and evacuation of the population in the event of a disruption to the functioning of the state, in a state of war after armed aggression or a cyber attack hitting the critical infrastructure system.

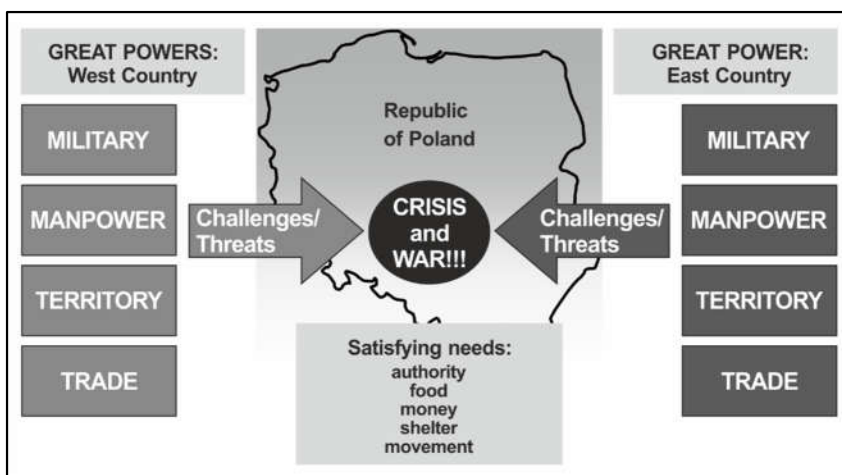


Figure 2. Diagram of traditional security of Poland.<sup>4</sup>

At present, Polish security is the result of a confrontation between a western and eastern group of countries that strive to meet their own security needs. Often, the interest of these countries is to subordinate weaker countries to the economic (trade), energy, cultural, political and military fields. As indicated by S. Huntington, Poland is at the centre of a clash of "Eastern civilization" and

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<sup>4</sup> Drawn by the author, based on the lecture by Marczak, Jerzy. PhD and White paper on national security of the Republic of Poland.

"Western civilization." That is why Poland and its security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century must be based on a strong army, dynamic and effective economy, and wide and effective trade in goods, services and technologies. Invariably, modern security of the Republic of Poland is a guarantee and certainty of the country's survival and freedom of its development.<sup>5</sup> Both of these factors are the foundation of Poland's security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At present, the security of Poland is defined as the state obtained as a result of organized protection and defence of the state against possible threats, expressed as the ratio of defence potential to the scale of threats.<sup>6</sup>

Poland's security is defined as the result of the process of using state protection and defence forces. These are the units of the police, army, police and preventive guards specializing in minimizing threats to the various societal sectors with an effect on state security.

The most important of these include the military, economic, financial, social, technological and cybernetic sectors. In addition, Poland's security status is currently conditioned by the EU security system, the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), Poland's geographical neighbours and their security status, strategies and doctrines of state defence, the physical area of Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland, and the level of will and patriotism of Polish society. No less important in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in determining changes in the nature of threats and challenges for Poland is to present the determinants of its security. These are the conditions:

- geopolitical and geostrategic,
- ideological-political,
- economic,
- legal and institutional,
- military,
- social,

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<sup>5</sup> *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego państwa*, edited by Jacek Pawłowski, (Warszawa: ASzWoj 2017), 17

<sup>6</sup> Jerzy Stańczyk, *Współczesne pojmowanie bezpieczeństwa*, (Warszawa: ISPPAN 1996).

- cultural.

Geopolitical and geostrategic conditions rely on space-time relations between countries and their organizations such as NATO or the European Union, the use of the factor of history and geography and their conditions such as climate, terrain and span, communication conditions, raw material deposits and critical infrastructure. These factors, together with the use of historical experience, national traditions and symbols of the state, result in the adoption of specific actions of the political authorities in the state.

The ideological and political conditions are understood as a set of ideological factors: the current of the concept of ideology and/or philosophy, law, economy or religion, to which the decision and political actions of the state authorities are subordinated. The political factor is a set of actions and decisions of state authorities that determine the direction of the state's development and its state of security. They are necessary to preserve the *raison d'état* and national interest of the country.

The economic condition is perceived as a factor relating to the protection of the desired standard of living, the state's economic self-sufficiency, the ability to economic cooperation with other states and to provide material foundations for the functioning of the army and the state in a situation of peace, crisis and war.

The legal and institutional condition is the awareness of the state in the legal and legal-political dimension regarding international relations. The essence of these conditions are the dependence of states on the activities of international institutions whose purpose is to coordinate the functioning of states within a community, union or association. It aims to subordinate national law to the political goals of international institutions. These are banks, funds, environmental protection, health, financial and economic organizations.

Military conditions are a guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of the state and the effectiveness of protection of its *raison d'etat*. It includes: "an efficient state security system,

including the defence system, clear political and defence strategies and goals, trained and professional armed forces, the level of modernization of the army, defence awareness of the society.”<sup>7</sup>

Social security determinants are identified as used aspects of education, culture, civic education, national identity, national traditions and customs that affect the social groups forming the nation inhabiting the state.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, Poland's security in the 21st century directly depends on understanding security conditions that guarantee a break, the sovereignty of the state and its power, the certainty of deciding on preserving the interests of the state, the existence of the nation and satisfying social needs. In addition, no less important element of state security is the legal order, compliance with the constitution, responding to violations of public order and state's internal order.

### **Threats and Challenges to the Security of Poland**

The interpretation of the concept of threat and challenge to Poland's security is a very important feature of security. The concept of threat to national security is a real and potential challenge taking the form of negative events, phenomena, processes and trends of actions of social entities and forces of nature directed towards society, state authorities, threatening the existence, the protected values and the development of present and future generations of Poles.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, material and non-material factors constituting a dilemma for state authorities are a challenge to national security.

These challenges must be addressed to ensure the security of the state and its development. The contemporary dimension of

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<sup>7</sup>Wojciech Pokruszyński, *Współczesne bezpieczeństwo narodowe*, (Józefów: s. n., 2009), 88.

<sup>8</sup> Waldemar Kitler, *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe RP. Podstawowe kategorie, uwarunkowania, system*, (Warszawa: AON 2011).

<sup>9</sup>Wojciech Sójka, *Zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa narodowego RP w XXI wieku – współczesne pojęcia, źródła, zakres i klasyfikacja*, (Warszawa: AON 2016), 90.

threats and challenges is both military and non-military. Division of threats requires an appropriate set of criteria. These criteria are:

- existence: real and potential;
- weights: extraordinary and ordinary;
- perceptions: subjective and objective, current and outdated;
- sources of origin: primary, secondary, natural, anthropogenic;
- types: political, economic, military, social and other;
- coverage: local, subregional, global;
- scale: individual, social, national, civilization;
- method of interaction: symmetrical and asymmetrical;
- significance of the medium and area of destruction: technology, science, trends and spheres of influence.

In the 21st century, the most important threats to Poland include extraordinary and real, and anthropogenic. Extraordinary threats are violent events and related phenomena with natural disasters, natural forces, pollution of the ecological environment, technical failures resulting from natural factors. Poland located in Central Europe, between the Baltic Sea and the Carpathians and the Sudetes, covers a lowland area of 311 895 km<sup>2</sup>, a sea border of 440 km and a land border of 3 056 km in length.<sup>10</sup> The lowland nature of Poland allows frequent floods, whirlwinds, drought, snowstorms or ice, frequent heavy rainfall. A fairly common form of natural hazards are:

- Floods,
- Drought and fires,
- Tornadoes, hurricanes and tornadoes,
- Heavy rainfall,
- Epidemics, epizootics and pandemics.

Climate changes and anomalies are currently caused by the lack of CO<sup>2</sup> reduction, the effect of intensive coal mining and energy production from coal-fired power plants, as well as human

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<sup>10</sup>Zbigniew Lach and Julian Skrzyp and Andrzej Łaszczuk, *Geografia. Bezpieczeństwo państw regionu środkowoeuropejskiego*, (Warszawa: MON, 2001), 58.



degradation in relation to the natural environment. Poland's natural hazards include drought 2-3 months and access to groundwater.

Other anthropogenic threats are negative effects of human activities. These are catastrophes and technical and communication failures, fires of production buildings, improper operation of sewage treatment plants, incineration plants or power plants. The biggest anthropogenic threats are also diseases of civilization: obesity, drug addiction, alcoholism, social pathologies, HIV, pandemics and epidemics, as well as mental diseases related to stress, intensive lifestyles. Non-military threats are also human activities or production systems of the economies of states, which cause disruption to the functioning of the state. These threats, called "crisis", refer to the "set of external and internal circumstances of the state related to its system or internal organization. These threats affect the functioning of the state and its security system in such a way as it begins the process of negative changes, which results in an imbalance and loss of control over the course of crisis events and an escalation of threat (factor of destruction).<sup>11</sup> "The most common crisis threat there are also municipal, construction, transport, industrial disasters and failures of state industrial facilities. Their source is most often human, and in limited conditions natural forces.

The following are forecast to be the most important traditional and contemporary threats for Poland caused by human activity:

- military aggression by the Russian Federation and Belarus;
- limitation or denial of energy resources on the part of the Russian Federation;
- political and economic isolation and decline of Poland's position in the international arena;
- conflict within Polish society, causing internal unrest in Poland;
- decline of the Polish authorities;

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<sup>11</sup>Grzegorz Sobolewski, *Zagrożenia kryzysowe*, (Warszawa: AON, 2011), 15.

- intimidating the population and generating new ideological and political disputes as well as cultural and religious disputes in the Polish nation;
- conducting offensive activities of "information war" and "cyberwar;"
- limiting the functioning of critical infrastructure in Poland and the EU;
- attacking Poles in the form of disinformation and propaganda activities(fake news, cyber attack);
- conducting white intelligence and economic espionage activities;
- limiting Poland's role in defending NATO's "eastern flank;"
- conducting offensive reconnaissance activities by electronic reconnaissance, air forces, airborne troops, naval forces and land forces;
- conducting cyclical military exercises of the armed forces of the Russian Federation and Belarus on the border with Poland, the aim of which is to master the territory of the western part of Poland, Romania or the countries of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania;
- violating the airspace of Poland, Romania or the countries of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania;
- cyberattacks on Polish government servers, penetration of US units' communications systems on NATO's "eastern flank;"
- terrorist, hybrid and trans-sectoral threats, which are a form of using civil-military means of destruction and methods of using armed violence in the social, military, and political and economic areas.

Similarly to threats to Poland, challenges are generated. These are problem and decision-making situations that directly relate to Poland's security. At the same time, the challenge is a signal to take appropriate state action. The state reacts by formulating its position concerning the problem situation (challenges) and activating the protective and preventive forces of the Polish state. Among the most

frequently mentioned influencing factors and the emergence of challenges to Poland are:

- globalization as a process of development of state and non-state entities (corporations, organizations and institutions, private entities);
- technological progress as a result of the development of knowledge and science in a non-military and military dimension;
- information revolution created as the domination of knowledge, reliable information and confrontation in its acquisition, collection and processing (sensitive databases);
- creation of international NATO battalion battle groups;
- military cooperation in the "Visegrad Group" (V4) and the "Belgrade Group" (B9) framework;
- creation of international military structures within the North-East Corps (MNC NE), Multinational Eastern Division (MNDE), multinational land forces brigades (MNB);
- access to key areas for NATO in the following domains: space, maritime, cyber and air;
- fighting religions and cultures antagonistic to each other according to S. Huntington's theory;
- climate change that results in anomalies and natural disasters;
- outbreaks of armed and asymmetric conflicts, including failed states and the activities of international terrorist organizations (ISIS);
- economic and technological confrontation in achieving innovative advantage over other countries;
- maintaining the sovereignty and reason of the state of Poland;
- preparation of an efficient Polish defence system and allied defence within NATO.

### **Evolution of Wars and their Influence on Generating New Threats and Challenges for the National Security of Poland**

The 21<sup>st</sup> century is a period of new wars and armed conflicts. The nature and manner of warfare evolves as a result of changes in tangible and intangible factors, which are also an interpretation of changes in the international security environment. The classic war of World War I and II, the wars of antiquity and the time of nation states (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries) have become anachronistic. In the traditional understanding, the most important element is the use of:

- military power and firepower;
- geographical space;
- economic power;
- population of the state;
- means of transport to move the army (rail, ship, aircraft);
- efficient army mobilization;
- the ability of staffs and commands to manage war and campaign.

The contemporary dimension of war and threats, as well as the challenges associated with them, is generated by the economic, political and military dimensions understood as "Hard Power" and "Soft Power" (Smart Power). Their application is diverse and simultaneous in the armed conflict and the military-political crisis. The most frequently mentioned contemporary challenges to Poland in the military dimension include:

- creating a strong, modern and mobile army;
- an effective multinational army structure defending the North Atlantic Alliance;
- strong and adequate response to the threat of NATO member states;
- precise and multidimensional military campaign planned as an allied operation;
- preventive and permanent deterrence of the aggressor.

The most frequently mentioned contemporary **economic** challenges to Poland include:

- creating economic power, exchanging goods and services;
- joining the defence industries of NATO countries;

- earmarking over 2% of the gross domestic product (GDP) to defence;
- economic restrictions and sanctions of G8 economic powers against Poland;
- unemployment, migrations, diseases reducing the population in Poland.

The most frequently mentioned contemporary **soft power** challenges to Poland include:

- creating a strong, modern and attractive Poland in the European Union;
- multidimensional cooperation: economic, cultural, technological;
- creation of multinational defence communities, bilateral unions (V4, B9);
- creating international diplomatic tools (commissions, teams).

The subjective nature of war and military threats, related to regular wars between nation states, is now being replaced by asymmetric and hybrid conflicts. The modern war and the preceding political and military crisis indicate a decrease in the moment when the phenomenon of war occurs and the crisis is over. The new war of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be a conflict of limited reach, measures and without full-scale confrontation.

Classic threats that are recognised by international law institutions, including the Court of Justice, include:<sup>12</sup>

- demonstration of strength as actions to increase the combat readiness of units and their relocation to reserve or exercise areas, launching offensive armed combat systems and violating the state border;
- military blockade when the aggressor uses armed forces to limit land, sea and / or air traffic;
- military provocation of the defence system and authorities of another country through border incidents, subversion and sabotage;

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<sup>12</sup> *Podstawy bezpieczeństwa narodowego państwa*, edited by Jacek Pawłowski, (Warszawa: AszWoj, 2017).

- military sabotage carried out inside the attacked state or outside the area of planned military operations, in order to disorganise and destabilise or provoke activities;
- military blackmail understood as explicit or implied threat of violence of a military or terrorist nature using subversive groups, paramilitary, military or terrorist groups aimed at achieving political goals or a specific military situation;
- armed conflict perceived as an armed struggle waged by several armed formations, led by the state authorities for political purposes.

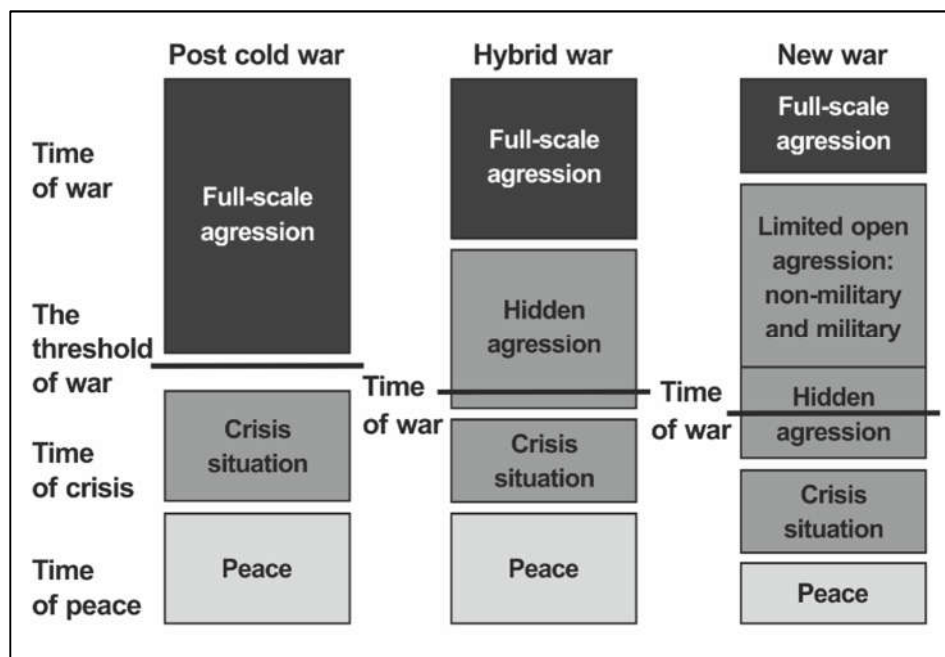


Figure 3. Diagram of threats and evaluation of war.<sup>13</sup>

New forms of warfare, perceived as threats to security include:

- military asymmetric threat as selective and sectoral action of the aggressor's armed forces;

<sup>13</sup> Drawn by the author, based on the lecture by S. Koziej, Ph. D. Prof.

- military cyber attack threat as an attack in cyber space, targeting command, control, communication, coordination and intelligence (C4I).

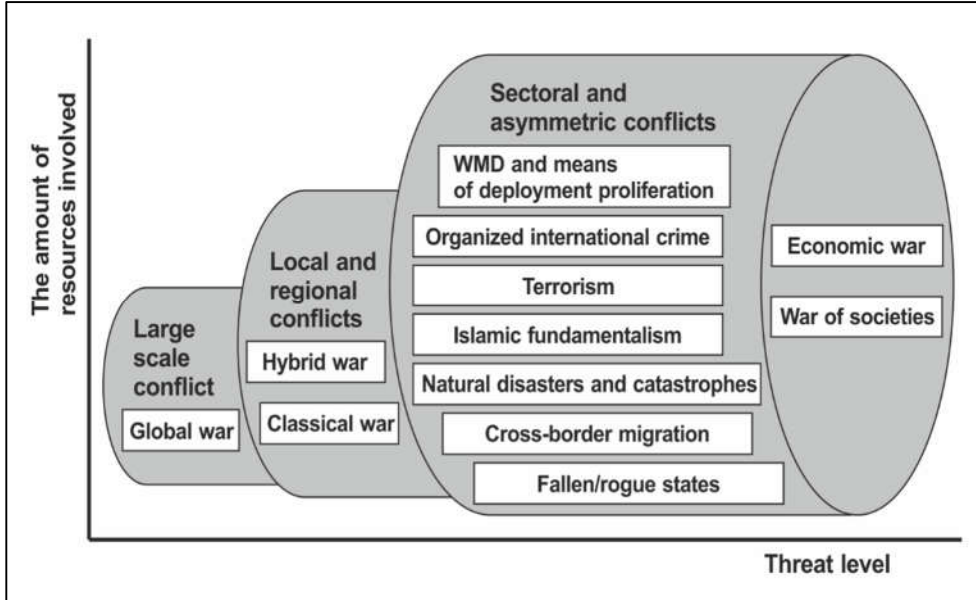


Figure 4. Diagram evaluation of war

These new threats are the result of the evolution of the various forms of armed struggle. The "new generation" armed conflict is local and regional military action, the sectoral dimension of which is the weakest element in the functioning of the state or organization under attack. Asymmetry of military operations is mainly an aspect of new combat tools dominated by cyberspace. The object of the aggressor's attack are critical infrastructure systems, including defence systems using asymmetrical weapons of mass destruction, criminal and terrorist groups, migrants and corruption in failed states. The most dangerous IT cyber threats in Poland include the cyber attack on:

- system software architecture;
- database architecture;
- architecture of ICT systems;
- Operating Systems;

- software or a system for protecting and controlling sensitive data.

A typical example of the evolution of military threats to the state, including Poland, is hybrid war. An example of its use has been in evidence since 2014 in the conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine. A hybrid war involves the coordinated use of diplomatic, military, economic, technological and information means. The war consisted of eight stages:

- asymmetric operations using information, psychological, diplomatic and economic means to weaken the position of the adversary and create conditions for direct military action;
- confusion of the political and military leadership of the adversary implemented as a combination of overt and covert special operations carried out with the use of diplomatic means, media and NGOs;
- paralyzing and disintegrating the structure of defence system management and command of the adversary's troops, the collapse of the will to resist obtained through corruption, deception and intimidation of the political and military leadership;
- destabilization of the security situation on the territory of the adversary, as part of the information operation (propaganda and special operations);
- isolating the operational area by the introduction of no-fly zones and blocking other means of communication, activating the armed opposition on the territory of the adversary;
- supporting the activities of the armed opposition in order to guarantee the safety of national minorities or own economic and economic interests in the territory of the adversary;
- military settlement, open military operations conducted using own military potential to guarantee the security of national minorities or own economic and economic interests in the territory of the adversary;



- taking control or destroying facilities that determine the durability of the defence system, seizing the territory of the adversary.<sup>14</sup>

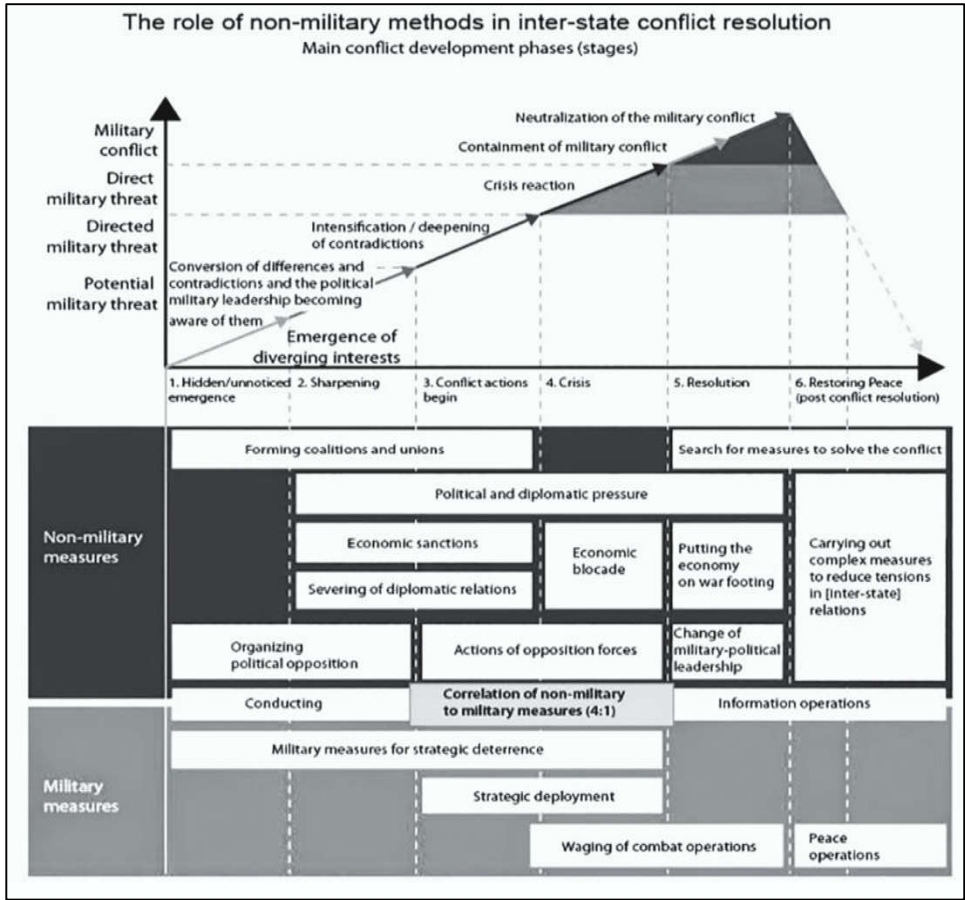


Figure 5. Diagram model of hybrid war.<sup>15</sup>

The Russian concept of armed conflict confirms the tendency to blur the differences between the state of war and peace (no formal declaration of war), in the absence of direct confrontation opponents conduct actions in a covert manner using third parties.

<sup>14</sup>S. G. Chekinov and C.A. Bogdanov, "O kharaktere i soderzhanii voyny novogo pokoleniya", *Voyennaya Mysl* no. 10 (2013), 13–25.

<sup>15</sup> Source: P. Lalu, On war and perception of war in Russian thinking, Finnish Defence Research Agency Research Bulletin 3-2016.

That is why the evolution of wars created new connections and challenges for the security of Poland. These are not only military threats related to aggression on the territory of the state, such as land, sea or air attacks, but mixed civilian-military means of conflict.

In addition, the evolution of wars changes the priority from military to non-military and from symmetric to asymmetric warfare. Examples of such changes are: unconventional armed conflicts, terrorist and cyber attacks, and organized criminal groups. The result of the war in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the change of activities from unconventional activities are new forms of struggle for the human mind and heart and not the territory of the state.

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## **The Future Trends of Terrorism**

**Abstract:** With the end of the Cold War, the changing nature of security threats came to challenge the core assumption about what the territorial forces are for, how they should be organized and in what way their missions have to be refocused as to answer to the changing security dynamics. Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, international community has been fighting a global war against violent extremists who use terrorism as their weapon of choice. Terrorism is one of the main activities identified under Irregular Warfare. The defense forces will likely play an important role in future conflicts like internal disturbances/ terrorist activities.

Readers have been provided with a great deal of information about several aspects of terrorism. Much has been written on the causes of terrorism, origins of terror, the motivations of terrorists, and counterterror responses, but little has appeared on the future trends in terrorism. Many academics have traced the effects of poverty, education, and political freedom on terrorist recruitment. Some have examined the grievances that give rise to terrorism and the networks, money, and operations that allow terrorist organizations to thrive. What is lacking, however, is an understanding of the future of terrorism.

In recent years, analysts and other intelligence professionals have taken increasing interest in the future of conflicts and terrorism. Effective counterstrategies cannot be designed without first understanding the future trends that drive terrorist violence.

This paper focuses on what possible terrorism trends may emerge in the future. Its purpose is to stimulate thinking about the rapid and vast geopolitical changes characterizing the world today and

possible global trajectories over the next 10-15 years. It provides a framework for thinking about possible futures and their implications. Rather than speculate about the future of particular terrorist groups and movements, the paper presents some drivers of instability and change such as rapidly evolving technologies, increasing globalization, hybrid structures, and the blurring boundaries between gangs, criminal enterprises, political actors, and terrorist groups.

With the end of the Cold War, the changing nature of security threats came to challenge the core assumption about what the territorial forces are for, how they should be organized and in what way their missions have to be refocused as to answer to changing security dynamics. Since the attacks on September 11, 2001, the international community has been fighting a global war against violent extremists who use terrorism as their weapon of choice. Terrorism and counterterrorism (CT) are two important aspects which were identified under Irregular Warfare.

The American irregular warfare roadmap identified the following 10 activities (aspects) as an illustrative list. These 10 activities (aspects) are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- a. Insurgency and counterinsurgency (COIN).
- b. Terrorism and counterterrorism (CT).
- c. Unconventional warfare (UW).
- d. Foreign internal defense (FID).
- e. Stability, security, transition, and reconstruction (SSTR) operations.

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<sup>1</sup> By “irregular,” this concept means any activity, operation, organization, capability, etc., in which significant numbers of combatants engage in insurgency and other nonconventional military and paramilitary operations without being members of the regular armed forces, police, or other internal security forces of any country. Irregular Warfare (IW) Joint Operating Concept (JOC), 11 September 2007, DoD, 9.

- f. Transnational criminal activities that support or sustain IW and the law enforcement activities to counter them.
- g. Civil-military operations (CMO).
- h. Psychological operations (PSYOP).
- i. Information operations (IO).
- j. Intelligence and counterintelligence operations.

Readers have been provided with a great deal of information about several aspects of terrorism. Much has been written on the causes of terrorism, origins of terror, the motivations of terrorists, and counterterror responses, but little has appeared on the future trends in terrorism. Many academics have traced the effects of poverty, education, and political freedom on terrorist recruitment. Some have examined the grievances that give rise to terrorism and the networks, money, and operations that allow terrorist organizations to thrive. What is lacking, however, is an understanding of the future of terrorism. In recent years, analysts and other intelligence professionals have taken increasing interest in the future of conflicts and terrorism. Effective counterstrategies cannot be designed without first understanding the strategic logic that drives terrorist violence. Those military organizations involved in counterterrorism will be challenged to remain flexible, adroit, and keenly aware of the changing nature of the terrorism.

In this paper, the question of what possible terrorism trends may emerge will be answered. The goal of this study is to stimulate thinking about the possible global trajectories over the next 10-15 years. This paper will not seek to predict the future, but instead provide a framework for thinking about possible futures and their implications. Although one cannot know the future, one may anticipate trends and patterns that will allow us to make better plans and decisions in the present. Imagining how the world might change in the years ahead could help us understand the possible future developments of the terrorist threat.

Rather than speculate about the future of particular terrorist groups and movements, this paper will present some drivers of

instability and change as well as rapidly evolving technologies, increasing globalization, hybrid structures, and the blurring boundaries between gangs, criminal enterprises, political actors, and terrorist groups.<sup>2</sup> Each of these trends will be discussed.

### **Rapidly Evolving Technologies**

Of all the drivers of terrorism, perhaps the most robust is technology. That is because, as Kurzweil notes, technology changes rapidly.<sup>3</sup> Consider the technologies of just 10 years ago, compared with today - how might they change in the next 10 years? At first blush, technology appears to favour the terrorist.

Rapidly evolving technologies will prove to be a double-edge sword: on the one hand, they will facilitate terrorist communications, recruitment, logistics, and dangerousness; at the same time, they will allow authorities to develop ever more sophisticated techniques to identify and characterize threats. Technology will allow fewer people to wreak greater havoc while at the same time making the world more transparent.

Technology will continue to advance at a brisk pace. Terrorists will likely be “first adopters,” forcing governments to work assiduously to keep one step ahead or even maintain parity. The slow and deliberative nature of the legal system will provide a challenge - the law will likely fall further and further behind technological innovation, challenging governments as never before.

The most obvious concern about new technologies is cyber terrorism. Terrorists’ familiarity with IT (and the examples offered by hackers and criminals) make it increasingly possible that they will resort to cyberattacks or other forms of attacks on information systems, thus exploiting our societies’ reliance on computers and networked information systems. Some terrorist (or cyberterrorist)

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<sup>2</sup> Carl J. Jensen III, “Potential Drivers of Terrorism out to the Year 2020”, *American Behavioral Scientist* 2015, 1-17.

<sup>3</sup> R. Kurzweil, “The law of accelerating returns” (2001) Retrieved from <http://www.kurzweilai.net/the-law-of-accelerating-returns>.

groups are becoming increasingly sophisticated in the use of these technologies, and there is evidence that they could inflict serious damage to our information systems.

Terrorist groups currently use computer technology to facilitate traditional forms of subversive activity. Quite simply, they are exploiting modern tools to perform common terrorist actions such as internal communication and co-ordination, propaganda and misinformation, recruitment and financing, information and intelligence gathering. The use of the Internet for propaganda purposes is particularly popular.

### **Increasing Globalization**

The globalization is a process through which various activities, functions, events, and decisions in one part of the world have caused significant consequences to other people and societies of the world.<sup>4</sup> Through the widespread advancement in technology, globalization has helped to nurture slightly powerful groups.

Globalization may be one of the main causes of the spread of terrorism because it assists terrorist groups to distribute their literature and enforce their views on like-minded people in other parts of the globe.

Globalisation could nurture, harbour and fuel terrorism because for several logical reasons:<sup>5</sup>

- a. Globalisation can encourage religious fundamentalism because three decades ago, religious terrorist cults were not that apparent in the world.
- b. Globalisation can produce sophisticated cross-country networks of terrorist organisations. In this vein, Al-Qaeda and ISIL can be considered as some kind of franchising agencies

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<sup>4</sup> Alam Khan and Mario Arturo Ruiz Estrada (2016), "Globalization and terrorism: an overview", *International Journal of Methodology* 51(4)

<sup>5</sup> Simplicio Asongu and Nicholas Biekpe, "Globalization and Terror in Africa", MPRA Paper No. 85056 2017 Online at <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/85056/>.



that work via religious internationalisation, globalisation and/or networks that are state-less.

- c. Globalisation has produced an international political economy wherein two types of nation states exist. On the one hand, industrialized and advanced economies influence less developed/industrialised economies politico-economically.
- d. Globalisation can influence terrorism from a sociocultural angle because elements of terrorism may perceive the phenomenon as harmful to their system of values and cultures. The literal translation of 'Boko Haram' is 'No to Western Education'. Hence, the belief that Western commodities have negative influences on local people can be a cause of terrorism. In short, social, political, economic, general dimensions of globalisation fuel terrorism.

### **Hybrid Structures**

Most terrorist groups in the 1970s and 1980s had concrete political agendas, such as social-revolutionary or nationalist-separatist programmes. Although these groups have not completely disappeared, "new" terrorists have emerged having various motives unrelated to clear political goals, including religious and ethnic fanaticism, millenarian and apocalyptic cults, white supremacism, and environmental ultra-radicalism.

Changes in motives have produced changes in the organisation and structure of terrorist groups. While state-sponsored political terrorists usually have rigid hierarchical structures, new political or religious groups rely on looser affiliations and organisations among like-minded people, often from different countries.

The organizational structures of terrorist groups can become hybrid, with the most successful incorporating both hierarchical and networked structures; and unusual alliances of convenience to fight a common enemy or advance the goals of each participant will become increasingly common.

Groups will probably increasingly move away from either hierarchical or networked organizational structures. Instead, operational realities combined with advances in social media and information dispersal will produce hybrid structures; the most successful groups/movements will be those that can adapt to their environments, functioning as hierarchies where possible and desirable but exploiting the Internet and social media to recruit and radicalize “home-grown” elements. Consider the case of al Qaeda (AQ) - even as it attempts to reconstitute its central hub in Yemen, it hopes to virtually recruit and train the next generation of jihadists through outlets like *Inspire magazine*.

### **The Blurring Boundaries**

The 21st century will continue to witness the blurring of lines across the board. Terrorist organizations will morph into criminal organizations and vice versa. The boundaries between gangs, criminal enterprises, political actors, and terrorist groups will continue to blur. Just as organizational structures will likely blur, so will the focus and motivation of groups. Just as transnational criminal groups like Mara Salvatrucha bear little resemblance to the street gangs of years ago, the line between criminal and terrorist groups will also continue to blur.

In addition to these drivers, due to substantial increases in population and already limited resources, conflict will increasingly focus on access to food, water, and energy, especially in places already on the brink of war (e.g., India/Pakistan water issues). Terrorism will follow suit, producing actors motivated by resource allocation as much as ideology. This could produce new and different groups, and new strategies. In addition to finding solutions to pending humanitarian disasters, authorities should keep a close eye on resource-starved areas and be alert to the formation of new terrorist groups.

Governance Gap and the resurgence of right wing terrorism will be another problem in the future. In the Arab Spring,

phenomena such as social media helped unite people to act on their long-standing grievances with governments such as Libya, Egypt, and Syria. This has produced a great deal of uncertainty in the Middle East. Far-right terrorism is a growing concern. The number of deaths from terrorism associated with far-right groups and individuals has increased from 3 in 2014 to 17 in 2017.

The use of IEDs could become more common in North America, given the diffusion of information about their construction on the Internet and the example provided by the Boston Marathon bombing. The IEDs may become more sophisticated (e.g., body cavity bombs) but regardless, the gun and the bomb will remain the preferred tactic of terrorists through the year 2020.

## **Use of Weapons of Mass**

### **Destruction (WMD) by Terrorists**

Statistically, most terrorists still prefer guns and conventional weapons. However, evidence suggests that some of the “new” terrorist groups may be willing to inflict mass casualties for a variety of motives other than political goals. The famed Aum Shinrikyo sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway in 1995 has attracted general attention to the possible terrorist use of WMD. The emergence of a new breed of terrorists less constrained by traditional ethics or political pressures, coupled with the diffusion of know-how about nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, may increase the probability of a major WMD terrorist incident.<sup>6</sup>

Why would terrorists decide to use WMD? One reason might be to attract attention: apart from the actual casualties, WMD-especially biological and chemical agents-may produce an enormous psychological impact because of the sheer fear they inspire. Terrorists might desire to impress their target audiences by

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Mates, “Technology and Terrorism” 2001;  
[https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/ul\\_kom/natopa/raporlar/bilim%20ve%20teknoloji/AU%20121%20STC%20Terrorism.htm](https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/ul_kom/natopa/raporlar/bilim%20ve%20teknoloji/AU%20121%20STC%20Terrorism.htm)

demonstrating their technological prowess with the use of “unusual” weapons.

Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Weapons are some of the most indiscriminate and deadly weapons in existence today. Besides the physical damage they can inflict, they also have the potential to inspire fear, provoke panic, and cause significant economic and societal disruption. Fortunately, the use of CBRN weapons by states and non-state actors has remained relatively rare to date.

Nevertheless, the risk presented by these weapons is not zero. Easy access to these resources increases the likelihood of threat. Industrial and agricultural toxic chemicals can be purchased relatively cheaply and easily in most parts of the world. Chlorine, for instance, has a multitude of industrial uses, and can be easier to acquire than other weapons. Other materials and agents can be accessed on the black market, and increasingly on the so-called ‘dark web’. The impact of CBRN weapons can be enormous, involving not just the loss of human life but also considerable economic losses and longer-term psychological effects on the individuals and populations involved.

As knowledge diffuses rapidly to different parts of the world through the globalisation of information and communications technology, a growing concern is that CBRN weapons could be used even more easily by terrorist organisations and saboteurs in the future. Chemical weapons could be used in the future by terrorists even though the impact would be less severe than that of nuclear weapons. Chemical weapons can cause enormous disruption, and the decontamination process- especially if chemical weapons are used in enclosed spaces such as subways- can be extremely costly depending on the nature and scale of the attack. The expertise and capacity to use chemical weapons on the battlefields of Syria and Iraq could be used to plan attacks outside these regional conflicts in the near future.

### **3-D Printing**

3-D printing may still be elementary, but as it develops and the weapons it can produce become deadlier and harder to trace, it is likely to spawn a cottage industry of homemade weaponry disseminated online. The technology will give terrorists easier access to a spectrum of increasingly dangerous weaponry-and new ways to evade government countermeasures. Unlike conventional firearms, 3-D-printed guns have no serial numbers, hindering government efforts to track their pedigree, sale and ownership. They can be easily disguised to deceive the untrained eye and appear as something more innocuous, and because they are made of plastic, they are invisible to metal detectors.

Today, 3-D-printed firearms are likely to become more widespread as terrorists share designs and production tips. Counterterrorism efforts will need to devote considerable resources to meet such threats. And this dynamic-relatively cheap technology being used to increasingly lethal purposes, prompting pricey government attempts to catch up-will probably extend beyond 3-D-printed arms and homemade guns to other commercially available technologies such as drones.<sup>7</sup>

### **Risk of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) Use in Terrorist Attacks**

Terrorist organizations have increasingly been making use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs).<sup>8</sup> Initially, this was limited to intelligence, surveillance, target acquisition, and reconnaissance (ISTAR) missions. More recently, some terrorist organizations – among them, the Islamic State and Hezbollah – have extended their use of UAVs to include the deployment of Improvised Explosive

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<sup>7</sup> Bruce Hoffman and Jacob Ware, “Is 3-D Printing the Future of Terrorism?” *The Wall Street Journal* Oct. 25, 2019.

<sup>8</sup> “Emerging technologies: terrorism and UAVs”  
<https://globalriskinsights.com/2018/01/terrorism-uav-risk>

Devices (IED) in warzones. Now, the threat of UAVs being used in attacks in Europe or North America is rising.

The first attempted use of a UAV by a terrorist group reportedly goes back to 1994, when the apocalyptic cult Aum Shinrikyo unsuccessfully aspired to disperse sarin gas through remotely controlled helicopters. However, criminal and terrorist organizations began experimenting with this technology in earnest starting from 2001.

Since 2001, the war on terror has witnessed the gradual emergence of UAVs. Efficacy, affordability, and low political costs have increasingly made UAVs the weapon of choice against violent non-state actors. Simultaneously, commercial UAVs – considerably smaller and cheaper than military versions – have become widespread in industrialized societies. Their applications range from agriculture to the filming of sporting events. However, violent non-state actors have quickly learned how to adapt this technology to their advantage.

Generally speaking, UAVs have been used by non-state actors in ISTAR-missions. More recently however, commercial UAVs have been weaponized and used in lethal operations by a small subset of violent non-state actors. There is also likely to be a persistent motivation for terrorist groups to attempt more sophisticated attacks in Western countries, involving multiple UAVs. This would fit with the goal of achieving a spectacular and devastating terrorist attack.

Soft targets are the most likely, and sporting events could well be an optimal target – one that terrorists have repeatedly struck, or attempted to do so. The rationale behind terrorists' interest in targeting sporting events is straightforward: they are mass events attended by large crowds in restricted spaces, and they attract a lot of media attention. The same logic applies to (indoor or outdoor) music events – another terrorist target of choice. Significantly, there have already been minor incidents involving unauthorized UAVs at sporting events.

Hard targets and infrastructure would prove more difficult to strike by means of UAVs, despite some reports arguing the opposite. The above-mentioned attack on a Ukrainian weapons stockpile should be seen as an exception, since it aimed at downgrading an opponent's military capability in a conflict zone, rather than being a terrorist attack. Small terrorist cells in western countries would be discouraged by the additional security measures, security protocols, and even in some cases no-fly zones around strategic infrastructure. Moreover, the commercial UAVs' smaller payloads would only cause limited damage to buildings. Lastly, operators must remain relatively close to UAVs, exposing themselves and potentially jeopardizing their missions if these are attempted in remote, uncrowded areas.

The nature of the challenge with hard targets also varies according to the type of facility. Large infrastructure, like bridges or dams, could withstand the blast generated by the detonation of the UAVs' limited payloads. Larger payloads or coordinated attacks involving several UAVs would be necessary, increasing the risk of detection. Electrical grids or water supplies might be more vulnerable. Yet these fall short in terms of the theatrical characteristics that terrorists seek to achieve in an attack.

Last but not least, airports represent a further target. Countermeasures like geofencing, cyber warfare and drone-hunting eagles should decrease the likelihood of UAVs successfully approaching an airport – or any other hard target. Yet the increase in near-miss events between aircraft and UAVs in proximity to airports is cause for concern in this regard.

Governments of western countries – mainly EU and USA, as the primary potential targets of terrorist UAV attacks – are of course well aware of the threat. Indeed, a wide range of countermeasures – including net-shooting guns, anti-drone radio signal jammers, laser systems, as well as the above-mentioned geofencing, drone-hunting eagles – is currently being developed. These governments have also

been working on setting up legislative means that would, ideally, prevent the misuse of UAVs.

The technology keeps evolving and the barriers to obtaining smaller, more efficient, and even autonomous UAVs are being overcome. In particular, the ability to use 3D printing to produce drones or parts thereof will pose additional risks. Under these circumstances, the use of UAVs for terrorist attacks is most likely a question of “when”, not “if.”

## **Conclusion**

With the end of the Cold War, the changing nature of security threats came to challenge the core assumption about what the territorial forces are for, how they should be organized and in what way their missions have to be refocused as to answer to the changing security dynamics. Terrorism is one of the important security threats. The defence forces will likely play an important role in future conflicts like internal disturbances/ terrorist activities.

While we cannot predict every event, we can identify likely trends and prepare for possible futures. Although precise prediction is not possible at present, some trends seem fairly self-evident:

Technology will continue to advance at a brisk pace. Terrorists will likely be “first adopters,” forcing governments to work assiduously to keep one step ahead or even maintain parity.

The 21st century will continue to witness the blurring of lines across the board. Terrorist organizations will morph into criminal organizations and vice versa; the organizational structures of terrorist groups will become hybrid, with the most successful incorporating both hierarchical and networked structures; and unusual alliances of convenience to fight a common enemy or advance the goals of each participant will become increasingly common.



**ANNEX I.  
CONFERENCE AGENDA**

time	<b>27 May 2018 Monday</b>	location
all day	<b>Arrival of participants</b> (Airport shuttle provided by the host)	Budapest Airport & Railway Stations
19:30- 20:00	<b>Meet in Grand Hotel Verdi &amp; walk to Ludovika Academy</b>	
20:00- 22:00	<b>Icebreaker reception</b>	Ludovika Academy

	<b>28 May 2018 Tuesday</b>	
08:30- 09:30	<b>Registration of participants</b>	Ludovika Academy
09.30- 10:00	<b>Opening session</b> <b>Maj.Gen. József Padányi</b> , Vice Rector, National University of Public Service <b>Brig.Gen. Zoltán Apáti</b> , HDF Military Augmentation, Preparation and Training Command, Deputy Commander <b>Col. Antal Szóllósi</b> , MOD Defence Policy Division, Division Chief <b>Lt. Col. Zoltan L. Homonnay</b> , PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes <b>Dr. Gunnar Åselius</b> , Swedish Defence University	Ludovika Academy
10:00- 10:15	<b>Family photo</b>	Ludovika Academy
10:15- 10:30	<b>Coffee break</b>	Ludovika Academy

10:30-12:10	<p><b>Panel I.</b> – Moderator: <i>Harold E. Raugh</i></p> <p>Gunnar Åselius – General Sköld’s Missile Militia: the Swedish Army in the shadow of the Yom Kippur War</p> <p>Orit Miller Katav – Federation, Confederation, Alon’s Plan and Other Territorial Options Between the Israeli and Jordanian Regimes</p> <p>Zoltan Somodi – Cyber-reserve as a new addition to territorial defence forces</p> <p>Jan Hoffenaar – Territorial Defense Forces’ and its Development over Time</p> <p>Discussion</p>	Ludovika Academy
12:10-13:40	<b>Lunch</b>	NUPS cafeteria
13:40-15:20	<p><b>Panel 2</b> – Moderators: <i>Carmen Sorina Rijnoveanu &amp; Fredrik Eriksson</i></p> <p>Rasmus Dahlberg – Sector-Convergence: Constabularization and Militarization</p> <p>Peter A. Kiss – Rebuilding Hungary’s Territorial Defense Forces</p> <p>Zbigniew Targoński – Polish Territorial Defense Forces – current status and way ahead</p> <p>Vladimir Prebilic and Damijan Gustin – The Territorial Component – An Advantage or Obstacle to the Development of Modern Armed Forces: The Example of the Slovenian Armed Forces</p> <p>Discussion</p>	Ludovika Academy
15:20-15:40	<b>Coffee break</b>	Ludovika Academy
15:40-17:20	<p><b>Panel 3</b> – Moderator: <i>Mario Christian Ortner</i></p> <p>Niels Bo Poulsen and Thomas Damgaard Kamp – The home guard in Greenland – a sign, a symbol, or a signal?</p>	Ludovika Academy

	<p>Efpraxia Paschalidou – Structural organizational elements of the Hellenic Army in the eve of the Great Wars of the 20th century</p> <p>Mihály Krámlí – The Development of the Hungarian Arms Industry, especially the Naval Industry 1900–1914</p> <p>Fredrik Eriksson – Meeting the Invasion – The Second World War and Local Defence Forces in Sweden</p> <p>17:00-17:20 Discussion</p>	
17:20-18:30	<b>Free time</b>	
18:30-19:00	<b>Movement to Kaltenberg Restaurant</b>	from Hotel Verdi
19:00-22:00	<b>CSWG Official Dinner</b>	Kaltenberg Restaurant

	<b>29 May 2018 Wednesday</b>	
09:30-11:10	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Panel 4 – Moderator: <i>Vladimir Prebilič</i></b></p> <p>Miroslav Čaplovič and Matej Medvecký – The Post-War Transformation of Czechoslovak Army – Slovak Experience</p> <p>Jordan Baev – Transformation of the Bulgarian Army on the Way to NATO membership (1990-2004)</p> <p>Petr Janoušek – Goodbye, Moscow. Transformation of Czechoslovak Military Foreign Contacts 1989 – 1992</p> <p>Daniela Siscanu – The Role of Territorial Units in the Romanian Defense System (1941-1989)</p> <p>10:50-11:10 Discussion</p>	Ludovika Academy
11:10-11:30	<b>Coffee break</b>	Ludovika Academy

11:30-12:50	<p align="center"><b>Panel 5</b> – Moderator: <i>Per G. M. Eliasson</i></p> <p>Christian Jentzsch – The Federal German Navy and its operational concept in the final stages of the Cold War</p> <p>Marcin Pietrzak – Territorial defense in the support of civil defense.</p> <p>A. Kadir Varoglu – The Impact of Asymmetric Warfare on the Reconfiguration of Military Education: The Journey of Warfare in Turkish Military</p> <p align="center">12:30-12:50 Discussion</p>	Ludovika Academy
12:50-13:50	<b>Lunch</b>	NUPS cafeteria
13:50-14:20	<b>Guided tour of the Ludovika Academy</b>	Ludovika Academy
14:20-16:00	<p align="center"><b>Session 6</b> – Moderator: <i>Jan Hoffenaar</i></p> <p>Ivan Cadeau – The Operational Defense of the French Territory from the Cold War to the Current Sentinel Operation</p> <p>Lana Mamphoria - National doctrinal approaches and managing Georgian defence</p> <p>Uğur Güngör – The Future Trends of Terrorism</p> <p>Wojciech Sójka – New threats and changes to the national security of the Republic of Poland in the twenty-first country as a result evolution new generation war</p> <p align="center">15:40-16:00 Discussion</p>	Ludovika Academy
16:00-16:20	<b>Coffee break</b>	Ludovika Academy
16:20-17:00	<p align="center"><b>Closing</b></p> <p><b>Col. Zoltán Jobbágy</b>, NUPS – Concluding remarks</p> <p><b>Prof. Fredrik Eriksson</b>, Swedish Defence University</p>	Ludovika Academy

	<b>16:30-17:00 Carmen Rijnoveanu, CSWG Chairperson and Jakob Brink Rasmussen, CSWG Co-Chair – The way ahead</b>	
17:00- 18:30	<b>Free time</b>	
18:30- 19:00	<b>Transfer to Regiment Restaurant</b>	Departure from Hotel Verdi
19:00- 22:00	<b>Dinner</b>	Regiment Restaurant

	<b>30 May 2018 Thursday</b>	
09:00- 13:00	Visit to Museum of Military History & Castle district	Departure from Hotel Verdi
13:00- 14:30	<b>Lunch</b>	Maros Restaurant
14:30- 17:00	Visit to Parliament & Lajta monitor	
17:00- 18:30	<b>Free time</b>	
18:30- 19:00	<b>Transfer to Regient Restaurant</b>	Departure from Hotel Verdi
19:00- 21:00	<b>Dinner</b>	Regiment Restaurant

	<b>31 May 2018 Friday</b>	
	<b>Departure of participants</b> (Airport shuttle provided by the host)	



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ISBN 978-615-5585-13-5



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