

# **DOCTRINAL CHANGE**

**USING THE PAST**

**TO FACE THE PRESENT**

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE 14<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE  
PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE CONSORTIUM  
EURO-ATLANTIC CONFLICT STUDIES WORKING GROUP**



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# **WELCOME**

By

**H. E. Miloš KOTEREC**  
**State Secretary**  
**Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic**

Dear ladies and gentlemen, and Conference participants,

It is an honor for me to welcome you to 14th Annual Conference of the Euro-Atlantic Conflict Studies Working Group of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes that is being organized by the Military History Institute in Bratislava in cooperation with the Royal Danish Defense Academy in Copenhagen. On this occasion let me sincerely welcome both our Danish colleagues and all participants of this remarkable event.

Firstly, I would like to highlight the fact that Slovakia is hosting the Conflict Studies Working Group Conference for the second time: we already had the honor to present results of our military history research, as well as our country, in 2006. Similarly, when the main topic was post-conflict military operations, the topic of the second Slovakia-based conference is both timely and very interesting. Changing doctrines and learning from history while facing contemporary issues reflect the philosophical view that the one who did not learn from mistakes in history is destined to repeat them.

Secondly, the topic of the conference is surely wide: at the same time, as I believe, this moment provides for space for interpretation of many challenges and for getting familiarized with individual national and state experiences. In this context I would like to stress that I am pleased at the participation of almost 40 historians and military experts from 14 countries at the conference.

Thirdly, annual summaries of conclusions prove that scholarly conferences of the Working Group for Conflict Studies matter. They do matter within context of contemporary dynamic of international relations with a focus on prevention and conflict resolution. I am convinced that this particular conference will also be a platform for the presentation of knowledge from military history, political and social science, security studies, and other sciences.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, let me express my wish that you gain genuine professional experience from this useful conference and, once again, welcome to Slovakia.

Thank you for your attention!

# FIRST OPENING ADDRESS

By

**Captain (Navy) Christian RUNE**  
**Deputy Commander**  
**Royal Danish Defence College**

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen,

It is indeed a pleasure and privilege for me on behalf of the co-host, the Royal Danish Defence College in Copenhagen, to welcome you to this 14<sup>th</sup> conference of the Conflict Studies Working Group. Being a visiting guest as are most of you, I will not welcome you to the fine city of Bratislava, but I will welcome you to what promises to be both a busy and rewarding conference.

The conference theme, “Doctrinal Change: Using the Past to FACE the Present,” seems well chosen as the span of subjects that the panels and presentations will address aptly demonstrates. The theme title also gives room for some thoughts on two rather general questions, namely how we make use of the past and how we initiate or adapt to change. Since antiquity man has used the past to inspire, and with Thucydides’ example, also to teach. And for centuries, military history has played a strong and important role both in nation building and in the education of military professionals. And in many ways, it has stood the test of time, through demographic, political, and technological upheaval and change.

When, a little over one hundred years ago, the HMS *Dreadnought* revolutionized naval shipbuilding to a degree where warships were divided into two categories, one before and one after, it was built to support a doctrine that had swept the world a few years earlier, the Navalism of A.T. Mahan. But it is worth remembering that Mahan’s findings and teachings were based on a case study of the influence of sea power two hundred years earlier.

More recently, terminology such as Revolution in Military Affairs and New Wars has been en vogue. The end of the Cold War and events from the Balkans to the Middle East and beyond have challenged our armed forces in new ways and -- to most -- in new places. So, our men and women in uniform have looked for different means, methods, and doctrines other than those of the previous generation, and a famous scholar even proclaimed “The End of History.” But again, ever so often they have eventually turned to the past to find answers in the development of new doctrines on counterinsurgency, on terrorism, and on piracy. So even as the modern battlespace increases in size and grows into new areas such as the seemingly limitless cyberspace we will continue to rely on and benefit from past experience. But this is no call to be complacent or for nostalgia. Change is in the air, both on the larger scale such as globalization, climate change, and digitalization, and closer to home on the European level.

Here recent events have demonstrated not only that the past is a force to be reckoned with but also illustrated that the winds of change are not easily reversed.

This year the ISAF mission in Afghanistan will come to an end. Though a Western military presence will remain, most of our deployed personnel will return, not only to their barracks, but to colleges and classrooms. The next few years could be time for reflection, for analysis, and for learning lessons learning even as we prepare for yet unknown tasks and missions.

In this the military historian's eye and professional skills may be well used, first and foremost in the lecture halls and study but also elsewhere. There is a related task for the military historian that is all too often overlooked or neglected. That is, in times of change, to take the past into custody and make sure that among the mountains of information in as many formats those records are preserved that will allow ourselves and our descendants to continue to learn from the past.

I will make no excuse for ending on a note from another scholar close to my service, Sir Julian Corbett. He points out that by studying the past we may determine the "normal" and so "we are at once in a stronger position," even though, as he wisely warns, "Every case must be judged by its merits, but without a normal to work from we cannot form any real judgment at all; we can only guess." So this is one of the real and lasting values of military history: it is an indispensable element in the education of our officers and decision makers that empowers them to determine the normal, to distinguish between continuity and change. It may not always give better results, because such is the nature of change and the friction of conflict, but it will certainly enable them to ask better questions and make more informed, and so wiser, decisions.

To this end a community like the Conflict Studies Working Group, the PfP Consortium, and a conference like this one that takes place this week in Bratislava are indispensable. It provides us not only with an attentive audience for our own fields of study and interests but also with insight into the fields of others, and an extraordinary opportunity to exchange views and ideas across institutions and borders. The presentations will cover a broad spectrum of both the near and the more distant past, of both wartime and peacetime evolutions so the discussions should be many and varied -- to our mutual benefit.

I wish you a successful conference.

# SECOND OPENING ADDRESS

By

**Mr. Andre Rakoto**  
**Chief of Staff**  
**French Ministry of Defense History Office**

Good morning, distinguished statesmen and leaders, and friends and colleagues,

It is both a great honor and a great pleasure to be here with you today for the 14th annual conference of the Conflict Studies Working Group of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes (PfPC).

Fourteen years ago, representatives from military history institutes met at a PfPC conference in Tallinn. They initiated what was called then the military history working group, a "coalition of the willing" in the field of military history. The first annual conference of the working group was successfully organized in the following spring of 2001 by our Romanian and American colleagues in Bucharest. Back then, PfPC included almost twenty groups, designed to bring together new partners from NATO and the former Warsaw Pact willing to work in common in various fields of defense and security. Our natural counterpart among other PfPC working groups was the military archives working group.

Year after year, participating nations built together an amazing Euro-Atlantic community of military historians, able to gather experts from fifteen to twenty different national organizations at every conference, every year. Together, we covered subjects ranging from the Balkans at the turn of 19th century to recent operations in Afghanistan. Progressively, we discovered that we were helping each other rediscover who we were, revisiting shared memories, and that it was an essential process to shape a common future in Europe.

By the end of 2005, due to PfPC budget restrictions, our group was cancelled from the program. Our military archives friends were cancelled as well. However, we had already planned our sixth annual conference, which was to happen here, in Bratislava, organized by the Slovak Institute of Military History and by the French Defense History Office. Cancellation was not an option. For the first time, we managed to organize and conduct the entire conference on our own, without the logistical and financial support of PfPC. It proved to be an amazing success. We were able to bring more than twenty nations together to discuss post-conflict military operations. In fact, I was standing right here with Colonel Čaplovič and other representatives eight years ago when we discussed the future of this group. Together, we decided to maintain the group under a new name, Conflict Studies Working Group. Then, in order to coordinate our activities, we adopted an elected executive structure with two secretaries. Dr. Rob Rush, from the U.S. Army Center of Military History, played a crucial role in this process. Dr. Rush was assigned last year to a new command, but he sends us his regards. Our group certainly owes him a lot.

Today, when I look around this room, I can see older faces and newer ones, all of them good friends and colleagues from all over the European continent and North America. All testify to the importance of our professional community for our nations. Above all, I would like to thank each and every one of you for your perseverance in making this working group a remarkable platform of scholarly exchange for our community, making it a permanent forum for official military historians and their organizations. This is a unique regional platform, recognized as such at the highest level. As a result, we are now fully reintegrated into PfPC, and we will share our work with other working groups in the future.

What brings us together again in Bratislava is doctrinal change, and the issue of using the past to face the present. This is an essential matter. As historian John Lynn once wrote, we tend to prepare for the next war as we believe we won the last one. How are historians and lessons learned included in the decision-making process? At what level and to what extent? While the Crimean crisis unfolds under our eyes, and while many other areas of the world are in crisis, it is essential to remember that the knowledge of the past is an essential key to stabilization. This is why we are here and why this is why this conference is so important.

On my behalf, and on Christian Ortner's behalf, I would like to express our gratitude to those who made it possible, our hosts here in Bratislava.

"Ďakujem," Mister State Secretary; "Ďakujem," Colonel Caplovic.

I would also like to thank the Royal Danish Defense College for being co-chair of our working group this year, and for contributing greatly to the organization of this conference.

Last but not least, many thanks to Peter Chorvát, who coordinated the organization of this conference with great success.

Thank you for your attention.

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# 1. Drawing Lessons from War: The Danish- Austrian-Prussian War of 1864

by

Niels Bo Poulsen

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## Abstract

This paper examines the use of historical evidence in the debate on military affairs in the leading Danish periodical on military affairs, *Militært Tidsskrift*. The approach is first and foremost quantitative. This study classifies and quantifies the articles and discussions and their use of historical references during the stated time period. This is used to analyze the role played by military history in addressing doctrine development and learning from war in general. The main questions to be answered are: 1) How many and what kind of doctrinal discussions were contained in the pages of *Militært Tidsskrift*?; 2) To what extent were doctrine developments addressed in purely theoretical and non-empirical terms (i.e. without the use of history)?; 3) What purposes did the employment of historical evidence serve in the debate?; and 4) what are the long-term trends in terms of the role of military history in discussing doctrine in *Militært Tidsskrift*?

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This paper studies the Danish military debate on the lessons from the war of 1864 between Denmark and the combined forces of Austria and Prussia. The war resulted in a Danish defeat and the subsequent loss of the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. Although the war and its consequences have been addressed in many types of historical studies, this study will look at how military professionals analyzed the war and its lessons. Such a historiographical approach is novel and offers an insight into how Danish military personnel used this war both for professional study and improvement and for influencing political decision-making. The main source for this paper is the leading Danish periodical on military affairs, *Militært Tidsskrift*, supplemented with articles written in other periodicals and books. The analysis is limited to works written by military personnel, and in which the authors attempt to draw tactical, operational and strategic lessons from the war. I, furthermore, limit myself to using published sources. Hence, I do not cover the studies of the war carried out internally by the armed forces and which have not been published. I also refrain from covering the Navy as a separate entity, and limit my focus to the land war.

## The War of 1864: A Brief Outline

Since the Middle Ages, the two duchies Schleswig and Holstein had been attached to the Danish kingdom. Never entirely free of conflict, this area became especially contested with the rise of German and Danish nationalism in the wake of the Napoleonic wars.<sup>1</sup> Considerable segments of the population, especially in Holstein, which had a clear German-speaking majority, rebelled against the Danish king in 1848. In rather simplified terms, the war that followed was about control over Schleswig. Unlike Holstein, from the Middle Ages a duchy under the German emperor (with the Danish king running the province as a fief), Schleswig was a duchy under the Danish king and had a much more mixed population of Danish and German speakers. The resulting three-year war, during which the German Confederation, first and foremost Prussia, fought at the side of the insurgents, ended in a stalemate.

In November 1864, the Danish government, in violation of the 1852 London Protocol (which had ended the 1848-1850 war), incorporated Schleswig into the state of Denmark. This resulted in a renewed war with members of the German Confederation, the main belligerents being Prussia and Austria. Facing a numerically superior enemy, the Danish Army initially attempted to stop the German forces along the Dannevirke Line, an ancient defensive line running east and west along rivers and marshy areas in the narrowest part of Schleswig. Insufficient Danish reserves and severe winter weather offered the German forces the opportunity of outflanking the Danish defenders by crossing the frozen waterways. Therefore, the supreme commander of the Danish field Army, General Christian de Meza, ordered the evacuation of the line on 5 February 1864. The main body of the Danish Army carried out a successful retreat to another defensive position at Dybbøl in Northern Schleswig, while other parts withdrew further up the peninsula of Jutland. After sustained shelling of the fortifications at Dybbøl, a Prussian attack on 18 April forced the badly-battered Danish troops to retreat to the nearby island of Als. In mid-May, a ceasefire came into place. Negotiations in London over a possible division of Schleswig rendered no results, and in late June hostilities resumed. Shortly after the ceasefire had ended, a Prussian amphibious attack resulted in the loss of Als on 1 July 1864. This was a significant defeat, and shortly thereafter the Danish government sought another ceasefire. In October 1864, the war ended with the Treaty of Vienna, according to which Denmark seceded sovereignty over Holstein and Schleswig (as well as the small duchy of Lauenburg).

## Historiography of the War

During the 150 years that have passed since the war, a vast number of books and articles have seen the light of the day. In fact, a recent booklet sets the grand total at more than 3,500.<sup>2</sup> It is outside the scope of this paper to treat this massive body of scholarly and popular works; suffice it to point out a few main trends. First, we may note that the war of 1864 is a topic rarely studied outside Denmark. The most important non-Danish works are the Prussian and Austrian General Staff studies of the conflict, published respectively in 1870 and 1886-1887.<sup>3</sup> To these rather dated but

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<sup>1</sup> A great number of works describe the conflict over Holstein and Schleswig. Only a few of these are in English, however. For the conflict as part of Denmark's general history, see Knud J.V. Jespersen, *A History of Denmark* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 23f, 59ff, and 200ff. For a more detailed account, see Michael Ebree, *Bismarck's First War, The Campaign of Schleswig and Jutland, 1864* (Solihull, UK: Helion, 2006), Chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup> Inge Adriansen and Jens Ole Christensen, *Anden Slesvigske Krig 1864* (Sønderborg, DK: Museum Sønderjylland, 2013), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich von Fischer, *Der Krieg in Schleswig und Jütland im Jahre 1864* (Vienna: Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift, 1870); Grosser Generalstab, *Der Deutsch-Dänische Krieg 1864* (Berlin: E.H. Mittler und Sohn, 1886-1887).



still valuable works should be added British historian Michael Ebree's recent *Bismarck's First War*, published less than a decade ago, as well as a number of articles and short sections in books on more general topics.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, most works in Danish, as well as other languages, are focused on the political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of the conflict. With a few exceptions, historians have consistently failed to integrate military operations into their studies. For example, in a review article in 1995 on the historical study of the region of Sønderjylland (the Danish region encompassing northern Schleswig), the author hardly touched upon the 1864 war and completely failed to mention that the war had been studied and debated extensively by the Danish Armed Forces.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, the major German work on the history of Schleswig-Holstein is virtually silent of the military history of the region, and devotes only around one page out of 650 to the war of 1864.<sup>6</sup> Contemporary readers are only slightly better off when reading the most recent major Danish work on 1864: *1864: Sønner af de slagne* (1864: *Sons of the Defeated*). Here also very limited space is devoted to the military aspects of the war.<sup>7</sup> Even an otherwise highly readable two-volume work devoted to the war's two main battles -- those of Dybbøl and Als -- shows little interest in analyzing the military operations of the war or the causes of the eventual Danish defeat.<sup>8</sup> That the absolute majority of the abovementioned 3,500 works are on non-military aspects of the 1864 war, or treat military events superficially, may be explained by the fact that "throughout most of the twentieth century, Danish historians, by and large, ignored the military part of [Denmark's] historical development."<sup>9</sup> The 1864 war's place in Danish historiography thus clearly illustrates a more general tendency among Danish historians to leave military history to the officers. This may partly be explained by a strong antimilitaristic undercurrent among the majority of scholars in academia, but it is equally plausible that part of the explanation may be found in the fact that hardly any Danish historians during the twentieth century had a military background. They therefore lacked the appropriate tools to analyze battle and military operations in depth.<sup>10</sup> Albeit Denmark probably was characterized by an exceptionally deep disgust for military history among many historians during virtually the entire period since 1864, it should be added that other western countries also were characterized by the military history being exorcised from academia during the same period, only to return from the seventies and onward.

Consequently, the study of the 1864 war has essentially been compartmentalized with civilian historians, based in academia, studying the war as a non-military phenomenon, and military professionals, who, by and large, studied the war with an eye to its military lessons or for reasons of "regimental history." In my bibliographical research, I have identified 14 books and 36 articles which fully or partially may be classified as devoted to drawing lessons from the war. As can be seen from Figure 1, the majority of such works were published within the first 50 years after the war (34 works were published before 1915 and 16 later than 1914). This probably reflects the war's relative proximity in time, and that its lessons were still deemed to be of considerable military

<sup>4</sup> See the bibliography in Ebree, *Bismarck's First War*.

<sup>5</sup> Henrik Becker-Christensen, "Sønderjylland i dansk historisk forskning – træk af en udvikling," *Sønderjyske Årbøger* (1995): 447-456.

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ulrich Lange (Neumünster: Wachholtz Verlag, 1996), 455f.

<sup>7</sup> Rasmus Glenthoj, *1864. Sønner af de slagne* (Gads Forlag, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Tom Buk-Swienty, *Slagtebænk Dybbøl* (Gyldendal, 2008), and idem, *Dommedag Als* (Gyldendal, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> "Gennem det meste af det 20. århundrede ignorerede danske faghistorikere stort set den militære side af den historiske udvikling," *Danmarks krigshistorie*, vol. 1, ed. Ole L. Frantzen and Knud J.V. Jespersen (Gylding, DK: Gads Forlag, 2008), 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 8ff.

relevance. The fifty-year anniversary of the war, in 1914, coincided with the outbreak of an industrialized world war. While 1914 was characterised by the publication of a number of studies and a sequence of lectures on the war in officers' associations, the subsequent years of large scale industrialized war to a very large extent negated all but the most banal lessons of the 1864 war, or so it seemed at the time. After that point, very few studies were published until the 1964 centenary. The centenary led to a brief renaissance in the interest in studying the war among military practitioners, but now with emphasis on more abstract and less direct lessons of the war. Since then hardly any military professionals have touched upon the subject. This may partly reflect that this distant war increasingly was seen as irrelevant to professional development, and partly that a feeling that everything worth saying had been said already.<sup>11</sup>

The works used in this study do not, as mentioned above, represent a final tally. All relevant articles in *Militært Tidsskrift* between 1864 and 2013 are represented, as are the major books. During the said time period, *Militært Tidsskrift*, published by the most important association for the advancement of military sciences, *Det Krigsvidenskabelige Selskab* (the Association of Military Sciences), was not the only periodical in which military affairs were discussed by military professionals, yet it was the most prestigious and enduring. Hence, the articles here may be deemed representative, especially when it comes to combined arms, operations, and strategy. In the following I shall first outline some of the central questions addressed and then identify and analyze points of special controversy and changes in topics over time.

### **The 1864 War as Seen and Debated by Military Professionals**

The main problems addressed by works on the 1864 war penned by military authors have been the following: first, the Danish government, by incorporating Schleswig without having secured a partnership with the great powers Great Britain and Russia, essentially started a war it was not prepared for. Not only did Denmark lack allies; her armed forces were also in bad shape and not sufficient in numbers to defend the Dannevirke line against a superior enemy. Since the previous war over Schleswig-Holstein, far too little had been done to reform the Army, as changing ministers of war came up with each their own scheme for reform but consistently failed to secure a decision in Parliament. Secondly, as a consequence of aborted or lukewarm reforms and a lack of funding, the Danish Army was in very bad shape in 1864. The cavalry, e.g., lacked a sufficient number of trained horses; Army logistics were in a shambles; and there was a lack of uniforms and other types of equipment. Fortification works along the Dannevirke Line and in the flanking positions in eastern Jutland had hardly been begun due to lack of funding. As a result, the troops lacked accommodation and had to sleep outdoors under winter conditions. On the other hand, the available equipment was generally of good quality, and in terms of armament, the Danish soldier was on an equal footing with his Austrian counterpart. However, the Prussian Army had introduced the *Nadelsündgewehr* -- a breech-loading rifle that gave Prussian troops a clear edge over their Danish counterparts. Another point of general consensus is that the Danish government failed in supporting the decision taken by the supreme commander de Meza to evacuate Dannevirke -- eventually sacking him and replacing him with the far less independent-minded general Georg Gerlach.<sup>12</sup> In most works, the decision to abandon Dannevirke and seek to retreat to the flanking position at Dybbøl is also seen as justified, and as not only reflecting the written instructions de Meza had received from the government upon appointment but also as reflecting how a general should act

<sup>11</sup> In 1964, the historian Knud A. Rasmussen stated that the study of 1864 had been exhausted and "that virtually all that is left is to correct minor details." Knud A. Rasmussen, "Ny litteratur om 1864," *Sønderjyske Årbøger* 2 (1962): 221.

<sup>12</sup> For these points see, for example, *Militært Tidsskrift* (1890): 281ff.

when facing a strong enemy in an impossible situation. Strongly defending de Meza's decision and simultaneously paraphrasing Graf Helmuth von Moltke the elder, Major Gordon Norrie, in an article in 1964, stated that "When a war is declared, the supreme commander must be given full freedom to act according to his judgment of the situation ... It is praiseworthy that the brave de Meza here made the right choice without caring about the public outcry."<sup>13</sup>

One of the most enduring observations has been related to the Danish government's numerous mistakes and the bad shape of civilian-military relations during the war. Across time, officers have pointed out the government was the primary culprit behind the 1864 defeat, and that its unwillingness to build a strong defense offered an important message for the present. From the war itself and onwards, the politicians have consistently been criticized for carrying out a policy that eventually lead to war but simultaneously failed to reform the armed forces and allocate sufficient funds for defense. Especially the gap between the lofty rhetoric about the Dannevirke position and its true defensive value has been noted as a major political failure.<sup>14</sup> In a review of the second volume of the Danish General staff's *Den dansk-tydske krig 1864*, the reviewer termed the Danish government's lack of preparation for war "unforgivable" and condemned a number of other problems related to a faulty defense policy.<sup>15</sup> In 1907, a few years after a liberal government had started to cut Army spending, an Army captain stressed that 1864 "was a serious lesson to the Danish nation that one does not go unpunished when neglecting one's defence [*sic*] forces in the days of peace."<sup>16</sup> Some twenty years later -- at a time when even more severe cuts were materializing under a Social Democratic-Liberal government, another military writer wrote that: "An Army like this deserved a better fate. Unfortunately our Army is likely to look no different in terms of training, organisation [*sic*] and equipment next time."<sup>17</sup> In the heyday of the peace movement, and again amid government savings on defense, the following lines were phrased: "... the public headed by the media in Copenhagen looked for scapegoats and they were naturally found among the leadership of the Army. Only much later did the public realise that the real culprits were the politicians, who should have made it possible for the peacetime Army to prepare for war."<sup>18</sup>

While the government's role was addressed with considerable energy at virtually all times, there was, at least for a considerable period, very limited finger-pointing internally in the Army. It is hardly surprising that when the Danish General Staff in 1890-1892 published its official account of events, the work shied away from criticizing how the war had been run from the Danish side.<sup>19</sup> As stated by Michael Embree, the work "relates facts, but makes no criticisms and few observations."<sup>20</sup> Thus when additional volumes were published more than forty years later, the preface stressed that a reason for returning to the subject was that all involved had now passed away, thus making it possible to be more open in speaking about errors committed by individual officers.

In other publications, however, several top commanders and their execution of their responsibilities were taken to task. While de Meza efficiently managed to steer free of political interference with his command authority, his successor as supreme commander, Gerlach, was criticized for being "more

<sup>13</sup> Gordon Norrie, "Ministeren og generalen," *Militært Tidsskrift* (tillæg til marts 1964): 29f.

<sup>14</sup> Holger Hedemann, "Dannevirke 1864," *Militært Tidsskrift* (1907): 305.

<sup>15</sup> Lesser, "Den dansk-tydske krig 1864, II del," *Militært Tidsskrift* (1892): 143. For a similar critique, see the same author's review of *Den dansk-tydske krig 1864*, "Militært Tidsskrift 3 (1893): 348.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 305.

<sup>17</sup> Rolf Kall, "De Meza og tilbagetoget fra Danevirke," *Militært Tidsskrift* 20 (1929): 336.

<sup>18</sup> B. Bruun, "Eviggyldige erfaringer fra 2. Slesvigske Krig i 1864," *Militært Tidsskrift* 5 (1984): 175.

<sup>19</sup> Generalstaben, *Den dansk-tydske krig 1864*, vol.1-3 (København: J.H.Schultz, 1890-1892).

<sup>20</sup> Embree, *Bismarck's First War*, 424.

loyal to his political superiors than to his task.”<sup>21</sup> Another important question relates to military leadership in the field. While de Meza in general is heralded for withdrawing the troops from Dannevirke, he has been criticized for not sufficiently tending to the welfare of the troops under his command. Lack of clear orders related to the retreat from Dannevirke.<sup>22</sup> Probably the strongest verdict came from Colonel Axel Liljefalk, who termed de Meza “a geriatric who had outlived himself and was incapable of shouldering the important task put upon him.”<sup>23</sup> Some have also censured him for failing to improve living conditions at Dannevirke, as very little was done to speed up construction of barracks for the men. In fact, only one month after arriving to Dannevirke, de Meza inspected the fortifications.<sup>24</sup> Others even criticized de Meza’s timing of the evacuation of Dannevirke, believing that he acted too rashly and should have waited. The possibility of meeting a planned German attack across the ice of the Slien Fjord with success has been at the center of this debate. According to the critics, postponement of the retreat of just one day “would by all likelihood” have given the Danish forces a valuable tactical victory.<sup>25</sup>

It is hardly surprising that much of the early literature on the war drew lessons of a rather tactical and time-bound nature. In an anonymous book, published just two years after the war, the author -- clearly a person with a military background -- identified numerous shortcomings in the preparation and execution of the war from the Danish side. While some related to the political “crisis-management” and strategy, others were purely military and related to operational and tactical matters as well as to the organization of the Army. The author, for example, suggested that the Danish fortification system, both at Danevirke, Dybbøl, and at a the more northern flanking position at Fredericia, suffered from faulty and old-fashioned designs.<sup>26</sup> He also criticized the duplication system that in a mobilization situation spread the available cadre personnel thinly across the swelling Army. Also the training and replacement system was in for criticism. The latter was based on a few large centralized depots to which recruits from all parts of the country were sent. This resulted in considerable problems with housing, clothing, feeding, and training the reserves.<sup>27</sup> There was also disagreement related to how energetically the units performed at the tactical level. The above-mentioned Liljefalk criticized that the Danish troops, neither at Dannevirke nor at Dybbøl, carried out raids and charges against the enemy. His opponents found such remarks unfair and pointed out that the lack of trained NCOs made it virtually impossible to deploy the troops in an aggressive and proactive defence.<sup>28</sup>

While the political turbulence between the wars has been blamed for the lack of military preparedness in 1864, at least one observer noted other reasons. He pointed out that the reason why new Army Regulations were not adopted by Parliament was that a group of Army officers of the infantry lobbied heavily against it. Their reasons for doing so were primarily that the proposal was tilted in favor of the artillery and engineering branches of the Army in such a way that officers from these branches in general would advance faster through the ranks than their counterparts in the

<sup>21</sup> C.F. Hagen, “Krigen 1864. Dansk strategi og føring belyst i relation til krigsførelsens principper,” *Militært Tidsskrift* special edition: I hundredeåret for krigen 1864 (March 1963): 53.

<sup>22</sup> Oberst Rolf Kall, “De Meza og tilbagetoget fra Danevirke,” *Militært Tidsskrift* 20 (1929): 334ff.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted after Holger Hedemann, “Dannevirke 1864,” *Militært Tidsskrift* (1907): 301. See also A. Liljefalk, “Vor sidste kamp for Sønderjylland,” *Militært Tidsskrift* (1904): 326f.

<sup>24</sup> Hagen, “Krigen 1864. Dansk strategi og føring belyst i relation til krigsførelsens principper,” 65.

<sup>25</sup> Jens Johansen and Johan Nordentoft, *Hæren ved Danevirke 1864* (København: Heydes bogtrykkeri, 1938), 338.

<sup>26</sup> H.J., *Uholdede militair-politiske betragtninger* (København: Andr. Schous Forlag, 1866), 5-22.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 85ff.

<sup>28</sup> Editors, “Review of *Vor sidste kamp for Sønderjylland*,” *Militært Tidsskrift* (1904): 307.

infantry.<sup>29</sup> It has also been suggested that parts of the Danish Army failed to pay attention to the Prussian rifled artillery and the new *Nadelsündgewehr* due "to disgust and contempt" of everything German.<sup>30</sup>

In 1919 the lessons of 1864 played a role in a debate that took place partly in *Militært Tidsskrift* and partly in Danish and foreign newspapers. The debate was on where to draw the border between defeated Germany and Denmark -- a question that eventually was resolved by means of a referendum, which took place in February-March 1920, and resulted in the division of Schleswig between the two countries. Prior to the decision to hold a referendum, a number of officers, most prominently Colonel I.C.M.R. Skade, suggested that Denmark should seek a border along the strategically best defensive line. Partly drawing on the 1864 war, he thus suggested a border that would allow for a future defense along the Dannevirke Line, which the Army had abandoned in February 1864.<sup>31</sup>

## Conclusion

The most obvious observation one can make from the above is that the growing distance in time to the war led to a considerable drop in its relevance as an object for study among officers. However, as shown, some studied the war even after World War II. Over time debates over tactics and leadership decisions in the field changed character and became less specific. What during the entire time period here studied remained a strong trend was a perception that the war was primarily a failure due to the political mismanagement of Denmark's defence prior to the war, bad crisis management in the months leading up to 1864 and political meddling in the Army's affairs during the war, including making de Meza a scapegoat. Ironically the many nuances in the internal debate in the Danish armed forces about the war's lessons are virtually unknown by the larger public save one: that of the politicians mismanaging the war. But as shown in this article, a close study of the debate reveals that defeat -- at least partially -- was also caused by a variety of other factors, much more closely related with the army itself.

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<sup>29</sup> Gordon Norrie, "Ministeren og generalen" *Militært Tidsskrift*, special edition (March 1963): I hundredeåret for krigen 1864, 4.

<sup>30</sup> H. J., *Uhildede militair-politiske betragtninger*, (København: Andr. Schous Forlag, 1866), 93.

<sup>31</sup> I.C.M.R. Skade, "Sønderjylland strategisk," *Militært Tidsskrift*, 6 (15 March 1919): 81ff. For the subsequent debate see "Danmarks Sydgrænse," *Militært Tidsskrift*, 10 (15 May 1919): 145ff.

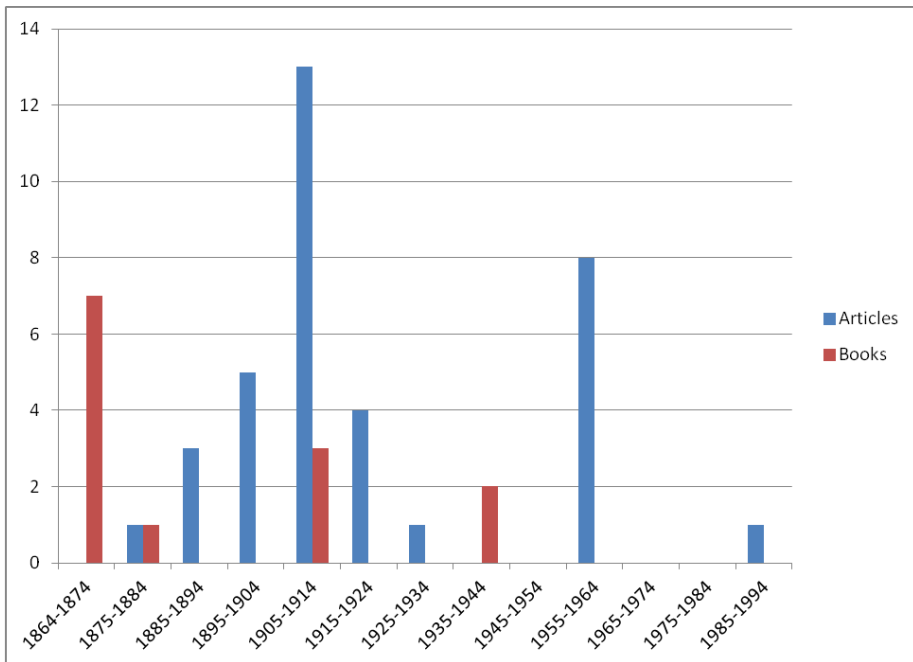


Figure 1: Works Analyzing the Military Lessons of the 1864 War

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## 2. Austria-Hungary and the Study of Overseas Wars, 1899-1914

by

Erwin A. Schmidl

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### Abstract

This essay aims at giving an overview of how Austria-Hungary, at the time one of the major European Powers, dealt with the lessons of overseas wars in the years before the First World War. These wars were mainly the Spanish-American War of 1898 (the conquest of Cuba and the Philippines), the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Looking back, these wars are seen as precursors of the “Great War” of 1914-1918, introducing new weapons and technologies, such as the use of small-calibre rifles with smokeless powder (making infantry firing from cover difficult to locate on the battlefield), the introduction of machine guns and entrenchments, the use of quick-firing artillery with recoil mechanisms, mechanized army transport, and the first experiments with wireless communication, to name but a few. However, despite the reports from military attachés in the field and quite intensive discussions in military journals and books, the Austro-Hungarian Army failed to implement some of the “lessons learnt” from South Africa or Manchuria. Among the few “lessons applied” was the introduction of “pike-grey” (blue grey) field uniforms in 1908.

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“Just after a campaign everybody knows what has gone wrong and where peacetime training failed. But after a short time, these fresh impressions fade and military training tends to degenerate into useless games.”<sup>1</sup> An Austrian military newspaper published these thoughts in early 1901, in an article dealing with the possible lessons to be learned from the war being fought in South Africa at the time (the Second Anglo-Boer War). They appear by no means outdated even more than a century later.

This essay aims at giving an overview of how Austria-Hungary, at the time one of the major European Powers, dealt with the lessons of overseas wars in the years before the First World War. These wars were mainly the Spanish-American War of 1898 (the conquest of Cuba and the Philippines), the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Looking back, these wars are seen as precursors of the “Great War” of 1914-1918, introducing new weapons and technologies, such as the use of small-calibre rifles with

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<sup>1</sup> “Ueber die Ausbildung für den Krieg,” *Armeeblatt* (Vienna), 27 February 1901, 3-5.

smokeless powder (making infantry firing from cover difficult to locate on the battlefield), the introduction of machine guns and entrenchments, the use of quick-firing artillery with recoil mechanisms, mechanized army transport, and the first experiments with wireless communication, to name but a few. Among the “lessons learned” was the introduction of grey or khaki uniforms by most European armies. Taking cover was no longer seen as a sign of weakness or cowardice, but rather as a matter of survival on the “empty battlefield,” where the enemy was only perceived when captured or dead.

For European and North American militaries -- other than those involved themselves, such as the U.S. in Cuba, Great Britain and the Empire in South Africa, or Russia in Manchuria -- the very idea of “learning” from these overseas wars implied massive rethinking. Earlier, colonial wars had often been conceived as something quite different from a European war: small wars, where non-professional militias fought one another or “uncivilized” colonial peoples, and the very antithesis of a regular war in Europe, fought by highly professional and well-trained (and visible) armies.<sup>2</sup> In the three wars mentioned, however, armies from the major powers at the time were involved and faced major problems in combating supposedly “inferior” armies (such as the Spanish in Cuba, the Boer Republics’ militia forces in South Africa, or the Japanese in the Far East). Theodor Ritter von Zeynek, a brilliant young staff officer, whose memoirs are an important source for our knowledge about the Austro-Hungarian Army before and during the First World War, already noted in 1903 that the majority of lessons from South Africa referred to new weaponry rather than to the peculiarities of the country. He emphasized reconnaissance, extended skirmish lines, the impact of massed and rapid rifle fire, and the importance of cooperation between all arms (infantry and artillery, etc.).<sup>3</sup>

The officers’ interest in these wars was high, as shown by the number of articles published in military journals at the time and discussions and talks at military clubs. This already started with the Spanish-American War, and grew with the Anglo-Boer War and the Russo-Japanese War. In the case of the war in South Africa, this interest was enhanced by the enthusiasm shown around the world for the cause of the Boers (mirrored in reverse, by the way, by support for Britain from its colonies and dominions). In the winter of 1899-1900, for example, 17 out of 228 lectures at the various army and garrison clubs in the Habsburg Monarchy dealt with this war. In 1900-1901, the number remained about the same (17 out of 231); it declined afterwards.<sup>4</sup> Numerous books and articles were published -- and apparently read as well.

Among the sources for professional knowledge was the deployment of special military attachés to the theaters of war. In 1898, the Austro-Hungarian military and naval attaché in Washington, Lieutenant Commander Josef Rodler (later Rodler von Roithberg), was sent to Florida and Cuba to report on the operations there. A year later, Captain Robert Trimmel, a young officer on the General Staff, was sent to South Africa as the military attaché to British Headquarters in late 1899. This was motivated less by the keen interest of the military authorities, however, than by the fact that the other powers had sent out special wartime military attachés as well. The Dual Monarchy, one of the European Powers of the time, after

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<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that no transfer of military experience had taken place before. The new tactics of the French Revolutionary Wars, as well as some guerrilla and counter-guerrilla tactics, are sometimes credited to the “lessons learned” from the American War of Independence and other American campaigns of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. Beatrice Heuser, “Lessons Learnt? Cultural Transfer and Revolutionary Wars, 1775-1831,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 25, no. 4 (2014): 858-876.

<sup>3</sup> Erwin A. Schmidl, “From Paardeberg to Przemyśl: Austria-Hungary and the Lessons of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902,” in *The Boer War and Military Reforms* (Atlantic Studies on Society in Change 51), Jay Stone and Erwin A. Schmidl, 167 (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.



all, did not wish to stand on the sidelines. Thus, it is hardly any surprise that Trimmel received few concrete orders, except that he was to wear parade dress as often as possible, complete with plumed hat, so that everybody might see that Austria-Hungary was present, too. Trimmel later commented that he felt like a “diplomatic mannequin.”<sup>5</sup> And he was to report “juicy” stories, with which the old Chief of the General Staff, General Beck, might amuse the Emperor.

He actually wrote eighteen reports from the field while in South Africa and an exhaustive final report after his return. In January 1901, he held a lecture in the Vienna *Militärkasino* (which was later published as a small book), but this was heavily censored by his superiors. When Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the designated heir to the throne, was fascinated by Trimmel’s accounts, some senior officers of the General Staff ensured that the young officer was posted elsewhere: he was detached to the Army’s map department to study Macedonia.<sup>6</sup> Whereas younger officers took a keen interest in these wars and the lessons to be taken from them, others did not. Traditional officers like Lieutenant General Gustav Ratzenhofer, to mention just one example, dismissed the importance of logistics (one of the points emphasized by Trimmel), stressing that war concerned first and foremost battles: “All these technical accessories of war, like motorcars, streetcars [*sic*], bicycles, observation balloons and so on would only confuse the officer and make him forget what war was all about.”<sup>7</sup> Others, however, thought differently. In 1903, one of the “rising stars” of the Austro-Hungarian Army, Major General Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf (then a brigade commander in Trieste, but soon to become chief of the general staff in 1906), even authored a study on the Anglo-Boer War himself.<sup>8</sup>

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 only confirmed the lessons from South Africa. The devastating effect of heavy artillery and machine guns in defensive positions, the futility of frontal attacks against well-entrenched enemy forces, the necessity of taking cover, and the need for drab or camouflage uniforms were the obvious lessons for most observers. The military attachés included officers such as John J. Pershing and Douglas McArthur from the United States, and Ian Hamilton from Great Britain, all of whom were to reach senior ranks later, either in the First or Second World Wars: Hamilton, already a general and Lord Kitchener’s chief of staff in South Africa, commanded the ill-fated Gallipoli expedition of 1915; Pershing commanded the American Expeditionary Forces in France in 1917-1918; and McArthur reached fame as the five-star Supreme Allied Commander in the Pacific in the Second World War.

Austria-Hungary sent no fewer than four military observers to East Asia, two serving with the Japanese armies, and two with the Russian force. Lieutenant Colonel Maximilian Csicseries von Bacsány and Captain Stanislaus Count Szeptycki (later a general in the Polish Army) served with the Russian forces, whilst Captain Adalbert Dáni von Gyarmata and First Lieutenant Erwin Baron Franz were on the Japanese side.<sup>9</sup> Unlike in South Africa, where

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 191 (quoted from Trimmel’s memoirs: Austrian Staatsarchiv/Kriegsarchiv [cited hereafter KA], Nachlässe B/385, folder II, fol. 121).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 199f.

<sup>7</sup> Ratzenhofer, “Rückblick auf den Krieg in Südafrika,” *Streffleur*, N.S. 42, no. 1 (1901): 98.

<sup>8</sup> F.C.v.H., *Infanteristische Fragen und die Erscheinungen des Boerenkrieges* (Vienna: L.W. Seidel, 1903); cf. Schmidl, “From Paardeberg,” 229-233.

<sup>9</sup> For an in-depth analysis, see Peter Broucek, “Taktische Erkenntnisse aus dem Russisch-Japanischen Krieg und deren Beachtung in Österreich-Ungarn,” *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 30 (1977): 191-220. Also Rupert Wenger, “Lessons not learned...: Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg als Beispiel eines zu wenig analysierten Konfliktes,” *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift* 42, no.6 (November-December 2004): 703-714.

Austria-Hungary had no interests whatsoever, the war in Manchuria involved one of the potential enemy powers: Russia. Indeed, it would be as a result of the military defeat in East Asia that after 1905 Russia turned its interests away from the Far East and back to the Balkans, where the rivalry between the two Powers was to be one of the major factors leading to the First World War. Observing the Russians' performance from close proximity was obviously crucial to Austria-Hungary.

Apparently, however, these observers hesitated to express their impressions too frankly, as they ran counter to the contemporary emphasis on frontal assault and the encounters between moving units. Instead, both Csicseries and Franz preferred to argue "between the lines." A careful analysis of the encounters in East Asia would have shown that only few frontal assaults against well-entrenched defenders were successful, and that losses caused by defensive weaponry were horrendous.<sup>10</sup>

Csicseries even wrote later with some acrimony that he had been "so naive as to believe that upon my return our General Staff would start a systematic, all-encompassing analysis of our observations and experiences."<sup>11</sup> Instead, he was immediately posted off to Agram (Zagreb) in Croatia as chief of staff of XI Army Corps. Colonel von Arz, who served in the General Staff's personnel department at the time (in 1917-1918, he was to become Austria-Hungary's last chief of the general staff), even told him not to worry about his wartime experiences.<sup>12</sup> Officially, the General Staff concluded that the reports from East Asia only confirmed the existing doctrine.<sup>13</sup> Only Baron Franz published his observations in 1911.<sup>14</sup>

When Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf became chief of the general staff in 1906, he at least partially endeavored to implement lessons from recent wars in military doctrine. In his 1903 study, he had pointed to the importance of firepower over marksmanship, while stressing the importance of the offensive: remaining on the defensive "will never lead to positive results!"<sup>15</sup> It could be said that Conrad used examples from the Boer War to support his own views (already formed over the past 25 years), sometimes "bending the facts" quite remarkably.<sup>16</sup> He was evidently not an adherent of the "Boer tactics," which were intensively discussed at the time in Austrian and German military journals.<sup>17</sup> Some of his views were incorporated in the Infantry Manual of 1903 (he was a member of the commission headed by no less than Archduke Franz Ferdinand himself).<sup>18</sup> Consequently, defensive training was almost not conducted at all, and training attacks against entrenched forces was expressly forbidden.<sup>19</sup> When Colonel Aust, the commanding officer of the 14<sup>th</sup> Field Artillery Regiment (*Feldkanonen-Regiment Nr. 14*), had trained his regiment according to the lessons from South Africa and East Asia, firing from well-camouflaged positions and using indirect fire, the new

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<sup>10</sup> Wenger, "Lessons...", 710.

<sup>11</sup> For Csicseries, see Hans Eder, "Der General der k.u.k. Armee und spätere Geheime Rat Maximilian Csicseries von Bacsány, (Phil.Diss. University of Vienna, 2010), 204-210. This dissertation also includes Csicseries' unpublished notes from this war, "Verwertung meiner Erfahrungen aus dem russisch-japanischen Krieg 1904/05" (KA, Nachlässe B/198/14).

<sup>12</sup> Eder, "Csicseries," 213f.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>14</sup> Erwin Freiherr von Franz, *Erinnerungen aus dem Russisch-Japanischen Krieg, 1904-05* (VII. Korpskommando, 1911).

<sup>15</sup> F.C.v.H., *Infanteristische Fragen*, 58.

<sup>16</sup> Schmidl, "From Paardeberg...", 230f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 253f. Whereas the 1889 regulations had practically forbidden frontal attacks (a consequence of the wars of 1866 and 1870/1871), the 1903 manual did not include the passage about the advantage of outflanking manoeuvres anymore.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 257.

divisional commander, Lieutenant General Carl Tersztyánsky de Nadas, was furious: "I am not at all interested in what you have shown me. This boring crawling around, hiding, taking cover and indirect fire, I don't understand it and I don't care. What I want to see is a regiment that shows gallantly how to ride into action fast and start firing!" When Colonel Aust presented his regiment in the old-fashioned way a few days later, Tersztyánsky was delighted.<sup>20</sup>

One lesson Conrad was able to implement after 1906 was the introduction of "realistic" maneuvers rather than the traditional "pretty" exercises closely following a well-prepared scenario. But this led to over-optimistic expectations in 1914, when reservists out of training were simply unable to deliver over weeks what well-trained regulars had been capable of doing over a couple of days. And in 1914 one Russian officer remarked that all the Russians had to do was to wait for the Austrians to march themselves to death on the Galician plains, exhausted. Another negative aspect of Conrad's maneuver culture was that officers tended to follow stereotypic rules or practices, neglecting to think "out of the box."<sup>21</sup>

But at least one lesson from the wars in South Africa and East Asia was implemented, which Conrad emphasized in his writings. Drab-colored field uniforms were at last introduced for the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1908.<sup>22</sup> It was only the cavalry that had not yet switched to the new "pike-grey" (blue-grey) uniforms by 1914 and rode into the war in their splendid blue uniforms with red breeches and fancy headgear, suffering enormous casualties.<sup>23</sup>

Summarizing this overview, it could be said that some lessons from these overseas wars were indeed "learned" and implemented by the Austro-Hungarian military, while others were ignored or even led to erroneous conclusions. In this respect, however, Austria-Hungary was not alone and similar experiences could be cited from the other European armies of the time -- in fact, even the British military had forgotten some of the "Boer War lessons" by 1914. But Austria-Hungary had to face two armies with recent wartime experience in 1914 (the Russians from 1905, and the Serbs from the Balkan Wars of 1912/1913) and consequently suffered huge losses. Similarly, when Italy entered the war in 1915, the Italian forces, ill-trained and with fewer machine guns, were initially battered by the by then tested Austro-Hungarian troops.

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<sup>20</sup> Hans Mailáth-Pokorny, "Der k.u.k. Generalstab: Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen" (manuscript in KA, Nachlässe B/700/2), 10-13, quoted in Broucek, "Taktische Erkenntnisse," 209.

<sup>21</sup> This point is correctly emphasized by M. Christian Ortner, *Sturmtruppen: Österreichisch-ungarische Sturmformationen und Jagdkommandos im Ersten Weltkrieg -- Kampfverfahren, Organisation, Uniformierung und Ausrüstung* (Wien: Militaria, 2005), 16-21.

<sup>22</sup> Schmidl, "From Paardeberg...", 264-266.

<sup>23</sup> See Alexis Wrangel, *The End of Chivalry: The Last Great Cavalry Battles 1914-1918* (London: Leo Cooper, 1982).

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### 3.

## **Leadership and Conflict Resolution: The Case of the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913**

by

**Efpraxia S. Paschalidou**

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#### **Abstract**

The phenomenon examined in this paper is a conflict in the frame of leadership from the historical background of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) in Greece. When the First Balkan war broke out, Crown Prince Constantine was already appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Hellenic Army, which during a brief period of time, engaged in many victorious battles and utterly defeated the opposing Ottoman forces. Both Prime Minister Venizelos (Minister of the Army as well at the time) and Commander-in-Chief of the Army Crown Prince (King of Greece, since February 1913) Constantine, undoubtedly shared the same vision of liberating Greek populations, though the harmonization of the political with the military leader, did not always occur. Crown Prince (later King) Constantine and Venizelos are the leading military and political personalities, whose attitude during the Balkan Wars is to be examined. They constitute a dyad where four different parameters interact in parallel, forming antithesis between them, under the wide frame of a leadership conflict. On one hand, there is a political versus a military leader, while on the other, there is an appointed (obviously inherited in a royal family) versus an elected one. Both leaders aspired to unite within the bounds of a single state all the areas of Greek settlement and population; Venizelos was a great advocate of moderation and a firm supporter of implementing only necessary military measures to counteract the continuous friction between the neighboring countries while Constantine's main objective was to destroy the enemy. Since the outbreak of the First Balkan War, two characteristic study cases were their early dispute in October 1912, whether the Hellenic Army should head for Monastir or turn towards Thessaloniki, as well as their different demands for ending the war, during the negotiations that preceded the Bucharest Treaty which ended the Second Balkan War, in July 1913. The origins of the conflict can be attributed to the complexity of the official relations between the two men. Although Constantine was the Crown Prince and the future king, he also held the title of the Army's Commander, thus remaining under the direct order of the Minister of the Army

and the Prime Minister, subsequently under Venizelos who hold both titles. His father, King George, in accordance to the constitutional conditions was the undisputed leader of the country, thus in practical terms Venizelos' authority over his Commander of the Army was diminished due to the obvious relation between the Crown Prince and his father, the King. When Constantine succeeded his father to the throne he was eager to decide for both political and military issues. Most historians agree that Constantine failed to see the political dimensions of his decisions while others accuse Venizelos for an attempt to get involved in clearly military issues. It was only few years later that this early conflicts led to a National Schism.

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This paper will examine leadership theories and styles and how the principles they indicate interact in a conflict situation, using as study case two personalities, broadly acknowledged as leaders in modern Greece. Within the general complex of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos<sup>1</sup> on the civilian and King Constantine<sup>2</sup> on the military side, will be examined through the fundamental

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<sup>1</sup> *Eleftherios Venizelos* was born in 1864 in Crete which was under the Ottoman rule at the time. His father's involvement in the Cretan revolt of 1886, led his family to Greece during his childhood. After his graduation from the Law Faculty of Athens University he worked as a lawyer in Chania where he soon entered politics as a member of the liberal party of the island. He revealed political and leadership qualities during the revolution of 1897 and he was actively involved in the formation of the Cretan Constitution. Following his dispute with the High Commissioner of Crete, Prince George of Greece, on account of his liberal principles, he resorted to an armed rising at Therisso (1905) and secured the replacement of the Prince. During his subsequent efforts for the unification of Crete with Greece, Venizelos kept a skilful balance between daring and moderation. In 1910 he moved to mainland Greece, when he became Prime Minister, founded the "Liberal Party" and was the moving spirit in the political and economic progress of Greece and in the victorious outcome of the Balkan Wars. During World War I, he clashed with the Crown and at the expense of the National Schism (1915-1917), he imposed his policy. In the vital elections of November 1920 he was defeated and withdrew from politics to return after the Asia Minor disaster of 1922. With two radical initiatives in 1923, namely the mandatory exchange of Greek and Turkish populations and the Treaty of Lausanne which defined the boundaries between the two countries, he changed the orientation of Greek policy and laid the foundations for peaceful development. His last term of office as Prime Minister (1928-1932) was a period of stability and creativity. The end of his career was marked by the attempt against his life (June 1933) and the unsuccessful coup of his supporters (March 1935). He died on March 1936, self-exiled in Paris. Recognized as the most charismatic politician of the first half of the twentieth century, he is one of the most dynamic figures in Modern Greek history. He possessed a sharp wit, an excellent Hellenic education and command of the law as well as a strong sense of patriotism. He distinguished himself as an eminent revolutionary against authority and exhibited two traits seldom found combined, brain and quick decision. The most prominent statesman was a realist and a visionary, intelligent, flexible and daring, possessed an impressive personal charm and eloquence. Within his objective of fraternization and unanimity he included the popular masses, being an unchallenged leader of his fellows, offering them hope and vision. Venizelos always had an internal compass that led his way in politics and he never followed the flow of events or the demands of the public opinion when deciding upon the long-term interests of the country. He had succeeded as a master of compromise, being at the same time genius in diplomacy, human and far seeing. He loathed demagoguery and had the courage to go against the current.

<sup>2</sup> *Constantine I*, the eldest son of King George I and Queen Olga, was born in August 1868. He succeeded to the throne of Greece on 18 March 1913, following his father's assassination and was King of Greece for the periods 1913 to 1917 and 1920 to 1922. As young Crown Prince, outstanding university professors of the time were chosen to teach him literature, mathematics, and history. In October 1882, he enrolled in the Military Cadet Academy. He attained further military education in Berlin, and served in the German Imperial Guard. He also studied political science in Heidelberg and

principles of evaluation as leaders, focusing mainly on the conflicts that had risen between them, developing hidden behind an illustrious victory, forming parameters that influenced the leadership process. The leadership dimensions analyzed are a monarch, inherited, military leader versus a politician, elected, civil one.

Crown Prince (later King) Constantine and Venizelos are the leading military and political personalities who constitute a dyad where four different parameters interact in parallel, forming antithesis between them, under the wide frame of a leadership conflict. On one hand, there is a political versus a military leader, while on the other, there is an appointed (obviously inherited in a royal family) versus an elected one. Both leaders aspired to unite within the bounds of a single state all the areas of Greek settlement in the near east; Venizelos was a great advocate of moderation and a firm supporter of implementing only necessary military measures to counteract the continuous friction between the neighbour countries while Constantine's main objective was to destroy the enemy. Since the outbreak of the First Balkan War, two characteristic study cases were their early dispute in October 1912, whether the Hellenic Army should head for Monastir or turn towards Thessalonica, as well as their different demands for ending the war, during the negotiations that anteceded the Bucharest Treaty which ended the Second Balkan War, in July 1913. The origins of the conflict can be attributed to the complexity of the official relations between the two men. Although Constantine was the Crown Prince and the future King, he also held the title of the Army's Commander, thus remaining under the direct order of the Minister of the Army and the Prime Minister, subsequently under Venizelos who held both titles. His father, King George, in accordance with the constitutional conditions was the undisputed leader of the country, thus in practical terms Venizelos' authority over his Commander of the Army was diminished due to the obvious relation between the Crown Prince and his father, the King. When Constantine succeeded his father to the throne he was eager to decide both political and military issues. The existing literature either tries to keep equal distance, or supports its favorable part. Most historians agree that Constantine failed to see the political dimensions of his decisions while others accuse Venizelos of an attempt to get involved in clearly military issues. However, Venizelos was the only Balkan premier who both prepared the 1912 coalition agreements and remained in power to witness their consequences through to

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Leipzig. In 1890 he became Major General, assumed the command of the Hellenic Army and was the Commander-in-Chief during the unsuccessful Greco-Turkish War of 1897. In its aftermath, the popularity of the monarchy fell, and calls were raised in the army for reforms and the dismissal of the princes -- especially Constantine -- from their posts in the armed forces. The simmering dissent culminated in the Goudi coup in August 1909; Constantine and the princes were dismissed from the armed forces, only to be reinstated a few months later by the new Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos, who was keen to gain the trust of King George. Constantine was the Commander-in-Chief of the Hellenic Army during the victorious Balkan Wars. His disagreement with Venizelos over whether Greece should enter World War I led to the National Schism. Constantine forced Venizelos to resign twice, but in 1917 he left Greece, after threats of the Entente forces to bombard Athens; his second son Alexander, succeeded to the throne. After Alexander's death, Venizelos' defeat in the 1920 elections, and a plebiscite in favor of his return, Constantine was reinstated. He abdicated the throne for the second and last time in 1922, after the unsuccessful campaign in Asia Minor, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George II. He died in exile four months later, in January 1923. Constantine was a ruler of strong will, imposing presence, and significant military experience. In peace as in war, he seemed a prince born to lead, guide, and inspire democratic people with his tall and handsome figure. Strength and dignity were combined with soldier-like simplicity. As a higher-status person he offered security, protection, and opportunities to his subordinates in return for obedience, loyalty, and zeal.

the Treaty of Bucharest, while King Constantine was the popular hero of the Balkan Wars; it was only few years later that this early conflicts led to the National Schism.

## Leadership

The term leadership appeared in the first half of the nineteenth century although it refers to a current and timeless concept. The study and various forms of the leadership process have always been present during human interactions and civilizations. Leadership is acknowledged as social influence, which initiates and guides, leaving a mark and offering as result the change.<sup>3</sup> The search of the one and only best and true definition of leadership seems to be fruitless; they usually concentrate on the leaders' personality or behavior, on the effects of the leader and the interaction among the leader and the led. The choice of an appropriate definition usually depends on the aspect of leadership in which one is interested and on the purpose to be served. If, for example, the focus of attention is on the impact of the authority of leadership, it should be defined in terms of perceived influence, control, and power relations. A creditable definition describes leadership as the interaction between members of a group that frequently involves a structuring or restructuring of both the situation and of the perceptions and expectations of the members; leaders as agents of change, whose acts affect other people more than other people's acts affect them. Leadership in brief, is pictured as the process that directs attention of other members to goals and the paths to achieve them.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest approaches on the study of leadership were centered on leadership traits. Right from the time of the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle, it was the notion that some people are born to lead while others are born to follow. This concept holds that one is born a leader by predisposition, which means that one is leader by natural endowment or the possession of some specific attributes or traits. Thus a successful leader is said to have some leadership ability and certain physical or psychological characteristics that are essential for effective leadership; that is the theory that holds that leaders are born, not made. It was believed that these inherent personal characteristics, qualities or attribute are transferable from one situation to the other and that only those who possess such traits were potential leaders<sup>5</sup>.

Charismatic Leaders: Both leaders, exceptional personalities in crucial periods, are offered the title of charismatic from both the Greek history and the public opinion, at least, each from his supporters. Some people have an excessive ability to inspire others and generate loyalty. A person with such a personality is said to have charisma. Charisma is a gift of power of leadership and applies to a certain quality that causes one to be set apart from ordinary people and to be treated as endowed with superhuman, or at least exceptional, powers or qualities. Charismatic leaders demonstrate specific types of behaviors, they act as role models for the values they want their followers to adopt, demonstrate ability that elicits respect, have ideological targets with moral overtones, communicate high expectations for their followers, and show confidence in their ability to meet those expectations. Military history is replete with examples of charismatic war leaders, preferably, heroic leadership. There is a belief in heroic leaders, because of their personality alone, aside from their tested

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<sup>3</sup> George Manning and Kent Curtis, *The Art of Leadership* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2009), 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Free Press, 2008), 15-23.

<sup>5</sup> Manning and Curtis, *Art of Leadership*, 16.



capacities, experience, or stand on issues; faith in leaders capacity to overcome obstacles and crises; readiness to grant to leaders the power to handle crisis.<sup>6</sup>

**Leadership Conflicts:** Conflict, as an opportunity to display leadership, within and between individuals (leaders face even more) arise when there are incongruities or mismatches among their levels of status and esteem, their rules, roles, influence, competence, personality and expectations. This can be resolved, but an important function of leaders is to reduce or resolve destructive conflict. For this, time availability and flow of information are essential, and in the aftermath, the strategic implications must be considered by the leadership, so as to transform crises into challenges. Charismatic leaders have strong referent power, so they often present concise and radical solutions to crises.<sup>7</sup>

### **Historical Background**

The grievous outcome of the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897 followed by the Struggle for Macedonia (1904-1908) and the tensions stirred up in all matters of national importance, proved the absolute necessity for a radical transformation in Greece. A fundamental renewal of the national web and a structural change of the political scene were caused in August 1909 by the Military League, a group of junior officers claiming a revolutionary solution to the chronic problems of the state, the society and the army<sup>8</sup>. Inter alia, an immediate prerequisite for the reorganization of the army, in order to render it an effective fighting force able to meet the needs of the nation at that time, was the dismissal of the Crown Prince Constantine from its head. A year later, in November 1910, an invitation from the Military League opened the way to the premiership of the political leader Eleftherios Venizelos.<sup>9</sup> In 1911, the Venizelos government, in order to establish a rule of law and justice, proceeded to amend the constitution with a view to safeguarding individual rights and establishing new rules governing the exercise of state authority. A new law established the post of Inspector General of the Army to which Crown Prince Constantine was appointed, with a provision that in the event of war he would become Commander-in-Chief of the Army.<sup>10</sup>

Two Balkan Wars took place in 1912 through 1913, the first involving an alliance of Christian states, namely Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, against the Ottoman Empire. The goal of the allies was the liberation of their still enslaved Christian compatriots. The Second Balkan War involved Greece and Serbia against Bulgaria, and was the result of the latter's aggressive attitude and territorial claims against its former allies. Venizelos' leadership at the time decisively influenced the country's political development and its military preparedness. He firstly applied a joint warfare concept mainly at the strategic, but at the operational level as well, with an effective naval policy and an innovative air force. When the First Balkan War broke out, Crown Prince Constantine had already been appointed again Commander-

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<sup>6</sup> James Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, Free Press, 1978), 244.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 39, and Bass, *Handbook of Leadership*, 351, 837.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge University Press 2002), 74.

<sup>9</sup> Hellenic Army General Staff/Army History Directorate (HAGS/AHD), *A History of the Hellenic Army, 1821-1997* (Athens: 2001), 88.

<sup>10</sup> HAGS/AHD, *Organization of the Hellenic Army* (Athens: 2005), 241.

in-Chief of the Hellenic Army, which during a brief period of time, engaged in many victorious battles and utterly defeated the opposing Ottoman forces, liberating the greater part of Macedonia, Epirus, and the islands of the Aegean Sea.<sup>11</sup>

Both Prime Minister Venizelos (Minister of the Army as well at the time) and Commander-in-Chief of the Army Crown Prince -- King of Greece, since February 1913 -- Constantine, undoubtedly shared the same vision of liberating Greek populations, though the harmonization of the political with the military leader did not always occur. Two characteristic study cases can be their early dispute in October 1912, whether the Hellenic Army should head for Monastir or turn towards Thessalonica, as well as their different demands for ending the war, during the negotiations that preceded the Bucharest Treaty which ended the Second Balkan War, in July 1913.<sup>12</sup> The telegrams they exchanged -- valuable primary sources -- their decisions, and mainly, the outcome of their actions clearly reveal the quality and the effectiveness of both leaders.

### Diary of Events

First Balkan War: The Hellenic Army under the command of the Crown Prince Constantine commenced on its advance on 5 October 1912, aiming to the liberation of Macedonia, where Thessalonica was considered the prime political-strategic objective of the operations. Prime Minister Venizelos, having verified information that Bulgaria planned on seizing the town before the Hellenic Army, telegraphed to the Commander in Chief on 12 October, informing him that important political reasons demanded the prompt liberation of the town<sup>13</sup>. On the same day, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made a similar recommendation.<sup>14</sup> In the meantime, General Headquarters received information that the largest part of the Turkish forces withdrew to the north with the intention to move with the bulk of its forces first towards Monastir and then towards Thessalonica.<sup>15</sup>

The army was located in a region where the inhabitants showed an enthusiastic welcome, being able to turn towards both destinations. Constantine answered that he was the *only competent and responsible to arrange* and requested no intervention in the conduct of operations.<sup>16</sup> In the meantime, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed General Headquarters that Serbian-Bulgarian forces were heading hastily towards. Simultaneously, it underlined their effort to find out the direction of the Hellenic Army. Venizelos, Minister of the Army as well, from his viewpoint, not having been informed of the recent progress of the military operations and worrying about the fate of Thessaloniki, due to the rapid movement towards it of Bulgarian forces, telegraphed to Constantine, accusing him of ignorance. The telegram was also communicated to his father, King George.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> HAGS/AHD, *A Concise History of the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913* (Athens: 1998), ix, 6, 11, 14.

<sup>12</sup> E. Meligounakis, *Venizelos' Ascension, Memoirs from His Political, Polemic and Diplomatic Activity* (Athens: 1955), 93, 95.

<sup>13</sup> Appendix 1.1

<sup>14</sup> Appendix 1.2

<sup>15</sup> HAGS/AHD, *Operations in Macedonia and the Aegean Islands against the Turks* (Athens: 1988), 64.

<sup>16</sup> Appendix 1.3

<sup>17</sup> Appendix 1.4

Another telegram informed the General Headquarters that the ambassadors of the Great Powers at Thessaloniki carried on negotiations with the Turkish authorities for the surrender of the town and recommended the acceleration of the Hellenic Army's entry. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the General Headquarters that even the foreign Press requested the quick entry of the Hellenic Army into the city as soon as possible.<sup>18</sup> Venizelos, therefore, ordered him to hasten towards Thessaloniki and occupy the town without delay. Constantine demanded the surrender of the town from the commander of the Turkish forces and meanwhile Venizelos instructed him to accept the conditions without delay. From his point of view, having received information that the Turks were withdrawing northwards in order to make contact with the troops retreating before the Serbian Army, instead of adhering to the original plan of marching to Thessaloniki, Constantine planned to pursue the Turks with the main body of his army in the direction of Monastir. Although, from a military point of view, Constantine's decision was undoubtedly right, its political cost would have been the sacrifice of Thessaloniki to Bulgaria.<sup>19</sup>

On the night of 25/26 October, an entire brigade, despite the strict order of the Headquarters, did not camp at the designated village. This provoked an extremely sharp order of the Commander-in-Chief, which however, was also not executed due to the late hour.<sup>20</sup> In the meantime, on the evening of 25 October, General Headquarters had reported to the Ministry of the Army the first proposal of the Turks for the surrender of Thessaloniki, and on the evening of the following day, reported the definitive acceptance of the terms of the Commander-in-Chief. However, due to communications difficulties, the Government had not been informed accordingly yet, and was worried whether the Bulgarians would have the time to seize the town first. For this reason, Venizelos telegraphed to Constantine appointing him responsible for any delay and ordered him to accept the surrender.<sup>21</sup> Later on the same day, Venizelos was informed of the relevant reports of the Commander-in-Chief and he immediately revoked his previous order, because it no longer corresponded to the situation. However, that order had already arrived, the Crown Prince was informed, and he replied. Finally, the proposed reply<sup>22</sup> was not delivered in the end, because in the meantime, he was informed of the cancellation of the order that caused the reason for that reply. In the morning of the same day, the delegates of the Hellenic Commander-in-Chief at Thessaloniki signed a memorandum for the seizure of the city.<sup>23</sup>

Following the fall of Thessaloniki, Constantine diverted four more divisions to Western Macedonia and directed the operations in person. Venizelos had intended to demand the capitulation of Monastir and Ioannina. He had instructed Constantine to hasten the advance to Monastir in order to outdo the Serbs and send reinforcements to Epirus army. The last instruction Constantine refused to obey but he agreed to hasten towards Monastir. He used to believe that he should transfer the rest of the army to

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<sup>18</sup> HAGS/AHD, *Operations in Macedonia and the Aegean Islands against the Turks*, 113.

<sup>19</sup> Helen Gardikas-Katsiadakis, *Greece and the Balkan Imbroglia/Greek Foreign Policy, 1911-1913* (Athens: SDOV, 1995), 123.

<sup>20</sup> Appendix 1.5

<sup>21</sup> Appendix 1.6

<sup>22</sup> Appendix 1.7

<sup>23</sup> HAGS/AHD, *Operations in Macedonia and the Aegean Islands against the Turks*, 122-123.

Macedonia, hoping that the Bulgarians might be persuaded to invite Greek assistance for a joint attack against Constantinople -- an opportunity to fulfil the Great Idea.<sup>24</sup>

Second Balkan War: As soon as the victories against the Ottoman Army during the First Balkan War had been gained, a climate of suspicion and discord began to grow among the allies (Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria), because of the tendency, especially of the Bulgarians, to capture more territories. Bulgaria's intention to attack its former allies became clearer in February 1913 and by mid-June the Second Balkan War was a reality, albeit officially undeclared.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, following the assassination of his father King George I on 5 March 1913, Constantine, after his accession to the throne, retained the command of the Army. In early May, although Venizelos did not share the view of the General Staff on the need for a preventive attack against Bulgaria, he realized that Greece risked progressively losing her original advantage, so he intended to sign a defensive treaty with Serbia. King Constantine was utterly opposed to it, fearing the risk of a war against Austria. The immediate danger of Bulgarian aggression on the other hand was so pressing, that he could hardly refuse to agree to the only expedient that could immediately provide Greece with an ally, so the Crown Council decided to go forth with the defensive alliance with Serbia.<sup>26</sup>

The war began and the army went on t he offensive in Macedonia, almost simultaneously with the preliminary proceedings for the conclusion of peace, which Venizelos favored. The Prime Minister informed the King that Russia was showing strong interest in the termination of the war and that Bulgaria was requesting termination of the hostilities. He added that Romania accepted as well, Serbia would probably bow to the pressure exerted by Russia and recommended that Greece should also assent to it. However, he left the final decision in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief and King, due to the purely military nature of the matter.<sup>27</sup> The King, however, refused the arrangement of an armistice<sup>28</sup> as he wanted a more complete military advantage over Bulgaria and the continuation of all operations.<sup>29</sup> Despite Venizelos' continued protests,<sup>30</sup> the King strongly insisted, wished to achieve peace in the battlefield and kept diplomacy at a distance, though he accepted a Romanian proposal for mediation.<sup>31</sup>

Gardikas reveals in detail the stressful background of the preliminary talks in Bucharest, Romania, between the two Greek leaders, since deciding on the scope and tactics to be followed proved exceedingly difficult. For Constantine the Bucharest conference was an opportunity for Greece to secure the military inferiority of Bulgaria and the protection of the Balkans from European intervention. For Venizelos, it was an opportunity to secure a durable peace based on the balance of powers and on a closer understanding between Greece and Romania, so he insisted that to avoid isolation, Greece should accept an armistice.<sup>32</sup> Constantine rejected and was totally indifferent to an armistice, declaring "...let Bulgaria proceed to sign the peace

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<sup>24</sup> Gardikas, *Greece and the Balkan Imbrolio*, 128, 132-133.

<sup>25</sup> HAGS/AHD, *Operations against the Bulgarians* (Athens: 1992), 116.

<sup>26</sup> Gardikas, *Greece and the Balkan Imbrolio*, 197, 198.

<sup>27</sup> Appendix 2.1

<sup>28</sup> Appendix 2.2

<sup>29</sup> HAGS/AHD, *Operations against the Bulgarians*, 223, 224.

<sup>30</sup> Appendix 2.3

<sup>31</sup> Appendix 2.4

<sup>32</sup> Gardikas, *Greece and the Balkan Imbrolio*, 232.

preliminaries on the battlefield under my terms and then I will accept an immediate armistice.” At the time the military situation was favorable to Greece, though eventually, he realized that his exhausted and cholera-stricken army had reached its limits. After having refused for eighteen days to accept an armistice, he instructed Venizelos to sign it. Nevertheless, on his arrival at Bucharest, Venizelos discovered that none of the Great Powers would support Greece actively, so he asked King Constantine to mediate and make use of his brother-in-law Kaiser Wilhelm’s influence. He also asked from the King permission to break off negotiations, if Greece failed to obtain the minimum requested frontier line. Constantine rejected, as it would have meant a renewal of the war without Serbian support at a time when the Greek Army was no longer in fighting condition. He was also infuriated at Venizelos’s lack of firmness, who submitted his resignation, almost threatening: “...I will, in any case, suspend all further negotiations until Your Majesty consents to answer urgently the present telegram, either authorizing me to anew to conclude peace under the best terms I can obtain...”<sup>33</sup> Constantine, acknowledging that this was not a time for misunderstandings, agreed to give a free hand to Venizelos, who ceased to send him detailed accounts of the negotiations.<sup>34</sup>

On 28 July 1913, the Peace Treaty was signed and ended the state of war that had existed between the Balkan States. The King personally congratulated Venizelos for the significant advance of Greek interests by the Hellenic delegation and at the same time awarded him the Grand Cross of the Royal Order as an indication of the gratitude owed to him for his services to the nation.<sup>35</sup>

### **Illustrating the Conflict**

Both leaders, proponents of the *Great Idea* (Megali Idea) that dominated Greece’s foreign and domestic policy at the time, aspired to unite within the bounds of a single state -- whose capital would be Constantinople -- all the areas of Greek settlement in the Near East.<sup>36</sup> As an aftermath of the Goudi Coup in August 1909, the Military League dismissed Crown Prince Constantine and the princes from the armed forces, only to be reinstated a few months later by the new Prime Minister Venizelos.<sup>37</sup> Eager to gain the trust of King George, with his moderate and flexible attitude towards the Palace, Venizelos offered political solutions and mitigated the tension created by the recent intervention of the army in politics. He believed that army unity and the exploitation of its executives would be the principal condition for the nation’s forthcoming military.

Soon the first disagreement between Venizelos and Constantine emerged, and it concerned the aims of the army’s operations. The Crown Prince insisted on the clear military goals, while Venizelos was more realistic and insisted on the political aims of the war. The harsh tone in the telegrams they exchanged the days before Thessaloniki was liberated led into an open confrontation, widely considered as the start of the conflict between the two men. Most historians agree that Constantine failed to see the political dimensions of his decisions, while others accuse Venizelos for an attempt to

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<sup>33</sup> Appendix 2.5

<sup>34</sup> Gardikas, *Greece and the Balkan Imbroglia*, 234-237.

<sup>35</sup> Appendix 2.6

<sup>36</sup> Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 46, 47.

<sup>37</sup> HAGS/AHD, *Organization of the Hellenic Army*, 241.

get involved in clearly military issues. According to supporters of Constantine and the military point of view, the Commander-in-Chief, since the main purpose of operations was to banish the enemy and not the conquest of a town, the direction of the Army should be directed by the enemy's moves. Obviously and inevitably, if according to the odd frivolous and incompetent government telegrams, the Army had gone directly to Thessaloniki without first defeating the enemy, the latter would certainly attack on the side or the rear. As soon as the Headquarters had valid briefing for the enemy, it ordered an advance without the incompetent governmental prompt.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, when Venizelos' telegram arrived, King George said that the Crown Prince should not see it and, fortunately for Greece, the frivolous Prime Minister's order did not materialize.<sup>39</sup>

The Treaty of London ended the First Balkan War between the allies and the Ottoman Empire, revealing the first indications of Venizelos' diplomatic efficiency and realism in the diplomatic arena.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, Venizelos was accused of involving Greece in the war against the Ottoman Empire without terms and without previous agreement for distribution of territories, so Bulgaria afterwards warded off all his proposals. During his stay in London he presented phenomena of unprecedented and inexplicable political behavior, proceeding continuously in reprocesses.<sup>41</sup>

Until his death, King George was kept informed by Venizelos, shared his views, and was satisfied with his arrangements. The succession of Constantine to the throne altered the situation, since, unlike his father, he was determined to direct the Greek foreign policy in person retaining in parallel the command of the Army.<sup>42</sup> The disagreement between Venizelos and the new King was about the most effective way of dealing with Bulgaria. Venizelos was a great advocate of moderation and a firm supporter of implementing every necessary military measure to counteract the Bulgarian efforts. He wanted to put an end to the continuous friction between the neighboring countries while Constantine's main objective was to destroy the Bulgarian Army.<sup>43</sup> The Prime Minister was concerned the King's militancy would lead to war. With the declaration of war from Bulgaria, Venizelos, particularly upset, affirmed in the Cabinet that he neither wanted nor approved this war, which the King and the officers desired. He wondered how they believed that they could overcome the Bulgarians, whose army he considered invincible. Venizelos stubbornly pursued a diplomatic compromise. The King did not care about political opinions and had the firm decision to go to war, so Venizelos, anyhow, had to retreat.<sup>44</sup>

In Greece the war had produced the first major political rift since Constantine's accession to the throne. According to Venizelos, the Greek Army had been forced to fight a second war, with the objective to impose equilibrium in the Balkans, in a manner that would ensure that Bulgaria would not be stronger than either Greece or

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<sup>38</sup> I. Ioannides, *Constantine XII* (Athens: Govostis, 1931), 197, 198.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 233, 244.

<sup>40</sup> Demetrios Vakas, *El. Venizelos, War Leader/Historical Pages from the Creation of Great Greece, 1910-1920* (Athens: n.p., 1949), 32-33.

<sup>41</sup> Ioannides, *Constantine XII*, 289, 290.

<sup>42</sup> Gardikas, *Greece and the Balkan Imbroglia*, 278.

<sup>43</sup> HAGS/AHD, *Operations against the Bulgarians*, 4, 324.

<sup>44</sup> Ioannides, *Constantine XII*, 425, 459, 464.

Serbia. The debate which preceded the vote in the Greek Parliament had exposed a serious disagreement between Venizelos and the King. Constantine had proclaimed from the battlefield that his army continued the war of liberation. This announcement had given the opposition, who shared the royal views, the opportunity to attack Venizelos, steadily repeating that he had sacrificed Greece's interests in Macedonia and Thrace. Constantine held that the war offered a great opportunity to destroy the Bulgarian war machine for many years to come.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, the King again led the Greek Army in glorious battles and victories which gave a further boost to his popularity, so Venizelos did not hesitate to congratulate him.<sup>46</sup> Constantine replied promptly and eagerly.<sup>47</sup> The King was determined to impose his own terms while Venizelos was eager to begin negotiations. On the occasion of signing an armistice between Greece and Bulgaria, Venizelos hoped the temporary line fixed by the contract to remain permanent, causing frustration to senior officers who informed the King, as Ioannides narrated.<sup>48</sup> The King, as always serene and calm, said: "It is regrettable that the Prime Minister likes to ignore reality. The solution won't come up from the procurement of the diplomats and their protocols, but from the bravery, the patriotism and the impetus of the Greeks. The weapons will provide the solution." The King was determined to impose his own terms on a humiliated, beaten Bulgaria and did not give his consent to an armistice. If the Europeans wished to revise the settlement, they were free to attempt to do so.<sup>49</sup> He believed that the war would solve the problem with the Bulgarians in a natural way even for coming generations, while diplomatic solutions were temporary. In his telegram to Venizelos he declared that he intended to sign a peace on the battlefield and to impose the conditions that he wanted. Venizelos on the other hand was eager to begin negotiations. Constantine's reasons for refusing to sign an armistice were both strategic and political: an armistice would allow the Bulgarian Army to reconstitute, whereas total victory would enable Greece to increase her territorial claims. Despite his continuous explicit warnings to Venizelos, Constantine acknowledged that this was not the time for misunderstandings, and finally agreed to give him a free hand.<sup>50</sup>

Venizelos left for Bucharest dissatisfied with his arrangement with the King on the question of the armistice.<sup>51</sup> For Constantine the Bucharest conference was an opportunity for Greece to secure the military superiority. For Venizelos, it was an opportunity to secure a durable peace; he did not agree with the arrogant policy of the King and pushed aside his unreasonable territorial claims.<sup>52</sup> Venizelos confessed to the French ambassador that his efforts were often frustrated by the King and his officers, while he was fighting for the victory of moderation. The author also acknowledges as undisputed fact, that some individuals who surrounded Constantine were the main reason for the extreme and irreconcilable conflict that developed between him and Venizelos.<sup>53</sup> The Hellenic delegation in Bucharest met stiff resistance concerning the territorial issue. The King expressed his dismay to the Prime

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<sup>45</sup> Gardikas, *Greece and the Balkan Imbroglia*, 227.

<sup>46</sup> Appendix 3.1

<sup>47</sup> Appendix 3.2

<sup>48</sup> Ioannides, *Constantine XII*, 426-427.

<sup>49</sup> Gardikas, *Greece and the Balkan Imbroglia*, 228.

<sup>50</sup> Ioannides, *Constantine XII*, 524, 557, 563.

<sup>51</sup> Gardikas, *Greece and the Balkan Imbroglia*, 231, 234.

<sup>52</sup> D. Vakas, *El. Venizelos*, 33,34.

<sup>53</sup> Ioannides, *Constantine XII*, 555.

Minister as to how quickly he had withdrawn, regarding to the frontier line. Venizelos considered the King's opinion to be binding and limiting with respect to the initiative that could direct Greece's claims at the peace talks and for this reason he invited the King to make his proposals at the negotiations. The King replied, stressing to the Prime Minister that it was not the time for any misunderstandings. Thus this misunderstanding was concluded and negotiations continued in order to achieve agreement between the embattling nations.<sup>54</sup> Venizelos submitted his resignation, not taking into consideration the creation of a governmental crisis in such a critical time for the nation. On the contrary, the King, with charm, forgiveness, and a patriotic view of the country's best interests, ignored the event as others before. He said he expected the Prime Minister to win benefits for the country and named him worthy of the country, with a royal attitude that disarmed Venizelos.<sup>55</sup>

### Personal Traits and Leadership Styles

The following diagram is an attempt to distinguish, as a result of coding, the specific traits or characteristics that the leaders possessed individually or in common.

<b>Eleftherios Venizelos, Prime Minister and Minister of the Army</b>	<b>Crown Prince/King of Greece Constantine, Commander-in-Chief of the Army</b>	<b>Both Leaders</b>
<i>Leadership Traits - Qualities of mind and temperament</i>		
Strategic brilliance	Vigor	Charisma
Intelligence	Independence	Vision
Broad strategic vision	Great determination	Knowledge
Ability to work with allies	Physical appearance	Widely respected and admired
Initiative	Critical character	Inspiration
Introspective	Endurance	Decisiveness
Oratory skill	Bravery	Sense of destiny
Creative imagination	Caring	Loyalty to country/duty
Eloquence	Patriotism	Self-confidence
Flexibility	Dynamic energy	Judgment
Political savvy	Determination	Dependability
Speed of thought	Consistency	Perseverance
Innovator	Generous to his people	Loyalty from followers
Optimism	Strong ego	Speed of action
Modesty	Tenacity	Magnetism
Persistence	Patience	Chivalry
<i>Shortcomings (momentarily)</i>		
Opportunist	Impulsive	Lack of coolness in crisis
Politically astute	Stubborn	Arrogance
Manipulative	Audacious	Excessive ambition

<sup>54</sup> HAGS/AHD 1992, pp. 293-294

<sup>55</sup> Ioannides, *Constantine XII*, 568.



Cunning		Unbalanced temperament
<i>Qualities Unique to the Military</i> <i>Crown Prince/King of Greece Constantine Commander in Chief of the Army</i>		
Great warrior/genius in the military sphere		
Mastery in the conduct of operations		
Strategic judgment		
Power to win the devotion of troops and earn the respect of soldiers		
<i>Coup d'oeil</i> /tactical insight		
Ability to make decisions		
Ability to harvest the fruit of victory		
Ability to command loyalty		
Ability to achieve strategic objectives		
Disciplined and audacious		
Tactical insight/See and understand the battlefield		

We can clearly identify aspects of the transformational leadership theory in both leaders: they created a new vision and promoted change, especially during a period of rapid geopolitical transition, the Balkan Wars. Adopting a personalized style of leadership they distinguished by their vision and values, their rhetorical skills, their ability to build a particular kind of image in the hearts and minds of their followers. Frequently, from their positional power, with optimism, charm, and intelligence, they raised aspirations and transformed their followers, namely the Greek people, to new levels of high performance. Especially for Constantine, his military position pointed as obligatory the reward and punishment for his subordinates, the basic premises of the transactional leadership style. Nevertheless, in the interaction with his officers and soldiers, the transformational overcame the transactional characteristics; he motivated them with his paradigm, standing up-front and always visible during the battle, showing by his actions how everyone should behave.

## Conclusion

*'...Soldiers are not trained to explore the truth behind international disputes and if they try to wrestle with the resulting questions they are likely to become incapable of performing their task...'*<sup>56</sup>

Two leaders created the way for the Greek people and contributed into making something extraordinary happen, while the haze of their personal conflict was constantly threatening their performance. Personal traits and idiosyncrasies were clearly revealed from the attitude both leaders demonstrated during their conflict, as well as their priorities which designated their leadership style, their performance and actions during a strictly defined historical period and background, and thus it is in accordance with the principles of the behavioral and situational leadership theories.

Both leaders displayed a strong, identical vision -- the first of the elements that distinguish a transformational leader -- the liberation of enslaved Greeks. Nevertheless the King acknowledged the war as means of achieving the goal, while

<sup>56</sup> Basil Liddell Hart, "Foreword," to General Heinz Guderian, *Panzer Leader* (Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 2002), 13.

for Venizelos the lines between military strategy and foreign policy were blurred, both serving national goals. They earned the attribution of charismatic since they acted as role models of the values of a whole nation, their abilities elicited respect, their patriotic and ideological targets had moral overtone. Even more they communicated high expectations for their followers and showed confidence in their ability to succeed. Ultimately, they took risks and applied expertise, Venizelos in the diplomatic arena and Constantine in the battlefield.

Acknowledged as charismatic, both leaders deserve to be considered as transformational, although a transactional parameter could be traced to Constantine. The type of leadership he adopted as a military commander depended mainly on his personality traits; however, the warrior model he represented along with his directive style pointed towards an autocratic leadership that could also offer an explanation for the conflicts' origins. The King had to identify threats that could affect the accomplishment of the vision or the future of his troops and used lawful authority over his subordinates. As military leader in a long war period when the victory in continuous and upcoming battles was highly dependent on the soldiers' condition, he was expected to demonstrate both punishment and care for them. Apart of their respect for authority, the subordinates were sensing their leaders' concern so they did all they could to meet his expectations. The above interaction indicates that in the present case study the two styles of transformational and transactional leadership are not opposite ends of a single dimension but positively correlated ones.

The related literature illustrates that groups with two appointed or elected leaders are inherently likely to generate conflicts, which are obviously negatively related to the decision-making leadership behavior. Conflicts between leaders arise when there are mismatches among their levels of status and esteem, roles, influence, competence, personality, and expectations, whereas much of the tension is due to their differences in perception, attribution, and cognitive orientation. Role ambiguity is supposed to occur when leaders have not clearly defined roles or there is no clear definition of their task. In the present case study, although the roles and responsibilities were more than clear and it was evident who had the duty for the final decision, the peculiar situation of who had the real precedence as well as the confidence each one had for himself -- feeling proficient to decide -- generated the conflict. The Prime Minister and Minister of the Army should have been the one to decide about the Army and not the Chief of the Staff alone, but the perplexity occurred since the second happened to be the King, the head of the country.

The first disagreement between Venizelos and Constantine concerned the aims of the Army's operations. The Crown Prince insisted on the clear military aims, while Venizelos was more realistic and insisted on the political aims of the war. The harsh tone in the telegrams they exchanged regarding the army's direction towards Thessaloniki was the start of the conflict. Constantine kept on leading the Army in glorious victories increasing his popularity, so Venizelos sincerely congratulated him, to get a prompt and eager response. Meanwhile, some attitudes publicized in the bibliography, provide evidence for the stress in the relationship between the two men. With his succession to the throne Constantine was determined to direct the Greek foreign policy in person, retaining in parallel the command of the Army. The King did not hesitate to accuse Venizelos, even in public, for ignoring reality and sustain his deep belief for solutions coming via the weapons instead of the diplomats. On the

other hand the Prime Minister confessed that his efforts were often frustrated by the King and his officers. It is clear that both leaders' collaborators played a critical role in increasing the conflict, serving their personal ambitions. In that nationally-critical time, Venizelos submitted his resignation not estimating that a governmental crisis could easily erupt, or else his intention was just a tactical movement. On the contrary, the King responded calmly, demonstrating perseverance, so his withdrawal convinced for his patriotic sentiments. He ignored the event and this was interpreted as generosity. Even more, he confirmed that he expected from the Prime Minister to win benefits for Greece, he named him worthy of the country, and with a royal attitude he finally disarmed Venizelos. This attitude comes along with the mentioned literature which indicates that appointed leaders could achieve agreements and solutions more easily and with less conflict than elected leaders in the same circumstances. Moreover, emotional and a mix of emotional and task conflicts are harder to resolve than rational, cognitive conflicts, whereas the leaders' personality affects his rational and emotional feelings. It is rather evident that there were poor personal relations among the two leaders. For reasons of pragmatism the Royal family used to support Venizelos, while he in turn earned the favor with politically-correct decisions when needed. Good faith for cooperation was not apparent and the personal assessment was at the level of acquiescence.

Conditions that deal with, resolve or reduce conflicts have been recognized as of particular importance in leadership, as well as personality differences in reactions towards it. Leaders are expected to manage conflict with obliging, and compromising efforts, move from a competitive to a cooperative stance and convert the conflict from a win-lose to a problem-solving situation from which both parties can emerge as "winners." The ways of dealing with conflicts include direction, resistance, adapting, accommodating, and yielding. The resolution depends on a diagnosis of the circumstances and the intention to be firm or flexible, as well as on how involved a party in the conflict wanted to be in the resolution. As the literature points out, transformational leaders may convert conflicts into developmental challenges, so if the two leaders can work together and resolve their potential disagreements, stressful situations can be converted to steady circumstances.

The conflict under analysis did not result in a catastrophe at the crucial moment, since both the leaders made a step back, showing self control and flexibility. Only when the breaking point was reached, necessary concessions saved the situation. The tension was obvious; however, positive parameters as the victories in the battlefield and the diplomatic support of the Great Powers prevented the menace of a breakdown. A win-win compromise that averted the crisis, kept a conventional peace environment, led the country to a great victory, and nominated them charismatic leaders. The leaders displayed complete confidence in the accuracy of their positions as well as in their capabilities. Their strong referent power proved ideal to provide concise and radical solutions. Furthermore their elevated self-esteem helped them to avoid defensiveness in the interpersonal situations and to maintain the confidence that their subordinates had in them. The positive traits of their characters, their transformational principles, their experience and cleverness to estimate the situation, and make a step back at the crucial point after all, transformed the conflicts into constructive, profitable resolutions for the country. On the other hand, the impact of all the conflict situations during the Balkan Wars period could not but work additionally, creating an atmosphere in flux; the existing crisis in the relationship between Constantine and

Venizelos reached its height over Greece's role in World War I, few years later, when the paths of the two men were separated, their relation came to a definitive end, and the country to a National Schism.

## Appendices

### 1. First Balkan War: Telegrams regarding the liberation of Thessaloniki

#### 1.1 (HAGS/AHD 1988, p.64)

*To the Chief of Thessaly Army*

*... I wait to be informed of the further direction which the advance of the Thessaly Army will take. I only request you have in mind that important political reasons demand hasty arrival at Thessaloniki...*

*Athens, 12-X-1912, 22:20  
Venizelos*

#### 1.2 (HAGS/AHD 1988, p.64)

*To the Chief of the Army, His Highness Crown Prince*

*... I am of the opinion that we have to intensify our actions as far as possible in order for Thessaloniki to be seized as promptly as possible, so as our efforts will not occur much later than those of the allied armies...*

*Athens, 12-X-1912, 15:35  
Koromilas (Minister of Foreign Affairs)*

#### 1.3 (HAGS/AHD 1988, p.67)

*Servia, 13-X-1912  
To the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Athens*

*We were informed with pleasure of the successes of the Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin Armies. Our advance to Kozani... in Elassona... Sarantaporo... is an achievement of the Hellenic Army, which demanded the entire strength of its forces worthy of honor of any Army, a fact which should not be overlooked or underestimated. I will continue with this strength of forces to seek the destruction of the enemy based on the plan that I worked out and of which the objective **I am the only competent and responsible to arrange.***

*I kindly request you **not try to influence** the direction of the operations.  
Constantine*

#### 1.4 (HAGS/AHD 1988, p.113)

*Athens, 24-X-12, 19:00. To His Majesty the King, Veria*

*I have the honor to inform Your Majesty of the telegram, which I am sending to the Chief of Army Thessaly and is as follows:*

*To Thessaly Army Headquarters - Since the Battle of Giannitsa you have not reported anything towards the Ministry on your further military operations, even those of the V Division. However, since the Battle of Giannitsa four entire days have passed. This*

*silence and the **complete ignorance** which comes as a result of the Government and the nation as regards the fate of the Army is in fact extraordinary.*  
Venizelos

**1.5 (HAGS/AHD 1988, p.115)**

*I wonder at your decision to remain at Vathylakkos, disobeying my definite order and, thus, perturbing the array of the army a day before the battle. As it seems, you have not realized the situation, or the responsibility, which you assume. **Go over immediately, as I have assigned you through my order.***

*Topsin (Gefyra) 25-X-1912, 15:30  
Constantine*

**1.6 (HAGS/AHD archive, F.1907/D/43 no 775)**

*To the Chief of Army  
You are instructed to accept the surrender of Thessaloniki offered to you and to enter into it without any delay. **I appoint you responsible for any delay even momentarily.**  
Athens, 27-X-12, 02:30  
Prime Minister Venizelos*

**1.7 (HAGS/AHD archive, F.1907/D/43 no 777)**

***I am fully conscious of the responsibility I have** and I request from now on not to be reminded of it for any case. Whether I was obliged or not to accept the surrender of Thessaloniki, I was the only one responsible to judge being in place and imposing the terms. The result achieved is the proof.*  
Constantine

**2. Second Balkan War: Telegrams regarding the signing of an armistice**

**2.1 (HAGS/AHD 1992b, p.417)**

*Athens 10-7-13. His Majesty the King, General Headquarters*

*... The issue of armistice is definitely, for the time being at least, **purely military** and therefore it is up to Your Majesty to notify me of your decisions thereupon.*

*Prime Minister Venizelos*

**2.2 (HAGS/AHD 1992b, p.417-418)**

*Prime Minister, Athens.*

*... Finally, please tell the Ambassador of Russia that **under no circumstances do I accept armistice.** Should Bulgaria consent to sign preliminary peace on the battlefield, accepting my conditions, then I shall accept immediate armistice.*

*Livounovo, 10-7-13, 15:00*

*King Constantine*

### 2.3 (HAGS/AHD 1992b, p. 418)

*Athens 11-7-13. His Majesty the King, General Headquarters*

... However, **I cannot but protest** over the perception that we seek to suffocate Bulgaria since we aim at nothing else than securing the equilibrium and we simply refuse to be deceived by Bulgaria. The thoughts of the Ministerial Cabinet shall be conveyed to Your Majesty by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

*Prime Minister Venizelos*

### 2.4 (HAGS/AHD 1992b, p. 419)

*Prime Minister, Athens*

... For Heaven's sake, see to it that the interference of the Great Powers is avoided. **I wish to achieve the signing of preliminary peace on the battlefield**; so to speak, thereby we will impose our conditions upon Bulgaria. This is the reason why I insist on the continuation of hostilities... To sum up, let us accept the Romanian proposal, but not armistice before preliminary peace is signed, and kindly but firmly put the Ambassadors at a distance. Any other action would be suicide.

*Livounovo, 11-7-13, 19:45*

*Constantine*

### 2.5 (HAGS/AHD, F.1905/B/74, translated in Gardikas 1995, p. 237)

...Since as I hope, Your Majesty will acknowledge that the military atmosphere in which He lives is entirely different from the atmosphere in which we, who are charged with the peace negotiations, live in Bucharest, this is a sufficient explanation of **our different conceptions of the manner of conducting the negotiations**. I firmly believe that, since we possess the authorization of Your Majesty concerning the extent of possible concessions, the political atmosphere of Bucharest is the one most suitable to determine the manner of conducting the negotiations. If Your Majesty disagrees, I fulfil an essential duty in respectfully drawing Your Majesty's attention to the fact that the force of arms alone does not always impose the peace terms...I will, in any case, suspend all further negotiations until Your Majesty consents to answer urgently the present telegram, either authorizing me to anew to conclude peace under the best terms I can obtain...

### 2.6 (HAGS/AHD 1992b, p.296-297)

*Prime Minister Venizelos, Bucharest*

**I thank you** for the announcement of the signing for peace. The Lord abundantly blessed our endeavours. In the name of the Nation and myself, I express my royal thanks. A new and glorified era is opening before us and as an indication of my gratitude and my respect I hereby bestow on you the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Sotiros.

*Your Country thanks you.*

*Livounovo, 25-7-13  
Constantine*

**3. Complimenting telegrams**

**3.1 (HAGS/AHD 1992b, p.120)**

*21-6-13, 12:00, His Royal Highness, Baltza*

*I am happy to present to Your Royal Highness my reverential congratulations for this new triumph of the Army.*

*Prime Minister Venizelos*

**3.2 (HAGS/AHD 1992b, p.121)**

*The Prime Minister, Athens*

*I thank you with all my heart. I am proud to be commanding this Army, in whose hands the Nation can easily place its future.*

*21-6-13, 16:00*

*General Headquarters, Constantine*

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## 4. Slovak Soldiers on the Frontlines in World War I

by

**Peter Chorvát and Miloslav Čaplovič**

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### Abstract

The present study deals with the problem of deployment of Slovak soldiers on the frontlines in World War I (1914 – 1918). Authors state that Slovak soldiers represented 3.6 percent of the total sum of Austro-Hungarian Army in peacetime. After the outbreak of the “Great War” all the major units of the 5th and 6th Austro-Hungarian Corps, recruiting soldiers from Slovak territory, were in the initial stages of the above-mentioned conflict deployed against Russia. During these first engagements Slovaks fought heroically and many times showed their patriotism and loyalty to the Habsburg Empire. In accordance with the Slovak participation in the combat operations within the Austro-Hungarian army authors mention also other frontlines and battles as well. From the territory of today’s Slovakia, approximately 400,000 soldiers were recruited into the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I. In respect of losses, it is said that about 60,000 have fallen and more than 61,000 permanently crippled. During the First World War Slovaks were not fighting only in the Austro-Hungarian Army but also in the Czechoslovak Legions in Russia, Serbia, France and Italy and to this issue authors also pay the relevant attention.

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During the last two decades, the tendency to explore the issue of military participation of Slovaks in the battles and campaigns of World War I has been increasing. This statement applies not only to professional historians but also to the general public. Therefore, the undoubtedly positive results of this interaction include but are not limited to conferences with various themes, exhibitions, websites, and new publications. Other activities focusing on the renewal of military cemeteries from the period of the “Great” war in Slovakia are of extraordinary importance, as well as other events specifically commemorating or embodying this period.

If one focuses on the Slovak military historiography before 1989, one may state that in terms of interpreting this issue, it was primarily monitoring only several thematic areas. These included the questions of armed resistance of Slovaks against the Austro-

Hungarian Monarchy, as well as social unrest and the impact of the 1917 Russian October Revolution on the situation in the Danube Monarchy were being examined in details.<sup>1</sup> Some historical events have been interpreted tendentiously or processed only to minimum extent (e.g., significance of the territory of today's Slovakia for military operations, participation of Slovaks in combat operations within the Austro-Hungarian Army, or on the contrary, in the Czechoslovak external troops -- Legions, etc.).

The change of the political regime in 1989, which has brought about a plurality of opinions even in historiography, has had a decisive influence on bringing some of the previously taboo or little-recognized topics into the historians' center of attention.

This paper is aimed at exploring the basic questions connected with the military participation of Slovaks on the frontlines of World War I. In doing so, we realize that due to the limited space it is only possible to provide an overview of the issue.

In introduction, it is necessary to mention that according to the 1910 population census, approximately 2 million Slovaks were living in Hungary.<sup>2</sup> This was directly related to the fact that Slovak soldiers represented 3.6 percent of the total strength of Austro-Hungarian Army in peacetime. Czechs amounted to 13 percent. The aforementioned percentage of Slovaks consisted mainly of recruits subject to compulsory military service. The situation was fundamentally different concerning the active and reserve officers. According to 1911 statistics, only one of the 1,000 active officers claimed to be of Slovak nationality, whereas 52 of them claimed to be Czechs. From the same number of reserve officers, there was again only one Slovak compared to 106 Czechs.<sup>3</sup>

Considering individual branches of the Austro-Hungarian Army in peacetime, Slovak soldiers were mostly present in Artillery (6 percent), Infantry (5 percent) and in various service support units (3-7 percent). Their presence was relatively low in Cavalry units (1 percent).<sup>4</sup> For example, even though their participation in the Austro-Hungarian military navy is marginal with reference to the whole (about 0.4 percent),

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<sup>1</sup> Ľudovít Holotík, *Sociálne a národné hnutie na Slovensku od Októbrovej revolúcie do vzniku československého štátu* (Dokumenty) [Social and National Movement in Slovakia from the October Revolution until the Formation of Czechoslovakia (Documents)] (Bratislava: Veda, 1979); Ľudovít Holotík, *Októbrová revolúcia a národnoslobodzovacie hnutie na Slovensku v rokoch 1917-1918* [October Revolution and National Liberation Movement in Slovakia 1917-1918] (Bratislava: SAV, 1958); and Marián Hronský, *Vzbura slovenských vojakov v Kráľovej* [Rebellion of Slovak Soldiers in Kragujevac] (Martin: Osveta, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> For more details see: *Slovensko, v 20. storočí, Prvý zväzok, Na začiatku storočia 1901-1914* [Slovakia in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Volume One, Beginning of the Century 1901-1914] (Bratislava: Veda 2004), 45.

<sup>3</sup> For more details about nationality issues in the Austro-Hungarian Army with focus on Slovaks see: Miloslav Čaplovič, „Československé vzťahy v armáde 1918-1939, Význam československej brannej moci pre slovakizáciu Slovenska“ [Czechoslovakian Relationships in the Czechoslovak Army 1918-1939, Significance of Czechoslovakian Armed Forces for the Slovakization of Slovakia], *Československá historická ročenka* 14 (2009): 43-61; Vojtech Dangl, „Národnostná problematika v rakúsko-uhorskej armáde a Slováci“ [Nationality Issues in the Austro-Hungarian Army and Slovak Reactions (1900-1914)], *Československý časopis historický* 24, (1976): 851-882; and Marián Hronský, Anna Krivá, and Miloslav Čaplovič, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska, IV, Zväzok, 1914-1939* [Military History of Slovakia, Volume IV, 1914- 1939] (Bratislava: MO SR, 1996), 26-27.

<sup>4</sup> Hronský, Krivá, and Čaplovič, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska*, 26.

for the Slovak military historiography, even these individual military persons are interesting.<sup>5</sup>

From the specific military infantry units of the joint Austro-Hungarian Army with the largest population of Slovaks in 1914, it is necessary to mention the 71<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment with headquarters and seat of the Complementary District in Trenčín, composed of 85 percent Slovaks. This is a military unit that has become a symbol of the commitment of Slovaks on the World War I frontlines.<sup>6</sup>

With minor variations, the territory of today's Slovakia belonged under territorial administration of two corps of the Austro-Hungarian Army. In particular, this was the V Corps in Bratislava and VI Corps in Košice.

As far as the Slovak participation is concerned, the general mobilization of the Austro-Hungarian Army, declared on 31 July 1914, took place without any major problems. This was especially due to strong religiosity of the population of the countryside, as well as loyalty and devotion of Slovaks to the Habsburg dynasty. After the beginning of hostilities, the larger "Slovak" units of both aforementioned corps of the Austro-Hungarian Army were deployed on the Russian front.

The battles at Komarów and Kraśnik, at the turn of August and September 1914, proved that Slovaks within the Austro-Hungarian Army were brave, capable soldiers while being unpretentious at the same time. Their combat successes in the first stage of the War were reflected not only in the Slovak, but also in the Hungarian and Austrian press. For example, the magazine *Die Neue Zeitung* in particular noted that "... the big battle at Komarów was decided by Slovaks, led by the old knight, General Borojević."<sup>7</sup> In 1915, the Hungarian *Alkotmány* magazine again stated that "... the Slovak soldier coming from peasant setting is unconquerable. By their braveness, strict discipline and honesty, the Slovaks became elite troops suitable not only for offense but are also excellent for defense considering their national character."<sup>8</sup> The Chief of the General Staff, Conrad von Hötzendorf, in one of his reports for the governor of 17 December 1915 on Slovaks, similarly stated that "... they were fighting heroically and often displayed enthusiastic thinking, patriotism and loyalty to the dynasty."<sup>9</sup>

On the issue of the deployment of Slovaks in the first year of the War, it may be stated that they were considered by Austrian military intelligence to be the most reliable nationality of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy on the frontline. Therefore, especially in the first years of the War, a tendency appeared in the Slovak national and political circles, trying to exploit the political capital from the recognized engagement

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<sup>5</sup> René Grégr, „O zastoupení Slováků v c. a k. námořnictvu“ [On Participation of Slovaks in the Imperial and Royal Navy] *Vojenská historie* 4, no. 3 (1999): 93-95.

<sup>6</sup> Petr Švanda, *Stručná historie 71. pěšího pluku a jeho účast na bojiskách prvej svetovej vojny* [Brief History of the 71<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment and its Participation on the Battlefields of World War I] (Trenčín: Kultúrne a metodické centrum OS SR, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> *Die Neue Zeitung*, 6 September 1914, 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Alkotmány*, 10 April 1915, 10.

<sup>9</sup> František Martinek, „Conrad z Hötzenborfu o Slovákoch“ [„Conrad von Hötzenborf on Slovaks“], *Průdy* 8, no. 12 (1928): 494-495.

of Slovak soldiers on the frontline.<sup>10</sup> Specifically, the question was that the Slovak nation should obtain certain concessions from the Budapest government in the national, social, and language area in return for their loyal service for the homeland and dynasty.

In the context of the years 1914-1915, we can mention that the territory of today's Slovakia became, even if for a relatively short time, the direct battlefield of World War I. Immediate frontline operations in the region of today's northeastern Slovakia were taking place from November 1914 to May 1915.<sup>11</sup> As a result of these battles, more than 37,000 soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and German armies were killed or died later as a result of wounds, and were buried in one of the 236 war cemeteries.<sup>12</sup>

Only slightly fewer Slovaks in the Austro-Hungarian Army were sent in the first two years of the War to the Serbian and Italian frontlines than to the Russian front. This is related also, but not limited to, the fact that a majority of the Austro-Hungarian Army units with Slovaks soldiers was, up until 1916, deployed on the Russian frontline.

In 1916, after the outbreak of war with Romania, some of the Austro-Hungarian units containing Slovak soldiers were transferred to this theater of operations. From 1917 until the end of World War I, their engagement on the Italian front has come to the fore. Slovaks, however, serving in various units of the joint army, Hungarian Home Guard Army (*honvédség*) and other units of the Austro-Hungarian Army, also served on the Western Front, Albanian frontline, and in Palestine and some other "exotic" areas. In spite of the fact that there was a relatively large number of Slovaks who had only recently left their home villages for the first time, one may suppose that no one was envious about this type of "traveling."

As already mentioned above, especially in the first two years of World War I, the frontline combat service of Slovaks was mainly rated positively. In the final stage, 1917-1918, the situation was different to a certain extent. This was influenced mostly by the rapidly deteriorating army supply situation, as well as exhausting battle operations, bad economic conditions, and other factors. These circumstances also provoked riots in the Austro-Hungarian Army, in which the Slovaks participated.

The aforementioned 71<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment is a model example. In 1914, it distinguished itself in the battles at Krašník, Polichno, and in front of Lublin, which was very positively valued by its then commander, Colonel Zikmund Prey.<sup>13</sup> Four years later -- in the evening of 2 June 1918 -- a riot of the replacement battalion of this regiment erupted in the Serbian Kragujevac. This rebellion was caused by various reasons. On the one hand, it was the return of soldiers from Russian imprisonment in the spring of 1918, imbued with revolutionary ideas, who were assigned to the

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<sup>10</sup> See: Marián Hronský, „Pohyb východného frontu (august 1914-máj 1915) a jeho dosah a ohlas na Slovensku“ [Movement of Eastern Front (August 1914-May 1915) and its Impact and Response in Slovakia], *Vojenská história* 1 (1997): 29.

<sup>11</sup> For more details see: Martin Drobnák, Matúš Korba, and Radoslav Turík, *Prvá svetová vojna - Boje v Karpatoch* [World War I -- Battles in Carpathians] (Humenné: Redos, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Martin Drobnák, Matúš Korba, and Radoslav Turík, *Mementá prvej svetovej vojny* [Mementos of World War I] (Humenné: Redos, 2008), 7.

<sup>13</sup> Krajčan, 24 December 1914, 4.

replacement battalion. Further, there was a deteriorating supply situation in the replacement battalion itself, national polarity between the officers and enlisted soldiers, challenging training with only the prospect of deploying into combat, etc. The riot took place spontaneously, and interestingly, the local civilian Serbian population did not get involved. The next morning, additional units, even after a demonstrative artillery firing, suppressed the rebellion. Based on the court martial verdicts, 44 participants of this military riot were executed on 8 June 1918 in Kragujevac at the local firing range.<sup>14</sup> Other units containing Slovaks also rioted the same year, but the riots were smaller.

Defectors constituted a special segment within the resistance against the Austro-Hungarian armed forces, hiding in various places in municipal as well as rural areas. Whereas until September 1918, the names of military persons arbitrarily deserting the garrison used to be regularly listed in the daily orders of replacement units, after October 1918, the military authorities in the zone of the interior had practically given up on this activity. By then, desertions within replacement units acquired a mass character. This was also the reason why several military garrisons in the territory of today's Slovakia ceased to exist by the end of September 1918. (The desertion phenomenon -- so called "Green Cadres" -- has also found its place in the post-World War I Slovak fiction.)

During the last Austro-Hungarian attack at Piava, the Austro-Hungarian Army again deployed several units with a large percentage of Slovaks to fight. Among other units, also the aforementioned 71<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment fought there. In late October 1918, on the Italian front, several of these units, including Slovaks, refused to fight. As was the case in the zone of interior, the process of gradual disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Army had also begun also on the front. For example, on 24 October 1918, the 25<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the joint army from Lučenec refused to make a counterattack in the Mont Sisemol locality. The soldiers requested to return back home and refused to "discuss" further battle deployment. A few days later, they left the frontline arbitrarily.<sup>15</sup> Over the next several days, the Italian front fell apart. After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Army, Slovak and other soldiers started to return to their homes. During this return, many of them learned about the Czechoslovak Republic being declared in Prague on 28 October 1918.

During World War I, Slovaks were fighting not only in the Austro-Hungarian Army. As early as 1914, the Czechoslovak external resistance gradually started to form. The Czechoslovak foreign troops -- Legions -- successively became its armed platform.<sup>16</sup>

The leaders of external resistance -- Slovak Milan Rastislav Štefánik and Czechs Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and Edvard Beneš -- had been aware of the importance of separate troops since the beginning of their foreign action aimed at creating the common state of Czechs and Slovaks. The troops were meant to fight against the Central Powers together with the Alliance armies.

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<sup>14</sup> See: Marián Hronský, *Vzbura slovenských vojakov v Kragujevci* [Rebellion of Slovak Soldiers in Kragujevac] (Martin: Osveta, 1982).

<sup>15</sup> Hronský, Krivá, and Čaplovič, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska*, 89.

<sup>16</sup> For more details about the issue of Czechoslovak Legions in general, see Karel Pichlík, *Bohumil Klípa and Jitka Zabloudilová, Českoslovenští legionáři 1914-1920* [Czechoslovak Legionaries, 1914-1920] (Praha: Mladá fronta, 1996).

However, the options of recruiting volunteers who were willing to fight for the idea of a future Czechoslovakia were relatively complicated. On the one hand, the original Austro-Hungarian prisoners imprisoned in Russia, Serbia, France, Italy, or Romania should have been eligible. Further, the numbers of the external army could have been strengthened also by the expatriates living, for example, in the United States of America.

Therefore, the establishment of the Czechoslovak external troops was difficult, especially in terms of staffing. At first, practically formal units were created, operating as a part of the French and Russian Army. This was in particular the “Nazdar” platoon, fighting within the French Army and “Česká družina” (“the Czech Cohort”) -- a part of the Russian Army.

In 1915, the development of Czechoslovak resistance action was significantly influenced by the signing of the Cleveland Agreement between the leaders of American Slovaks and Czechs. This agreement required the confederation of the Czech and Slovak nations into a federal union of states. Another agreement between the American Slovaks and Czechs, dealing with the issue of future constitutional arrangement of these two nations, was the Pittsburgh Agreement of 1918.<sup>17</sup>

During World War I, representatives of the Czechoslovak external resistance managed to organize Czechoslovak Legions in Russia, Serbia, France, and Italy. There were approximately 71,000 Czechoslovak legionaries in Russia, about 20,000 in Italy, and about 10,000 in France.<sup>18</sup> Whereas in 1914, the Czechoslovak external troops were only represented by two units at the level of a platoon or battalion, by 1918 they had grown to several divisions numbering more than 100,000 “active bayonets.”

Nevertheless, the highest number of Slovaks served in the Czechoslovak Legions in Russia, 5,000 on average. About 600 Slovaks served in the Czechoslovak Legions in Italy, whereas about 1,600 served in France. However, the shortage of Slovak officers was also obvious in the Czechoslovak Legions (approximately 120).<sup>19</sup> In general, it may be stated that this situation continued in the Czechoslovak armed forces in 1918-1939.

The battle at Ukrainian Zborov on 2 July 1917 became the symbol of engagement of the Czechoslovak Legions in Russia. On the issue of engagement of the Czechoslovak legionaries in Russia or later in the Soviet Russia, they were in very complicated situation in 1918. After World War I, many of the Czechoslovak legionaries considered their service as finished and wanted to be quickly repatriated to the Czechoslovak Republic. They perceived any further stay in Russia, when the civil war was fully sparked there, as redundant.

The process of return of Czechoslovak Legions from Russia to their homeland was

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<sup>17</sup> For more details about the texts of both agreements see: *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov*, XI b, *Slováci v prvej svetovej vojne 1914-1918* [Sources on the History of Slovakia and Slovaks, XI b, Slovaks in World War I, 1914-1918] (Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum, 2010), 81-82, 248-249.

<sup>18</sup> Miloslav Čaplovič, „Československé vzťahy v armáde, 1918-1939,“ 44.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

relatively complicated. The last marine transports of legionaries were provided from Vladivostok only in 1920. Moreover, several legionaries – Slovaks – had by then found their spouses in Russia.

However, Slovaks wearing the Czechoslovak Legions uniforms also participated in battles on the Italian front, for example at the aforementioned Piava, as well as on the French front. Interestingly, during their deployment on several front-line sectors, there were situations when they were fighting against their own compatriots in the Austro-Hungarian Army uniforms.

From among the most famous Slovaks -- members of the Czechoslovak Legions -- special attention should be paid to, for example, Vladimír Svetozár Hurban, Ján Geryk, Vladimír Daxner, Janko Jesenský, Jozef Gregor Tajovský, Štefan Osuský, Ján Papánek, Rudolf Gábriš.

The figures mentioned above in general indicate a lower number of Slovaks and Czechs wearing uniforms of Czechoslovak Legions compared to their participation in the Austro-Hungarian Army. This was also partially caused by the fact that in case of imprisonment by the Austro-Hungarian Army, the legionaries were executed as traitors.

After the Czechoslovak Republic was established in 1918, the attention of society as well as media focused on the legionaries. Moreover, in the new state in 1918-1939, they were enjoying an extraordinary respect of the society and various benefits.

From the territory of today's Slovakia, approximately 400,000 soldiers were recruited into the Austro-Hungarian Army during World War I. In respect of losses, it is said that about 60,000 were killed and more than 61,000 permanently crippled.

During the First World War Slovaks wore the uniform of the Austro-Hungarian Army and to a lesser extent that of the Czechoslovak Legions. Especially in the first years of the "Great" War, they were fighting within the Austro-Hungarian Army bravely and with an admirable verve. In the end, the overall exhaustion was manifested also among Slovak soldiers, expressed through military rebellions, desertions, and refusal to obey orders. Those Slovak soldiers who were recruited into the Austro-Hungarian Army during the war and survived combat service returned to the new state -- Czechoslovak Republic -- after the War ended. Those, who had not become members of the Czechoslovak Legions, were at least comforted by the fact that they survived the War.

In conclusion, it can be added that due to the changes at the end of World War I and the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as well as the geographical, administrative, and political term of Slovakia, which had not existed before, emerged for the first time in history. Compared to the previous period, also the conditions of the Slovak nation's existence had diametrically improved in the constituted Czechoslovak Republic.

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## 5.

# Institutional Development of Military History Research in Serbia from 1876 to the Present

by  
Dalibor Denda

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### Abstract

This paper covers the development of Military History Research Institutions in Serbia from the creation of the History Department inside the Main General Staff in 1876 to today. The author, using archival sources and secondary literature, has shown the purposes for which was used Military History in Serbia/Yugoslavia within the defense establishment. The use of history for military education, doctrinal change, increasing moral, and for propaganda in different periods of modern Serbian history is also highlighted.

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Military history research in Serbia within the defense establishment has a very long tradition. An academic (scientific) approach to the study of military science was first conceived in 1865 by then-First Lieutenant Army Jovan Dragašević of the Serbian. At the time Dragašević taught history and geography at the Artillery School, the first Serbian institution for education and training of military officers of all branches of the military, which was established in 1850. He proposed to the minister of the army the establishment of special division for military history within the Army Ministry with the purpose of collecting the sources to write war histories. Dragašević's proposal included two additional papers. One of them dealt with the methods of collecting the sources for Serbian war history, and the second with the techniques for collecting the sources and documents for writing contemporary Serbian war history.<sup>1</sup> Dragašević's proposals

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<sup>1</sup> Славко Вукчевић, Драган Ненезић, *Војноисторијски институт Војске Југославије* [Slavko Vukčević and Dragan Nenezić, *Military History Institute of Yugoslav Armed Forces*] (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski institut, 2000), 5.

became reality some ten years later, when on 5 February 1876 the Main General Staff of the Serbian Army was established. The Military History Office was formed as the third department of the General Staff. The Office started to function after the Serbian-Turkish Wars, 1876-1878, and Jovan Dragašević was assigned as its director with the rank of lieutenant colonel. At its creation, the Military History Office consisted of the Military Archives, Library of Main General Staff with three officers posted to it. Its first task was to collect the sources and documents related to the last two Serbian-Turkish wars. In 1878, the Military Museum was also established, another important military history institution. Its main task was to collect material artifacts referring to the military history of the Serbian people. The Museum conducted its first exhibition in 1904 during the celebration of the coronation of recently-elected Serbian King Peter the 1<sup>st</sup> Karadjordjević.

Beginning in 1884, the Serbian Military History Office started to work on preparations for writing the official history of Serbian-Turkish wars, 1876-1878. The main publication of the Office was a periodic review for military science, history, and literature named *Ratnik* ("The Warrior"). *Ratnik* was published for the first time in January 1879 and from then on issued monthly during peace-time periods. It was the main and the most popular military review among the officers of the Serbian and Royal Yugoslav Army. The last issue of this review was published in March 1941. From 1879 to 1914 the main military history articles published in the *Ratnik* review were those referring to the experiences from the Serbian-Turkish wars, 1876-1878, and the Serbian-Bulgarian War of 1885-1886. One could also find there the compilations and translated articles from the German, Austrian, French, and Russian periodicals referring to the Napoleonic and Crimean wars, Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars from 1866 and 1871, Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, and the Russo-Japanese war, 1905. The Military History Office managed to prepare the sources for writing the official history of the above-mentioned Serbian wars, but its staff did not finish this project before the era of Balkan wars and World War I, 1912-1920. Before the First World War, the Office managed to publish collections of documents such as *Sources for writing history of Serbian-Turkish war 1876* (1910), *Sources for writing history of uprisings and wars 1875-1878* (1911), and *Sources for writing history of Serbian-Turkish war 1876-1878* (1914).<sup>2</sup>

After WWI ended, the Military History Office, as an element of the General Staff of the Royal Yugoslav Army, continued its activities collecting and preparing archival sources and memoirs for writing the history of Serbian-Turkish, Serbian-Bulgarian, and First and Second Balkan Wars, and for producing the official Serbian history of WWI. One of the Office's tasks was also the translation of the historical articles issued abroad that were of relevance to the Yugoslav state and its Army. The staff of the Military History Office was also expected to respond to public inquiries regarding perceptions of Serbian war efforts and negative interpretations of the role of Serbian Army and Government during the Balkan Wars and WWI. At that time there were 23 employees in the Office, including 9

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<sup>2</sup> Драган Ненезић, "Војноисторијски институт 1876-2006 (поводом 130.-то годишњице)," рад у рукопису [Dragan Nenezić, Military History Institute 1876- 2006 (on the occasion of 130 anniversary)] (Manuscript), 3.

retired generals of the pre-revolutionary Russian Imperial Army who worked on major historical projects.<sup>3</sup> Most of the staff appointed to the positions within the Office were highly-educated General Staff Officers, proficient in at least one or two foreign languages (mostly German, French, Russian, or Italian) and had fought in WWI. The Military History Office's staff managed to process all archival records from the 1912-1918 war periods by the end of 1935. From 1924 to 1939 some 32 volumes of the official war history under the title "Serbia's Great War for liberation and unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" were published in Serbian, German, and French.<sup>4</sup>

In the eve of WWII new organizational changes were made in the Military History Office. By order of the council of royal regents issued on 6 March 1940, the Military History Institute, consisting of the previous Military History Office (Research Department and Military Archive) and Military Museum was established as an institution directly subordinate to the Main General Staff. The main tasks of the Institute were collecting the documents and material sources pertaining to the Military History of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and writing the relevant war histories.

During WWII, in which Yugoslavia was involved from 1941 to 1945, the Military History Institute stopped its work.<sup>5</sup> Most of the records of the Royal Yugoslav Army having operational use were captured by the Nazis and sent in Berlin and all historical documents sent to Vienna. Nazis also confiscated some museum items.

After WWII and the Communist takeover of Yugoslavia, research efforts of the Military History became a task of the newly-established Office for Military History and Lessons Learned within the Main General Staff of Yugoslav Army. This Office also included the Military Archive. After June 1946, this Office was known as the Historical Institute of the Yugoslav Army. Its first chiefs were Generals Fyodor Machin and Milan Zelenika. A new reorganization took place in spring 1947. The institute was renamed as the Military Scientific and Publishing Institute. It consisted of four departments, the Military Publishing House, Military Museum, and the Central Military Library. Department I was in charge of periodicals; II for the People's Liberation War, 1941-1945; III for war history; and IV for the military political, and popular library. The Institute's main tasks were issuing the military periodicals for all the branches of Yugoslav Army; preparation of propaganda brochures and books; collecting, preserving, and processing the documents from the period of the People's Liberation War; educating the professional staff and writing the history of the People's Liberation War and earlier national military history.

During spring 1949, the name of the Institute was changed again and from then on the Institution was known as the Military History Institute of Yugoslav (People's) Army. Military History Institute consisted of two research departments, Military Archive and the

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<sup>3</sup> Military Archive Belgrade, Collection № 17, Box. 123, Folder 3, registration number 9. Report of the Head of Military History Office to the Chief of the Main General Staff, 27 June 1933.

<sup>4</sup> Vukčević and Nenezić (2000), 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 18-19.

Library.<sup>6</sup> This structure basically did not change for more than 50 years. At the beginning, the Institute worked mostly as an archival institution, collecting and processing documents from WWII and supplying the Ministry of National Defense with requested data. The Institute played a propaganda role in favor of the Communist regime, too. Its first publication attempted to accuse Yugoslav Royalist Movement leader General Draža Mihajlović for collaboration with the enemy and treason during WWII (*Chetnik's treason in the lights of Documents*, Belgrade, 1945).

After the Tito-Stalin split in 1948 when Yugoslavia broke its ties with the USSR and its allies, the Institute started to work on several new military history projects, such as a 1941 Chronology of the People's Liberation War in Yugoslavia, joint operations of YPLA and Red Army for the liberation of Belgrade and Serbia, operations of YPLA towards the West after the breakthrough on the Syrmia front, the involvement of Bulgarian occupation troops in Yugoslavia, and Bulgarian Communist troops during the liberation of Macedonia and Serbia. The main attempt of all these projects was to deny Soviet accusations and to show, based on documentary evidence, that Yugoslav Partisans played the predominant role during the liberation battles in Yugoslavia territory. According to these studies, the Yugoslav revolution was conducted independently, without Soviet influence, and that the Yugoslav partisan units liberated more Yugoslav territories than the Red Army. These histories also tried to minimize the role of Bulgarian troops during the final liberation operations in Yugoslavia because of Bulgarian territorial and national aspirations towards parts of East Serbia and the Yugoslav Socialist Republic of Macedonia, supported by Soviet propaganda.<sup>7</sup>

The Institute continued publishing archival documents, too. Its main project from the period was an edition entitled *Collection of Documents from the People's Liberation War, 1941-1945*. The first volume was published in 1949, and by 1992, the Institute published some 174 Volumes of this series, containing some 35.000 documents with some 120,000 pages.<sup>8</sup> The second series was *April War, 1941* (2 volumes) was dedicated to the German attack on Yugoslavia in spring 1941. During the 1960s and 1970s, Yugoslav military historians and archivists conducted research abroad and collected copies of foreign records related to the situation in Yugoslavia from 1938 to 1945. Most of this documentation was from the National Archives in Washington D.C, the Archives of Comintern in Moscow, and the German Archives in Potsdam and Freiburg im Breisgau.<sup>9</sup> After WWII, the perceived value of military history research increased. From 1948 to 1953, concerns about an eventual Soviet attack started to rise within the Yugoslav leadership. The Yugoslav military leadership tried to study cases from recent Serbian military history concerning strategy. For the purpose of considering a potential attack

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<sup>6</sup> Ђорђе Станковић, Љубодраг Димић, *Историографија под надзором*, I, [Đorđe Stanković and Ljubodrag Dimić, *The Historiography under supervision*, Vol. I] (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1996), 266-267.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 269-272.

<sup>8</sup> Naučnoistraživačka i razvojna delatnost, II, *Razvoj oružanih snaga SFRJ*, ["Scientific research and development", Vol. II, *Development of the Armed Forces of Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*] (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1989), 339 – 341.

<sup>9</sup> Nenezić (Manuscript), 18.

directed towards the eastern and northern borders, Joseph Broz Tito used earlier reports of the Military History Office from the interwar period such as “Serbia’s Great War...” etc.<sup>10</sup> Soon after, however, Yugoslavia managed to find allies on the Western side of the “Iron Curtain,” receiving American military aid without having to join NATO.<sup>11</sup> The Korean War and Stalin’s death also made the threat of Soviet intervention less possible, but the main result was that the use of military history research for the needs of strategic matters was recognized by the Yugoslav military leadership.

One of the tasks of the Institute from that point was to conduct applied research of Partisan warfare in Yugoslavia to assist in creating a new Yugoslav military doctrine, with research documents and results being classified.<sup>12</sup> All projects connected with the development of new doctrine were classified. So, partisan warfare, from both the ideological and strategic perspectives, was the focus of research efforts. **At the time, there were many reasons for implementing a new doctrine based on the nation’s experience of guerrilla warfare. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 showed that the standing** conventional forces of a small country could not resist a surprise attack by a qualitatively and quantitatively superior aggressor, and the ongoing Vietnam War also confirmed that a small country could effectively defend itself using guerrilla tactics.

With the passing of the National Defense Law of 1969, Yugoslavia adopted a total war military doctrine inspired by the Yugoslav People’s Liberation War against the Nazi occupiers and their collaborators in the Second World War. The doctrine was named “Total National Defense” and experts from the Military History Institute gave their full contribution to its creation.<sup>13</sup> Although researching and writing about revolutionary warfare was a priority task of the Military History Institute, the best books written in the period of Socialist Yugoslavia, in a scholarly sense, were those covering earlier periods of national war history, such as operations of Serbian and Montenegrin troops in the First (3 volumes) and Second Balkan Wars (2 volumes), biographies of

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<sup>10</sup> Милан Терзић, „Извори војне стратегије Јосипа Броза Тита“, Војноисторијски гласник, 1 (2009):237-241 [Milan Terzić, "The Sources of Military Strategy of Joseph Broz Tito," *Military History Review* 1 (2009): 237-241].

<sup>11</sup> See more: Darko Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu (odnosi sa velikim silama 1949-1955)*, [Darko Bekić, *Yugoslavia during the Cold War (Relations with the Great Powers, 1949-1955)*] (Zagreb: Globus, 1988); Dragan Bogetić, *Jugoslavija i Zapad 1952-1955* [Dragan Bogetić, *Yugoslavia and the West, 1952-1955*] (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 2000); *Balkanski pakt 1953/1954 – Zbornik dokumenta* (urednik Milan Terzić), [The Balkan Pact, 1953/1954 – Collection of Documents (Ed. by Milan Terzić)] (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski institut, 2005); Ivan Laković, *Zapadna vojna pomoć Jugoslaviji, 1951-1958*, [Ivan Laković, *Western Military Aid to Yugoslavia, 1951-1958*] (Podgorica: Istorijski institut Crne Gore, 2006); *Balkanski pakt 1953/1954 – Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa* [The Balkan pact, 1953/1954 – Collection of Papers from the Scientific Conference (ed. by Dragan Bogetić, et al.) (Beograd: Institut za strategijska istraživanja, 2008); *Yugoslavia in Cold War – Collection of Articles* (Ed. by Aleksandar Životić) (Belgrade: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> *Scientific Research and Development* (1989), 341-344.

<sup>13</sup> See more in: *Strategija općenarodne obrane i društvene samozaštite SFRJ*, [Strategy of Total National Defence of SFRY] (Beograd: SSNO, 1987).

Serbian field marshals, books about operations on the Macedonian theater of operations in WWI, and others.<sup>14</sup>

The Institute had also its scholarly professional periodical. Beginning in 1950, *Vojnoistorijski glasnik* (*Military History Review*) has been published. Initially, the main mission of the *Review* was to research those instances from the Yugoslav People's Liberation War that were closely connected with the creation and development of Yugoslav (People's) Army and its operational history, to systematize the collected war experience from the past of all Yugoslav nations, and to evaluate critically Yugoslav and foreign publications referring to Yugoslav People's Liberation War and earlier military history of all Yugoslav nations.<sup>15</sup> The policies of the Editorial Board have changed several times since 1950, always towards achieving more freedom for academic work in the field of military history research, and more freedom interpreting the events from recent national military history, including the Yugoslav People's liberation war. This has been achieved since Tito's death, in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>16</sup> Today *Vojnoistorijski glasnik* journal is one of the oldest and most prominent historical periodicals in the scholastic community of Serbia and the former Yugoslavia. Published twice a year, it contains contributions and articles written by leading military historians from Serbia and abroad. For more than 60 years, some 2.369 articles, studies, and other contributions written by some 843 authors were published in the pages of this periodical.

The 1990s and early 2000s was a difficult period for normal scholarly work and the development of Military History Institute. From 1992 to 1998, the Institute was part of the Department for Information and counterpropaganda activities of the Main General Staff, and after that directly subordinated to the secretariat of the Ministry of Defense. The main characteristic of that period was that no decision makers were concerned about scholarly work in the field of military history and the necessity of maintaining qualified staff members in the Institute. In that period, heads of the Institute introduced a fully scholarly method of researching military history. The Institute continued its work in publishing archival sources, periodicals and books (such as a series about war crimes committed during WWII in Yugoslavia by all combatants, including the Partisan movement); relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union during WWII as a joint history project with Russian colleges, a book about the Italian occupation system in Yugoslavia, etc.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Nenezić, Manuscript, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Далибор Денда, „Радови о учешћу совјетских трупа у ослобођењу Југославије у часопису Војноисторијски гласник“, *Ослобођење Београда 1944. године – Зборник радова* (ур.Александар Животић) [Dalibor Denda, "Articles on Participation of Soviet Troops in the Struggles for Liberation of Yugoslavia Published in *Military History Review*," in *Liberation of Belgrade 1944 – Collection of Papers*, ed. Aleksandar Životić] (Belgrade: INIS, 2010), 535.

<sup>16</sup> Дмитар Тасић, Милан Милкић, „Уводна реч“, *Преглед садржаја Војноисторијског гласника 1950-2010*, [Dmitar Tasić and Miljan Milkić, "The Introduction," in *A Summary of the Contents of Military History Review, 1950-2010*] (Belgrade: Institut za strategijska istraživanja, 2011), 4-5; Denda (2010), 542-543.

<sup>17</sup> Nenezić (Manuscript), 20-24.

During the NATO campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999, the Ministry of Defense building, which contained the Institute together with the Military Archives, was badly damaged. Twenty-eight members of the staff of the Institute, led by Colonel Dr. Slavko Vukčević, managed to save all archival documents and microfilms and most of the historically-valuable books from the library.<sup>18</sup> The main victim of the NATO campaign was the photo laboratory of the Military Archives which was completely destroyed.<sup>19</sup>

The fall of Slobodan Milošević brought new challenges for the staff of the MHI. The main task for the Military Archives from that point was cooperation with the International Crimes Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia in Den Haag (The Hague). At the time the complete Serbian defense establishment was involved in a reform process. One of the advantages of the reforms for Serbian military historians was reestablishing cooperation with the international scholarly community. The first contacts were made with the German Military History Institute in 2003. Thereafter, reestablishing ties with Greek, Czech, Italian, and Bulgarian official military history institutions followed. The Military History Institute managed to organize an international conference on "The Balkan Pact, 1953/54," in 2005.<sup>20</sup> This conference was a good starting point that symbolically represented the return of the Serbian Military History Institute to the international military history community. Since 2008, Serbian military historians have benefitted greatly by the scholarly exchange of historical ideas and concepts in the international arena, and by their membership in the Conflict Studies Working Group of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Military Academies and Security Studies Institutes.

New organizational changes were introduced in 2006. The Military History Institute was merged with the Institute for the Art of War, becoming a part of the newly-established Strategic Research Institute (SRI) within the Defense Policy Sector of the Ministry of Defense. Since then, the responsibility for official military history research has belonged to the Military History Division (MHD) of the SRI.<sup>21</sup> The mission of the MHD is to research and write Serbian official military history at the operational and strategic levels of war, to popularize it in Serbia and abroad, to edit and publish regularly the *Military History Review*, to give recommendations to decision makers within the defense system

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<sup>18</sup> Dragan Krsmanović, „Stradanje Vojnog arhiva Vojnoistorijskog instituta u dejstvima NATO avijacije,” *Vojnoistorijski glasnik*, 1-3, (2000), [Dragan Krsmanović, "Damages within the Military Archives of the Military History Institute committed by the NATO Air Forces," *Military History Review*, 1, no. 3 (2000): 145-146; „Обавештење”, *Војноисторијски гласник*, 1-2 (2005), ["The Enlightenment," *Military History Review*, 1, no. 2, (2005)]: 185

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.isi.mod.gov.rs/vojni\\_arhiv02/istorijat.php?lang=sr](http://www.isi.mod.gov.rs/vojni_arhiv02/istorijat.php?lang=sr), accessed 24 October 2014.

<sup>20</sup> "Predgovor", *Balkanski pakt 1953/1954 - zbornik radova* (ur. Dragan Bogetić, Mihajlo Basara, Milan Terzić i Nemanja Milošević) ["The Introduction," in *The Balkan Pact – Collection of Papers*, ed. by Dragan Bogetić, Mihajlo Basara, Milan Terzić, and Nemanja Milošević] (Belgrade: Institut za strategijska istraživanja, 2008), 5-6.

<sup>21</sup> "Реч редакције”, *Војноисторијски гласник*, 1-2, (2006), ["Forward," *Military History Review*, 1, no. 2 (2006)]: 7.

based on historical experience, to make available its expertise to the political and military leadership, as well as to the scholarly community and to the general public in Serbia and abroad.<sup>22</sup> The Division's staff consists of seven persons with two military officers among them. Four members of the staff hold doctoral degrees, two have master's degrees, and one position is currently vacant. All members of the staff speak at list one foreign language and the most of them three or four. As a result, the Division historians can use foreign sources and literature written in English, Russian, French, German, Italian, Greek, and Bulgarian.

The MHD makes an important contribution to historical education at the Serbian Military Academy and its National Defense College. From the beginning military history was one of the main subjects thought both at the basic course and the War College of the Serbian Military Academy. At the War College, military history was taught together with strategy within the context of Serbian military history.<sup>23</sup> Most of the lecturers in the field of Military History and History of the Art of War from the establishment of the Military History Office were its more prominent members, beginning with its founder, General Jovan Dragašević (1879-1885), and Head of the Office, Staff-Colonel Dragomir Vučković (1893-1897).<sup>24</sup> Today, MHD research is closely linked with the Military History lecturers in the Department of Social Sciences at the Military Academy, and some of these researchers give lectures upon request at the Serbian Defense and Staff College.

Projects completed by the MH Division in the last decade are strictly based on empirical archival research in accordance with the accepted rules and standards of general historiography. They are focused mostly on the Serbian military history of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, with a special focus on the development of military professionalism in Serbia/Yugoslavia and "Cold War" history. The major ongoing projects are related to the process of establishing a professional army in the Kingdom of Serbia; technical, organizational, and doctrinal development within the Serbian and Yugoslav Armies in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; the Yugoslav People's Army facing Cold War challenges, etc.<sup>25</sup>

During the last ten years, Division personnel have organized four international scholarly conferences, published 12 books and anthologies, two collections of documents, and published 17 volumes of *Military History Review* (*Vojnoistorijski glasnik*). Its research fellows participated in 36 national and international conferences and contributed to leading scientific research history projects in Serbia, as verified by Serbian Ministry of Education and Science. The ties with the Department of History at the Faculty of Philosophy of Belgrade University and history research institutes in Serbia are also very strong. Two Research Fellows of the MH Division also contributed to the international

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<sup>22</sup> [http://www.isi.mod.gov.rs/o\\_institutu.php?lang=en](http://www.isi.mod.gov.rs/o_institutu.php?lang=en) , accessed 24 October 2014.

<sup>23</sup> *Споменица седамдесетпетогодишњице војне академије* [*The Memorial on the Occasion of the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Military Academy*] (Belgrade: Ministry of the Army and Navy, 1925), 65-68.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 220, 232.

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.isi.mod.gov.rs/projekti.php?lang=en> , accessed 24 October 2014.



joint research project “1914-1918: Online, International Encyclopedia of the First World War,” organized and edited by the Free University Berlin.<sup>26</sup>

For the more than 135 years, institutional research of military history in Serbia survived many crises and challenging situations, including wars, a Communist dictatorship and political abuse of history, and went through numerous transformations which were sometimes thoughtless, but Serbian military historians managed to always preserve high standards of scholarly military history professionalism. Today, the Military History Division sees itself as a part of the research community of historians and security studies experts and contributes to topical debates among experts in military history in Serbia and abroad.

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<sup>26</sup> [http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/contributors/Dalibor\\_Denda](http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/contributors/Dalibor_Denda); [http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/contributors/Dmitar\\_Tasic](http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/contributors/Dmitar_Tasic), accessed 24 October 2014.

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## 6. From Axis Countries to Allied Forces: Changes in Intelligence of Post-War Czechoslovakia

by

Matej Medvecký

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### Abstract

The paper deals with the shift of activities of Czechoslovak intelligence bodies in four post-war years, ending in 1949. This year could be considered as a watershed in the development of intelligence agencies in Czechoslovakia with the total adaption of Soviet methods accompanied by the arrival of numerous advisors. West Germany, Austria, and Hungary were considered the main targets for operations of both military and non-military intelligence agencies in 1945, but this started to change the following year. New objectives included the gathering of intelligence on former allies, their armies in West Germany and Austria or regarding political development of both occupied countries. The shift is clear also in documents produced by foreign intelligence service, group Z-B of the Ministry of Interior. In its intelligence plan that was most probably written in autumn 1946 the author states that with the military defeat of the Axis countries, their intelligence and state security bodies were disbanded. Intelligence agencies of occupied countries, however, filled this gap and although their attention was focused on Germany or Austria according to this plan, these bodies immediately turned their attention also to West Germany's neighbors. Broad investigation and occasional (in some cases even alleged) use of former employees of *Abwehr*, *Gestapo*, or *Sicherheitsdienst* or their nets, was interpreted as effort to rebuild German – the main enemy's – special services. In 1948 another change occurred. At first the emphasis was put on real abilities and possibilities of Czechoslovak secret services. Intelligence services should work on a level “reasonable” for a “not very big” country and focus on the most important issues. This rational attitude did not last long, however. In 1949 total subjugation of the Czechoslovak secret services to Soviet “friends” started with arrival of first advisors and adoption of structures similar to those of the Soviets. It is needless to say that also intelligence operations were not run only when they were required by Czechoslovakia, but also whenever the “big brother” from the East needed assistance.

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Today there is no doubt that since ancient times victories are won not only by the strength, equipment, or training of armies, but success also depended to a great extent on precise or at least reliable information about the enemy. This fact became even more obvious in modern warfare (e.g., precision bombing) and is also valid in other spheres including international relations, economy, etc. During the Cold War, intelligence operations were a type of battlefield where East and West faced each other. However, the first Soviet efforts to gather information on the West were recorded immediately after Hitler's Reich was defeated and even then it was only a resumption of pre-war and wartime activities of this kind.

This paper will deal with the shift of activities of Czechoslovak intelligence bodies in four post-war years when such change actually did happen, ending in 1949. This year could be considered a pivotal point in the development of intelligence agencies in Czechoslovakia, when the Soviet model was adopted and accompanied by numerous advisors. The Czechoslovak intelligence services were in fact subordinated to the secret services of the Soviet Union.

Post-war Czechoslovakia was a country very different from the pre-war one. Despite being among the victorious allies, it lost part of its area to the country declared to be the most important ally -- the Soviet Union. Following a 1943 agreement signed in Moscow, Czechoslovakia agreed to conduct its foreign policy in accordance with the Soviets'. The Czech military and intelligence affairs were no exception to this rule.

It is understandable that the situation in Czechoslovak intelligence was based on the pre-war situation as much as it had changed. Pre-1938 intelligence efforts were mostly targeted against Germany and Hungary as these two countries were the most fierce challengers of the Versailles order that created Czechoslovakia. This was to some extent true also in the post-war years, but changes in the international situation had a great impact on this.

The Czechoslovak Government, in its program from Košice (one of the key documents of post-war Czechoslovakia), declared that the organization, equipment, and training of new Czechoslovak military forces should be the same as the organization, equipment, and training of the Soviet armed forces. Czechoslovakia was to build a strong army. All preparations of the General Staff were based on the assumption that the new war would be a repetition of the Second World War and was also based on pre-war concepts. This concept lasted until 1946 when a new one emerged, already suggesting the possibility of conflict between Slavic countries on one side and Germany and the "Anglo-Saxon world" on the other. This strategic premise had an immediate impact in Czechoslovak efforts in intelligence.

Regarding the general situation of intelligence agencies of post-war Czechoslovakia, there were four intelligence/security agencies. State Security was not really meant here as at that time, as officers responsible for state security were not meant to act as intelligence agents but only as police. Nevertheless, two intelligence services were under the Ministry of Interior and the other two under the Ministry of National Defense.

Czechoslovakia, the result of earlier developments, had in fact two military intelligence/ security services. The mission of the Defense Intelligence was to keep the Army safe from infiltration, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> Department of the Czechoslovak Army General Staff was more a typical military intelligence service. Defense Intelligence, headed by Bedřich Reicin, was established in the Soviet Union while fighting the German Army and it was thus overrun by Communists, some of them probably directly working for Soviet special services. The reason for its establishment is clear. It was backed by the Soviet military authorities and it was designated to be -- and it succeeded in this task -- a counter balance to the Czechoslovak military intelligence service that was working in London during the war.<sup>1</sup> The establishment of a new military security/intelligence agency within the Soviet union and with the help of Soviet officers was an important tool for infiltration and for influencing the development of the Czechoslovak Army after the war.

Due to the previous development it is not surprising that both military agencies were at the end of the war in duplicative jurisdictions that was quickly solved in favor of Reicin's organization. The foreign intelligence service working at the Ministry of Interior, in first post-war years named as Department Z-B, Group VII-B and Sector III/Ab of the Ministry. The other one responsible for political intelligence (Department Z-A, Group VII-A and Sector III/Aa) was collecting information on Czechoslovak soil and targeted (more or less openly) on political opponents of the Communists. The other two agencies (political intelligence service and Defense Intelligence) were less important in intelligence gathering abroad even though their officers also carried out operations outside Czechoslovak territory and they actually had a great impact on the focus of Czechoslovak intelligence. Still, their activities were much more important for battles on the political stage at home than in the international arena. Any information acquired abroad was not necessarily deeply analyzed but it was assessed to gain advantage at home. When reading analyses and documents written by employees of these state bodies, one has to keep in mind that their reports might have been influenced by these factors.

An examination of the tasks of both agencies and the changes they underwent in after World War II is worthwhile. The tasks of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Department in 1945 suggests its analytical unit (Group A, Study Group) was to work with information on all relevant countries including the Soviet Union and Western allies, and operations were to be carried out only in Germany, Austria, and Hungary, as the division of Group B -- Investigation Group, shows. This started to change as soon as 1946.<sup>2</sup> Pursuant to this general concept, new objectives included gathering intelligence on former allies, their armies in Germany and Austria, and relating to political development of both occupied countries. The shift is clear also in documents produced by the foreign intelligence service, group Z-B of the Ministry of Interior. In its intelligence plan that was probably written in autumn 1946, its author states that with the military defeat of the Axis countries, their intelligence and state security bodies were disbanded. Intelligence agencies of occupying countries, however, filled this gap and although

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<sup>1</sup> František Hanzlík and Václav Vondrášek, *Armáda v zápase o politickou moc v letech 1945-1948* [Army in the Struggle for Political Power] (Praha: Ministerstvo obrany ČR AVIS 2006), 67.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Štaigl, „Organizácia a hlavné smery činnosti čs. vojenského výzvedného spravodajstva (rozvedky) v rokoch 1945-1967” [Organization and Most Important Objectives of Czechoslovak Military Intelligence Service in Years 1945-1967], *Historie a vojenství* 50, no. 2 (2001): 421.

their attention was to be focused on Germany or Austria, these bodies also immediately turned their attention Germany's neighbors. Broad investigations and alleged use of former employees of the *Abwehr*, *Gestapo*, or *Sicherheitsdienst* or their nets was interpreted as an effort to rebuild German -- the main enemy's -- special intelligence services.<sup>3</sup> The Czechoslovak secret services were also using such people, any time their employment offered a possible advantage.

Another important aspect of Czechoslovak post-war intelligence activities is that despite defining Germany, Austria, and Hungary<sup>4</sup> as major target countries, attention was also paid to all countries containing former Czechoslovak citizens/emigrants. In the period this study deals with mostly Slovaks -- representatives or sympathizers of the war-time Slovak republic (a German satellite), were of interest, as were followers of former Czech General Lev Prchala, who stayed in Great Britain even after the war and was known for his fierce criticism of President Edvard Beneš and his pro-Soviet policy. One should not forget the masses of expelled Germans, even though these people were not actual emigrants.

The year 1945 brought a great wave of screenings in Czechoslovakia and it of course meant changes not only in the Army, but also in intelligence and security services. The claim to punish collaborators provided a good cover for the power struggle between individual National Front coalition parties. Basically all conflicts within the intelligence agencies were won by Communists. However, because of the Communist domination and personal changes, the services themselves lacked qualified personnel and achieved only questionable results. **Both military and foreign intelligence services**, at least to some extent, depended on pre-war intelligence officers who were at the same time criticized for being incompetent or at least too predictable and being ideologically "backward." To change this situation, some Czechoslovak intelligence officers were "educated" -- as secret collaborators of the Soviet special services.

It was not only the military intelligence agency that relied on pre-war Czechoslovak intelligence officers. The work of the intelligence agency of the Ministry of Interior was also established on the basis of interwar military intelligence systems. The first head of Department Z at the Ministry of Interior was Gen. Josef Bartík, who at that time had been serving as an intelligence officer for about 20 years. In fact he was one of the men who fled Prague with Gen. František Moravec in March 1939. Several other important figures were also former military intelligence officers, including Bedřich Pokorný. The Intelligence Branch also operated in London for a short time (1945-1946). Its existence was a result of the wartime era when Edvard Beneš and his government needed information on political development and political opinions in Great Britain itself. It seems clear that such information had less value for a government working in Prague, but its existence still required large amount of money, with personnel costs of 2,300,000 Czechoslovak crowns per year.<sup>5</sup> According to the intelligence service's head, Zdeněk Toman, their work consistently mainly of cutting

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<sup>3</sup> Zpravodajský plán skupiny Z-B [Intelligence Plan of Group Z-B], f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20957, Security Services Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Zřízení zahraniční politicko-zpravodajské sítě – pokyny (návrh), f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20957, Security Services Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Pane ministr [Minister], 24. 1. 1946, f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20957, Security Services Archives.

articles out of British newspapers and translating them. Three out of five employees of the Branch were soldiers, and two of them had worked as intelligence officers during WW2 (head of the branch, Lt. Col. Jan Krček, and his deputy, Lt.Col. Josef Fořt). Typical for that time is that the third soldier at the Branch, Lt. Adolf Püchler, worked as a secret informant for the head of Defence Intelligence, Bedřich Reicin. The Branch's accomplishments were characterized as "gathering information not intelligence" and were thus relatively ineffective. This evaluation may be partially correct -- many Czechoslovak intelligence officers who spent the war in London were not really willing to work against the host country or at least needed some time to "adopt." As it was in the case of Lt. Col Krček: "He is only willing to work in legal frame and would prefer not to carry out intelligence work as the epoch requires."<sup>6</sup> This phenomena has a simple explanation :Czechoslovakia had no experience in offensive intelligence done by the "police." During the interwar years, most intelligence gathering was done abroad. Tasks of the police -- the pre-war Intelligence Headquarters at the Police Directorate in Prague and its regional branches -- was to carry out counterintelligence tasks within Czechoslovak state borders and there are only a few examples known when police officers fulfilled special tasks abroad, most often the observation of people connected to revisionist politics of neighboring countries (e.g., Hungary).

When referring to Germany, the intelligence service used anything available to build up its networks of agents there. The headquarters in Prague was using mostly businessmen or state representatives to gather information. It is interesting to note that several people declared as active in intelligence gathering for the foreign intelligence service were in fact soldiers, for example repatriation officers or even Czechoslovak observers at the Nurnberg trials. It is very probable that they submitted information not as collaborators but as representatives of one state body to another state body. Others sources of information were provided by a branch in Plzeň that was tasked to build several networks of collaborators and focus on accidental sources of information. The situation improved until 1948, but additional research is needed before a relevant analysis of Czechoslovak intelligence network and especially its efficiency abroad can be assessed.

In Austria the situation was a bit different. Before February 1948, the Ministry of Interior, Department Z-B maintained one officer, Vilém Karas, in Vienna, who had official cover as an embassy employee. In his reports, he claimed to have a complete network of secret informants working in Vienna, Linz, Salzburg, and Innsbruck, although this was considered doubtful at the time. If his claims were true, it is probable that he worked with one of the "professional" networks of intelligence "free lancers" working for anybody willing to pay, as several such networks already existed in post-war Austria. Another important factor was the Soviets. While it is not clear what relations Karas maintained with Soviet authorities, it actually seems there were none. If this is the case, the Soviet occupational authorities would presumably at least try to prevent him acting without their approval. This presumption may be supported by the fact that after the coup he was criticized as an example of "how it should not be done." Other cases show that the Soviets were willing to help/cooperate with Czechoslovak intelligence/security officers, usually when they knew the person and

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

trusted him personally or the request was supported by such person. At the same time, it is most probable that Karas spent much time with his official embassy administrative work (processing visas, etc.) and had no time or will to carry out any “espionage” operations. His reports probably dealt with former representatives of the former Slovak Republic, 1939-1945, or the general situation in Vienna.

The cooperation with embassies did not work in favor of the secret services before the Communist coup. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was headed by Jan Masaryk, who did not allow Communist to control it -- or at least it is not known whether they even made a serious try to do so. However, the secret service made effort to use its access for its own purpose, though without noteworthy success. Diplomats were often hostile towards the foreign intelligence service, such as prior to the visit of the head of the VII-B Department Z, Toman, to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Bern. There Ambassador Andrial warned all employees of the embassy that a “very dangerous man” is about to visit.<sup>7</sup>

When analyzing documents from 1945-1948, it is not clear what really was done by these two intelligence services. There are some plans and lists of personnel available, but it seems probable that the services did not have a definite concept of operations and were only in an early phase of organization. After the Communist coup the situation escalated. The work of the Czechoslovak intelligence services during the previous three years was criticized as being built on the foundation of the interwar Czechoslovak system (well-known military intelligence officer of the pre-war and war-time era, František Moravec, is often mentioned in a negative connotation). But a broad discussion regarding objectives and the range of activities of Czechoslovak intelligence services was led by its top officials and representatives of the Communist party. There were many questions to be dealt with, including whether Czechoslovak intelligence services should operate in territories already covered by the Soviet Union’s “special services.” The result reached by consensus put an emphasis on real abilities of Czechoslovak secret services<sup>8</sup>. Intelligence services should work on a level “reasonable” for a “not very big” country and focus on most important issues, defined as: 1) gather information on all relevant aspects of world policy and “imperialistic politics” with a special focus of its impact on Czechoslovakia; 2) put emphasis on gathering intelligence on neighboring countries (Germany and Austria) that in the past and present (1948) posed the direct threat for Czechoslovakia; 3) cover activities of emigrants and face their “anti-state activities”; 4) gather all relevant information on economic relations; 5) check the work of Czechoslovak embassies and other missions abroad; and finally, 6) keep friendly relations with intelligence services of friendly and allied countries (of course the anti-Hitler coalition is not meant).<sup>9</sup> These general “topics” were considered as too general and concrete steps were to be focused more regional with Germany being the primary objective. This time, however, it was related to a new ideological explanation: intelligence officers should keep in mind that behind the western borders of Czechoslovakia there is not Bavaria, but in fact the

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<sup>7</sup> Denné správy pre ministra vnútra predané sektorom VIIIB v roku 1947 [Daily Reports for Minister of Interior submitted by Sector VIIIB in year 1947], B-102, Činnosť vyslanca Dr. ANDRIALA ve Švýcarsku, f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], 93, Security Services Archives.

<sup>8</sup> Karel Kaplan, *Nebezpečná bezpečnost* [Dangerous Security] (Brno: Doplněk 2001), 18.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 74.

United States of America serving as an occupying power in West Germany. They were not to deal with West Germany, but through West Germany the service should deal with the rest of the western world. To illustrate it the foreign intelligence service was to infiltrate American occupational authorities, try to control the stream of information from the USA to West Germany and analyze contradictions between individual occupational authorities<sup>10</sup> or between individual occupational powers. Additional tasks included information-gathering on representatives of occupational authorities, following political developments in West Germany, and covering the movements of former Czechoslovak Germans and activities of intelligence services in the western part of Germany. In other words, Germany was still the primary objective, though not the only one. Total subjugation to the Soviet Union and the targeting of the United States as the “main enemy” were looming on the horizon.

The army had a slightly different aim. The main focus of the military intelligence service was to gather information on the western armies and to look for any signs of German remilitarization, including establishment of any military association. Since there has been basically no research on the military intelligence service conducted until now, it is difficult to assess what was really done. It seems that most of the information gathering or agent handling abroad was done by the Defense counter-intelligence section rather than the 2<sup>nd</sup> Department. On the other hand it had military and aviation attachés’ reports at hand and its officers were most probably better professionals. Nevertheless, the development from 1948 on not only reduced the staff, it seems that the army favored reconnaissance or tactical intelligence to other means of intelligence work.

Any shift in effort needs time to become effective. In the case of post-war Czechoslovakia, it was even more complicated, mainly by the fact that the coup brought major personnel changes, both in the Ministries of the Interior and National Defense. Sector III/Ab (Foreign Intelligence Service) received the hardest blow in January 1948 when its head Zdeněk Toman, was arrested and after several months in prison fled to the American occupation zone in West Germany. Whatever intelligence he may have possessed was probably compromised. Military intelligence was also heavily struck by purges when experienced but ideologically “inconvenient” officers were sacked or transferred. It seems clear that personnel changes, together with new goals and the need to build networks abroad, basically out of nothing, were the common starting point of both intelligence services. At this time collaborators were mostly recruited from “friendly” environments, for example, from among members of western Communist parties, a practice that was only short time later fiercely criticized by Soviet advisors!

Military and foreign intelligence services both suffered a heavy blow by personnel changes in 1948. Both basically had to build-up their personnel strength. In two years (January 1948-December 1949), these services lost over 100 officers, and by the end of 1949, only 35 officers worked in them.<sup>11</sup> Officer replacement was easier in the foreign intelligence service, as many Czech and Slovak Communists spent the war in

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<sup>10</sup> Všeobecné zásady [General Principles], p. 74, f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20958, Security Services Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Jan Štaigl „Organizácia a hlavné smery činnosti čs. vojenského výzvedného spravodajstva (rozviedky) v rokoch 1945-1967,“ *Historie a vojenství* 50, no. 2 (2001): 422.



Great Britain and thus spoke English; knowledge of the German language was not unusual in the previous period. The situation was very different regarding the military intelligence service. New intelligence officers who replaced their non-Communist colleagues usually had experience living in the Soviet Union but often lacked experience in this kind of work, except for relevant foreign language or communication skills.

When speaking about the shift in intelligence focus, it is important to know what concrete tasks the intelligence agency performed in late 1948. Relevant documents claim that the context for the department's program was the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and its allies not only in politics but also in economic and military politics.<sup>12</sup> The aim was to cover not only individual Western European countries or the United States, but to gather information on the European Recovery Program, United Nations, and others. The priority intelligence goals regarding West Germany and Austria in late 1948 were: in the case of the former, the activities of occupation forces and foreign church circles.<sup>13</sup> Specifically these included: 1) general rules and development of policy of occupation powers in West Germany, occupation authorities themselves, and their influence on public life; 2) activities of American, British, and French intelligence services; and finally, 3) the need to follow activities of the Vatican and Catholic Church in Germany. Special attention was to be paid to expelled Germans and their associations. Austria was of course of less interest, but still occupation authorities were the top priority. The intelligence service planned to create four networks -- within borders, among Sudet Germans, among emigrants, and a German political net.

Other operational plans from this period always included the necessity to gather intelligence, not only on political or economical development, but also regarding the organization, strength, and deployment of occupation armies.<sup>14</sup> It is noteworthy that the intelligence service was also thinking of using military mission or members of the Commission for Prosecution of War Criminals as contact personnel for its agents. Of course, not only Czechoslovakia was interested in gathering information on the Western Allies; it worked also in the opposite direction. In January 1948, the intelligence service intercepted a letter sent by a British intelligence service to the Americans in West Berlin. It dealt with the possibility of eavesdropping on the telephone of Major Bedřich Brugel, an official of the Czechoslovak military mission in West Berlin.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Návrh organizace oddělení „Západ“ [Proposal for Organizational Structure of Department “West”], f. Hlavná správa rozvědky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20958, Security Services Archives.

<sup>13</sup> Krátkodobý návrh na reorganizaci středoevropského oddělení při sektoru III/Ab [Short-term Proposal for Reorganisation of Central European Department of Sector III/Ab], f. Hlavná správa rozvědky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20959, Security Services Archives.

<sup>14</sup> Plán organizace zpravodajské činnosti v Německu [Plan of Organisation of Intelligence Work in Germany], f. Hlavná správa rozvědky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20958, Security Services Archives.

<sup>15</sup> Denné správy pre ministra vnútra predané sektorom VII B v roku 1948 [Daily Reports for Minister of Interior submitted by Sector VII B in year 1948], b-44, Spolupráce britské a U.S. spravodajské služby, sledování čs. vojenské mise v Berlíně [Cooperation of British and U.S. Intelligence Service, Surveillance of Czechoslovak Military Mission in Berlin], f. Hlavná správa rozvědky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], 93, Security Services Archives.

Especially dramatic events at the end of February 1948 and possible related developments were of interest to the Czechoslovak intelligence service, which received signals regarding British and American secret services. The American Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC) increased patrols along the Bavarian-Czech borders and made steps to persuade people living in refugee camps in West Germany to return to Czechoslovakia. Their tasks included following the political, economic, and military developments. At the same time the reports state that the Americans expected large numbers of new emigrants due to the political development in Czechoslovakia and were making steps to cope with this situation.<sup>16</sup>

In summary, Czechoslovak intelligence agencies at that time were suffering many developmental challenges. It seems that the majority of military intelligence activities were connected with the work of military or aviation attachés or work within different commissions in West Germany and Austria. However, this statement needs to be proved by future research. The work of this institution suffered a heavy blow during personnel purges after 1948, when the service was practically rebuilt from the ground up to mirror the Soviet military intelligence – the GRU.

Similarly, the foreign intelligence service had a turbulent development. With its first head, Toman, lost in the American occupation zone of Germany (he later emerged in South America and died in the United States in the early 1990s), it seems that the service sought a new start in 1948. It was characterized by other difficulties, including the arrest of the head of its branch in Plzeň, Viktor Ryšavý, who was convicted of cooperation with American CIC.<sup>17</sup> It is clear the service itself was in a stage of reorganization and adapting Soviet methods in 1949. During this early stage, most reports considered as interesting dealt with emigration while when speaking about reports from the United States or Great Britain, monthly reports were insufficient.<sup>18</sup> When one looks at its foreign intelligence networks, it is clear attempts were made to gather information mostly using “antifascist” members of the expelled German community. Other sources -- apart from accidental -- were employees of Czechoslovak consulates (thus not real agency network members) or repatriation officers who probably -- but again, most probably due to their official appointments, supplied information on both the military and foreign intelligence services. As at this time retribution was one of the major topics in Czechoslovakia, it is clear that these people were probably provided information in this sphere, similar to officers working on special investigation teams or observers at the Nuremberg trials.<sup>19</sup> The final report

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<sup>16</sup> Denné správy pre ministra vnútra predané sektorom VIIB v roku 1948 [Daily Reports for Minister of Interior submitted by Sector VIIB in year 1948], b-162, První ohlas čs. událostí v Bavorsku [First Response in Bavaria to Events in Czechoslovakia], f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], 93, Security Services Archives.

<sup>17</sup> Zpráva o činnosti skupiny BAB za měsíc duben 1949 [Report on Work of Group BAB in April 1949], f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20961, Security Services Archives.

<sup>18</sup> Zpráva o činnosti studijního oddělení sektoru BAB za měsíc duben 1949 [Report on Work of the Study Department of Sector BAB in April 1949], f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20961, Security Services Archives.

<sup>19</sup> Přehled zahraničních spojů /dnešní stav/ [List of Connections in Abroad /current situation/], f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20957, Security Services Archives.

for 1949 even states that before 1 January 1949, the condition or work abroad was as follows:

In praxis networks in abroad did not exist, it consisted only of not-cadre 'old fashioned' collaborators and solitary informers. In some countries the agency network did not exist. A total of 15 'agents' were working who had some 20 informers around them and 11 auxiliary workers. Collaborators were not instructed before sending to abroad and received only very general tasks. The work was carried out without any binding of collaborators and without systematic supervision of collaborators to objects of interest. Connection of the Centre to abroad was very primitive and done exclusively by using diplomatic mail. No technical devices were used for operative work.<sup>20</sup>

Since the head of the foreign intelligence service, Oskar Valeš-Kovář, came from the Communist Party, indoctrination became very strong. Officers had to attend daily (later three times a week) political workshops and spent their energy on learning the *Communist Manifesto* or the history of the Bolshevik Party. Materials prepared by the analytical department were very ideological (or at least had such names), including the handbook named *Means and Methods of Penetration of Anglo-American Imperialism to Czechoslovakia*. And of course work of the secret services had to follow lines given by the communist Party congresses.

In later years, the Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff was the only Czechoslovak secret service agency outside the Ministry of the Interior. Its primary object was of course NATO, although its importance seems to be lower when compared to the favored service of the regime -- the 1<sup>st</sup> Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior as its officers, especially in late 1950s and in 1960s -- achieved several notable successes.

But bigger changes were about to come. The biggest one was the total subjugation of all Czechoslovak services to Moscow and the fulfilment of tasks far beyond Czechoslovak interests in different parts of the world with one dominant task: subverting the Western bloc, with the United States being labelled the "major enemy."

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<sup>20</sup> Výkaz činnosti skupiny BAb v roce 1949 [Report on Work of Group BAb in Year 1949], f. Hlavná správa rozviedky [Main Intelligence Service Directorate], reg. No. 20961, Security Services Archives.

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# 7.

## Hungary in 1948: Using the Past to Build the People's Army

by  
Éva Tulipán

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### Abstract

Nineteen forty-eight, the year that celebrated the centenary of the 1848 Revolution in Hungary, was also called “the year of the turn” by Communist leader Mátyás Rákosi, when the process of Sovietization, culminating in the introduction of a Soviet-type constitution in August the next year, was accelerated. The Centenary offered a great opportunity for the Soviet-backed Communist party to convey its political interpretation of the past, as well as its robust message concerning the present and (the near) future, by employing the machinery of propaganda, symbols, and memory politics. A key actor of the commemorations was the military, parading in the streets of Budapest, that was started to be called the People's Army in the centenary year, although the name had not been formally introduced before summer 1951. This paper analyzes the ways how the distant events of 1848 were revived and enacted in order to provide scenery for the transformation of the country to Peoples' Republic and the military to People's Army.

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“For the first time in the past hundred years, the Hungarian people are in a position to implement ideas that were put on the banners of the 1848 revolution,” said Communist Party leader Mátyás Rákosi in an interview on 1 January 1948, thus setting the tone for the new year that saw the centenary celebrations of the 1848 revolution and war of independence in Hungary.<sup>1</sup>

After occupying the territory at the end of World War II (WWII) and confirming the situation in the following years, the aim of the Soviet Union and its Hungarian vassals was to break resistance in the country and gain support, in other words, win the hearts and minds of the Hungarian people.

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<sup>1</sup> *Szabad Nép*, 1 January 1948, p. 1. Preparation of this paper was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

In the title of his book published in April 1948, Rákosi himself labelled the previous 10-12 months *The Year of the Turn*.<sup>2</sup> This marked the point when, after the foundation of the Cominform and the (fraudulent) 1947 Hungarian elections, the situation was ripe for a communist takeover.

The memory of 1848 was applied to support this “turn,” to create a Soviet-type army, and to militarize the society, as well as the way this process was dramatized in the streets of Budapest through military festivals, especially the one held in autumn 1948 that was called “Centennial Military Week.”

Turning back to earlier periods of history was a method used to facilitate forgetting and the erasure of the recent past.<sup>3</sup> An ideologist historian of the regime even described the past 400 years of Hungarian history as a series of class struggles.<sup>4</sup> The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of 1848 came in handy to convey contemporary messages.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, in preparation for the centennial events the Propaganda Department of the MKP set as guidelines that, “We have to recall the great historical past of the nation, but in such a way that with the calling to life of traditions we mobilize the population for the solving of current great tasks of no lesser importance.”<sup>6</sup>

In preparation for the festive year there was an events calendar published, that clearly showed which dates and periods of the year were planned to be highlighted and celebrated.<sup>7</sup> The first major events of the “big centenary festivals” were scheduled for 15 March (the day celebrating the beginning of the Revolution). The next was 20 August, the feast of Saint Stephen, which was (and still is) a traditional national holiday, although in 1948 attempts were made to secularize it, as it was themed as the “festival of the new bread,” and the traditional procession of Saint Stephen’s Holy Right Hand, which attracted crowds of Hungarians the previous year, was banned for the first time. The third featured event was planned to be the “September Weeks of Freedom,” initially scheduled for the period between 18 and 29 September (the last day being the anniversary of the Battle at Pákozd, the first significant victory of Hungarian troops in 1848).

The celebrations of the year, however, did not take place as planned: responding to repeated requests since the end of the war, the Soviet Union decided to return the captured flags of 1848, which turned out to be the major ceremony overshadowing other events and overwriting plans of the year. The flags were returned on 4 April, the

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<sup>2</sup> Mátyás Rákosi, *A fordulat éve* (The Year of the Turn) (Budapest: Szikra, 1950).

<sup>3</sup> Jan Assmann, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Aladár Mód, *400 év küzdelem az önálló Magyarországért* (400 Years of Struggle for the Independent Hungary), 6th ed. (Budapest: Szikra, 1951).

<sup>5</sup> For the historiography of the centenary, see Róbert Hermann, *Negyvennyolcas történetünk mai állása* (The Present State of the Historiography of 1848) (Budapest: Magyar Napló, 2011), 11-13; Gyarmati György, *Március hatalma, a hatalom márciusa. Fejezetek március 15. ünnepségének történetéből* (The Power of March, March of the Power. Chapters from the History of Celebrating 15th March) (Budapest: Paginárius, 1998), 97-132; András Gerő, ed., *Az államosított forradalom. 1848 centenáriuma* (The Nationalized Revolution. The Centenary of 1848) (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Cited by Martin Mevius, *Agents of Moscow. The Hungarian Communist Party and the Origins of Socialist Patriotism, 1941-1953* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 209.

<sup>7</sup> *A centenárius eseménynaptára*. (Events Calendar of the Centenary) (Budapest: Tört. Emlékbizottság, [1948])

third anniversary of the Soviet occupation (in other wording -- liberation) of the country.<sup>8</sup> Incidentally, it was the second return of the 1848 flags, as in 1941 they were also given back (partly as an exchange for Mátyás Rákosi, who was released from prison and emigrated to the Soviet Union a few months earlier).<sup>9</sup>

Thus the act of returning the flags drew attention to 4 April, celebrated as the festival of freedom, rather than 15 March. The time schedule itself conveyed the message refrained also otherwise during the year: the dreams of 1848 were realized and freedom was given the Hungarian people by the Soviet liberation army. Consistent to this message, Prime Minister Lajos Dinnyés and the Hungarian delegation signed in Moscow the Hungarian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance on 18 February the same year.

In autumn, the military festivities planned for the anniversary of the Battle of Pákozd were somewhat shortened and advanced by a week beginning on 11 September, just a few days after Communist Party prominent Mihály Farkas was appointed as Defense Minister.

Since 1945, creating the People's Army was a program conducted primarily by the Communist Party. The Party even formed a Military Committee in November 1946, the task of which was "to ensure the Party's influence in the military leadership." The program was closely connected with the problem of Communist cadres in the Army, and on 1 October 1947, the new military academy named after Kossuth was opened. On 10 January 1948, a few days after opening the centenary year, Rákosi emphasized the importance of the Army, which he also connected with the question of personnel policy urging that "the most self-conscious, disciplined, the healthiest sons of workers and peasants, also capable of developing" should join the Army.<sup>10</sup> The Political Committee of MKP even more openly expressed on 22 February 1948 that the "aim is the democratic people's army under Communist influence".<sup>11</sup>

On 13 March, a few days before the big festivities of 15 March, a Military Committee meeting concluded that "the army has entered a new phase of development." A day later, in the Party daily *Szabad Nép* (Free People), an article was published on "The army of the freedom struggle" by the Chief of the Military Directorate, László Sólyom. He wrote that "the new army, the direct descendant of the army fighting the freedom struggle . . . follows its predecessors' example of courage, patriotism and self-sacrifice, and honour [*sic*] their memory in the year of the centenary by implementing in organization, management and spirit the idea of the democratic people's army."<sup>12</sup>

In the summer, so-called "Kossuth Circles" were formed, through which the Communist Party could maintain its influence despite the fact that all political parties

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<sup>8</sup> Jenő Györkei, „A Short History of the War Banners of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, 1848-49,” in *National Relics. A History of the War Banners of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, 1848-49*, ed. Jenő Györkei and Györgyi Cs. Kottva, 11-25 (Highland Lakes, New Jersey; Budapest: Atlantic Research and Publications; Zrínyi, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-25.

<sup>10</sup> Cited by Tamás Nagy, "Katonapolitika a hidegháború kezdetén, 1945-1948" (Military Policy at the Beginning of the Cold War, 1945-1948), *Valóság* 46, no. 6 (2003): 87.

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

<sup>12</sup> *Szabad Nép*, 14 March 1948, p. 15.

were banned in the Army.<sup>13</sup> August 1948 saw the first inauguration ceremony of the Kossuth Academy, where officers had been selected according to class ranking and frequently by the recommendation of the Communist Party.

On 9 September, Mihály Farkas became Defense Minister. The next day he gave a short and explicit speech at the Military Committee of the MKP: “it must be clear that everyone has been made a leader by the Party and everyone remains a leader as long as he works for the benefit of the working class and follow the instructions of the party.”<sup>14</sup> This was the last independent meeting of the Military Committee that had been merged with the Interior Committee of the MKP into the State Defense Committee, headed by Rákosi himself and that functioned later on as a subcommittee of it.<sup>15</sup>

In 1948, the Hungarian Army got in the focus, and it also concerned the “memory politics” during the centenary celebrations. Both in spring and during the Military Week in September, there were great marches in the streets of Budapest, centered around the flags of 1848 that were also carried with military pomp and ceremony.

In April, the flags were officially returned at the Heroes’ Square, where Kossuth Military Academy personnel received them from Soviet soldiers one by one in a spectacularly choreographed ceremony. The march first followed the traditional place of representation, the Andrásy Boulevard, but then bent to Liberty Square where the leaders of the country laid wreaths at the major Soviet war memorial. Finally, the flags were carried to the Hungarian National Museum where they were exhibited until September.<sup>16</sup>

Just a day after Farkas had been announced as Minister of Defense, the festival week celebrating the century-old army started. It was officially opened at the top of Gellért Hill, by the Liberty statue from where soldiers and policemen were running in relay to the Buda Castle, to the statue of the 1848 soldier, where a wreath-laying ceremony took place. It is very telling that the direction of the running was reversed, as in the plans the starting point was placed in the Buda Castle.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, the military monthly *Honvéd* even explained how the route of the runners “expressed that the liberation by the Soviet troops made it possible, after all those years of falsification of history, to celebrate truly and worthily the freedom struggle of 48.”<sup>18</sup>

Thus, both in April and in September, in the center of the military ceremonies there stood the Soviet Army, celebrated as liberator. The message carried by the flags was also demonstrated spatially, symbolically written on the surface of the city. All this aimed to make the event and the message that it suggested unforgettable, as memory

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<sup>13</sup> Minutes of the Military Committee meeting, 29 June 1948, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (The State Archives of the Hungarian National Archives, hereafter cited as MNL OL), M-KS-276. f. 84/119. cs. 4. Öe; Tamás Nagy, “Katonapolitika a hidegháború kezdetén, 1945-1948,” 77-88.

<sup>14</sup> Cited by Pál Germuska, *A magyar középgepipar. Hadiipar és haditechnikai termelés Magyarországon 1945 és 1980 között* (The Hungarian Engineering Industry. Military Industry and Military Technology Production in Hungary Between 1945 and 1980) (Budapest: Argumentum, 2014).  
<sup>15</sup> Germuska.

<sup>16</sup> Györkei, 18-25.

<sup>17</sup> Minutes of the Military Committee meeting, 11. 08. 1948, MNL OL M-KS-276. f. 54. cs. 7. öe.

<sup>18</sup> *Honvéd*, 10 October 1948.

is closely linked to spatiality on the one hand and on the other hand, as Paul Connerton showed, commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices, together with emotional effects, are important and persistent mnemonic systems.<sup>19</sup>

On the second day of the military week, 12 September, the flags were carried among even more spectacular circumstances from the National Museum to the Buda Castle, precisely to the Military Museum (today Military History Institute and Museum).<sup>20</sup> The façade of the building was richly decorated, partly in order to hide the signs of severe war damage. The audience had to wait to visit the flags, however, as the museum in the partly ruined building was opened only the following year with an exhibition demonstrating that “now our working people write history.”<sup>21</sup>

The weekdays of the Military Week provided the audience with mass sport events, as well as military and athletic races. This was organized with the help of the paramilitary association of alleged former partisans launched in February 1948, the Hungarian Federation of Freedom Fighters. Members of the federation (referred to as freedom fighters in the sources) also took part in the marches together with soldiers and policemen. Minutes of the MDP Secretariat written at the beginning of the Military Week drew attention to the officers organizing the festivities, “that the parade of the freedom fighters should give a militaristic impression and preferably they should wear dress similar to uniforms.”<sup>22</sup> The same federation also played a key role in the staging of the 30th anniversary of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic, in an openly Communist ceremony a year later.<sup>23</sup> Thus the federation helped to militarize the Hungarian society as the 1950s, and the peak of the Cold War, approached.

There was a very close connection of authoritative regimes and the cult of the body that was perfectly illustrated by these sports events. The slogans written in the posters and signs in different locations read like: “democratic mass sport -- strong people” and “sport is weapon in the hands of the people.”<sup>24</sup> Thus, the military parade closing the festival week resembled more closely those held in the flourishing Rákosi regime and demonstrated the unity of the society by involving workers from the industrial suburbs of Budapest and also crowds transported from the countryside.

A few weeks afterwards, on 1 October, the first Soviet advisers to the Army arrived, and in December 1948 a new military weekly was launched under the title *Néphadsereg* (People's Army). These indicated that by the end of 1948 the foundation had been laid for a Soviet-type army, although it was not until the summer of 1951 that the official name became “Hungarian People's Army.”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>20</sup> Györkei, 18-25.

<sup>21</sup> Szilvia Závodi, „Adalékok a Hadtörténeti Múzeum háború utáni történetéhez” (On the Post-War History of the Military History Museum), *A Hadtörténeti Múzeum Értesítője (Acta Musei Militaris in Hungaria)* 13. (2012): 285-302.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes of the Military Committee meeting, 11 August 1948, MNL OL M-KS-276. f. 54. cs. 7. őe.

<sup>23</sup> Péter Apor, „Praefiguratio: Exemplary History and Temporal Order in the Thirtieth Anniversary of the First Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919,” *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 12, no.2 (2011): 123-143.

<sup>24</sup> Photo Archive of the Magyar Rendőr (Hungarian Policeman), [<http://magyarrendor.osaarchivum.org/>; 15 June 2014]

<sup>25</sup> Germuska.



The centennial anniversary of 1848 was a great opportunity to strengthen the self-esteem of the defeated Hungarian society. Building on nationalist sentiments, the Soviet-backed Communist Party quite successfully used the centenary to convey its message and seize control over the country, turning it into a “people’s democracy.” The question in this case was not lessons learned from war experience and not even collecting examples to support one’s view on tactics, but rather a means to convey propaganda in order to handle a transitory situation.

The memory politics concerning 1848, however, reveal some paradoxical aspects as well. The underlying core motive of the commemorations, celebrating the Soviet Army, was not without problems three years after the end of the war, when many could remember the controversial behaviour of Soviet troops.<sup>26</sup> Despite the society’s desire to forget and the comparable Communist success of its monopolization, the memory of 1848 was a mobilizing and effective heritage used against the regime both in 1956 and 1989.

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<sup>26</sup> See, *inter alia*, „Andrea Pető, Memory and the Narrative of Rape in Budapest and Vienna in 1945,” in *Life after Death. Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe During the 1940s and 1950s*, ed. Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann, 129-148 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

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# 8.

## **Polish Military Contingents' Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations during the Late Cold War Period (1973-1989): Using the Past to Keep Peace in the Present**

by

**D. S. Kozerański**

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### **Abstract**

**This paper narrates the Polish Military-Civilian Contingents' participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations in the Middle East and Namibia during the late Cold War period. Poland was the first Eastern bloc country that sent a military-civilian contingent to a UN peacekeeping mission, the Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II), in 1973. The problem of the international political aspects of Polish participation (impact of global strategic players) and close cooperation with Canadian military contingents (conducting logistics tasks in Egypt, Syria, and Namibia) is examined by the author. The role of Polish Military-Civilian Contingents' participation in peacekeeping operations, as a component of Poland's foreign policy and development of international relations, is also assessed.**

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The involvement of the Polish Army contingents in United Nations peacekeeping operations<sup>1</sup> was initiated in 1973 with Polish Military Special Unit involvement in the Second Emergency Armed Forces in Egypt. Although Polish diplomats and the Ministry of Defense of the Democratic Republic of Poland already

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<sup>1</sup> Peacekeeping operation: a set of actions undertaken by the actors of international relations in order to prevent, interrupt, alleviate, reduce, or suppress armed conflicts of an interstate (international) or internal character through the intervention of peacekeeping forces with a mandate of an international organization for the restoring and maintaining of peace in a crisis area, Dariusz S. Kozerański, *Kontingenty Wojska Polskiego w międzynarodowych operacjach pokojowych w latach 1973-1999. Konflikty-interwencje-bezpieczeństwo* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2012), 42.

had considerable experience participating in international surveillance and control committees in Korea, Indochina, and the International Observers Group in Nigeria, the issue of a compact military contingent in a UN peacekeeping operation was an entirely new kind of challenge for Polish authorities. Polish military contingents participated, during the period of the bi-polar Cold War, in peacekeeping operations in Syria since 1974 and in Namibia since 1989.<sup>2</sup>

It should be emphasized that during this period, Poland was the first and for many years the only country in the Eastern bloc undertaking a frequent and active participation in international peacekeeping and military observer missions. Despite the lack of independence in the conduct of its foreign policy and security, Poland gained experience and the visibility it received had a positive impact on the image of the People's Republic of Poland as a country significantly involved in the process of strengthening international peace and security.

### **Polish Military Special Unit in the UNEF II Peacekeeping Force in Egypt**

At the cessation of fighting on 25 October 1973 during the Yom Kippur War, the outcome was not arbitrated. The Egyptian Army occupied about 700 km<sup>2</sup> of the territory gained during the first days of the conflict in the northern sector of the Sinai Peninsula on the eastern side of the Suez Canal. Israeli military forces occupied areas in the central and southern sector of about 1200 km<sup>2</sup> -- on the west side of the Suez Canal -- and 800 km<sup>2</sup> on the Syrian front. During the Yom Kippur, unarmed military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) served on both sides of the Suez Canal.<sup>3</sup>

UN Security Council and Resolution No. 340 of 25 October 1973<sup>4</sup> authorized the Second UN Emergency Force in the Middle East. Finnish Army General Ensio Siilasvuo (previously UNTSO Chief of UNTSO)<sup>5</sup> was appointed as the commander. It was decided simultaneously to send troops of several national contingents (Austrian, Finnish and Swedish) to Egypt and to performing tasks in the peacekeeping operation UNFICYP<sup>6</sup> in Cyprus. The first soldiers of the newly-established peacekeeping forces arrived in Cairo, where Provisional UNEF II Headquarters was formed, on 26 October 1973.

When determining the national composition of the Second UN Emergency Force in

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<sup>2</sup> See more: Ibid., 113, and following.

<sup>3</sup> During combat operations three UNTSO observers were killed.

<sup>4</sup> S/RES/340 (1973), 1972-10-25, UN Emergency Force for the Middle East, New York 1973, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. Ensio Siilasvuo (1922-2003), designated by Resolution S/RES/ 340 ( 1973) as UNEF II commander, was already experienced in peacekeeping missions. In 1957, he served as a commander of the Finnish forces designed to the mission of UNEF I. He also served as a staff officer in a team of UN military observers deployed in Lebanon (UNOGIL). In 1964-1965, he commanded the Finnish battalion sent to the UNFICYP Mission. In addition to the advisory activity, after the war of 1967, he served as Chief of Staff of the UNTSO mission. His UN service ended in 1979, working as a chief coordinator of forces in the Middle East, cooperating with the forces of the peacekeeping operation in Lebanon (UNIFIL). UNDOF Weekly Bulletin No. 25 July 1975, 63, 18.91.1402, Archive Institution of Ministry of Defense located in Modlin, Poland (hereafter AIMON), S/RES/340 (1973), 1973-10-25, UN Emergency Force for the Middle East, New York 1973, 11

<sup>6</sup> UNFICYP – United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus.

the Middle East, relying on generally applicable principle of equitable geographical representation, the representative of the Soviet Union was able to make the financing of the this operation dependent on the participation of at least one contingent representing the socialist countries. Poland and other countries under Soviet influence were among the proposed countries.<sup>7</sup> Negotiating the composition of peacekeeping forces was the subject of a week-long discussion and compromise. As a result of the arrangements, Ghana (an African nation, which was to be supplemented by two more national contingents from Africa), Panama and Peru (Latin American regional group), Indonesia and Nepal (Asian regional group), Poland (Eastern European regional group), and Canada (Western European regional group)<sup>8</sup> were invited to participate in UNEF II in the next phase of development. It should be emphasized that this was the first time in the history of peacekeeping operations that the so-called principle of equitable geographical representation was applied. The country from the Eastern bloc, namely Poland, under the “control” of Moscow,<sup>9</sup> was included in the structures of UN peacekeeping mission forces.

Security Council Resolution No 341 of 27 October 1973 established the UNEF II mission for six months with a possible extension of that mandate. The status of the UNEF II mission was renewed several times by subsequent resolutions.<sup>10</sup>

After the approval of the proposal made by the Communist authorities to participate in UNEF II, on 6-21 November 1973, tripartite talks between United Nations Secretariat representatives and the delegations of Polish and Canadian experts were held, regarding the detailed enumeration of contingent tasks and functions.<sup>11</sup> Problems in finding a common definition concerning the differences in logistic systems of the armed forces of both countries constituted a significant obstacle in these negotiations. Six separate major logistic functions, including engineering,

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<sup>7</sup> In addition to Poland, Soviet representatives reported also: Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Romania's candidacy was not accepted by the Security Council, and Romania, in turn, was against the participation of any state of the Warsaw Pact in UNEF II. For further information, see: information on developments in the Middle East / until 11.00 am on 11.03.1973, the /, k 241, 380.92.1309, AIMON, information about the situation and the Middle East until 11.00 01/11/1973, 240-241, 18.91.1169, *ibid*.

<sup>8</sup> Information on the development in the Middle East until 11.00 AM from 03.11.1973/ 24, 380.92.1309, AIMON; Lesław Zapałowski, *Operacje pokojowe* (ONZ : Kraków, 1989), 202-203.

<sup>9</sup> Soviet political support was instrumental in the designation of the People's Republic of Poland contingent to participate in UNEF II. Directive for the Polish commander of the Military Special Unit in Emergency Armed Forces in the Middle East, 23.11.1973, k 107, 18.91.1259, AIMON.

<sup>10</sup> During the peace operation UNEF II (1973-1979), its status was defined in the mentioned UN resolutions: S/RES/340 (1973), 1973-10-25, UN Emergency Force for the Middle East, New York 1973, 11; S/RES/341 (1973), 1973-10-27, On establishment of UNEF, New York 1973, 11; S/RES/346 (1974), 1974-04-08, Egypt-Israel, New York 1974, 3; S/RES/362 (1974), 1974-10-23, Egypt-Israel, New York 1974, 5; S/RES/368 (1975), 1975-04-17, Egypt-Israel, New York 1975, 4; S/RES/371 (1975), 1975-07-24, Egypt-Israel, New York 1975, 6; S/RES/378 (1975), 1975-10-23, Egypt-Israel, New York 1975, 6-7; S/RES/396 (1976), 1976-10-22, Egypt-Israel, New York 1976, 3; S/RES/416 (1977), 1977-10-21, Egypt-Israel, New York 1977, 13; S/RES/438 (1978), 1978-10-23, Egypt-Israel, New York 1978, 7-8.

<sup>11</sup> Urgent note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from November 30, 1973, 3; AIMON, 18.91.1169, The Information from New York on Logs Units, 23.11.1973, 314, 18.91.1264, AIMON; IV.103.27, Tadeusz Mulicki and Edward Zdrojowy, *Udział Polski w siłach pokojowych ONZ na Bliskim Wschodzie* (N.p., 1975), 27, Special Collections of the Library of the Military Office for Historical Research in Warsaw (hereafter MOFHR).

communication, traffic control, quartermaster, transportation, and technical maintenance of vehicles and equipment,<sup>12</sup> were identified using the earlier experience of the UN operation in Cyprus.

The negotiations established the organization of the entire logistics system for UNEF II and divided relevant tasks between the Polish and Canadian contingents.<sup>13</sup> On 22 November 1973, a final agreement was accepted by both sides, according to which the following distribution of functions was established:<sup>14</sup>

1. Operational logistic resupply units, including:<sup>15</sup>
  - engineering supply -- under Polish responsibility;
  - medical supply -- under Polish responsibility;
  - communications -- under Canadian responsibility;
  - internal air transport -- under Canadian responsibility;
2. Technical aspects of materiel and maintenance were divided in this manner:
  - quartermaster protection - under Canadian responsibility;
  - technical security of equipment:
    - The West -- under Canadian responsibility;
    - The East -- under Polish responsibility;
  - control supply (ports and airports) -- under Canadian responsibility;
  - the transport of supplies -- under Polish responsibility;
  - postal service -- under Canadian responsibility;
3. The Polish contingent contained elements subordinate to the UNEF II commander:
  - command;
  - staff element (including such units as: operational, political, communication with the country, and other elements);
  - rear area supply component: to provide for internal contingent support: quartermaster, technical, and medical);
  - Military Internal Service Platoon<sup>16</sup> (Military Police): to maintain discipline and conduct investigations within the national contingent.

Both countries also provided an equal number of personnel for the Military Police. Finally, the situation gradually began to stabilize and UNEF II achieved a strength of

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<sup>12</sup> Urgent note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 30 November 1973, 2, 18.91.1264, AIMON.

<sup>13</sup> In order to implement these tasks, the Canadian contingent directed the following to deploy to the area of the mission: a branch of communication, a managing company, an operating company, a division of traffic control, and postal branch. The air unit, military police, administrative unit, and military personnel for peacekeeping headquarters were also identified for UNEF II.

<sup>14</sup> The Information from New York on Logs Units, 23 November 1973, k. 314, 18.91.1169; Urgent note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from November 30, 4, 18.91.1264, AIMON; Jan Budziński, „Zakres funkcji logistycznych spełnianych przez Polską Wojskową Jednostkę Specjalną w Doraźnych Siłach Zbrojnych na Bliskim Wschodzie”, *Pokoje misje ludowego Wojska Polskiego w świecie po 1945 roku*, Conference documents, ed. Leonard Ratajczyk (MON : Warszawa, 1977), 186.

<sup>15</sup> These units were relatively separate, each of them led by the head of the service having the required personnel to be involved in the planning and operations of the specific type of logistic support.

<sup>16</sup> WIS: Military Internal Service; after 1989, redesignated the Military Police.

5,545 troops from Austria, Ghana, Finland, Indonesia, Ireland, Nepal, Panama, Peru, Senegal, Sweden, Poland, and Canada (including 826 Polish soldiers)<sup>17</sup> in January 1974.

Col. Jerzy Jarosz commanded the first rotation of the Polish contingent in UNEF II from November 1973 to May 1974, which was organized by the Warsaw Military District on the structure of the 6<sup>th</sup> Pomeranian Airborne Division. The Polish unit consisted of the following companies: command and protection, transport, engineering, maintenance, construction, operation, and field hospital. In addition, officers performing different functions at the UNEF II Headquarters and multinational military police<sup>18</sup> were soldiers of the Polish Special Military Forces.

The Polish contingent in UNEF II performed the following tasks:<sup>19</sup>

- security of road transport, the transport of persons, goods, water, food, and fuel from the ports and supply bases to individual contingents deployed in the buffer zone;
- checking the area in terms of mining, road construction, and other engineering equipment for the needs of UNEF II staffs and posts;
- developing plans and technical assumptions for each operation in the field of engineering and sapper;
- maintenance (repair and conservation) of organic and other vehicles from Eastern European countries;
- treatment of drinking water for each contingent;
- protection of the medical service of the UN forces, in particular the service of the health center of 50 beds and special medical assistance;
- participation of the Polish sub-division within the international UN military police;
- participation of the Polish commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the UNEF II Headquarters activities (including self-management of engineering departments and medical services).

One of the most highly skilled and proficient groups (especially in the medicine and engineering) was the Polish contingent. The inclusion of the Polish unit in the UNEF II structure created a precedent of participation of a military contingent from a Warsaw Pact member state.

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<sup>17</sup> Information about activities of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> rotation of PSMU in the Middle East from 10 October 1974, 98, 18.91.1257, AIMON; Andrzej Ajnenkiel, *The participation of the Polish Army in the United Nations Operations after World War II*, 23 August 1995, 7, IV.103.349, MOFHR; Kozerawski, *Polskie kontyngenty wojskowe w operacjach pokojowych 1973*, 92; Czesław Dęga, *Udział Wojska Polskiego w misjach pokojowych Organizacji Narodów Zjednoczonych*, (Warszawa: n.p., 1993), 83; Władysław Kozaczuk, "Misje pokojowe ludowego Wojska Polskiego w latach 1953-1978," *Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny* 4 (1978): 147.

<sup>18</sup> *Udział jednostek Wojska Polskiego w międzynarodowych operacjach pokojowych w latach 1973-2003*, ed. Dariusz Kozerawski, (Warszawa: AON, 2004), 10; Zapalowski, *Operacje pokojowe*, 205.

<sup>19</sup> Urgent note of 30 November 1973, 4; Ibid., 18.91.1257, *Information about activities of 1st and 2nd rotation of Polish Special Military Unit in the Middle East of 10 October 1974*, 98, 18.91.1264, AIMON; *A Report on the activity of the 8th rotation of the Polish Special Military Unit in the Emergency Armed Forces for the MoD Inspection Commission*, 1975/1976, p. 15, 18.91.1608, AIMON; Mulicki, *Zdrojowy, Udział Polski w siłach pokojowych ONZ na Bliskim Wschodzie*, 29, IV.103.27, SRL MOFHR.

Polish-Canadian cooperation, as noted in various source documents, "was characterized by mutual affection." It should be emphasized that these contingents were accommodated in the same camp on the outskirts of Al Ghala Ismailia, and the soldiers performed logistic tasks in mutual support of each contingent and also visited each other during official events and celebrations and when off duty. Besides, it is worth emphasizing the soldiers of both contingents (from opposing political and military blocs) mutually saluted both the Canadian and Polish officers, which in light of the Cold War was exceptional. Although Polish contacts with other nations' representatives (Australians, Finns, Swedes, Ghanaians, and Indonesians) were also considered satisfactory, source documents underscore that Polish-Canadian cooperation, had s much broader dimension<sup>20</sup> due to the long time the respective contingents spent together.

During the PSMU operation in the Middle East, its personnel changed several times, which mainly resulted from changes of the situation in the region and organizational structure modifications of the individual components of UNEF II. The number of Poles evolved from 826 persons in 1973 (1st rotation), to 955 people in the middle of the mission (1976 - 6th rotation), to 1,014 people in its final phase in 1979 (12th rotation).<sup>21</sup> This mission ended in 1979, and in total 11,699 people served in UNEF II (including 4,037 professional soldiers, 7,080 conscript soldiers, and 582 civilian staff).<sup>22</sup>

Operations of UNEF II assisted in the development and evolution the theory and practice of international peacekeeping operations. Moreover, the operations of UNEF II seemingly contributed to a gradual normalization of relations between conflict parties, which transitioned from a state of war in 1973 to peace negotiations that ended with a peace treaty, which resulted in the withdrawal of UNEF II forces from the area of operations.

### **Polish Army Contingent in United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in Syria**

Another peacekeeping operation including a Polish contingent took place in the Golan Heights in Syria, which was considered by the parties as particularly important from a strategic point of view. Israel considered these hills a kind of buffer against a possible military attack from Syria. The Sinai Peninsula played a similar role in Israeli

<sup>20</sup> A Report on the activities of the VIIIth rotation of PMSU in Emergency Armed Forces in the Middle East for the period 1.06-1.12.1977, Ismailia, 72-73, 18.91.1767, AIMON; Dariusz Kozerawski, "Polsko-kanadyjska współpraca wojskowa w międzynarodowych operacjach pokojowych ONZ w okresie zimnej wojny (1973-1989)," in *Historia wojskowości XX wieku*, ed. Aneta Niewęglowska and Małgorzata Wiśniewska, (Siedlce: n.p., 2010), 453 and following.

<sup>21</sup> Rotation: 1 – 1,026 people (1974); 8 – 1,055 people (1977); 11 – 1,016 people (1978/1979); 12 – 1,014 people (1979) counted the largest number of staff. It should be noted that about 95-97% of the total contingent constituted soldiers, R. Kowalczyk. «Historical and Military Conditions of the Contingent's Participation in the International Operations of the UN Emergency Armed Forces [sic] in the Middle East in the years 1973-1979», (PhD diss., University of Natural Sciences and the Humanities in Siedlce 2010), 95; Zbigniew Moszumański and Zbigniew Palski, *Traditions and experiences of Polish soldiers in Iraq and neighbouring countries*, (Warsaw: n.p., 2003), 77-80; and Kozaczuk, *Misje pokojowe*, 315.

<sup>22</sup> Franciszek Gągor, Krzysztof Paszkowski, *Międzynarodowe operacje pokojowe w doktrynie obronnej RP*, (Adam Marszałek: Toruń, 1999), 151.

strategy, which in turn provided operational space in the conflict with Egypt. The Golan Heights also includes a water supply provided by the Jordan River, which in this area is a strategic resource, and the state having control over it can dictate terms and conditions to others. One group of researchers emphasizes the importance of this area, indicating willingness to exercise control over the Golan Heights, as one of the primary reasons for the armed confrontations between Israel and Syria.<sup>23</sup>

The end of the Syrian-Israeli fighting in late October 1973 did not bring stability to the Golan Heights area. The Syrian authorities did not agree to the stationing of the UNEF II peacekeepers on their territories. The situation only changed after signing an Syrian-Israeli Agreement on 31 May 1974 in Geneva, concerning the creation of a buffer zone<sup>24</sup> and lines and areas of separation, and the establishment of the UN peacekeeping force in the agreement. As a result, UNDOF was established under UN Security Council Resolution No 350 of 31 May 1974. Its main objective was to supervise the operation of the agreement on the separation of Israeli and Syrian forces. Brigadier General Gonzalo Zavallos Briceno from Peru (former commander of the Northern Brigade Force, UNEF II)<sup>25</sup> was appointed commander of UNDOF, and Austrian Col. Seyer was designated force chief of staff. The establishment of a peacekeeping mission was a compromise between the concept of Syria leading to opening a UN military observer mission with a slightly extended mandate and the Israeli option for the creation of peacekeeping forces.<sup>26</sup>

Specific elements from the Canadian and Polish contingents that had served with UNEF II<sup>27</sup> were detached to perform logistic tasks within the newly-established UNDOF peacekeeping operation. Operational projects belonged to contingents from Austria and Peru and 88 observers from UNTSO.<sup>28</sup> The separation of the conflict parties proceeded without major disruption and was completed on 25 June 1974.

In the initial stages of the UNDOF operation, Polish logistic units of UNEF II provided the operation with substantial support. For example, the support included directing additional specialists in the field of mine clearance to Syria, which ensured

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<sup>23</sup> Stanisław Guliński, *Calkiem Bliski Wschód* (Warszawa: n.p., 2008); Philip C. Salzman, *Culture and Conflict in the Middle East* (Amherst: n.p., 2008); Joel Beinin and Rebecca L. Stein, *The Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel, 1993-2005* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Willaim L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: n.p., 2004); Bernard Lewis, *Muzulmański Bliski Wschód* (Gdańsk: n.p., 2003); Aliza Kaplan and Tim Werner, *Search for Common Ground in the Middle East* (Washington: n.p., 1999); and Michael C. Hudson, *The Arab Future: Critical Issues* (Washington: n.p., 1979).

<sup>24</sup> An area of limited presence of troops and armaments in the region of separation of forces on the Golan Heights took a strip of land with a width of about 20 km on both sides of the buffer zone. Each of these areas was divided into two additional "subzones" with a width of about 10 km. In the first subzone, which was adjacent to the buffer zone on both sides, the army could not exceed six thousand soldiers, 75 tanks, and 56 short-range guns to 122 mm. The number of troops and weapons were not limited in the outer subzone, except for guided missiles and tanks, whose number could not exceed 450 pieces, W. Kozaczuk, *Misje pokojowe*, 155.

<sup>25</sup> On 15 December 1974, Col. and then Gen. Hannes Philip from Austria became UNDOF commander.

<sup>26</sup> L. Zapalowski, *Operacje pokojowe*, 211-212.

<sup>27</sup> Note concerning the separation from the Polish Army the appropriate numbers of military personnel and equipment for UN Peacekeeping Missions participation, [1974], bns, IV.101.25, MOFHR.

<sup>28</sup> UNTSO: United Nations Truce Supervision Organization.



tasks continuity and the safety of the newly-created peacekeeping force.<sup>29</sup> In 1974, at the request of the United Nations Secretariat, a team of experts from the PSMU logistic subunits were sent to supervise the construction works on the Golan Heights in order to properly prepare camps for the winter.<sup>30</sup>

Early in UNDOF operations, a 92-man Polish logistical element from UNEF II was attached to UNDOF to provide logistical services. The first commander of the Polish unit in UNDOF was Maj. Ing. Eugeniusz Nowak. Polish soldiers executed mainly sapper, transport, and supplies tasks,<sup>31</sup> in addition to engineering-sapper support, construction materials transport; personnel transport; purification and fresh water supply; fuel and lubricants supply; and maintenance services for Eastern Bloc vehicles and equipment. In turn, the 73<sup>rd</sup> Canadian Logistics battalion performed the following tasks:<sup>32</sup> maintenance services for vehicles and equipment (other than that from the Eastern Bloc); traffic control; postal services; warehousing; and food and equipment distribution.

In July 1975, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in consultation with the Security Council, established the position of coordinator of UN peacekeeping operations in the Middle East, and appointed to the position Gen. Ensio Siilasvuo,<sup>33</sup> whose headquarters were located in Jerusalem. When filling key positions within individual UN operations in the Middle East, it was taken into consideration that many of the officers had significant experiences serving in peacekeeping operation in the Middle East.

It should be emphasized that Polish Army soldiers were involved in the logistic tasks in all key stages of the UNDOF operation. For example, during the separation of troops and marking the buffer zone, three Polish mine patrols checked and cleared the area of bases, checkpoints, and patrolling areas. UNDOF units conducted supply-transport tasks that exceeded the established responsibilities of the Polish unit. Despite the fact that they were to conduct transport activities to the so-called "second line" (from the main supply bases of the mission to the stationing of contingents and outposts in the buffer zone), in practice the Polish transport included the tasks of the first line as well.

After the expiration of the UNEF II mandate in July 1979, the Polish unit in UNDOF became an independent Polish Military Contingent. It was a logistic unit (POLLOG), which had an average of 130 to 150 people in the period of its existence. It consisted of the command and service, transport, engineering, repair, construction, and sanitary-

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<sup>29</sup> Teletype no. 595 of 6.06.1974, p. 95, 18.91.1260, AIMON; Memo of 12.06.1974, 56, 18.91.1251, AIMON; Claris No 13580/215 of 5.07.1974, 137, 18.91.1260, AIMON; Letter to the Minister of Defense concerning PSMU personnel enlargement of 50 soldiers, 1974, 69, 18.91.1251, AIMON.

<sup>30</sup> Memo concerning the separation of a specialists' team for supervising construction works on the Golan Heights, 1974, 148-149, 18.91.1251, AIMON.

<sup>31</sup> In the initial stage of its functioning, the Polish contingent in UNDOF owned 24 vehicles in stock. Mjr Kazimierz Górny commanded the engineering and sapper team, which was particularly important in view of other tasks' security in the first rotation.

<sup>32</sup> UNEF Instruction concerning applicable rules of operational work, [1974], 69, and following, 18.91.2275, AIMON.

<sup>33</sup> Former UNEF II commander.

epidemiological laboratory elements.<sup>34</sup> The number and size of these sub-units during the operation varied depending on the current UNDOF needs. The Polish contingent also included military personnel occupying various positions at the UNDOF Headquarters and in its military police unit.

In comparing the two Polish Armed Forces contingents serving in UNEF II and in UNDOF, several important differences and similarities appear. The Egyptian-Israeli conflict concluded with a peace treaty, whereas in the case of the Syrian-Israeli conflict, there was no peace agreement. The tasks of UNEF II were set out in a UN Security Council resolution, while in relation to the UNDOF operation, the composition of peacekeeping forces in Syria resulted from negotiations between the UN and concerned countries. Tension continued in the Golan, frequently the result of political and military activities in the region, including Israel's 1978 military intervention in southern Lebanon, fighting in the Bekaa Valley, and clashes in Beirut. These circumstances clearly necessitated an extension to the UNDOF mandate. In turn, the signing of the Camp David agreements in September 1978 facilitated the peace treaty signed between Egypt and Israel on 26 March 1979 and withdrawal of Israeli troops from the northern area of the Sinai Peninsula.<sup>35</sup> This state of affairs did not allow the UN Security Council to extend the mandate, which expired on 24 July 1979 and caused UNTSO observers to stay in the country. When the UNEF II mandate ended, it included 4,178 soldiers from Austria, Finland, Ghana, Indonesia, Canada, Poland, and Sweden were serving in it.

The participation of Polish contingents in both UNEF II and UNDOF operations and their effective and efficient cooperation with Canadian contingents in providing logistical support made it possible to perform the mandated tasks and presented a positive image of Poland in the international arena.

### **Poles in the UN Transitional Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG)**

Another UN peacekeeping operation including a Polish Army contingent was conducted in Namibia in southwestern Africa. After the First World War, this German colony was incorporated in the League of Nations mandated territory program and became, as South West Africa, a protectorate of Great Britain.<sup>36</sup> After World War II, the United Nations superseded the League of Nations, and South Africa refused to surrender its earlier mandate to be replaced by a UN trusteeship agreement that required closer international monitoring of the territory's administration. Despite strong opposition from the UN General Assembly in Resolution No. 65 / I of 14 December 1946, the Union of South Africa made the incorporation of the Namibian land in 1949 *de facto* and in 1959 *de jure* issuing a legal act.<sup>37</sup>

The UN would not stop in their efforts to enable the creation of their own state

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<sup>34</sup> F. Gągor, K. Paszkowski, *Międzynarodowe operacje pokojowe*, 151.

<sup>35</sup> The next phases of the Israeli withdrawal took place on 25 July and 25 September 1979. The remaining areas were occupied by Egyptian forces.

<sup>36</sup> Namibia's today territory was then administered by the Union of South Africa (incorporated into the British Commonwealth), a member state in the name of Great Britain.

<sup>37</sup> In 1961, the Union of South Africa left the British Commonwealth and proclaimed itself as the Republic of South Africa.

by the indigenous people of Namibia. This purpose led to adoption by the UN General Assembly of Resolution 2372XXII on 12 June 1968 proclaiming the name of Namibia in place of South West Africa and condemning the South African authorities for the violation of international legal instruments dealing with the territory of Namibia. In March 1969, the United Nations again condemned the South African government and urged it to leave the territory, but despite the 1971 verdict of the International Court of Justice that obliged the South African authorities to withdraw from the illegally occupied territory of Namibia, the situation did not improve.

Security Council Resolution No. 435 of 29 September 1978, concerning the establishment of Namibia's independence after free elections held under UN observation, was issued. A decade later, by Resolution No. 632 of 16 February 1989, UNTAG was established. This peacekeeping force was to support the UN Secretary General's Special Representative in Namibia, whose mission was to ensure the country's independence by assisting in the preparation and supervision of free and democratic elections. Its duration was planned for 12 months and the peacekeeping force was composed of two essential components, civilian<sup>38</sup> and military.<sup>39</sup>

However, despite the active measures taken by the representatives of the United Nations, it was only on 22 December 1988 when, in UN Headquarters in New York, an agreement was signed between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, as well as the bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba. The signatories to the agreements designated 1 April 1989 as the beginning of the implementation of the provisions adopted a decade earlier by Resolution No. 435.<sup>40</sup>

The Polish Minister of National Defense established a Polish Military Logistics Unit (PMLU)<sup>41</sup> to serve in UNTAG. This unit began forming on 6 March 1989, cobbled around Military Unit 1366 in Kłodzko, part of the Silesian Military District (SOW), and it was fully formed by 31 March.<sup>42</sup> The PMLU activities led by the Operational

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<sup>38</sup> The UNTAG civilian component was composed of staff personnel, regional and district offices, election supervision personnel, and specialized personnel of UN agencies, including UNHCR, UNICEF, UNDP, and international police.

<sup>39</sup> The UNTAG military component consisted of operational military subunits, logistic military subunits, and military observers.

<sup>40</sup> The UN Security Council by voting Resolution no 629 of January 16th 1989 adopted the term of April the 1st 1989 as initiating the Peace process for Namibia, A Report on the Polish Military Logistic Unit's activity for the Period from 15.03.1989 to 16.05.1990, 3, IV.101.24, SRL MOFHR.

<sup>41</sup> The legal basis for the formation of the PMLU were: the order of the Minister of National Defense Pf No. 6 dated. 2 March 1989; Ordinance of the Chief of General Staff Pf No. 25 dated 2 March 1989; Unit specification of PMLU No. 02/123, PAF Chief Quartermaster's Ordinance No. 8 dated Pf. 08.03.1989; Directives of the Chief of the Polish Army Educational Directorate Pf No. 3 dated. 08.03.1989; Directives of the Head of the MoD Department of Finance dated. 13.03.1989; Directives of the Head of Health Care – Polish Army Deputy Chief Quartermaster dated 6.03.1989; Temporary Scope of the PMLU Activities in UNTAG in Namibia dated. 05.04.1989. A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 17 April 1989 to 15 October 1989, 1, 10.94.95.91, AIMON.,

<sup>42</sup> It should be noted that the first group of soldiers (60 drivers) was ready for action as early as mid-March. From 13 March 1989, the equipment and essential facilities of the contingent were assembled at designated bases, in readiness for transfer to the port of Gdansk and loading on ships. A Report on the activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 15 March 1989 to 16 May 1990, 5, IV.101.24, SRL MOFHR.

Group was commanded by the head of the Polish Army 15<sup>th</sup> General Staff.<sup>43</sup> Lt. Col. Kazimierz Gilej was designated commander of the Polish Military Logistic Unit. On 15 March 1989, a PMLU reconnaissance party (consisting of the deputy commander for logistics and eight soldiers of various specialties) landed in the town of Windhoek in Namibia. The entire Polish contingent deployed from Warsaw to Grootfontein in three flights from 9 to 17 April 1989.<sup>44</sup> The transportation of equipment and supplies for the PMLU by sea from the port of Gdansk to the port of Walvis Bay, from where it was further transported by road and rail to Grootfontein, was organized during the period 23 March to 13 April 1989.

From mid-April to the end of May 1989, the Polish Military Logistics Unit in Namibia prepared facilities and equipment essential to the subsequent execution of mandated tasks. Using their own equipment and accommodation base, the Poles organized the reception and transportation of a military-civilian staff (totaling about 1,900 people) for the Finnish and Malaysian contingents and international police officers. The Polish contingent began its required activities at the end of May.<sup>45</sup>

UNTAG was led by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Namibian affairs, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, who was directly responsible for the civil and military components of the force. Lt. Gen. Dewan Prem Chand was appointed military force commander and was responsible for all contingents and tasks of the force. The Logistics Division of UNTAG Headquarters was responsible for directing the logistics activities (support) of UNTAG.

Coordination of logistics support for UNTAG was to be performed by the Logistics Support Group (LSG), which was to be formed and operational in April 1989. It consisted of<sup>46</sup> the Polish Logistics Battalion (PLB), 89 Canadian Logistics Unit (CLU 89), Polish Central Supply Depot; Danish Military Unit of Communication and Postal Services; Swiss Medical Unit; and German Repair Group. The staff and some components of the Logistics Support Group were located in the town of Windhoek, and its commander was also acting as head of the logistics of the UNTAG operation. The main task of UNTAG was overseeing the agreement on the cessation of hostilities between the forces of South Africa and South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) guerrilla forces, overseeing the reduction and withdrawal of South African troops from the territory of Namibia, and securing the repatriation of refugees. In addition, UNTAG peacekeepers were to monitor the preparation and execution of free elections to the Constituent Assembly of Namibia.

The area of responsibility of the Polish Military Logistics Units of UNTAG included the areas of Namibia from north of 21 degrees and 30 minutes latitude, and for the civilian component, from north of 22 degrees latitude. These were some of the most

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<sup>43</sup> The Operational Group consisted of representatives of the MoD Central Institutions.

<sup>44</sup> They were cruising flights on the following dates: 9-10.04 - 116 soldiers (including 77 professional ones) 13-14.04 - 116 soldiers (65 professional), 16-17.04.1989 - 105 soldiers (63 professional) for a total of 337 soldiers including 205 professional. A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 17 April 1989 to 15 October 1989, 1, 10.94.95.91, AIMON.

<sup>45</sup> A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 15 March 1989 to 16 May 1990, 5, IV.101.24, SRL MOFHR.

<sup>46</sup> Attach. 5, A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistic Unit in Namibia for the Period from 17 April to 15 October 1989, IV.101.23, RSL MOFHR.

densely populated areas of Namibia, containing about 60 percent of the total population of the country. The basic logistical support tasks of PMLU were:<sup>47</sup>

- The first line of supply -- PMLU;
- The second line of supply -- for UNTAG military units and civilian components in the area of PMLU responsibility;
- The third line of supply -- related tasks performed by the UNTAG Central Depot Supply;
- The second line of transport -- for UNTAG units in the area of responsibility;
- The first and second line of repair for PMLU vehicles and equipment;
- Technical evacuation of UNTAG vehicles in the area of responsibility;
- Laundry and bathing services for UNTAG units.

The PMLU, due to the situational changes in the area of operation of the UNTAG, executed many emergency tasks including:<sup>48</sup> protection of refugee transportation; providing food for groups of refugees according to the UNHCR plans; logistical support of the election in northern Namibia; logistical support of the withdrawal of the UNTAG military component; and settlement and liquidation of warehouses of the second and third lines after the end of UNTAG operations.

The scale and scope of the tasks carried out by subunits of the Polish Military Logistics Unit is shown by the number and specificity of UNTAG military units and civilian components supported logistically by the Poles. These included: Malay Operations Battalion (MALBATT); Finnish Operations Battalion (FINBATT); British Telecommunications Unit (UK Sign Unit); 17 Australian Battalion of Engineers (Con 17 Sqn); Spanish Air Support Group (Lt Tpt Sgn); Italian Group Air Support (Helo Sgn); Swiss Medical Unit (Swiss Med. Units); Danish Military Communications Unit (Dan Mov Con); Danish Postal Unit (Postal Unit); the UNTAG Police Monitors (CIVPOL); Regional and Peripheral UNTAG Administrative Centers; and electoral groups. The PMLU area of responsibility was about 32,000 km<sup>2</sup>, with support provided to more than 70 percent of military units and about 80 percent of the elements of the civilian component. The Polish contingent definitely played a key role in UNTAG logistical support.

The main task of the Polish Logistics Battalion (stationed in the town of Grootfontein) was to ensure the functioning of the central stocks of supply and supplying operational battalions and civilian component in the northern part of Namibia. The responsibility for similar tasks in the Central and Southern Sectors was carried out by the 89 Canadian Logistics Unit (its essential subunits stationed in the towns of Windhoek and Ketmanshop).<sup>49</sup> In contrast, medical coverage was the responsibility of the Swiss Medical Units and support in the renovation of the German Repair Group.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 17 April 1989 to 15 October 1989, 3, 10.94.95.91, AIMON.

<sup>48</sup> A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 15 March 1989 to 16 May 1990, 7, IV.101.24, RSL MOFHR.

<sup>49</sup> Attach. 5, A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit in Namibia for the Period from 17 April to 15 October 1989, Annex B, IV.101.23, SRL MOFHR.

<sup>50</sup> Zał. 5, A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit in Namibia for the period from 17 April to 15 October 1989, IV.101.23, SRL MOFHR.

The Polish Military Logistics Unit in Namibia consisted of organizational elements including Command and Staff; rear service, supply and service companies; transport; supply; UNTAG Central Depot; and a separate group of military police peacekeepers.<sup>51</sup> The commanders, due to mission requirements, decided to establish two major subdivisions -- Polish Logistics Battalion in Grootfontein and Central Supply Depot (CSD) in Windhoek (as a supply unit for the third line, it was responsible for the receipt and storage of all equipment and incoming materials intended for UNTAG). CSD personnel delivered requested materials to the second line of supply, the Polish Logistics Battalion and 89 Canadian Logistics Unit. In turn, these units supplied the military and civilian components of UNTAG in their areas of responsibility and within the first supply line.<sup>52</sup>

By June 1989, transportation tasks were executed using Polish trucks (Jelcz 415D and Star 266), and later other vehicles. PMLU trucks during the entire mission drove over a total of 3,089,370 km.<sup>53</sup> The Polish medical services, in addition to providing health care for PMLU personal, also provided ambulatory assistance to the personnel of other contingents (mainly dental: 38 such cases during the mission). In addition, medical advice was provided to UNTAG civilian employees in cooperation with UNHCR (47 appointments). Due to the termination of operations of the Swiss Medical Contingent on 1 March 1990, Polish health service staff assumed responsibility for the medical care all soldiers in the northern zone of the peacekeeping operation.<sup>54</sup> During the UNTAG operation, a road accident occurred that resulted in the deaths of three Polish soldiers. Moreover, there were two other accidents, in which seven other soldiers were injured.<sup>55</sup>

As a result of the withdrawal of the Canadian contingent from the mission area on 20 December 1989, the Polish Military Logistics Unit assumed responsibility for the execution of the tasks of supply and transportation on the territory of Namibia. According to the UNTAG withdrawal plan, PMLU strength was reduced beginning in December 1989. The PMLU the longest-serving unit in the mission area, with the last group of soldiers departing on 9 April 1990 and the storage facilities were completed on 15 May 1990.

The official declaration of independence of Namibia took place on 21 March 1990 and formed the basis for UNTAG's mission success. The completion of UNTAG's tasks was scheduled for 3 April 1990. However, due to the nature of the projects carried out by PMLU, Polish soldiers secured the withdrawal of the military

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<sup>51</sup> Attach. 7, PMLU organizational structure according to the unit 02/123, 1989, IV.101.23, SRL MOFHR.

<sup>52</sup> A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 15 March 1989 to 16 May 1990, 17, IV.101.24, SRL MOFHR.

<sup>53</sup> The Polish PMLU trucks covered the following distances: Jelcz trucks 415D – 453.943 km, Star 266 – 412.629 km. Two trucks destroyed in an accident did not come back to Poland (Star 266 water tank truck, Star 244 fire engine). A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 15 March 1989 to 16 May 1990, 23, IV.101.24, SRL MOFHR.

<sup>54</sup> A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the period from 17 April to 15 October 1989, 31, 10.94.95.91, AIMON; A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the period from 15 March 1989 to 16 May 1990, 36, IV.101.24, SRL MOFHR.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 26, 30.

component of the operation until 8 April.<sup>56</sup> The PMLU Liquidation Group, together with representatives of the UNTAG civil staff, reconciled transport and supply operations completed on 15 May 1990.<sup>57</sup>

In total, during the UNTAG peacekeeping operation in Namibia, over 7,000 personnel from 109 nations (including the group of 373 soldiers of the PAF)<sup>58</sup> participated in the mission. In addition, the Polish contingent included 20 Polish military observers. The Polish Military Contingent in Namibia totaled 393 soldiers (including 261 professional soldiers and 132 conscripts).<sup>59</sup>

UNTAG peacekeeping operations place in 1989-1990, a period that coincided with the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the political transformation of the Polish state. The Polish Military Contingent's activities (March-April 1989) began when the Polish People's Republic operated, and ended by representing the Third Republic of Poland, starting as a fully sovereign state entity. Experiences gained during the UNTAG operation were further used in subsequent international peace operations conducted in the 1990s with the participation of Polish military contingents.

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The establishment of UNEF II in 1973 constituted a compromise solution for all stake holders, limited the escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the possibility of a confrontation between the great powers. When establishing UN peacekeeping missions, the principles of collective responsibility and equitable geographical representation were considered. The confirmation of the will to extend the principle of cooperation was the inclusion of representatives of the Soviet Union and of UNTSO observers for the first time. The participation of a Soviet bloc and Warsaw Pact unit – the Polish Military Special Unit – took place for the first time in UNEF II. Israel also for the first time agreed to the stationing of the UN peacekeepers on its territory, in spite of some restrictions on the freedom of movement of the contingents of the countries with no diplomatic relations with this country.<sup>60</sup>

The involvement of Polish contingents in both UN operations in the Middle East (UNEF II in Egypt and UNDOF in Syria) and their effective and efficient logistical cooperation with Canadian contingents made it possible to perform the mandated tasks and had a positive impact on the image of Poland in the international environment. Entrusted by the UN authorities, once again, with the main tasks of logistics, Poland and Canada during the UNTAG peacekeeping operation presented a sign of recognition and confidence in the previous interoperability in peacekeeping missions in the Middle East. The effects of this interaction met the recognition of the

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<sup>56</sup> Successive phasing out of the PMLU from the areas of operation began in March 1990: 16 March, 35; 3 April, 165; and 9 April 1990, 41 soldiers.

<sup>57</sup> A liquidation group (19 people) returned to Poland in four flights on 29 April, and 10 and 17 May 1990.

<sup>58</sup> A Report on the Activities of the Polish Military Logistics Unit for the Period from 15 March 1989 to 16 May 1990, 4, IV.101.24, SLR MOFHR.

<sup>59</sup> Gągor, Paszkowski, *Międzynarodowe operacje pokojowe*, 152.

<sup>60</sup> Apart from Poland the group of countries participating in UNEF II and UNDOF included Ghana, Indonesia, and Senegal.

UN Secretary General and the authorities of the various countries whose contingents were supported by Polish and Canadian logistic units.

This period was especially difficult in terms of tension in the international situation (Cold War) attributable to the origin and development of the cooperation. It is worth mentioning that the joint implementation of logistic tasks by Poland and Canada was continued after the end of the Cold War, and in another peacekeeping operation involving the Polish military contingent – UNTAC – in Cambodia

Effective cooperation of Polish Army contingents – Poland having the second largest army of the Warsaw Pact -- with one of the best trained and equipped forces of NATO -- the Canadian Army -- despite significant political and ideological differences, was a unique precedent in the Cold War. Its enabled, after governmental-level changes in Poland (since 1989) to further joint performance of tasks with Canadian units, providing valuable experience and constituting a solid foundation for future integration within the framework of the political and military structures of the North Atlantic Treaty at the end of the next decade.

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## 9.

# Poles in the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea, 1953-2014

by

**Janusz Zuziak**

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### Abstract

After the Second World War, Korea, free from the Japanese, was divided into a northern part under the influence of the USSR and the southern pro-Western section. War broke out between the two divided countries on 25 June 1950. North Korea was supported by the Chinese volunteer forces, while South Korea was supported by United Nations forces, consisting mainly of the U.S. Army. In summer 1951, negotiations were initiated in Kaesong. They resulted in the armistice treaty signed in Panmunjom on 27 July 1953. Two international commissions were established to supervise provisions of the Panmunjom treaty: a disarmament and a supervisory commission. The Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission consisted of representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland. It was the Polish debut in international peacekeeping missions. Poland was also a member of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. The Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission established 20 inspection teams, each consisting of at least four officers representing all member countries of the Commission.

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After the Second World War, Korea, free from the Japanese, was divided into a northern part under the influence of the Soviet Union and the southern pro-Western part. On 25 June 1950, as the result of the aggression of the army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) against the Republic of Korea (South Korea), the three-year long Korean War broke out.

On 23 June 1951, Jakub Malik, a Soviet delegate to the UN, declared that the issue of the war in Korea should be solved by negotiations between the parties of the conflict. The Soviet stand was met with interest and approval by U.S. President Harry Truman. Negotiations started on 10 July 1951 in Kaesong, situated in the North Korean territory. On 25 October 1951, they were transferred to Panmunjom, located on the dividing line of the Korean states. The two-year negotiations ended on 27 July 1953 with the signature of the Armistice Agreement closing this tragic stage in Korean history, but also the hot period of tense relations between the so-called Western and Eastern blocs. The principal aim of the Armistice Agreement was to end the armed conflict on the Korean Peninsula and establish an armistice,

as an intermediate step to achieving a final peace agreement. The most important items included in the armistice included the military demarcation line and demilitarized zone, ceasefire, armistice enforcement, and the issue of prisoners of war.

In order to enforce the implementation of the adopted tasks the signatories of the Agreement set up two permanent entities, the Military Reconciliation Commission and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. Temporary organizations were also established, including the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, Mixed Red Cross Groups, the Committee for Repatriation of Prisoners of War, and the Committee for Aiding the Return of Resettled Civilians.

The Armistice signatories agreed that military operations would cease on 27 July at 2200 hours. In addition, a demarcation line was established along the front line, roughly following the 38th Parallel, and the combatants were to withdraw their forces to the distance of two kilometres from this line, creating the four-kilometer-wide buffer zone, known as the "Demilitarized Zone."

The main body set up to perform tasks in the scope of supervision and control of implementation and fulfilment of the arrangements of the Armistice Agreement was the Military Reconciliation Commission, stationed permanently in Panmunjom. According to the Agreement, in the initial period it was to be assisted by ten Mixed Observation Groups, consisting of four-six officers each.

The second body set up to enforce the arrangements of the Armistice Agreement was the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, headquartered in Panmunjom. It was to be an autonomous body, not subordinated to the Military Reconciliation Commission. The Supervisory Commission was to be composed of four neutral nations' representatives, two indicated by the Chief Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the People's Volunteer Army (Poland and Czechoslovakia were selected) and two by the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Troops (Switzerland and Sweden). Point 37 of the Armistice Agreement defined *neutral states* as the states whose armed forces had not been engaged in the military conflict in Korea. The Supervisory Commission, through 20 subordinate Neutral Nations Inspection Groups, was to conduct supervision and inspections in the places where there was a suspicion of the infringement of the Armistice Agreement arrangements. Five Inspection Groups were placed in ports of entry located on the territory under the military control of the Chief Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the People's Volunteer Army, and other five in ports of entry on the territory controlled by the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Troops.

Before the first rotation of the Polish mission in the Supervisory Commission was sent to Korea, Poland provided humanitarian aid to war victims. In May 1953, a field hospital of the Polish Red Cross was established. A group of 50 military and civilian health service employees was sent to Korea. The Polish Red Cross hospital functioned in Korea until the end of 1953, aiding soldiers and civilians.

In conjunction with the decision to send the Polish mission to Korea, a special military unit 2000 was set up, whose task was to prepare the members of the Polish mission for deployment. The unit organized three-month courses for soldiers deployed to the mission, representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries, translators, and administrative personnel. At the end of June 1953, a 30-man reconnaissance group, led by

Brigadier-General Mieczysław Wągrowski was sent to Korea. Most members of the Polish mission and their equipment were sent to Korea by three rail transports through the territory of the Soviet Union and China. The journey took a few weeks. The lead of the Polish mission reached the city of Andun, Korea, on 25 July. The first Polish contingent in the Supervisory Commission amounted to 301 people, including 42 from outside the Ministry of Defense.

The first meeting of the Supervisory Commission took place on 1 August 1953 in Panmunjom. On the basis of paragraph 40 of the Armistice Agreement, the Commission set up Inspection Groups, consisting of at least four officers each, one from each of the Supervisory Commission member states. The number of Polish personnel in Inspection Groups depended on numerous factors, including the level of difficulty of implemented tasks, the size of the area, and the number of buildings under control.

Inspection Group personnel divided even, for their own internal purposes, into the easier, calmer groups and the groups that could be more threatened with conflict. Taking these elements into consideration, Polish personnel who started the service in Korea were directed to easier groups, and those with greater experience to more difficult ones. Parallel to the inspection activity of stationary groups placed in ports of entry, there were also mobile Inspection Groups. Their tasks were, in general, similar to the tasks of stationary groups.

The operations of the Supervisory Commission and its Inspection Groups were from the very beginning connected with different problems, difficulties, and tensions. Friction appeared between both the representatives of the four Commission member nations as well as between the parties of the Korean conflict. The most serious impediments appeared on the part of the participants of the recently ended war. Constant elements of such behaviour included, for example:

- delayed information of equipment and personnel exchange,
- not making available transport means necessary to conduct control,
- or using other measures limiting the control over arms and equipment.

The most serious military provocations aimed against the Supervisory Commission took place at the end of July and at the beginning of August 1954. On 31 July, the seat of the Neutral Nations Inspection Group in Pusan was the object of a shooting attack, and the next day, three hand grenades were thrown into one of the buildings of the Inspection Group in Kunsan. During the same period, demonstrations against the Supervisory Commission bodies were held in many Korean towns. The demonstrators' particular aggression was directed at the representatives of Poland and Czechoslovakia who were considered the representatives of enemy states.

Inspection Groups functioned on the territory of both Koreas until June 1956, when their activity was suspended, and practically cancelled, which was tantamount with the limitation of the role and possibilities of the Supervisory Commission. The very important and busy period of the Commission's activity ended. In the history of the participation of Polish representatives in the Korean mission, it was undoubtedly the period of the most intensive service. In the above three-year period of the Inspection Groups' operations, they conducted about 6,000 inspections and controls. In the years 1953-1956, unfortunately, also a few tragic accidents took place, in which three Polish missionaries died, and a few more were injured.

From the beginning of its existence of the Supervisory Commission, Polish personnel were delegated to serve for a period of six months. Experience gained by Polish missionaries

during the first two years of its functioning, indicated the possibility of extending the length of particular rotations. At the beginning, the plan was to extend this period up to 12 months; however, after consultations with the chiefs of the Polish mission in 1955, the decision was made that due to concerns about members' health and morale, Polish personnel of the Supervisory Commission should be assigned for not longer than nine months.

At about the same time, the size of the Polish mission also started to be reduced. The assignments of other Supervisory Commission member states were also reduced. As the first contingent of the Polish mission amounted to 301 members and the second to 300, the third at the end of 1955 and the beginning of 1956 numbered only 88 members, and the next two missions 35 member each. During the following years, the Polish contingent strength was only between ten and twenty members, and after 1961 only 10 members. The reduced number of mission members in the Supervisory Commission resulted from the gradual limitation of the scope of its tasks. In total, from 1953 to 1989, the Supervisory Commission service in Korea was performed by over 1,000 Polish officers and employees.

A slightly secondary, however interesting issue, is the problem of mutual relations between the Polish mission members and the representatives of the socialist sister country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The relations had two different sides. Officially they were correct or even friendly. In everyday life, however, they were not always of a sisterly character. Documents chronicling the Polish participation in the Korean mission also show the different nature of these relations.

The 15 May 1961 report of the Chief of the Polish Mission, Brigadier-General Tadeusz Kunicki, states, among other things: "Our relations with the Korean Staff are still correct, however, full invigilation of our Mission employees clearly increased. . . . We can sense the lack of trust towards us . . . . Tendencies to limit personal freedom take very sophisticated forms . . . . It should be also stressed that issues connected with material supplies of the Mission by the Korean side have a tendency to constantly deteriorate."

By 1990, Poland did not have official diplomatic relations with South Korea. The Supervisory Commission constituted in this situation was one of Poland's unofficial contacts with this nation. Poles serving in the Commission had multiple occasions to stay in South Korean territory and personally find out about the conditions existing there, the social and political relations, and the economic situation as well as culture and customs. The visits of Polish personnel to South Korea were not well seen by the North Korean authorities, as they believed that Poles maintained contacts with the enemy.

Political events and the consequent changes on the international arena initiated in 1989 constituted a significant breakthrough in the functioning of the Supervisory Commission on the Korean Peninsula. On 1 January 1993, a consequence of the division of Czechoslovakia, two new states were established, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. The Czech Republic, as a successor of Czechoslovakia, did not decide to continue its activity and withdrew from the Commission works. System changes in Poland after 1989 also led it to cool its relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In February 1995, under pressure from the North Koreans, Polish Mission personnel were forced to withdraw from the northern part of the Joint Security Area in Panmunjom and returned to Poland. This was the North Korean reaction to the improvement in relations between Poland and South Korea.

In the last period of their activity, Poles were treated with outright hostility by the North

Korean authorities; even some relatively hostile acts took place, such as cutting off electricity and the water supply and making food supply difficult. North Korean authorities recognized that Poland as a result of political changes after 1989 had lost its neutral status.

The lengthy experience gained in the service of NNSC in Korea paid off in the following years with the participation of Polish representatives, in multiple observation and reconciliation missions, among others in Indo-China, the Middle East, and Africa. It constitutes a constant element in the military training and in the process of preparation to participate in this type of missions.

From the perspective of international law, the state of war between the two Korean states has not ended. This region of the world still remains the source of potential military conflict of unpredictable consequences. Hence, further functioning of the Supervisory Commission seems justified. The presence of neutral observers lowers the threat of military incidents or of resuming military activity.

The Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission constitutes an important forum of dialogue and contact for states interested in reaching the lasting peace and abolishing the dramatic division "with the mine belt" on the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, the presence of Polish representatives in the Commission seems not to raise any doubts. It is one of many elements of Polish state and Polish Armed Forces representatives' contribution to the maintenance of peace in the world.

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# 10.

## The Danish Navy from 1990 to 2014: From the Baltic to the High Seas

by

Søren Nørby

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### Abstract

This paper examines the changes the Danish Navy has undergone since the end of the Cold War in 1989. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the clear and present danger against Denmark disappeared. This made it possible for the Danish government to change its foreign policy from a defensive one to one more active. One of the tools the government used in the new policy was the Danish military. In September 1990, the Danish corvette *Olfert Fischer* was dispatched to participate in the UN embargo against Iraq, and this successful mission was soon followed by other international missions, e.g. in the Adriatic against the Former Republic of Yugoslavia (1993-1996) and again in the Persian Gulf against Iraq in 2003. Meanwhile, the increasing tasks meant that a number of ships built during the Cold War and tailored for the defense of the Danish waters against the Warsaw Pact, were obsolete and scrapped. The Danish Navy today no longer employs mine layers, torpedo boats, or submarines. A new class of Flexible Support Ships and multipurpose frigates are instead showing the Danish flag far from Denmark -- from the Arctic to the shore of Somalia and beyond. This paper will describe the changes in the Danish Navy and try to explain the political decisions that lay behind the changes.

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Few events in the recent history of Denmark have had a greater impact on Danish defense policy and practice than the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989. With the fall of the Wall and the subsequent collapse of the Warsaw Pact in 1991, the military threat against Denmark, which for 50 years had locked the Danish Navy in a defensive strategy centered on the defense of the western part of the Baltic Sea, disappeared.

This paper is an examination of how this changed the Navy and its role in Danish foreign policy is. It is, in many respects, the story of a navy that has returned to its roots and gone back to the same tasks that it worked to solve when it was founded in

early 16<sup>th</sup> century. When the Berlin Wall fell, the Danish Navy was at the height of its combat power during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It contained almost 50 ships, ranging from frigates<sup>1</sup> to submarines. The Danish Navy was a multi-faceted fleet, capable of meeting almost any threat against Denmark and NATO interests in the Baltic area. The Cold War navy was, however, built with one objective in mind: the defense of the western part of the Baltic from an attack from a numerical superior enemy in the form of the Warsaw Pact, or more precisely the Soviet, Polish, and East German navies. In 1989, the Danish Navy then had in its fleet a number of ships that were tailor-made for operations in the Baltic against an enemy that was no more.

The changing political landscape did not, however make the Danish Navy redundant. On the contrary, the Danish Navy has today become an important tool in the government's foreign policy "toolbox." This all began in August 1990 when the Danish Parliament decided to place the corvette *Olfert Fischer* at the disposal of the U.S.-led UN operation against Iraq after its occupation of Kuwait. It was the first time since 1864 that a Danish naval vessel was at war.

For the Navy the deployment of the *Olfert Fischer* was a huge challenge. Like most of the other Danish naval vessels at that time, the corvette was built for a short and violent war in the Baltic, but was now to be part of a multinational operation thousands of miles from home waters and the domestic support structure. But thanks to a great effort from all parts of the Danish fleet as well as the Norwegian Navy, which made the (frigate) Coast Guard vessel *Andenes* available as a support ship for *Olfert Fischer*, the corvette managed to carry out its duties. The 368 day deployment was so successful that it paved the way for the Navy's new role in Danish foreign and security policy.

During the following years the three Danish corvettes participated both in the yearly deployments with the NATO Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT), including the embargo against the warring parties in the civil war in the former Republic of Yugoslavia, where the three corvettes were deployed almost continuously from 1993 until 1996.

### **A Tool in the Toolbox**

The local and global security environment after the fall of the Berlin Wall provided the Danish government and the Danish Armed Forces possibilities that they had not experienced since the early 1700s.

The elimination of the threat against Denmark did, however, change the basic conditions of Danish defense. During the Cold War, the defense policy had ensured Denmark's survival as a state. But after the end of the Cold War the armed forces increasingly became just another tool in the foreign and security "toolbox" of the Danish governments.

After the Cold War, Denmark had to reconsider how to restructure and employ its armed forces. All this was in a political framework where there, on the one hand, were seen new opportunities and demands set by new conflicts around the world, coupled

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<sup>1</sup> Mothballed in 1988 and decommissioned in 1990.

with an increasing political appetite to employ an activist foreign and security policy - and on the other hand, where there also was a call to use the end of the Cold War as a peace dividend, and where the defense now had to compete for budget resources in line with the health sector, the country's schools, etc.

The defense policy thus became a political tool, a development which is highlighted by the fact that Denmark since 1990 has had three defense commissions, tasked with looking into how the Danish defense was to be organized to optimally suit the Danish politicians' use of it. The basic idea behind the activist foreign policy is that Denmark is affected by the globalized world around it, and if the Danish government wanted to maintain peace and stability in Europe, then it would be necessary to intervene in conflicts far from what during the Cold War was called Denmark's neighboring area. In terms of the Navy, there is also the aspect that about 10 percent of the world's merchant shipping tonnage is carried by Danish-flagged or Danish-owned ships and potential security problems such as piracy have a direct impact on the Danish economy, despite the fact that it takes place thousands of miles away.

### **A New and Much Smaller Navy**

In 1995, the Danish Parliament allocated almost 11 billion Danish kroner to the annual defense budget. A significant part of it was earmarked to purchase new equipment, and it was the largest Danish military equipment investment since 1960. The Danish Army received the bulk of the money, but there was also money for new equipment for the navy and air force.

The Defense Agreement of 1995 marked the first major step away from Cold War defense and towards a more internationally-oriented Danish defense. In 1998, the first Defense Commission set up after the fall of the Berlin Wall concluded that "[t]he Commission believes that Denmark enjoys a geostrategic position with an almost unprecedented security. The Commission also believes that during the next 10 years no direct conventional military threat to Denmark's security will emerge."

This finding paved the way for the Defense Agreement for 2000-2004 (in Denmark almost all Defense Agreements are made for four-year periods). The Defense Agreement contained both funding for a number of new ships -- large units designed for global deployment -- and at the same time a large number of older units, not suitable for the new tasks, were scrapped. Since 2000, the Navy has decommissioned three corvettes, one ocean patrol vessel, ten fast attack craft, five submarines, two small oilers, six minelayers, 13 "FLEX" multi-purpose units, and ten cutters. Meanwhile, its personnel strength decreased from about 5,600 personnel in 1986 to approximately 4,000 today.

Central to the transformation of the Danish Navy is the so-called FLEX concept that was developed by the Danish Navy in the 1980es. At the end of the eighties, the Navy was to phase out 22 units, and it was clear that they could not get the funding for an equivalent number of new units. Faced with this situation, the Navy had to think "outside the box," and enterprising people got the idea that one could use a standard hull and superstructure, but with modular weapon systems that could quickly be replaced. Thereby, the units could quickly change roles -- for example, a unit of the Standard Flex-class could change from missile unit to mine hunter. By using this new



and innovative FLEX-system, just 14 new units could replace 22 units and the Navy - at least on paper -- maintained the same combat potential as before.

At the end of the 1990s, the Danish Navy was in the middle of a slow but fundamental change from a small defensive-oriented force, which after having had its eyes fixed on the Baltic for almost 50 years, now found itself employed in operations on the high seas far from home. But the Navy's inventory still did not include larger units tailored for the new role.

### **Fighting Alongside the United States**

The slow pace with which the changes were implemented accelerated after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. The Danish government immediately chose to actively support the U.S. fight against terrorism, and among other items made Danish naval vessels available to the NATO operation Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean. Once again it was one of the three corvettes that was dispatched, but it was soon to be followed by first, one of the small Danish coastal submarines (which had to be equipped with an improved air-conditioning before it could operate in the warm waters of the Mediterranean), and soon afterwards by two units of the Standard Flex-type.

When U.S. President George W. Bush in 2003 decided to go to war with Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein, the Danish government under Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen again chose to join the "Coalition of the Willing." The Danish government wanted to demonstrate support for the war, and an easy way of doing it was to deploy the corvette *Olfert Fischer* and the submarine *Sælen*. Both units could, among other characteristics, by virtue of their ability to operate in shallow waters, offer the U.S.-led coalition a capacity that it did not otherwise have.

Most of what the two units did during the war is still classified, but leading U.S. politicians and military officials have expressed great satisfaction with the two Danish vessels and the tasks they executed during the war. The success was, however, not enough to dissuade the Danish government from disbanding the entire Danish submarine arm in 2004.

### **The Arctic is Melting**

Since the early years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, one of the tasks of the Danish Navy has been fisheries protection and showing the Danish flag in the areas around Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and until 1944, Iceland. The Navy currently has seven ocean patrol ships capable of operating around Greenland and the Faroe Islands. The Arctic area will be growing in importance in the coming years due to the melting of the ice from the man-made global warming. The Arctic is to become an increasingly important shipping route and along with the growth in tourism, it is obvious that the four large and three smaller ocean patrol vessels are too few for an area of such a vast size. However, so far only one new ship has been planned for Arctic operations.

### **A Force of Volunteers**

Along with the decrease in the number of naval vessels, the Danish Naval Home Guard, a force of volunteers founded in 1951, has seen its role increase. The Naval Home Guard currently operates 30 modern vessels in Danish waters, and with the Navy's transition to international engagement, the Naval Home Guard has taken over a large part of the daily maritime surveillance, rescue service, and environmental monitoring in the Danish waters. The Naval Home Guard is mainly staffed by volunteer personnel who all approach the task with the professionalism that is needed to operate safely at sea.

### **A Return to the Old Days and Old Ways**

In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, before the British seized the Danish fleet in 1807, the Danish Navy was a navy with a global reach. It operated not only in home waters, but showed the Danish flag in foreign places including the Caribbean, Greenland, Iceland, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mediterranean and -- albeit not that often -- the Far East.

Fighting pirates is therefore not a new task for the Danish Navy. During the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Danish Navy successfully defeated a number of pirates operating in the Baltic, and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the fleet was once again fighting pirates, this time in the Mediterranean Sea. Fighting pirates in the Gulf of Aden and in the Indian Ocean is more a return to an old and tested work than something new for the Danish Navy.

The Danish Navy of today is small but operates some of the most potent and long-range vessels ever seen in the Danish Navy. The international focus has, however, meant that the Navy does not have the ships -- mainly submarines -- to keep tabs on current activities in the Baltic, and that might pose a problem in the future. The new Danish frigates can sail from Denmark to Singapore without refueling but with a total of only 14 combat units, Denmark will lack the units to maintain a constant presence in the Baltic, should that area again become an important area for Denmark -- which it might, given what has happened just the last few months.

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# 11.

## From Anti-Nazi Resistance Movement to Resistance against Communist Rule

by

**Prokop Tomek**

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### Abstract

Czechoslovak soldiers served on many battlefields during World War II. After the war ended, veterans of anti-Nazi resistance returned back to their homes, hoping for a better future in a democratic country. However, the international situation and events on the political scene inside Czechoslovakia did not allow them to enjoy the freedom they had been fighting for. Many Czechoslovak soldiers and officers had to leave their homeland soon thereafter and were forced by the newly-established Communist regime to flee from the country again. These people were very often willing to fight for liberation of their country again and thus found themselves actors of the Cold War -- inside a cruel and sophisticated struggle with an enemy as lethal and dangerous as the previous one.

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Anti-Nazi resistance during World War II represents a value that is unquestioned nowadays. On one hand, resistance against Communist totalitarianism has been subject to continuous criticism. In Czechoslovakia, Nazism was perceived not only as an inhumane ideology but also as an external threat, whereas the Communist ideology progressively grew through the majority of the country's inhabitants. The conflict between democracy and the Communist totalitarianism became an undeclared civil war that had its peaks as well as calmer periods. One handicap is the time that has passed since the beginnings of the Communist totalitarianism in Czechoslovakia. For instance, confronting today's perceptions of the eyewitnesses, one is not sure whether they do not idealize the circumstances they had during the events half a century ago. The proof of a similarity between the two totalitarianisms can be found in authentic attitudes of those who were directly involved. How did they respond to the contemporary threats at that time?

In Czechoslovakia, the military was traditionally apolitical by definition. With some rare exceptions, soldiers did not engage in political activity. That changed after World War II. Faced with the Communist ideology, soldiers got into an uneasy position as the defenders of the state and homeland. They had to resolve the issue of legitimacy of resistance against Communism. They were under an oath of allegiance. They were forced to orient themselves

in politics. Almost three years passed from the end of the war in which they had risked their lives in the fight for freedom of the Republic.

After the War, soldiers were then granted an active and passive voting right. On paper, political activity was a private matter for the military personnel and was meant only to take place outside the barracks. The Communists, however, did not bother their heads with that. They made use of the military education apparatus they were developing for the sake of political and ideological indoctrination. The 1945 Kosice Government program stipulated that the organization, armaments, and training of the new Czechoslovak Army would be done completely along the Red Army model. The existing military resistance components and particularly the 1st Czechoslovak Corps in the USSR were to become the compulsory model for building the new Czechoslovak military might.<sup>1</sup>

The new armed forces contained of additional elements. Those included pre-war officers and non-commissioned officers, who had either survived the war passively at home or, in some cases, had been imprisoned by Nazis. Together with officers active in the home resistance, they made up approximately 70 percent of the new officers' corps. Those soldiers did not have distinctive political attitudes.

Another part of the armed forces contained those involved in the "eastern" foreign resistance, i.e., soldiers who had been trained and fought in the Soviet Union. They were, however, a rather heterogeneous group. That cohort included "pre-war" soldiers, young soldiers newly commissioned during the war, and members of Czech minorities who had lived in the Soviet Union earlier. The Communist propaganda sought to proclaim for many years that the soldiers of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the Soviet Union were predominantly Communists, which was not true. It is nevertheless correct to say that the majority of them progressively conformed themselves to the new political requirements and became Communists, at least formally.

The western resistance had gone through the battlefields of France, the Middle East, and also represented a variegated group of people, comprising pre-war officers and newly-promoted young soldiers, especially among airmen. Soldiers with leftist attitudes were also present. Another group in the new armed forces consisted of the home resistance fighters, the partisans. They were Communists in many cases.

The armed forces also enlisted the soldiers of the Government Troops, which was a force of several thousand personnel permitted by the Nazis during the war to specifically perform support and sentry duties. Many members of the Government Troops actively joined the armed resistance at the end of the war. Members of the Slovak Army who had fought against the USSR during the war, and then in the Slovak National Uprising, also joined the new military. Finally, there were also novices in the armed forces, young military academics, for whom the foreign resistance fighters often became the model.<sup>2</sup>

All military personnel had to go through a complicated mandatory vetting process, yet the post-war armed forces represented a highly heterogeneous organism in both political and

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<sup>1</sup> Program nové československé vlády Národní fronty Čechů a Slováků [Program of the New Czechoslovak Government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks], fund Office of the Presidium of Slovak National Council, 1946, box 110, Slovak National Archives, Bratislava, Slovakia.

<sup>2</sup> Jiří Bílek, Jaroslav Lánik, and Jan Šach, *Československá armáda v prvním poválečném desetiletí* (Praha: MO ČR, 2006), 26-33.

specialist terms. Uniting people with different life and combat experiences and the ensuing political opinions was undoubtedly a long-term endeavour. Faced with the changes on the internal political scene, what reactions could such a complex organism be expected to generate?

The pressure exerted by Communists was another factor. There are records documenting negative attitudes towards veterans from the West from as early as 1946. The notorious Main Directorate of Defense Intelligence, renamed the 5th Branch of the General Staff in May 1946, viewed them critically. The head of that military intelligence service, which had been established already at the Czechoslovak military unit in the Soviet Union, was Communist Bedřich Reicin.<sup>3</sup>

It has been already clarified sufficiently that covert persecution of some members of the armed forces had started long before February 1948. Minister of Defense of the Czechoslovak Government-in-exile in London, General Sergej Ingr, and Chief of Intelligence General František Moravec, were scandalized right after the liberation. They were investigated for alleged failures during the war and barred from appointment to important positions. Under Communist control, the Defense Intelligence consistently engaged in monitoring officers who had fought in the West during the war, especially if they were married to foreign nationals and in contact with friends from foreign armed forces. On the other hand, home resistance and eastern foreign resistance fighters were probably favored both in career progress and in enrollment at the Military Academy.<sup>4</sup>

Already after the war, Communists foresaw a potential military conflict with the West. Therefore, they regarded soldiers with links to the West as a risk and threat. It was only a question of time and opportunity before they would get rid of them. In such an atmosphere, dozens of demobilized soldiers and airmen again left the country before the Communists took power. Only a flat denial by the Defense Intelligence in August 1946 thwarted the proposal for a legal departure of more than a hundred active-duty military professionals to Great Britain. The post-war limited democracy in the shadow of Soviet influence indicated that the end of the war did not bring about a true peace, but that there was a conflict still smoldering under the surface. It was a conflict not only between the blocs, but also within the country.

The Communist coup d'état in February 1948 came as a shock. The armed forces high command stood aside cautiously, expressing support to President Beneš and to a constitutional solution to the crisis. The post-war Minister of National Defense, Ludvík Svoboda, was still reluctant to openly engage in the interest of Communists. And only in February 1948 did officers face the question of what to do next in their life and career.

Immediately after 29 February 1948, the Communists were calling -- by the means of the Central Action Committee of the National Front -- for the departure of particular officers and generals for their negative attitude to the people's democratic system and opposition to the Slavic orientation of the state. Additional purges followed. In 1945, those who had served in the West during World War II comprised 10 percent of commissioned officers, but they only represented 0.5 percent in 1953.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> František Hanzlík and Václav Vondrášek, *Armáda v zápase o politickou moc v letech 1945-1948* (Praha: MO ČR, 2006), 67-77.

<sup>4</sup> František Hanzlík, *Vojenské obranné zpravodajství v zápasu o politickou moc* (Praha: ÚDV, 2003), 155-171

<sup>5</sup> Main Headquarters, No. 219 taj., f. Ministry of National Defense 1948, Central Military Archives – Military Historical Archives, Prague, Czech Republic.

It is not fair or accurate to conclude in general that officers would intend to actively stand up to the Communist power for ideological reasons only. Some officers actively identified themselves with the new regime. Besides convinced Communists, there were also opportunists. Some of them were also foreign resistance fighters who joined or sought to join the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) after February 1948.

A relatively small number of soldiers joined active home resistance against Communists. Somewhat out of proportion to the overall picture are the numbers of officers, who the new regime had progressively thrown out of the armed forces, persecuted through the civil system, and interned or even imprisoned and executed. About fifty military professionals were executed in the six years after February 1948, and the State Court convicted at least 1,200 members of the military in four years' time. The majority of those individuals had not even actively opposed the regime, yet they were eliminated by the regime nonsensically. What was the meaning of executing General Heliodor Píka or the provocations leading to twelve years' imprisonment of the highest representative of Czechoslovak airmen in the Great Britain in World War II, Division General Karel Janoušek?

Similarly, only a small number of active-duty members of the armed forces went into exile after February 1948. The numbers produced by research show 191 military professionals, including 13 generals and 8 colonels, left the country from February to August 1948. According to a different source, 148 officers, including 7 generals, had gone into exile by March 1949. Out of those, 11 officers (including three general officers), allegedly worked for foreign intelligence services, and 11 officers probably served in foreign armed forces. Reserve officers went into exile, too.<sup>6</sup>

Employment of Czechoslovak airmen, especially those who were former Royal Air Force personnel, was a special issue. Only dozens of them eventually reenlisted in the RAF after the war. The list contained roughly 200 military professionals, and it was compiled for the purpose of formal enlistment in RAF, probably only served as a means for releasing them from refugee camps in Germany and transfer in the Great Britain. Reasons for departure into exile included fears of future development, fear of imminent imprisonment because of their allegiance with that endangered group, and some because of their concrete actions against Communists.

In the first years after February 1948, the majority of refugees stayed in camps, mainly in the Western occupation zones of Austria and Germany. They waited for relocation into third countries, especially the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, and Australia. The formation of a foreign army for liberating Czechoslovakia from Communist rule did not take place. During their stay in camps and later in the occupation zones of Western powers, some former Czechoslovak soldiers and airmen were involved in intelligence efforts. Some officers were eventually employed as organizers, controllers, instructors, drivers and assistants, and couriers. They worked for U.S., British, and French intelligence services from 1948 to, at the latest, the mid-1950s. The most extensive intelligence use of Czechoslovak officers was with the Americans and lasted until mid-1950s.

As concerns the British intelligence service, the picture is quite clear. At the beginning of 1949, a dedicated Czechoslovak section was established in the British intelligence service, which employed a high number of former officers, particularly airmen. Activities of former

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<sup>6</sup> 3. meeting, 7 March 1949, f. Ministry of National Defense 1949, Central Advisory Committee, Box 1, Central Military Archives – Military Historical Archives, Prague, Czech Republic.

Czechoslovak soldiers in the French intelligence service were rather modest, but by the mid-1950s, basically all transferred to civilian jobs. In the following decades, they only associated themselves in ex-patriot veteran organisations.<sup>7</sup>

An overwhelming majority of military professionals who went into exile after the rise of the new totalitarianism were pre-war officers, graduates from the Military Academy and active foreign resistance fighters in the West during World War II. While hundreds of officers fled the country, only dozens of them joined Western intelligence structures. The motivation for their departure and engagement included a feeling of threat, dissatisfaction with the change of ruling power, and the experience of being outside their homeland during the war. Rather exceptional were those involved in home anti-Nazi resistance and resistance on the Eastern Front. The onset of Communist totalitarianism caught soldiers off guard. They believed their mission was to defend their homeland against external, and not internal, threats.

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<sup>7</sup> Ivo Pejšoch and Prokop Tomek, *Agenti-chodci na popravišti* (Cheb: Svět křidel, 2010), 15-26.



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# **12.**

## **Lessons Learned from Military Conflicts in Slovenian War, 1991: Armed Conflict near Trzin and Medvedjek**

by

**Blaž Torkar and Zvezdan Marković**

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### **Abstract**

Lessons learned from military conflicts in Slovenian military history have been successfully integrated in military education and training programs for the Slovenian Armed Forces' units. The Slovenian Armed Forces can well utilize past experiences in international operations and missions, where they often deal with contingencies. The paper presents the case studies "Trzin" and "Medvedjek" from the 1991 Slovenian Independence War. Both of them are specifically relevant to the Slovenian Armed Forces' participation in KFOR in Kosovo. The main element of effective conflict resolution from the time of Slovenian Independence War in 1991 was successful cooperation among the then-Slovenian political authorities, Territorial Defence Forces (TD), and the Militia and civilian population against the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) of the time. Participants of military education and training courses have the opportunity to play the roles of TD and YPA members and the warring factions, and to analyze the decisions reached by commanders at various tactical levels. Even today, examples of good practice from the past can serve as a basis for successful involvement of the Slovenian Armed Forces in missions, since the armed forces are required to build good relationships with local authorities, organizations, the local population, and members of other armed forces of the NATO Alliance.

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### **Introduction**

The democratization that started in the 1980s in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia (RS) was mostly opposed by the leadership of the armed forces of the

Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The armed forces were composed of the Federal Army, referred to as the Yugoslav Peoples Army (YPA), and the territorial defence forces (TD) of the individual republics. The latter was a part of national defense, responsible for protecting the rear of the main front lines and operating on temporarily-occupied territory.<sup>1</sup> Since its establishment in 1968, the Slovenian TD developed differently from the other federal republics. Many among Slovenian TD professional servicemembers and, particularly, members of its majority reserve component considered TD as a resuscitation of the idea of Slovenian armed forces. These members did not include the leadership of the RS TD Headquarters (RS TD HQ).

On 15 May 1990, the RS TD HQ issued an order on the disarmament of the TD, and the transferring of weapons, ammunition, and explosive ordnance held by the TD to YPA storage facilities. The new Slovenian political leadership immediately sent a telegram to the municipal defense authorities prohibiting them from surrender weapons to YPA facilities. The disagreement between the new RS political leadership and the RS TD HQ, respectively, the Federal Secretariat of National Defence (ZSLO), as well as the confiscation of the Slovenian TD weapons led to the creation of an organization called "Manevrska struktura narodne zaštite (MSNZ)." Its purpose was to protect the measures taken by the Slovenian state in the process of gaining independence. As there were no further reasons for the MSNZ project to be continued, it was dissolved and the majority of its members were integrated into the new TD structure.

Upon the successful completion of the plebiscite of 23 December 1990, 88.5 percent of all voters and 95 percent of the participating citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia voted for a sovereign and independent Slovenia. One of the key issues that provoked differences in opinion, advocated by the federation, the YPA and the Republic of Slovenia, was related to the location of Slovenian conscripts doing their obligatory military service. Slovenia decided to create its own organization of conscript training outside the YPA. On 15 May 1991, the first conscripts entered the front gates of Slovenian TD training centers (510th Ig TC in Ljubljana and the 710<sup>th</sup> Pekre TC, Maribor). Intensive preparations for defending Slovenia were conducted parallel to the process of creating an active army component.

On 25 June, the Basic Constitutional Charter on the Sovereignty and Independence of the Republic of Slovenia, the Constitutional Act and the Declaration of Independence were adopted in Slovenia. The following day, Slovenia declared its sovereignty and independence. The YPA launched its attack on Slovenia, which was opposed by the Slovenian defense forces, TD, and the Militia. The attack on Slovenia was launched by YPA units and commands on 26 and 27 June 1991 from the corps districts under command of the 5th Military Region in Zagreb: 13th Corps, HQ Rijeka; 14th Corps, HQ Ljubljana; 31st Corps, HQ Maribor; 32nd Corps, HQ Varaždin; 10th Corps, HQ Zagreb; and the 5th Air Force and Air Defense Corps, HQ Zagreb. In this way, the YPA forces stationed in Slovenia included between 20,000 and 25,000 soldiers, approximately 250 tanks of the active structure, 100 tanks that came from Croatia,

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<sup>1</sup> *Strategija oboroženega boja* (Strategy of Armed Combat) (Beograd: Federal Secretariat of National Defense, 1985), 102-103.

and 300 armored vehicles of various purposes.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, the lessons learned from two engagements, near Medvedjek and Trzin, during the Slovenian War 1991 are examined.

## Medvedjek

The YPA column that crossed the national border in Metlika in southeastern Slovenia and headed for the Brnik Airport consisted of 12 self-propelled air defense guns BOV, 6 trucks TAM, 3 all-terrain vehicles, and 80-85 YPA soldiers. Its mission was to implement federal regulation on the crossing national borders in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia and to assist federal militia and customs authorities in taking control of border crossings. The YPA column carried minimal supplies of food and water, soldier morale was low, radio communications were established with nearby military posts, and it could rely on air support. The column set off for Karlovac – Metlika – Gorjanci -- Novo Mesto – Trebnje -- Medvedjek. The opposing side was the TD of the Dolenjska Region (2nd Regional TD HQ), which consisted of: assault detachment of the 21st District TD HQ; an antiarmour squad; an intervention team and countermobility team of the 21st District TD HQ from Trebnje; an intervention team of the 2nd Regional TD HQ; elements of a company task force from Šentjernej; a counter-sabotage company of the 25th District TD HQ from Krško; part of the counter-sabotage company of the 21st District TD HQ; a counter-sabotage platoon of the 25th District TD HQ from Brežice; and the 1st Battalion, 52nd Brigade, of the Novo Mesto TD. The total strength of the TD was 504 TD members. The Slovenian side included the Militia members and criminal police officers of the Trebnje Militia Station. TD armament included PPSH submachine guns, 7.62mm automatic rifles, Armbrust antitank grenade launchers, pistols, sniper rifles, and semi-automatic rifles. The disadvantages on the TD side were inadequate equipment, lack of weapon handling skills, communications, discipline, and shortage of food and water.<sup>3</sup>

The TD (21st District TD HQ) was tasked to seize positions on Medvedjek and to defend the planned barricade with the mission of stopping the YPA column on its way to Ljubljana. The TD commander and staff immediately started with the implementation of the task and sent units to the Medvedjek slope to begin preparations for the blocking of the YPA column. The barricade was put up on the top of the hill and consisted mainly of trucks (the building of the barricade was led by the Militia). The barricade also involved mining of the crossing on the top of the hill and part of the road behind the crossing (laying mines was done by the road company workers), with the plan of exploding them if the YPA column was not stopped by the barricade. Once the column reached the barricade and stopped, negotiations started immediately between the barricade and column commanders. Initially, negotiations were conducted in a friendly and polite atmosphere, but then eventually the column commander changed his tone and started with threats and stepping up the demands. Owing to inaccurate information, the Slovenian Republic Coordination issued an

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<sup>2</sup> Tomaž Kladnik, „Territorial Defence of the Republic of Slovenia,” in *Strategic War Planning for War* (Ljubljana: n.p., 2008), 148-159.

<sup>3</sup> Matjaž Ravbar, „Dolenjska pokrajina TO,” in *Vojaška obramba Slovenije, 1990-1991* (Ljubljana: n.p., 2011), 207-210 (hereinafter: Ravbar, „Dolenjska pokrajina TO”). See more in Tomaž Teropšič, *Boji na jugovzhodni meji Slovenije leta 1991* (Brežice: Posavski muzej, 1995), 28, and Slovenian Armed Forces Military Museum Archives, collected documents (VMSV), ZA, fond OV 1991, te 6, pisno pričevanje Boruta Likarja.

order to attack the YPA column on the very same day, which, however, did not take place due to a combination of circumstances and the decision by the barricade commander. The TD positions were not fortified, support was inadequate, and, on top of this, the weather was unfavorable, which eventually caused morale to disintegrate. In the morning on the second day of negotiations, one of the companies in the circle around the stopped column left its position, but soon after reinforcements of the Novo Mesto Battalion arrived. That morning the TD also threatened to attack the column using antiarmour weapons, which was followed by a strong response of armored vehicles in the column that was soon accompanied by YPA aircraft and an air raid on TD positions making TD units withdraw from their positions.<sup>4</sup>

The next day, the YPA soldiers trapped in the column dug a passage to the parallel local road and during the night broke from the barricaded area to move towards Brežice. The withdrawal was rather short, as TD members set up another blockade in the area of the Krakovski Gozd Forest, where the column finally stopped. After the attack on the column and another air raid by the YPA Air Force, some of the column's vehicles were destroyed, while YPA soldiers attempted a breakthrough to Croatia across the Gorjanci Mountains. There the TD captured the major part of the withdrawing unit, including the commanding officer of the YPA.<sup>5</sup>

The issues regarding the legality of these operations -- the skirmish at Medvedjek and elsewhere in the Slovenian War -- were raised as early as 1991, and have remained relevant until the present deployments to international operations and missions. The military commanders must have thorough knowledge of the legal basis underlying international operations, and they should, by the same token, inform their subordinates about legal aspects of operations and seek that the SAF operation remains within the limits of legality. If the year 1991 was marked by considerable uncertainty among TD members about how to apply the use of force rules (use of firearms and rules of engagement) and by the fact that rules for opening fire were adjusted according to the situation in the field, today every Slovenian soldier deployed to a mission must at all times be absolutely clear about the situations and conditions permitting opening of fire.

The TD members were often confronted with situations in which they came across specific items of weapons only in the battlefield, for the operation of which they were not skilled and were unable to use them efficiently. Slovenian soldiers deployed to international operations and missions must possess weapon handling skills -- not only for their personal rifle, but they must also be familiar with the use of all weapons employed by the Slovenian Armed Forces in peace support operations, both for security reasons and the efficient use of weapons. The testimonies of Medvedjek events' participants reveal that, on several occasions, direct orders of subordinates were not obeyed and that military discipline was violated. For a modern and

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<sup>4</sup> Ravbar, „Dolenjska pokrajina TO,” 220-223. See more in Janez J. Švajncer, *Obranili domovino* (Ljubljana: Viharnik, 1993), 46 (hereinafter Švajncer, *Obranili*); Alojz Završnik, *Taktika delovanja enot Teritorialne obrambe v vojni za obrambo samostojne Slovenije* (Ljubljana: FDV, 1997), 33 (hereinafter: Završnik, *Taktika delovanja*).

<sup>5</sup> Ravbar, „Dolenjska pokrajina TO,” 233-235. See more in Bojan Budja, *Ščit: dolenjska pot v samostojno Slovenijo* (Ljubljana: Magnolija, 1996); Završnik, *Taktika delovanja*; Albin Gutman, „Izkoristek geografskega prostora Teritorialne obrambe dolenjske pokrajine v vojni za Slovenijo v letu 1991,” in *Vojaška geografija v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: MORS, 2000), 34-35; and Švajncer, *Obranili*, 63.

professional armed force, like the Slovenian Armed Forces, such situations are unacceptable, and the task of all commanding officers in the chain-of-command is to enforce military discipline. In order to achieve this goal, the commanders must be properly trained and equipped with knowledge and competencies necessary for the training and commanding of soldiers.

As it became clear in 1991 that cooperation of different units (the Militia, Civil Protection, etc.) is important for security operations, a similar situation is also evident today in participation of the SAF in international operations and missions, where Slovenian units and soldiers perform joint interoperability with both foreign armed forces as well as other organizations in the area of operation itself. If several problems in 1991 were related to poor preparedness of TD members for the mission (largely due to shortage of time and equipment), nowadays, far more time is being dedicated to mission preparation in the Slovenian Armed Forces. Considering continuous problems with signal and communications equipment, it is the mission preparation that enables efficient operation of units under circumstances which are unfavorable for communications.

Given the fact that all current Slovenian soldiers we were at one time all citizens of a common country and shared similar languages, not all soldiers involved in the 1991 Medvedjek engagement experienced language barriers, which is, however, rather uncommon for SAF deployments abroad. One has to be prepared for this and the fact that the Slovene language is not understood in foreign countries (except for the Balkans) should be utilized for our own benefit. The "METT-TC" analysis and selection of proper terrain played a very important role in case of Medvedjek, and similarly applies for the commanders of Slovenian units in international operations and missions, where the fact that operations do not take place on domestic terrain presents an additional challenge and requires a continuous detailed analysis of the area of operation.

When using vehicles in movement, the commanders must be even today aware of the risk of channelling the axis of advance and line of communication as was the case with the commander of the YPA column on Medvedjek. To this end, appropriate tactics must be applied, such as reconnaissance of the movement route, which might have enabled the YPA column in 1991 to evade the barricade. Far more attention than in 1991 is now being paid to protection of one's own forces, which is reflected both in protective equipment of soldiers, ever-present "security measures" in handling weapons and equipment, as well as organizational measures to reduce common risks.

## **Trzin**

In 1991, Trzin, located along the main road connecting Ljubljana and Brnik Airport, was the target of the YPA 1st Armor Battalion. The town is situated in the area of the then 55th District TD HQ Domžale, which was subordinated to the 5th Regional TD HQ with the seat in Ljubljana. The 55th District TD HQ Domžale at that time consisted of the following units: 551st TDF Special Operations Detachment; 2nd TDF Assault Detachment; 1st TD Company; the Domžale protection company; the Kamnik counter-sabotage platoon; the Kamnik sabotage platoon; the air defense platoon; the engineer platoon; and 10 snipers. In the early hours of 27 June 1991, the Domžale

Militia Station received a message about the approaching YPA column of military vehicles and tanks. The Militia officers set up a barricade between Dobrava and Trzin on the bridge across the Pšata Brook. As the order arrived during the off-peak hours, it initially appeared that it would not be possible to execute it. Assistance was provided by the firefighters with their vehicles and employees of the Helios Company, and soon afterwards a bus and a tanker truck filled with edible oil were also parked on the bridge.<sup>6</sup>

The YPA unit heading for Trzin on 27 June 1991 was an element of the 1st Armor Brigade from Vrhnika, which possessed the greatest YPA combat power in the region of the Ljubljana Corps. More precisely, the unit represented the right column of the 1st Armor Battalion and headed towards Trzin under the command of the battalion deputy commander. The unit consisted of the 1st Tank Company with ten M-84 tanks, the 1st and the 3rd Mechanized Platoons with six BVP M-80, two trucks TAM 5000, an ambulance, a command armored personnel carrier BTR 50, and a communications vehicle. The YPA unit advanced in the direction of the Brnik Airport; however, it lost its logistic and medical elements as early as on the barricade before Ljubljana. The rest of the unit made a short stop in front of the barricade in Trzin and broke through the barricade a few minutes later. The BVP M-80, which was placed at the tail of the column, hit the fence on the bridge across the Pšata Brook with its track and was halted because of the damage, obstructing the progress of other vehicles. The last section of the column which remained blocked in Trzin consisted of the entire 3rd Mechanized Platoon with 30 soldiers in three armored personnel carriers BVP M-80 and a communications vehicle with two YPA officers. The unit managed to fix the damaged track, but in the meantime TD members also blocked the movement routes outside the barricade by placing working machines, trucks, and cars in the path of the advancing YPA column. The Trzin blockade effected 33 YPA members, 2 of whom were officers armed with light infantry weapons. The only radio line that the unit had with its superior command was in the last vehicle of the 1st Armor Brigade. Meanwhile, the chief of the 5th Regional TD HQ informed the commander of the 55th District TD HQ that there were three damaged tanks with 30 soldiers and unit staff between Trzin and Mengeš. The order was to encircle and disarm them, and seize the equipment with a unit of adequate size. After that develop, the unit was to develop its own plan to confiscate and transport the material and immediately begin with negotiations.<sup>7</sup>

The task was entrusted to the Kamnik counter-sabotage platoon, the Kamnik sabotage platoon, and the reinforced platoon of the protection company from Domžale. The chief of the aforementioned HQ was tasked as the intervention leader. Two Kamnik platoons were then ordered to move to Mengeš, where the anti-armour platoon of the 2nd TD Assault Detachment (equipped with 16 Armbrust antitank grenade launchers) had already been positioned and where the Domžale protection company joined the units. Together they moved to the primary school in Trzin. The commander gave the platoon leaders the following tasks: 1) the Kamnik sabotage platoon must take positions along the Ljubljana -- Kamnik rail line to the south side of the halted YPA

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<sup>6</sup> Martin Premk, „Ljubljanska pokrajina TO,” in *Vojaška obramba Slovenije 1990-1991* (Ljubljana: n.p., 2011), 328-329 (hereafter Premk, „Ljubljanska pokrajina TO”).

<sup>7</sup> Premk, „Ljubljanska pokrajina TO,” 328-329. See more in Ladislav Gjergjek, *Vojaški spopad v Trzinu leta 1991* (Ljubljana: FDV, 2007).

unit; 2) the Kamnik counter-sabotage platoon must take positions on the north side of Onger Hill in the direction of the new part of Trzin; and 3) the platoon of the Domžale protection company must take positions in the eastern part in the direction of the primary school. All three units took their positions and negotiations began for the surrender of the YPA unit which, however, were not promising. After that a group of the Special Militia Unit (SMU) arrived to Trzin. Its members were equipped with light infantry weapons and Armbrust antitank grenade launchers, and wore body armor. They also had the Militia cars and off-road vehicles at their disposal. Their arrival almost ignited a conflict, as TD members were not familiar with the SMU uniforms and were not informed of the fact the unit used camouflage green vehicles. Moreover, as they received no prior information about the arrival of the unit, they initially mistook them for a YPA unit. The situation additionally escalated when a YPA helicopter Gazela brought supplies to the YPA soldiers in armored vehicles. Immediately it became clear that the main objective of the helicopter crews was to examine the disposition of TD units and to assess the situation. At 17:44 hours, three Mi-8 helicopters circled above Trzin and then headed back to Ljubljana. The commander of the TD Kamnik counter-sabotage platoon was warned about the possible assistance to the surrounded YPA soldiers by the helicopter landing. Given the terrain features, he realized that in such case his platoon would find himself in the middle of YPA soldiers in the blocked armored personnel carriers and the soldiers of the YPA assault detachment. He then ordered the third and the fourth group to move to the southeastern side of Trzin, while the first and the second group remained in their initial positions. At approximately 18:00 hours, the SMU commander was replaced and the captain agreed with him that the engagement with the soldiers of the potential helicopter landing would be taken over by the Kamnik sabotage platoon with two Armbrust antitank grenade launcher gunners attached. In that moment, the platoon was the nearest to the appropriate maneuver position. At 18:37 hours, the crossroads at the firefighting station was again overflown by the two helicopters, which then circled across the Pšata Brook. At 18:38 hours, on the south of the rail line between Depala vas, gas station, and Trzin, a transport helicopter landed on the ground and 23 soldiers and 4 officers of the YPA assault detachment disembarked the aircraft.

During the landing, the TD opened fire, but the firing did not damage the helicopter. With this a skirmish started at 18:38 hours in Trzin. Other units also opened fire, since the shooting was the coordinated signal for an attack. The dismounted YPA soldiers attacked the positions of the TD sabotage platoon, which disrupted their link with the soldiers in the blocked column. The YPA attack was so fierce that after a 20-minute firefight, the majority of the TD sabotage detachment soldiers started to withdraw from their positions. Upon crossing the main road, a TD member was killed behind the firefighting station. The effective antiarmour weapon firing soon forced the crews of two YPA armored personnel carriers and communications vehicles to surrender. The communications vehicle was destroyed and the two armored personnel carriers were damaged. The engagement lasted less than an hour, and the shooting ceased around 20:30 hours, when the soldiers of the YPA sabotage detachment withdrew in the direction of Depala vas and stayed for the night in the nearby house. The next day around noon they were captured by the SMU, right after they had been noticed by the TD members in a bushy ditch. Only a few minutes later, two low-flying helicopters searched the area, seemingly looking for a suitable landing spot. Due to the TD shooting, they flew back to Vrhnika without accomplishing their task.

After the engagement, the SMU and TD units began consolidating for other tasks and were leaving the area. The platoon leader of the Domžale protection company reassigned the platoon members to new positions on the higher slopes of the Onger Hill, and together with four other soldiers conducted the battlefield damage assessment. While on their mission, they ran into the crew of the third armored personnel carrier, which got stuck in the vicinity of the bridge. The commander of the 3rd Mechanized Platoon with the personnel carrier crew surrendered at around 22:30 hours. In total, 17 YPA soldiers were captured on 27 June 1991, and another 26 soldiers of the YPA Assault Detachment were seized the following day. From the YPA perspective, the task of securing the Brnik Airport was regarded as completed; however, it involved great losses of equipment and manpower. On its way, the 1st Armor Battalion, without an engagement with the TD, lost three tanks on the Toško Čelo Hill due to incompetence of the navigator, two tanks in the vicinity of Brezovica, one tank in Moste near Komenda due to a fault, and a logistic element because of impassable barriers at the barricade in front of Ljubljana. The 3rd Mechanized Platoon with the communications vehicle remained in Trzin because of an unskilled driver of the infantry fighting vehicle (BVP) who damaged the tracks of the vehicle. Of the 1st Armor Company, part of which was stopped in Trzin, eight M-84 tanks, three infantry fighting vehicles, and the command armored transporter (BTR) arrived at their destination, which represents only 57 percent of the initial number of vehicles. The YPA units had very little time for preparations from the issuing of the order to the task execution. However, these procedures that should be routine and revealed the lack of skills and readiness on the part of the unit for mission accomplishment.

The 1st Armored Battalion, which was advancing through Trzin, received from its higher command an order to execute a task at 00:30 hours on 27 June. The 1st Armored Company with the 3rd Mechanized Platoon moved from the Vrhnika Military Post at 02:30 hours and reached Trzin at 04:20 hours. The timeline of events shows that only two hours had passed from the receipt of the order by the 1st Armored Brigade HQ to the actual movement. It should also be taken into account that the 1st Armored Battalion HQ issued the order to company commanders just before the move and they did not have enough time for quality preparation of their units for the mission analysis and route reconnaissance. The only source of information could have been expected from the intelligence service, but this was rather unlikely in the situation of total confusion at all YPA levels.

Anyway, the unit set off without any knowledge of the actual situation and, consequently, ran into the first barricade, which could not be overcome by the logistic element. The remaining vehicles proceeded to Trzin, and it took them two hours to get there. As already mentioned, while attempting to storm the barricade, one of the BVPs damaged its track and brought the last part of the column to a standstill. As a unit they were rather passive and awaited the orders of their superiors, showing no self-initiative for protection of their own forces. Before the engagement, the majority of soldiers embarked from the vehicles, although the nearest TD and SMU members were only a few dozen meters away from their positions. During the actual engagement, the battlefield situation was not clear as the riflemen were not positioned properly, yet they formed the group target for the anti-armor gunners of the TD. The YPA eventually lost three soldiers in the vehicle during disembarkation. Despite continual firing of Armbrust antitank grenade launchers at the vehicles, only one YPA



soldier lost his life as a result of being shot, while the rest were killed by automatic weapons. The blocked units could only resort to support provided by rapid reaction forces in helicopters, which were at the time the only mobile unit in the entire territory of the Republic of Slovenia. The intervention of the sabotage platoon was demanded by the brigade commander at 13:30 hours, and five hours later, at 18:15 hours, two Mi-8 helicopters left Vrhnika with the task of destroying the blockades. The official analysis of the 1st Armored Brigade operations and the testimony of engagement participants reveal that the crowd of civilians at the barricade dispersed before the landing, which the blocked YPA soldiers would consider an indication of the anticipated use of armed force by the TD. The unit selected a favorable landing location, hidden in dense shrubbery and in the vicinity of the blocked unit. The reason that the landing unit failed to make contact with the mechanized platoon was that while performing a vertical maneuver during the attack on the TD, the unit lost one soldier and started to withdraw, although the majority of the TD defenders had already left their initial positions. One may conclude that the helicopter landing position was too close to the engagement area. From then on, the platoon was isolated. Based on testimonies, the platoon had insufficient food and water supplies, and was forced to break into civilian homes to forage for its basic needs. As the unit also lacked an operations plan for both the task and for the evacuation, it surrendered to the TD the next morning.<sup>8</sup>

Other YPA soldiers surrendered to the TD early in the day of engagement, with the exception of a BVP crew that remained in the vehicle until night. Based on this information it can be concluded that the soldiers remained passive until the end of the engagement, as they only disembarked the vehicles when they were disarmed by the TD members. This can also lead us to speculate that the unit embarked on the task totally unprepared and untrained in combat procedures, since the platoon leader neither responded nor adjusted to the situation after the engagement.

As noted, the YPA soldiers were ill-prepared to accomplish assigned and implied tasks, as they were not familiar with the mission of their own unit or the mission of their adversary. This should cause self-analysis of the Slovenian battle preparedness. The enemy analysis was not carried out, and the part of which was in fact performed, was not appropriate: the units were not prepared and trained for operations in complex circumstances among the civilian population, the system of logistic supplies was not functional, the tasks were issued incomplete and were not carried out tactically, the analysis of the avenues of approach in the direction of Brnik was incorrect, the leading of the unit in movement was inappropriate and without consideration for key terrain and critical points, no traffic regulation was in place along the movement routes of friendly forces, the facilities were improperly safeguarded, during the engagement all radio and television transmission should be forbidden and contacts with civilian population restricted, and the commanders lacked proper self-initiative in problem resolution.

At the YPA battalion level, the case study of the Trzin engagement showed insufficient intelligence support. The unit moved toward Brnik lacking the necessary intelligence and the surprise encounter at the barricades was larger than expected. Because of the barricades, the unit lost initiative in task accomplishment and its own

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<sup>8</sup> Premk, „Ljubljanska pokrajina TO,” 328-332.

elements of combat service support were insufficient, which was reflected in the morale and decisions of the commanders. It is a fact that the staff lacked sufficient planning time, as the units left the Vrhnika Military Post within two hours after receiving the brigade order. If these facts are projected to a SAF unit deployed to KFOR, the most important lesson learned in the Trzin engagement is that during the predeployment period a battalion has to carry out as much operational preparation and intelligence preparation of the battlefield as possible, also without knowing the task. Given the fact that potential conflict locations in Kosovo are already known, the staff can simulate possible conflict scenarios. The simulation results can be used as a basis to generate tasks for subunits, based on which they can conduct training and experiments focused on the presence of civilian population. The mention of civilian population is another link between the Trzin engagement and the situation in Kosovo. The training of battalion-sized units in the majority of cases was focused on conventional combat tasks, and only recently has the civilian environment become an integral part, which has a potentially positive effect on the professional use of weapons in urban areas.

Equally important is the battalion-level planning of unit training, as in most cases training is usually limited to platoon training and within individual companies. Multinational operations involve, in addition to language and communication barriers, many challenges regarding adjustments to various tactical procedures of other units, which will without prior training definitely be reflected in the outcome of a major mission. For example, the challenges of communications and interoperability between a Slovenian platoon leader and German-speaking members of an engineer unit meeting for the first time at the removal of a similar barricade. In case of the Trzin engagement, the unit had no engineer support, which would facilitate maneuver through barricades; yet the fact that movement problems were also encountered by tracked vehicles calls the employability of wheeled armored vehicles into question. In this context, it can also be claimed that the employment of SAF ambulances in similar situations may be limited due to difficult movement and also a bigger number of casualties, for in the majority of cases only one ambulance will be attached to a company. The Trzin engagement is regarded as one of the first military conflicts in the War for Slovenia, and its outcome significantly influenced the further progress of YPA activities and the improved morale of the TD members in the independence war, as it became clear that the YPA was not invincible after all.

The first unnecessary mistake made by the YPA platoon worth mentioning, which occurred before its deployment, was the preparation of equipment, which did not ensure 24-hour sustainability of the platoon. The second factor was inadequate crew qualifications for the operation of vehicles, as the driver damaged the track because of poor driving skills and brought the column to a standstill. Lesson learned: soldiers in platoons need to drill minor repair procedures, which would allow YPA members to continue their movement without serious consequences. In the event of halting the column at the barricade, as it was the case with the YPA column in Trzin, a platoon leader must take into account key terrain in the area of the halted unit and the time for it to be occupied first by the friendly unit, if possible. In case of the Trzin engagement it became clear that the YPA had enough time to occupy positions on terrain of higher elevation or with better view before the arrival of the TD. A more favorable position and hence dispersion of unit would have an impact on the outcome of the engagement. Another of the post-battle findings was that the mechanized platoon did

not make the landing conditions for the helicopters easy, which could have otherwise been provided through prior protection of the area and establishment of their own defensive positions. The commander was too passive and relied too heavily on external support, which, however, never arrived also due to inadequate distribution of the unit and weapons. The TD had eight wounded soldiers and one killed, highlighting the effectiveness the YPA crew-served weapons' fire, which would have been more difficult to defeat with the better positioning of weapons.

## **Conclusion**

The findings of case studies from the Slovenian War for Independence can be used in support of all members of the Slovenian Armed Forces, who have already found and may find themselves in similar situations in international missions. In this context, the TD advantages over the YPA should be specifically mentioned: familiarity with domestic terrain, familiarity with and support of the local population, patriotism, more experienced and more cohesive units. More detailed analyses of command functions in the TD have also shown that the TD had some deficiencies, in particular an insufficiently competent intelligence and counterintelligence services, lack of tactical support of units, capabilities for communication and command among units at longer distances, and psychological support of the TD members for potential military conflicts and requirements in the civilian environment.

The YPA deficiencies derived from the fact that its units were sent on missions without adequate logistical support, the YPA conducted offensive operations with relatively inexperienced soldiers who inadequately trained to drive armored vehicles and tanks. During the halts at the barricades, the commander of the YPA column never seized the key terrain in the vicinity, on higher ground and the areas with better fields of fire and observation. The YPA also lacked adequate intelligence support of its units, as no analyses of the enemy were carried out, logistical support was poor, the analysis of access to the desired border crossings was inappropriate, and the initiative of the commander was inadequate.

When comparing the fighting between the YPA and the TD in 1991 with subsequent SAF tasks in international operations and missions, the following conclusions can be made: civilian unrest occurring in international operations and missions was also a threat in 1991; an important TD advantage was familiarity with terrain -- the TD had a better overview of the terrain and better utilized its weapons at the same time. The YPA found itself in an inferior position; most of the time it was located in one position and often failed to make use of any terrain advantages. Similar situations can also be encountered by the Slovenian Armed Forces in international operations and missions. Nowadays, far more attention than in 1991 is dedicated to force protection, and security measures are far stricter. Also in KFOR, it was difficult to expect complete and clear orders, and the SAF might, in case of an incident, find itself in a similar position as the YPA did in 1991 in Trzin. Interoperability of the TD with the Militia and civilian was very important, and the same principles should be applied in the SAF cooperation with other armed forces and organizations in international operations and missions.

In 1991, the rules for opening fire and of engagement were not clear, and there were a lot of inconsistencies with regard to the use of force. Today, however, every SAF

soldier must be familiar with the situations in which force is employed. The TD had no knowledge of particular weapons and their use, and the SAF cannot allow this to happen. Direct orders issued by the TD superiors were often disobeyed, and military discipline was violated. It is also true that military commanders must be trained and given appropriate competences for the appropriate training and command of soldiers.

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# **13.**

## **Military Doctrinal Transformation in Post-Communist States: The Case of Slovenia**

by

**Vladimir Prebilič and Damijan Guštin**

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### **Abstract**

The Territorial Defense (TD) of Slovenia was originally an integral territorial component of the Yugoslavian defense forces. The TD was organized according to the military doctrines of general national resistance and national self-protection, which were developed during the Cold War but were meant to be transformed or even abolished after 1987. During the process of Slovenian secession, the TD was considered to be a very important pillar for the creation of the Slovenian defense forces, because it was under the leadership of the Slovene political elite. After September 1990, the TD was, with the help of important legal changes, formally put under complete Slovenian political jurisdiction, and became the state's armed forces. However, the Slovene military leadership did not modernize the military doctrine of the TD, and only introduced elements of territorial maneuverability, making a military concentration possible in any part of the state territory. This important change was achieved through transport capability reforms. In spring 1991, a new doctrinal concept was successfully tested in military exercises, and then adapted. Based on this doctrine, Slovenia was dragged into war in June 1991. After the Slovene declaration of independence, the military doctrinal changes continued, based on the primary goal of transforming the TD into the Slovenian Armed Forces. Because of this, the military doctrine of general national resistance and national self-protection was clearly abolished, and replaced with a new military doctrine in 1995, which reflected the real geopolitical situation and facts in the region.

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### **Introduction**

Military doctrine is the highest military and professional document of an individual army and is based on the historical experience and theoretical knowledge about

warfare, which is put into operation of national defense strategy and ensures uniformity of understanding among members of this same system in terms of coordination and focusing efforts of military system.<sup>1</sup> Doctrinal development of the armed forces as one of the most important building blocks of national security is a long-term process, which is based partly on anticipation of real circumstances and resources, on the other hand, it is also a theoretical reflection on the possibilities of the future armed conflict, their nature and form, as well as ways to use armed forces in them.<sup>2</sup>

Due to profound changes in the broader security environment, as well as the fact of exceptionally rapid development of the recently-established state of Slovenia, it is possible to demonstrate (pre)rapid changes military-technical documents that their effect was not developed until the end. Implementation of military doctrines was completely without calling at any due to objective reasons. The result was a valid military disparity between doctrinal foundations and facts in the armed forces. Slovenia's doctrinal transformation of armed forces had to be executed within these parameters: the end of the Cold War and its conventional concepts of warfare based on a conflict of mass armies which has changed security environment and, in addition, there was in the years 1990-1991 also changed the national framework, in which national security had to be established – the Republic of Slovenia became an independent state on 25 June 1991. Slovenia established territorial forces (1968), which have been under its jurisdiction that has transformed into the only national defense power of the young country. However, even before the process of creating a national security system came to an end, a new challenge emerged. The political elite of Slovenia, at the end of 1993, adopted a new strategic goal: the inclusion of Slovenia in the North Atlantic Alliance. This meant that the necessary transformation of the armed forces and their doctrinal adjustments must be implemented and standardized with NATO procedures. In 2004, the Slovenia achieved this strategic objective when it became a new full member of the Alliance. This fact was followed by assuming responsibilities and duties, which have required the development of new military-strategic documents and the transformation of the armed forces. In light of reduced defense funding, the objectives of recent transformation have not been achieved and rightly so, there was a question of suitability of reorganizing the Slovenian armed forces, as well as continuing their mission in accordance with the Slovenian Constitution and defense laws.

### **The Role and Importance of Military Doctrines**

Any military doctrine constitutes the methods of the armed forces to accomplish its mission. In the military doctrine are defined facts, which require new ways of thinking with the objective of supporting national interests and goals. It is intended to inform the national security structures and enforced defense strategy. Representing principled positions on the organization, administration, and operation of armed forces in the implementation of all tasks, lays down the fundamental principles by

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<sup>1</sup> Branimir Furlan, et. al, *Vojaška doktrina* (Military doctrine) (Ljubljana: Defensor, 2006), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Anton Žabkar, *Marsova dediščina 1. Temelji vojaških ved* (Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, 2003), 25.

which the internal structure also identifies armed forces, and directs their operation. As such it is based on the historical experience and theoretical knowledge about warfare. It is binding, but requires prudence with its application in practice. The objective of military doctrine is to ensure unity of understanding, commonality of operations, and is the basis of a standardized implementation of armed forces operations. In addition, it provides the basic elements of military operations, and constitutes a fundamental starting point for military planners and decision makers. Military doctrine is a document which transparently presents armed forces before the public, their communication and informing international environment with a special emphasis on allies and providing direct and indirect civilian control of the armed forces.

The most important determinant and starting point of military doctrine is the national-security strategy, which represents the operational segment national defence strategy. This means that indirectly affects on the design of military doctrine and all segments of national-security planning and, indirectly, on the international environment.

### **Argument for National Defense Forces of Slovenia**

SFR Yugoslavia was the security framework in which Slovenia, in the northwestern part of the SFRY, reaffirmed its defensive function in the 1980s. Yugoslav defense was defined according to the geostrategic position between the two major political blocs, both of which in Europe were strongly polarized and territorial demarcated.<sup>3</sup> Yugoslavia established a concept of total defense. It foresaw a strong and well-equipped regular army, the Yugoslav People's Army, together with Yugoslavia Navy and air forces (war aviation and anti-air defence).<sup>4</sup> An important component of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, which had become formally independent from the Yugoslav People's Army, was eight formations of Territorial Defense -- each republic and the two autonomous provinces had a statutory basis for establishing such forces at the provincial level.<sup>5</sup> From the point of view of strategic-military planning, however, there were units that were included under the umbrella of federal defence planning, and therefore their own military doctrinal documents had yet been developed, but only the coordinating subsidiary bodies with common defense design and doctrine.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Vladimir Prebilič, »Zur Bedeutung geostrategischen Sloweniens - Vorteil oder Flucht?« in *Die Alpen im kalten Krieg: historischer Raum, Strategie und Sicherheitspolitik*, ed. Dieter and Felix Schneider, 313-324 (München: Oldenbourg, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> *Strategija oboroženega boja* (Beograd: Zvezni sekretariat za ljudsko obrambo, 1985), 103-143.

<sup>5</sup> Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was an important reason for reforming the defense capability of the SFRY. That same year, the Federal Assembly of the SFRY adopted legislation which is part of the competence of defense was transferred to the Republic. With this was also developed Territorial Defense (TO) of Slovenia. Although the units of TO were projected as a territorial component and support the organization of defense in a given area by federal Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), there were large differences between the TO in Yugoslavia. Socialist Republic of Slovenia had spent maximum funding for ongoing training, education, training, arming, and versatile organization. It is this factor in Slovenia that strongly differs from other organizations in other republics. In early 1990, the Slovenian TO units drafted and distributed about 75,000 reservists (Tomaž Kladnik, *Slovenian Armed Forces in the Service of Slovenia* [Ljubljana: Defensor, 2007], 42).

<sup>6</sup> Boris Bolfek, "Teritorialna obramba Slovenije." In *Vojaska obramba Slovenije: 1990-1991* (Military Defense of Slovenia, 1990-1991), ed. Tomaž Kladnik, 168 (Ljubljana: Defensor, 2011). Janez J.

The doctrine of armed conflict in Yugoslavia was the document finally formulated in 1983 in the form of two additional documents: strategy of armed forces and the guidelines for the defense of Yugoslavia against attack.<sup>7</sup> This took place during a period of economic crisis and political uncertainty, which coincided with the decay of the Communist bloc and transition of socialist authoritarian regimes towards a more democratic social organization.

The Armed Forces, on their own initiative, had during periods of budgetary constraints gradually transformed the military system into the classic defense posture, to abolish the concept of total defense and, consequently, reduced the role, tasks, and responsibilities of the Territorial Defence, particularly its command system: "Prepared doctrine of TD has envisaged subordination of defense units of TD under command of YPA units."<sup>8</sup> This transformation of TD doctrine met with resistance, especially from the Slovenian political elite due to ideological reasons, and even more so in order to maintain its influence on the Slovenian TD and the preservation of relatively autonomous republic of positions in the federation. They also opposed the reform of the Armed Forces, which would have been deprived of many of its powers. The general People's defense doctrine and social self-preservation was given the narrow relationship to "Tito's heritage" and was sacrosanct. This was considered acceptable.<sup>9</sup> The Yugoslav military leadership officially redefined its doctrine of armed conflict in 1990.<sup>10</sup>

It is also the case in the process of "peeling off" and then "decoupling" -- Slovenia's independence efforts in the years 1990-1991 caused urgent defining of new policies in the area of defense, and in particular, the armed forces. Even more, because there was, after the first democratic elections in spring 1990, an interruption of contact between the newly-elected Slovenian and Yugoslav political elites supreme command of YPA decided for disarmament of Slovene TD.<sup>11</sup> Such a decision immediately forced the Slovenian political leadership to establish its own defence policy. It also began the construction of an improvised defense system, strong enough to deter external invasions.<sup>12</sup> The defense system was built in a few months,<sup>13</sup> and changed the security

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Švajncer, *Teritorialna obramba Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Viharnik, 1992); and Miljenko Živković, *Teritorialna obrana Jugoslavije: najširi oblik organiziranja radnih ljudi i građana za oružanu borbu* (Beograd: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1985).

<sup>7</sup> Janez J. Švajncer, *Teritorialna obramba Republike Slovenije* (Ljubljana: Viharnik, 1992), and Miljenko Živković, *Teritorialna obrana Jugoslavije: najširi oblik organiziranja radnih ljudi i građana za oružanu borbu* (Beograd: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1985), 29-33.

<sup>8</sup> Janez Slapar, "Priprave teritorialne obrambe od oktobra 1990 do napada," *Vojaška zgodovina* 2, no. 8 (2004): 4-13.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Marijan Kranjc, »Savremene vojne doktrine - sukob niskog intenziteta,« *Vojno delo: opštevojni teorijski časopis* 42 (1991): 5-6 and 59-85; Marijan F. Kranjc, *Spopad nizke intenzivnosti: generalska naloga* (Maribor: Pro-Andy, 2007); and Davor Marijan, *Slom Titove armije: JNA i raspad Jugoslavije 1987-1992* (Zagreb: Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2008), 25-63.

<sup>10</sup> Marijan, *Slom Titove armije*, 102-123.

<sup>11</sup> The Presidency of the State which demanded the removal of master this provision, the federal presidency, were unwilling to accept; the result was full immobilization of TD.

<sup>12</sup> At the same time, two completely different concepts were in conflict: a classic state model with a strong military structure and the member without the army in its traditional meaning. In addition, at



environment in autumn 1990 Slovene political leadership decided in favour of the legalistic path, as much as possible in order to deter potential internal conflict and, as a result, of counter-measures of central military authorities, who have been carrying out transformations of military system as marked aversion. In addition, it has been an important additional reason: resting on the status quo to allow construction of at least temporary defense system; both material as systemic and this time much more favorably, with point of view, that defense system should be operational immediately after shaping individual components. In autumn 1990, the Slovenian parliament with the constitutional amendments unilaterally established as Territorial Defence army of Slovenia, which was associated in the Yugoslav defence system only in a state of war.<sup>14</sup>

In autumn 1990, the newly-appointed military leadership of Slovenia started a thorough reorganization and upgrading of the defense system. Little time was spent on military doctrinal development, although it was considered an urgent task. It takes considerable time and effort to formulate military doctrine, and the priority was on the construction of a defense system.

In October 1990, the plan of legislative system contained the proposal of defense doctrine preparation by 30 October 1990, the Law on defense and protection should be prepared by 31 December 1990, the Law on military service should be prepared by 28 February 1991, and the law on service in the armed forces was to be developed by 31 May 1991.<sup>15</sup> Upgrading the defense system was delayed, and this was having a negative impact on combat readiness. Instead, that new law on defense and protection

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least some representatives of Slovenian political elites had before the eyes experience with YPA, which was one of the strongest armies in Europe, but it was also the largest and most expensive national institution, which avoided political control. Both of these options -- create strong and otherwise Slovenian military structures or demilitarize the nation -- were extremes. This division of political parties as well as in supporting public opinion was potentially dangerous. In a survey conducted in October 1990, Slovenian public opinion 25.2 % of the respondents believe that Slovenia should be without the army, in January 1991, it was for Slovenia without the army which 48.8 % of respondents. Priority options Slovenian armed forces was that are supported by part of the government, particularly Defense and Ministry of the Interior, while the demilitarization had strong support in the presidency of Slovenia and in the opposition and public. The problem of demilitarization was primarily to understanding neighboring countries -- for the disarmament of Republic of Slovenia can only guarantee institutions of security systems neighboring countries, not public opinion. Threats and military intervention of YPA has definitely destroyed the ethos of demilitarization, as Slovenia and Slovenians face a real threat of war and the social poverty. See Ljubica Jelušič, "Jugoslovanska ljudska armada leta 1991 - začetek konca ene največjih evropskih vojsk po koncu hladne vojne," in *Slovenska osamosvojitve 1991: pričevanja in analize : simpozij, Brežice, 21. in 22. junij 2001: zbornik*, ed. Jurij Perovšek, Stane Granda, 215-228 (Ljubljana: Državni zbor Republike Slovenije: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2002).

<sup>13</sup> Albin Mikulič, *Rebels with a Cause: National Defense Manoeuvre Structure* (Ljubljana: RS Ministry of Defence, Slovenian Armed Forces, Military Museum, 2007), 43-52, and Janez Janša, *Premiki* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1992), p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> Damijan Guštin, "Oborožene sile Republike Slovenije v prelomnem trenutku: nacionalna obramba - dosežek samostojne slovenske države?" in *Osamosvojitve 1991: država in demokracija na Slovenskem v zgodovinskih razsežnostih*, ed. Mitja Ferenc, Jurij Hadalin, and Blaž Babič, 253-264 (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2011).

<sup>15</sup> Janez Slapar, "Priprave teritorialne obrambe od oktobra 1990 do napada," *Vojaška zgodovina*, 5, št. 2 (2004): 4-13.

was scheduled for adoption before the end of 1990, the public and the internal discussion (mainly about the basic issue on demilitarizing Slovenia to avoid the military conflict with the YPA) was extended for several months, and the law was enacted in 6 March 1991.<sup>16</sup> With this law, the state decided on military defense, and with it, needed to develop a doctrinal system.

The first important aspect of doctrinal changes was the conversion of Territorial Defense into the state army. The TD was designed as a component of the Yugoslav armed forces with specific tasks, and beginning in spring 1991, was officially performing all tasks in defense of the new country. It redesigned the military records and included in TD younger soldiers from a reserve element of the YPA -- formerly the Partisan brigades. By acquiring additional transport assets, mobility was increased and a military exercise was carried out by moving units at a distance around 150 km (exercise "Premik /Movement/" 1990). A few secretly imported items of military equipment and anti-armour weapons filled gaps in small arms capacity; it did not have any heavy weapons, armored or motorized forces, or aviation assets. The defense of Slovenia was based in low-intensity combat (obstruction, stopping, psychological war), with the employment of TD, police forces, and civil defense.<sup>17</sup> It cannot be identified from available documents what was happening with military doctrine.

#### **Doctrinal Development after Independence, 1991-1994**

The Army and TD of the Republic of Slovenia (TDRS), with the other elements of its defense forces, achieved battlefield and strategic victory in July 1991, after undergoing transformation from autumn 1990 to May 1991. Military interoperability was a factor in this success. The independence period (1991-1994) was based on establishing a national defense structure on the model of Western democratic countries. It was of primary importance to establish a fully-functioning professional army quickly as possible. In 1993, a resolution on new geostrategic goals was adopted: Slovenia should implement its national security through full integration into NATO. This objective was for years included in all development strategic and normative solutions and actions. This defense law was adopted in 1994, and normatively arranged organization of defence system and the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF). The purpose of this Act was de facto establishing the SAF and its new structure, which was divided on maneuver and support elements. Other military elements were based on a recruitment system and conscription at a minimum necessary professional core. Competences of the state bodies in the administration and defense systems were established following the pattern of other parliamentary democracies. The period between 1994 and 2004 was marked by extensive organizational changes that took place in the SAF within the context of defense, as Slovenia became an associate member of the North Atlantic Assembly and a member of Partnership for Peace.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 6 June 1991, No. 15, 555, Zakon o obrambi in zaščiti /Defense and the Protection Act.

<sup>17</sup> Kladnik, *Vojaška obramba Slovenije: 1990-1991*, 53.

<sup>18</sup> Anton Grizold, *Slovenija v spremenjenem varnostnem okolju: k razvoju obrambno-zaščitnega sistema: izzivi in spodbude* (Slovenia in the amended security environment: toward developing

War erupted in neighboring Croatia in autumn 1991, and this posed a security threat to Slovenia.<sup>19</sup> This circumstance demanded from military leadership that continued to focus on provision of operational military forces.

### **Commanding New Armed Forces**

The Territorial Defence of Slovenia in June 1991 was hierarchically organized, but still with a territorial army force structure. Republican headquarters was still far from general headquarters organization, even though it had such attachments. Military leadership was strongly politically influenced, although the minister responsible for defense was considered capable.

The TDRS was organized into seven regional commands and brigade MORiS. Each of them was actually a regional headquarters, which had its core leadership and responsibility for the TD at its operating area.<sup>20</sup> Each of the regional headquarters had three to five subordinate regional defense sectors. Former TD officers, and professional and ex-reserve officers, were designated as the commanders. Their ranks were considered relatively, corresponding to that of a colonel or brigadier.

### **Doctrinal Development of the Slovenian Defense Forces**

A resolution on the starting-points for the national security of the Republic of Slovenia was adopted at the end of 1993.<sup>21</sup> Military threats from the conflict zone of Yugoslavia, and its resulting concerns over the risk of armed intervention against Slovenia or from an attempt to change borders of their own countries by neighboring countries and eventual wider military conflict, was important. The defense establishment of the country contained two components: military and civil defense. The Slovenian Army served as the nation's defense force. Its basic task was military defense in the case of an attack on the country, followed by ensuring the necessary combat readiness and professional training in combat operations and other forms of military resistance. There was also an option for the Slovenian Army, in accordance with the Constitution, that the SAF should be considered as part of an international force. Training for defense missions was envisaged as an implementation of the general military obligations (with regard to conscientious objection; for such it was provided for training for other duties in defense). Commanding officers, staff, and

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defense-protection system - challenges and incentives). (Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani, 2005), 59.

<sup>19</sup> Siniša Tatalović, "Analiza vojne na Hrvaškem," *Teorija in praksa: družboslovna revija* 34, no. 1 (1997): 99-118; Anton Tus, »Rat u Sloveniji i Hrvatskoj do Sarajevskog primirja,« in *Rat u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini 1991-1995*, ed. Blanka Magaš and Ivo Žanić, 67-91 (Zagreb: n.p., 1999); Davor Marijan, »Agression of the Yugoslav Peoples Army on the Republic of Croatia, 1990-1992,« *Review of Croatian History* 1, no. 1 (2005): 295-317.

<sup>20</sup> Kladnik, *Vojaška obramba Slovenije, 1990-1991*.

<sup>21</sup> Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 30 December 1993, 71/2568, Resolucija o izhodiščih zasnove nacionalne varnosti Republike Slovenije /The resolution on the starting-points for national security of Republic of Slovenia/, 20 December 1993; Dopolnila resolucije o izhodiščih zasnove nacionalne varnosti Republike Slovenije.

non-commissioned officers were to be trained initially in the appropriate general-civil education institutions, and later in military schools and supplementary forms of training. The resolution also confirmed previous arrangements that normally did not deviate from the normal arrangements prevailing in democratic countries. The commander-in-chief was the president of the Republic (at the end of 1991 the constitution was amended and from presidency was designed an institution of president, which has had little real power) but only in case of war or state of emergency that must be declared by the Slovene Parliament. However, the planning and preparation of the armed forces was in the hands of the government (or Ministry of Defense as a professional institution). The Government was also directly responsible for preparing and implementing defense tasks. The National Security Council was to provide coordination and exchange of views for the government. Parliament was also to monitor the implementation of defense policies and programs.<sup>22</sup> Almost simultaneously with the publication of this resolution, at the end of 1993 state leadership in cooperation with military strategy thinkers accepted the new geo-strategical decision of requesting to join NATO,<sup>23</sup> which was announced as the objective of the national strategic importance. NATO membership was perceived as a comprehensive solution for many security challenges of the Slovene state:

- insurance against an the increasingly brutal war in Bosnia,
- deviation from the former Yugoslavia,
- ensuring missing elements of defense system,
- confirming political affiliation with new geopolitical area of the West.

The following laws, which enabled the development of the SAF as a conventional military organization, were enacted:

- The 1994 law for the provision of funds for fundamental development of programs for defense forces, with which they have been provided with the resources to purchase complex combat systems, such as aviation, equipment for air-space surveillance, anti-tank defense, communications, etc.
- The 1995 law on military service obligations that recognizes conscientious objection in all phases of military obligations
- To realize and operationalize the legitimate democratic control of the defense system.<sup>24</sup>

It took one-and-a-half year for a group to produce the first national security military doctrine for the new army.<sup>25</sup> This doctrine reflected the great changes made by the Slovenian Armed Forces in the first years after successfully winning the war and tasks in the new geo-strategical architecture of independent state. Meanwhile, the Republic of Slovenia made successful steps towards integration into Western security organizations by signing an agreement on cooperation with NATO and entering the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. The then-valid doctrine was based on the

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 12 January 1994, 2 /2548, Dopolnila resolucije o izhodiščih zasnove nacionalne varnosti Republike Slovenije.

<sup>24</sup> Anton Grizold, *Slovenija v spremenjenem varnostnem okolju: k razvoju obrambno-zaščitnega sistema: izzivi in spodbude* (Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani, 2005), 131.

<sup>25</sup> Decision of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 801/95-25, 27 July 1995.

principle of national self-defence, in which armed forces must be capable of eliminating any forms of aggression (limited or radical) or dealing with non-conventional attacks. The exception to the rule was possible cooperation in UN operations. The doctrine structured armed forces between two pillars: maneuver forces and territorial forces. The former were better equipped and trained, and formed contingents for international operations. The latter were more numerous and the basis for conscript training.

At the top of the military chain-of-command was operational headquarters, subordinated to the army headquarters along with the chief of the general staff. This organizational structure enabled a swift response to possible aggression, which was a "lesson learned" from the short independence war. This military doctrine was based on the initial period of extremely short preparation for possible combat and ended with a fractured attack on an opponent, halting him and taking over strategic initiatives. A high degree of mutual cooperation within the structures of the SAF is a characteristic of combat operations of the SAF. They must be mobilized in a timely manner, flexible, and decisive when stopping the possible opponents' penetration into national territory. A flexible defense in-depth should be organized on possible enemy avenues of approach into the country, built near national borders to slow the pace of attack and force the opponent to use unplanned access of approach, thus losing time while being an easier target. Urban areas should be incorporated into defense plans, as they will also hinder an enemy advance.<sup>26</sup> Among the methods of warfare taken into consideration are: assault (as the fundamental and decisive facts of the engagement), defensive methods, special operation forces, and guerrilla-partisan warfare. The doctrine was later basically neglected.

Structural and organizational changes were essential for the development of the SAF after 2001. They were influenced by many factors: the rise of global terrorism, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, war in Afghanistan and in Iraq, and, as a result, an increased need to inter-ministerial and inter-state cooperation in the field of defense. Otherwise, a solid majority of public opinion supported membership of the Republic of Slovenia in NATO, but the first test was when the alliance carried out an attack on Serbia without a UN mandate in 1999. While the strength of the SAF was gradually increasing until 2001 (73,000 military recruits), there was a rapid reduction to 39,000 military recruits in 2002-2003. In 2003, conscription ended as the state leadership decided that Slovenia should quickly move into the professionalization of the army.

The national security strategy was prepared used for eight after it was formulated in 2001.<sup>27</sup> It was understandable, that it should be quite different from the situation when war lasted in former Yugoslavia and Slovenia role in international affairs was different. In 2001, Slovenia was already on the threshold of entry into the European Union. Negotiations on accession to NATO did not proclaim an exact date of invitation, but it had previously been a member in the preparatory Partnership for

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<sup>26</sup> Doktrina Slovenske vojske. Ljubljana, 1995. Unpublished manuscript, in authors's possession.

<sup>27</sup> Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 6 July 2001, 56 / 2957, Resolucija o strategiji nacionalne varnosti Republike Slovenije (The resolution on national security strategy Republic of Slovenia/ (ReSNV), 21 June 2001.

Peace. War in Yugoslavia had ended and only a question of Kosovo was unresolved.<sup>28</sup> Among the sources of military threats, resolution stated in particularly (unlikely) war of large dimensions and rapid deterioration in security situation on the territory of former Yugoslavia; otherwise, resolution stemmed conclusions that are coming into focus non-military sources of threats. The resolution therefore was relying on the preparations to NATO integration, identified a different organization of the defense. The base should become a qualitatively improved but less numerous army, redesigned and modernized. Although the resolution has not yet set up introduction of professional armed forces, but it emerged with the intention to increase the share in the army professional soldiers and modernize the army. The defense establishment was still divided into military and civil defense. Military defense was provided by the SAF, whose main task was military defense of the state and implementation of the obligations in the international arena, including peace support operations.<sup>29</sup>

The resolution was supplemented at the same year by a *defensive strategy*; the Slovene government adopted the first version in 2000 and the final one 20 December 2001.<sup>30</sup> This represented a fundamental document for the design of doctrinal changes. Together with the simultaneously adopted the new *General Long-term Program of Development and Equipping of the Slovenian Armed Forces* was the basis for a further three-year period in which military planners were to devise all major platforms of the military system of Slovenia. Three years later, in 2004, Slovenia became a member of NATO and entered into the system of collective security. The same year, Slovenia also abandoned conscription and introduced an all-volunteer system of recruitment what was considered the first step towards professionalization.<sup>31</sup>

These changes called for a comprehensive doctrinal document that would reflect all securities shifts that the defense system had experienced over 13 years of independence. The task of preparing the doctrine of the SAF was given to a special group of senior officers led by SAF Assistant Chief of the General Staff, Brigadier General Branimir Furlan. The result of this three years' work was the new SAF doctrine, officially enacted in 2006.<sup>32</sup>

The Chief of the General Staff specified that doctrine conforms with the fundamental documents of the NATO Alliance (Alliance's Strategic Concept) and its doctrine

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<sup>28</sup> Jože Pirjevec, *Jugoslovsanske vojne* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2008), 142.

<sup>29</sup> Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 6 July 2001, 56 / 2957, Resolucija o strategiji nacionalne varnosti Republike Slovenije (ReSNV) (The resolution on national security strategy Republic of Slovenia/, 21 June 2001).

<sup>30</sup> Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 20 December 2001, Uradni list RS 4 December 2001, št. 97/4801, Splošni dolgoročni program razvoja in opremljanja Slovenske vojske.

<sup>31</sup> Igor Kotnik Dvojmoč, "Profesionalizacija Slovenske vojske - cilj ali pot" (Professionalization of the Slovenian Armed Forces - a goal or a path), *Sodobni vojaški izzivi* (Contemporary military challenges) 14, no. 1 (May 2012): 11-25; Anton Grizold, Siniša Tatalović, and Vlatko Cvrtila, "Politika nacionalne sigurnosti Republike Slovenije," in *Regionalna sigurnost i multilateralna suradnja: Republika Hrvatska i jugoistok Europe*, ed. Siniša Tatalović and Vlatko Cvrtila, 204-221 (Zagreb: Centar za međunarodne i sigurnosne studije, Fakulteta političkih znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu: Politička kultura, 2010).

<sup>32</sup> *Doktrina Slovenske vojske* (Ljubljana: MORS, 2006).

(especially Allied Joint Doctrine, the AAP-1) and, of course, Slovenian security and military environment along with the military experiences and tradition.<sup>33</sup> The doctrine was actually derived from the principle that "the military defense of the Republic of Slovenia is based on the use of joint allied forces and integration of the Slovene Armed forces into this concept."<sup>34</sup> Therefore, while acknowledging that the Slovenian Armed Forces are operating mainly in cooperation with the Allied forces, it underlines the importance of interoperability perceived also as the ability of operating in multinational organizations outside Slovenia. The 2001 Resolution contends it is highly unlikely to participate in conventional warfare, but "terrorism" and other non-military security challenges may be encountered. The SAF structure, according to current doctrine, is flexible, capable of organizing deployable small units according to the expectations of its Allies. Forces are organized according to their mission, space, and the concept of Combined Joint Task Forces: "The concept of Combined Joint Task Force is the basic mode of operation of the Slovenian Army units within the Alliance in the implementation of the military defense of the Republic of Slovenia or in crisis response operations."<sup>35</sup> Therefore the doctrine provides an offensive, defensive, special, stabilization (crisis response and peace support operations), support, information, and transient operational capability of the SAF.<sup>36</sup>

## Conclusion

In the changed security environment of the 21st century, the greatest threats are globally distributed conflicts of various intensities which include the armed forces of the developed Western world as a unified whole to resolve them. For the effective and efficient operation of the whole, interconnectivity, coordination, and standardization in particular -- from the language of command to ammunition -- is essential. Part of these processes is well under way in the SAF.

Doctrinal development in the Republic of Slovenia has many specific traits. The first is the exceptional intensity of the changing security environment, both in the immediate vicinity as well as the wider region. As a consequence, the political elites unusually quickly and in accordance with accepted security challenges were always adopting new strategic decisions, which military doctrinal development failed to follow. Military doctrine adopted in 1995 and 2006 were often inconsistent with national security policies. As a result, these two documents deprived of the fundamental legitimacy and followed the failure of the implementation of the doctrinal positions within the military system itself. Direct consequence of this situation was numerous reforms in organization, education and training, commanding, and equipping the SAF.

Therefore, the military system, despite all its efforts, is unable to carry out the transformation process and in particular its objectives are changed before it gets to full implementation, let alone to an adequate evaluation of such transformation

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 48-72.

results. This is all reflected in the military system, and in its image in the perception of civil society and declining self-esteem of Slovene military system. One can predict additional consequences on their combat motivation and organizational and operational readiness. This situation seemingly leads to:

- undefined military-historical tradition of Slovene Armed Forces, as expressed in constant building of new, never fully defined and expressed military identities,
- lack of internal cohesion, which is the result of different systems in the field of training, specializations, and drills of individual members of the Slovenian Armed Forces what leads to internal mutual friction and competition,
- undefined medium- and long-term strategy development of the Slovenian armed forces, which causes constant improvisation for the attainment of the objectives and realization of tasks,
- insufficient coordination between the external obligations (members of cooperative security organizations) and internal tasks with in Ministry of Defense which in many occasions leads to overloading the defense system,
- the poor public image of the Slovenian Armed Forces, which through continuous real and perceived scandals (purchases of weapon systems) reflect the public support and understanding of the needs of the defence system.

The Slovenian Army is, in spite of all the shortcomings of the modern and professional structure, well-established in the world as a reliable partner. This is evidenced by the successful cooperation in many crisis response operations, which is gathering valuable experience in combat and strengthens the established alliance. But the question is how long will it be able to maintain this image in the future without a thorough plan for eliminating the reasons for the problems in the country?

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# 14.

## **Hungarian Participation in the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam, 1973-1975**

by

**Tamás Nagy**

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### **Abstract**

**The 1973 Paris Peace Accords ended the Vietnam War. These Accords decreed that an International Commission of Control and Supervision (ICCS) shall be established immediately. This study shows how Hungarian participation in the ICCS first started. The author used new original documents, and this paper is reportedly one of the first published on this topic.**

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### **Historical Background**

After the Second World War, the liberation movement led by Ho Chi Minh proclaimed in Hanoi the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). Simultaneously, and independence struggle broke out in the two neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia. France, as the colonial power, on 6 March 1946 recognized Vietnam as a new state. At the same time the deployment of enforcing troops continued and on 19 December a general offensive had been launched. On 8 March 1949, South Vietnam was created as part of the French Union. On 7 May 1954, the North Vietnamese Army won a decisive battle against the French forces at Dien Bien Phu. After the momentous battle, the Geneva Convention (signed on 21 July 1954) provided for the division of North and South Vietnam along the 17<sup>th</sup> latitude (north). At the same time North Vietnam was established, the Republic of Vietnam (RV) – South Vietnam -- where Western influence prevailed, was also established. After the departure of the French the United States assumed an increasingly important role in the RV as part of its containment policy of Communism. The Gulf of Tonkin Incident (or the USS *Maddox* Incident) on 2 August 1965 was followed by increasingly armed conflict

between the U.S. and DRV. American participation in the conflict ended on 27 January 1973 with the Paris Peace Accords.

### **The Paris Peace Accords and Hungarian Involvement in Vietnam**

Prior to the signing of the Paris Peace Accords war, secret negotiations were taking place between U.S. and the DRV in July 1972, and as a result of them Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, representatives of the Washington and Hanoi governments, agreed the terms of the ceasefire on 8 January 1973 in Paris. The Paris Peace Accords which ended American participation in the conflict was signed by the Secretaries of State or Ministers of Foreign Affairs (United States of America, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Republic of Vietnam, and Provisional Revolutionary Republic of Vietnam [PRRV]).

The 18th article of the 6th Chapter of the Peace Accords states:

After the signing of this Agreement, an International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be established immediately . . . . The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be composed of representatives of four countries: Canada, Hungary, Indonesia and Poland. The chairmanship of this Commission will rotate among the members for specific periods to be determined by the Commission.<sup>1</sup>

The Hungarian leadership was not surprised by this prestigious proposal, since the initiative had already been forwarded unofficially the previous year. A Coordinating Board was established in Hungary with the participation of all relevant Ministries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, and Ministry of Home Affairs) and the so-called National Planning Office. As a result of the assignment of tasks, the Hungarian Branch of the International Commission of Control and Supervision (ICCS), under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was created and trained.

### **The Foundation of the International Commission of Control and Supervision and the Departure of the Hungarian Contingent**

The earliest possible departure time for the Hungarian element of the ICCS was planned for November 1972. The mission requirements for the Hungarian soldiers were not just the professionalism and political reliability but also a priority for English language proficiency. This requirement was a huge challenge since at this time the Russian language was the most spoken in the Hungarian People's Army and the English language was basically neglected. The problem arising from the small number of English-speaking officers was solved by calling up reservists. The selected officers attended rigorous medical, physical, and psychological examinations and got current intelligence about the Indochina area. The leaders of the Hungarian contingent were welcomed by the DRV Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pham Van Dong, as well, according to the subsequent memorandum about the meeting: „The Vietnamese

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<sup>1</sup> Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, Chapter 6, Article 18. [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Paris\\_Peace\\_Accords#Article\\_18](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Paris_Peace_Accords#Article_18). Downloaded: 6 November 2014.

comrades pointed out that the Hungarian representative of ICCS should maintain a very close relationship with the PRRV, which will hand over intelligence for their work. They referred also that the first sixty days hold."<sup>2</sup>

The first Hungarian element arrived on 28 January 1973 after a 37-hour flight to Tan Son Nhut Air Base, Saigon, and it began ICCS work immediately.

### **The Organization of the ICCS and the Control Districts**

The ICCS included military as well as civilian personnel. The diplomatic work was conducted by career diplomats, while control and service support positions were held by professional soldiers. The leader of the Hungarian group was Ambassador Károly Esztergályos, and the military deputy was Maj. Gen. Ferenc Szűcs. The Operating Procedures of the ICCS defined in detail the management (command) and control of the organization:

As provided for in Article 18/d/ of the Agreement, the Commission shall be presided over by the Chairman who, on a monthly rotational basis, shall be the senior representative of each National Delegation, the order of rotation following the alphabetical order of the first letter of the name of each country represented on the Commission in the same sequence as is observed in the United Nations Organisation.<sup>3</sup>

The meeting of the committee, regulated as follows: "/a/ Sessions of the Commission shall be hold whenever necessary but not less then once a week. /b/ Sessions of the Commission shall be hold within 24 hours of the written request of the Chairman or of any National Delegation, copies of which request shall be sent simultaneously to all National Delegations."<sup>4</sup>

Disagreement among the leadership of the ICCS happened relatively quickly. According to the Canadian and Indonesian point of view, the peace negotiations in Paris between the adversaries were influenced by the experiences of the ICCS. In contrast, the Polish and Hungarian position accepted the DRV and DIFK opinion, that the control work must be tight to the Paris Peace Accords.

In South Vietnam, the ICCS established its headquarters in Saigon, then divided the country to seven control districts. ICCS district headquarters were set up in each, in the cities of Hue, Danang, Pleiku, Phan Thiet, Bien Hoa, My Tho, Con Tho. The communications system was provided by the U.S. Army. Logistical sustainment, especially subsistence, was a challenge. In Saigon, this was provided by the U.S. military supply channels, while in the districts, American civil contractors serviced the respective headquarters. A Hungarian clinic, which cooperated with French and American hospitals, was located in the center in Saigon. The groups deployed to the districts were supported by provisional medical teams from the four nations.

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<sup>2</sup> Összefoglaló jelentés 1973. február 09. National Archives of Hungary (NAH), NEB Admin XIX-J-63-b 30. Doboz.

<sup>3</sup> NAH, NEB Admin XIX-J-63-b 1. Doboz.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

A Joint Military Commission, also established by the Paris Accords, operated concurrently with the ICCS and included representatives from the U.S., DRV, RV, and PRRV. These military groups carried out the tasks specified in the Paris Convention, which were checked by the ICCS representatives.

The priority task of the ICCS in its first months of operation was to monitor the U.S. troop withdrawal and prisoner-of-war exchanges in accordance with the Paris Peace Accords. The Hungarian military commander, Maj. Gen. Ferenc Szűcs, reported as follows:

Americans report every day the number of POW were transported back to US. The repatriation means just people and only a few important secret asset because / with the exception of the B-52s / they has been handing over everything to the South Vietnamese Army continuously. Therefore, these withdrawals are not recognized by our comrades in the JMC <de jure>, <de facto>...<sup>5</sup>

The report about the prisoners of war exchange:

The control of the POW handover takeover between 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of February 1973 run its course according to the plan done by the 4<sup>th</sup> JMC. The procedure was checked every day by two-three Hungarian groups from ICCS. Within the reported period 163 US, 7020 DIFK and 910 South Vietnamese POW were exchanged. The groups involved into the exchange process made the following observations:

- Throughout the US personnel handover process the DRV authorities acted as defined in the Paris Peace Accords. They allowed for the controllers (!) to visit the last location of the detention and conversation with detainees.
- At the South Vietnamese prisoners handover process the DIFK authorities acted as defined in the Paris Peace Accords. The transferred prisoners' health conditions were good.
- At the DIFK prisoners handover process the South Vietnamese authorities did not allow the ICCS representatives to visit the last prison of the POW and made restriction on the conversation with the detainees. The health conditions of the handed over prisoners were staggering. Fifty percent is considered to be injured. The detainees were not informed about the Paris Peace Accords by detaining authorities.
- These raised comments were agreed by every members of control groups.<sup>6</sup>

## **An Assessment of the First Quarter**

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<sup>5</sup> 3.sz. összefoglaló jelentés 3.o. NAH, NEB. Admin. XIX-J--63-b 30. Doboz.

<sup>6</sup> 3.sz. összefoglaló jelentés 3-4.o. NAH, NEB. Admin. XIX-J--63-b 30. Doboz.

Based on the experiences of the initial months of the ICCS's operation, Ambassador Ferenc Esztergályos described the compliance with the Paris Peace Accords:

Its main feature is that all that could be accomplished on the basis of the existing balance had been codified, however, it left open every other - in terms of the future very serious - questions that could not be settled on that basis. The solution for the still open problems had been left for a fight under new conditions and the theme of that fight will be the change of the established balance of power.<sup>7</sup>

The ambassador's summary report describes the Vietnamese situation of the opposing parties very sensitively: "The [peace] left the Vietnamese parties in a peculiar state and the Accords did not even attempt to sort this out, in addition to many other issues that was left for further development of the balance of power."<sup>8</sup>

Esztergályos's assessment was justified by the time, since in the following two years, after the departure of the U.S. forces, the final decision between the two opposing parties in Vietnam, was based on the military balance of power. After the withdrawal of the Canadian Armed Forces, the Iranians had taken their place and in this way the ICCS continuously performed their duties until the end of the armed conflict. Throughout the two-and-half-year long ICCS mission, 636 Hungarian personnel (111 career diplomats and 525 officers) in three contingents participated in this unique mission.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Összefoglaló jelentés, Szaigon, 1973. május 20. 1.o. NAH., NEB. Admin. XIX-J--63-b 30. Doboz.

<sup>8</sup> Összefoglaló jelentés, Szaigon, 1973. május 20. 3-4.o. NAH, NEB. Admin. XIX-J--63-b 30. Doboz.

<sup>9</sup> Tájékoztató. Institute and Museum of Military History. Archives of Military History Budapest, MNKGY. C304.

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# 15.

## War is a Violent Teacher:<sup>1</sup>

### The Study and Impact of Military History in the Greek Air Force Academy

by

Dēmētrios N. Christodoulou

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#### Abstract

Military history forms part of the curriculum of the Greek Air Force Academy, especially but not exclusively for the pilot trainees/cadets. Its importance is manifested by the fact that it is reserved for the final (fourth) year of their training and is taught for a full semester (a maximum of 60 hours). Other categories of cadets, such as aircraft mechanics, engineers of airport facilities, electronics and communication specialists, as well as air defense controllers, are also taught military history, but somewhat earlier (during their second year) and for fewer hours (up to 35 per semester). The teaching and consequent knowledge of military history is a qualification for the demands of the job of Greek Air Force officers; it is one of the means of instilling into the cadets the core values of the Air Force and of the Greek Armed Forces in general. Its study is centered on the plethora of military conflicts of the first half of the 20th century in which the armed forces of Greece have participated. Between 1897 and 1953, Greece participated in twelve distinct conflicts that ranged from guerrilla campaigns and local Balkan wars to its participation in the two world wars and a full-fledged civil war that has more or less divided the Greek nation ever since. As a consequence, these varied conflicts left a very mixed legacy. On the one hand, a legacy of victory and valor, as well as an underlying national triumphalism; on the other, a legacy of national discord, catastrophic defeat, enemy occupation, and bitter civil war. Therefore, the study of military history in the Greek Air Force Academy has significantly departed from the traditional narrative of decisive battles and great leaders to a more nuanced approach that examines the impact of the wars on the society as a whole and has

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<sup>1</sup> *‘Biaios didaskalos ho pólemos,’* from the following context: “In peace and when matters go well, cities and individuals are better-minded because they have not fallen into the necessity of doing what they do not wish. But war is a violent teacher; in depriving them of the means for easily satisfying their daily wants, it assimilates the thinking of the many to their present circumstances., Thucydides, 3.82.1-3, trans. Paul A. Rahe.

its roots in social and organizational history. In any case, it forms a staple of the professional military education at the Greek Air Force Academy and is getting stronger with the progress of time, especially as the new interdisciplinary approach in its study enhances the cooperation not only between the branches and institutions of the Greek Armed Forces but also between comparable international institutions.

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the study and impact of military history at the Greek Air Force Academy (*Scholē Ikarōn*), as experienced by the author who has been teaching the course continuously during the previous decade at the Academy.

According to one influential classification,<sup>2</sup> military history is divided into five types of works:

- A. *Inspirational* military history, that emphasizes human qualities, and elicits an emotional response usually centered on combat. This is the most popular type of military history and includes most military biographies and popular war books for the general public.
- B. *National* military history. This really is a subset of inspirational military history and appeals to patriotism and nationalism. It is designed to strengthen allegiance to the state and its institutions by emphasizing the costs of national traditions and values.
- C. Then comes *antiquarian* or hobby history, which often consists of books about uniforms and weapons.
- D. Next is *military utilitarian history*, which consists of books and articles written by and for military personnel. Most of it is written to support the professional education of military officers which employs history to teach, among others, principles of leadership, the strategic and operational art of war, etc.
- E. Finally, comes *civilian utilitarian* military history, which is taught in universities or colleges so as to educate the general student population on military matters.

Military history as taught in the Greek military academies obviously mostly falls in the second and fourth categories of Millett's taxonomy, but it is also influenced by the first and third categories, since these comprise the only previous military history experience of the students before enrolling in the military academies. Moreover, the faculty members who teach military history are obviously influenced, or come directly to the job, from civil utilitarian history courses as taught in the general universities.

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<sup>2</sup> According to Allan R. Millett, as expounded in M. Grimsley, "Why Military History Matters," *Military History* (May 2007): 42-3; cf. S. Morillo and M. F. Pavkovic, *What is Military History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 5-9.



Within the civil and military utilitarian categories of military history, that is scholarly military history, the field is further subdivided into “old” and “new” military histories, since at least the 1960s.<sup>3</sup> In the latter category the new military histories consist of “war and society,” “longue durée,” “military revolutions,” or “revolutions in military affairs” studies; or in “face of battle”-type studies.<sup>4</sup>

Military history forms part of the curriculum of the Greek Air Force Academy, especially but not exclusively for the pilot trainees/cadets. Its importance is manifest by the fact that it is reserved for the final (fourth) year of their training and is taught for a full semester (a maximum of 60 hours). Other categories of cadets, such as aircraft mechanics, engineers of airport facilities, electronics-and-communication specialists, as well as air defense controllers, are also taught military history, but somewhat earlier (during their second year) and for fewer hours (up to 35 per semester).

The teaching and consequent knowledge of Military History is a qualification for the demands of the job of the Greek Air Force officers; it is one of the means of instilling into the cadets the core values of the Air Force and of the Greek Armed Forces in general. Its study is centered on the plethora of military conflicts of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in which the armed forces of Greece have participated. Between 1897 and 1955, Greece participated in twelve distinct conflicts that ranged from guerrilla campaigns and local Balkan wars to its participation in the two world wars and a full-fledged civil war that has more or less divided the Greek nation ever since.

These are:

1. The Greco-Turkish war of 1897,
2. The guerilla campaign in Macedonia (1904-1908),
3. The First Balkan War (1912-1913), against the Ottoman Empire,
4. The Second Balkan War (1913), against Bulgaria,
5. The First World War (1916-1918), against the Central Powers,
6. The expedition in the Ukraine (1919), against the Bolsheviks,
7. The Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace campaigns (1919-1923), against the Turks,
8. The Second World War, against Fascist Italy (1940-1941) and Nazi Germany (1941), including the Battle of Crete.
9. Subsequently, the fight of the Free Greek Forces overseas (1941-1945),
10. The Triple Occupation of Greece by the Axis powers and the resistance against them (1941-1944),
11. The Greek Civil War (in three “rounds”: 1943-1944, 1944-1945, and 1946-1949),

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<sup>3</sup> For an introductory essay or review article on what the “old” and “new” military history categories mean, see R.M. Citino, “Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction,” *American Historical Review* (October 2007): 1070-1090.

<sup>4</sup> That is military history from the bottom up, studying the experiences and emotions of individual soldiers in combat -- the exact opposite of the “battles and leaders” top-down traditional approach. It takes its name from the title of the pioneering and hugely influential relevant book by John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1976).

12. The participation of the Greek Expeditionary Force in the Korean War (1950-1955).<sup>5</sup>

As a consequence, these varied conflicts left a very mixed legacy: On the one hand, a legacy of victory and valor, as well as an underlying national triumphalism; on the other, a legacy of national discord, catastrophic defeat, enemy occupation and bitter civil war.

Therefore, the study of military history in the Greek Air Force Academy has significantly departed from the traditional narrative of decisive battles and great leaders<sup>6</sup> to a more nuanced approach that examines the impact of the wars on the society as a whole and has its roots in social and organizational history.

This is apparent from the present organization of the military history course at the Greek Air Force Academy. The course is divided into three main parts and then further sub-divided into chapters, as follows:<sup>7</sup>

1. Principles of War. 1.1. “War” as a phenomenon and its scientific study. 1.2. Sources of War; its categories and forms. 1.3. Principles of War; Doctrine and Military Strategy.
2. Social and economic aspects of War. 2.1. Social and economic aspects of War. 2.2. Man during War.
3. Recent Military Conflicts (Conditions, Events, Criticism). 3.1. Balkan Wars. 3.2. First World War. 3.3. Asia Minor Campaign. 3.4. Second World War. 3.5. Korean War. 3.6. Vietnam War. 3.7. Arab-Israeli Wars. 3.8. Falklands War. 3.9. Wars of the Persian Gulf. 3.10. Wars of Afghanistan.

About a quarter of the available hours are dedicated each semester to the teaching of the first two parts, while the rest are used in the examination of the various 20<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup> century conflicts (third part), along with elements of new theoretical concepts in viewing future warfare,<sup>8</sup> in contrast with traditional strategic thought.<sup>9</sup> The final goal, of course, is not only to train but also to educate the future Air Force officers, since their education is no less essential for the accomplishment of their missions, especially as war leaders in the later stages of their careers. As Williamson Murray has succinctly put it:<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For an official Greek military history bibliography of these conflicts, see Geniko Epiteleio Stratou/Dieuthynse Historias Stratou, *Ekdotiko ergo 1999-2000, deka chronia historias* ([Greek] Army General Staff/Army History Directorate, *Published Works 1999-2000, Ten Years of History*) (Athens: G.E.S., 2009).

<sup>6</sup> J. Black, *Rethinking Military History* (London: Routledge, 2004), 136; Morillo and Pavkovic, *What is Military History?*, 32-7.

<sup>7</sup> See G.A. Andreades, *Stratiotike Historia Military History* (Athens: H.A.E., 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Such as T.X. Hammes, *The Sling and the Stone. On War in the 21st Century*, (St. Paul, Minn.: Zenith Press, 2006), or *Recent Themes in Military History. Historians in Conversation*, ed. by D.A. Yerxa (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2008), among others; see also *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, ed. J. Baylis, J. J. Wirtz, and C. S. Gray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013<sup>4</sup>), 1-16.

<sup>9</sup> As exemplified in older treatises, for example in E. Muraise, *Eisagoge eis ten Stratiotiken Historian* (Athens: G.E.S., 1966 (translation from the French: *Introduction à l'histoire militaire*, Paris, IdHedDN, 1964).

<sup>10</sup> W. Murray, “Thoughts on military history and the profession of arms,” in *The Past as Prologue. The Importance of History to the Military Profession*, ed. W. Murray and R. Hart Sinnreich, 86-87 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

The long and short of it is that history is a discipline that one can only access by hard and consistent work. It does not provide clear or simple answers. In the end, those who want to learn from history must address it in its own terms. The context matters. Details cannot be shrugged off. History offers no simple, clear answers. Historical understanding demands imagination and skepticism. Military professionals must be willing to challenge both the historian's and their own assumptions. History's value often lies in its ability to suggest the possibility of the improbable. Finally, it suggests little that is certain about the road to the future. Yet despite its many ambiguities, historical experience remains the only available guide both to the present and to the range of alternatives inherent in the future.

To which the ancient Greek historian Polybius adds, about the usefulness of history to those who suffer during war, that:<sup>11</sup>

The study of history is in the truest sense an education and a training for political life, and . . . the most instructive, or rather the only, method of learning to bear with dignity the vicissitudes of fortune is to recall the catastrophes of others.

In any case, the course of military history forms a staple of the professional military education at the Greek Air Force Academy and is getting stronger with the progress of time,<sup>12</sup> especially as the new interdisciplinary approach in its study enhances the cooperation not only between the branches and institutions of the Greek Armed Forces but also between comparable international institutions.

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<sup>11</sup> Polybius, 1.1.2, trans. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh.

<sup>12</sup> cf. M. Moyar, "The Current State of Military History," *Historical Journal* 50, no. 1 (March 2007): 225-240, 240, for a comparable trend in American military academies.

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# 16.

## The French Navy and the Lessons Learned from the First Gulf War, 1990-1991

by  
Dominique Guillemin

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### Abstract

The first Gulf War (August 1990-March 1991) marked a fundamental rupture in the conduct of foreign operations. For the French Defense, the Gulf experience first appears as the rediscovery of high intensity combat, in a context of both joint and combined operations. The important feedback from this conflict carries the seeds of the transformation of the whole defence institution operated since the 1990s. If the the most prominent image of the war remembered by public opinion was that of an air and land conflict, characterized by massive implementation of a new generation of weapons (cruise missiles, laser-guided bombs, satellite imagery, etc.), the campaign as a whole also illustrated the importance of the freedom of strategic action offered by the control of the seas, and it was firstly a great maritime logistics success. For the French Navy, studying this conflict is all the more important because the experience was unique compared to the other military forces involved. Indeed, if it was very aware of its contribution to the overall strategy and mission outcome, the fleet was, however, put aside during the offensive phase, and it cannot, therefore, claim for the supreme judge of military effectiveness: trial by fire. The fleet's after action review included introspective reflection on the nature of its mission and its combat assets than the mere lessons collected from the field. These analyses have also influenced major reforms initiated by the Navy beginning in 1993 (OPTIMAR plan). Finally, they accelerated the improvement of the fleet's capacities of coalition interoperability together with its support of ground forces. It is this reinvigorated operational model that has demonstrated its effectiveness during the 1999 war in Kosovo and more recently in 2011 against Libya (Operation HARMATTAN). This paper examines this "introspection" of the French fleet and its consequences based on the study of the archives of the General Staff conducted as part of the research project on ther French Navy's foreign operations led by the Service historique de la Défense.

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The 1990-1991 Persian Gulf War has remained in collective memory essentially as an air and ground campaign that found its iconic representation with the videos of precision bombing that were broadcast repeatedly at the time. Though it was the test bed for many advanced technical innovations, it was foremost a classic illustration of the freedom of strategic action offered by the control of the seas. Beyond defending its coastline, it was the weakness of Iraq's Navy that allowed the United States and its Allies to rise in power, unhampered, on the Arabia Peninsula until the balance of power was in their favor. Such mastery resulted in a conflict with clear-cut phases: six months of crisis, six weeks of air campaign, and one hundred hours of ground operations. However, the campaign's rapid resolution should be contextualized within global military efforts throughout all seven months of the Gulf War (August 1990-March 1991). Within this global framework, the difference between "crisis" and "conflict" gives way to the continuity of the "operations" undertaken.

The French Navy studied these operations as a foundation to reflect on the lessons provided by the conflict. This process includes two singular aspects in terms of experience. The first is the Navy's strong awareness, from the outset, of its contribution to the overall strategic maneuver. This was especially true in that the fleet's action was the continuation of its ongoing presence in the Indian Ocean since 1973. Furthermore, the situation evolved sufficiently during the 210 days of operations to allow for several "generations" of feedback to be sent back during action. This is particularly valid for those moments that corresponded to tipping points between the various crises requiring the Navy's intervention: in September 1990, with the beginning of the ground phase of French intervention (named Operation DAGUET); then in December 1990-January 1991, with the strengthening of the DAGUET commitment; and once again in March 1991, with the ceasefire. This last moment is an occasion to summarize all the lessons learned throughout the various domains. The second singularity of the French Navy is related to the fact that it was sidelined during the offensive phase. Unlike other services, its experience cannot boast of a trial by fire, the supreme judge of military effectiveness. How the French Navy views this marginalization is obviously a key point in the following study. The issue takes on its full meaning when replaced within the context of the highly assertive links between French and Allied forces during these operations.

Finally, a few words on the concept of "lessons learned." The terms did not exist at the time in the French military lexicon, though the practice was similar. It consists of sorting, analyzing, and transferring lessons from the field to upper levels to aid in future decision-making. This is a bottom-up, iterative process within the military hierarchy. However, there was no centralized body for feedback in the French armies of the time.<sup>1</sup> The Navy's major commands, such as the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Sea (Commandant en

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<sup>1</sup> Today, the EMO/N7 office of the French Navy's General Staff functions as the facilitator of a network of qualified experts in their field. The Naval Center for Doctrines and Concepts (Centre de concepts et de doctrines de la Marine, CCDM) is also a virtual structure whose purpose is to handle "naval" feedback to develop political and military action. An audit on the feedback function carried out by Navy inspection has led to the preparation of a project to formalize the flow of information between the various structures involved.

chef pour la Méditerranée, CECMED), took on this responsibility and drafted a general report. As Rear-Admiral Pierre Bonnot, commander of the French forces in the Indian Ocean (Amiral commandant la zone maritime de l'océan Indien, ALINDIEN) during the Gulf War, stated: "This crisis offered our Navy a unique opportunity for introspection [*sic*] and to test its organization and means."

This paper, written as a part of the Historical Defense Service's research project on the French Navy's overseas operations, furthers this introspection using declassified archives of the Navy's General Staff.

### **The Force of Habit: Prepositioning, Logistics, Field Knowledge**

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, on the night of the 1/2 August 1990, was a complete strategic surprise to which the French Navy responded with reflexive measures: patrolling the Strait of Hormuz and sending reinforcements to Djibouti on 4 August. It was not until 9 August that a first Conseil Restreint<sup>2</sup> established the government's exact position. At this first meeting at the Élysée, François Mitterrand imposed his account of events: France was intervening militarily to help threatened countries despite the objections of a segment of the French government. The President's main goal was to avoid discrediting France during this major crisis. The choice thus came down to choosing between fighting against Iraq or diverging from France's traditional allies, "Should we let the Americans act alone with the British? Answering 'no' to the Saudis, means we won't come to the rescue of a threatened country and it also means saying 'no' to the Americans and the British. . . . They'll say France is not in the loop."<sup>3</sup> To be "in the know," one needs a military translation of this firm stance that also protects the independence of France's foreign policy.

The intermediary was Operation SALAMANDER, when the Task Force 623 (TF 623) was sent to the Indian Ocean. This naval force was composed of the aircraft carrier *Clemenceau*, the cruiser *Colbert*, and the oil tanker *Var*. Instead of the usual fighter-bombers, however, the *Clemenceau* transported in its hangars forty-two helicopters of the 5<sup>th</sup> Combat Helicopter Regiment (Régiment d'hélicoptères de combat, RHC). The dual aircraft carrier-helicopters voluntarily translated France's stance of minimal aggressiveness. As pointed out by Rear Admiral Bonnot, "a helicopter regiment as a defensive weapon against an armoured [*sic*] attack represents a lesser degree of aggressiveness than a [wing of] fighter-bombers on board." TF 623 thus undertook a rather unusual mission of "helicopter carrier diplomacy." It participated in maneuvers in Djibouti, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman. Then, on 15 September 1990, it received orders to deploy the 5<sup>th</sup> RHC to Saudi Arabia. SALAMANDER initiated the next phase of French involvement: sending an expeditionary force on land. In mid-September 1990, the return of the *Clemenceau* to Toulon just as the departure of the first transport troops was being organized offered an ideal opportunity for the first assessment of operations.

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<sup>2</sup> The Conseil Restreint is a ministerial council held with a limited number of participants (the President, the Prime Minister, other ministers and high level government officials). It is a working meeting with specific goals functioning like Ministerial Councils but less formal and more concrete in nature.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Favier and Michel Martin-Roland, *La décennie Mitterrand* (Paris: Seuil, 1997), 3 : 511.

Clearly, the experience acquired during previous operations (OLIFANT at large of Lebanon, PROMETHEUS against Iran, etc., which equalled seven summer departures since September 1982) was very beneficial to the Navy. The presence in Djibouti of a mobile support ship in particular, allowed France to accompany the rapid surge in military means in the area.<sup>4</sup> As for the delays before the reinforcement ships set sail, the 72-hour warning periods were respected. *Clemenceau's* excellent condition was made possible mainly thanks to the strict adherence to intermediate maintenance periods, the result of feedback from previous long-term deployments. Vice Admiral Michel Tripier, CECMED at the time, was justifiably proud of the fact that "the Navy has been able to fulfil its contract." However, he also stated, "to last in the Indian Ocean at this level of presence, the means available in this theatre are insufficient and must be supplemented by those of the Atlantic."<sup>5</sup> The pressure was made even more acute by the fact that the choice of ships was very limited due to either lack of availability or obsolescence. For instance, it was the unavailability of three other air defense frigates, *Duquesne*, *Cassard*, and *Suffren*, that dictated the use of the nearly obsolete cruiser, *Colbert*, to accompany the *Clemenceau*. This issue of the number of hulls in service led the Navy's Deputy Chief of Staff to reiterate "the need for a well-balanced Navy in terms of its various components."<sup>6</sup> He went onto call for the quick deployment of the *La Fayette*-class frigates, or even a new program of anti-aircraft frigates.

As for the *Clemenceau's* experience, what did the Navy think of this use as a helicopter-borne carrier, which sometimes provoked astonishment and criticism? In fact, the use of carriers in this configuration did not give rise to any comments, except to note that the deployment of Army helicopters was not a problem. A number of training exercises had helped the French Army's Light Aviation (Aviation légère de l'Armée de Terre, ALAT) adapt to operating from aircraft carriers; SALAMANDER thus only validated publicly an acknowledged expertise. Furthermore, Admiral Tripier judged that "it is a capacity that must be maintained to meet the needs of joint missions that have become more probable than in the past." However, behind this glowing report, the Navy's priority remained the deployment of the Carrier Battle Group (Groupe aéronaval, GAN), the fleet's real spearhead. Plans were conceived for it to carry out missions from the Mediterranean or the Red Sea, and the various relay possibilities between the *Foch* and the *Clemenceau*. The feasibility of sending air wings to the *Clemenceau* already on the spot was also studied. While it is clear that the responsibility of a General Staff is to anticipate missions, these studies however seem to be backed by the idea, stated offhandedly in a worksheet, that "the lack [of aircraft carriers] in [the Indian Ocean naval zone], regardless of the situation, is probably not acceptable for political powers."<sup>7</sup> In retrospect, such a stance was a serious misunderstanding of the government's motives as it seemed eager to

<sup>4</sup> "Premiers enseignements des opérations Salamandre et Artimon," report n°124 EMM/LOG/EF, 14 September 1990, Service historique de la Défense/Marine Vincennes (*passim* SHD/MV) 259Y GDG 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Premiers enseignements tirés du départ en opération Artimon et Salamandre," Vice Admiral Michel Tripier, CECMED, letter n°482 CECMED/EMP, 18 September 1990, SHD/MV, 259Y GDG 13.

<sup>6</sup> "Premiers enseignements de la crise du Golfe," Vice-amiral d'escadre Goupil, Navy's Deputy Chief of Staff to Admiral Louzeau, Navy's Chief of Staff, letter n°379 EMM/PL/EG, 19 September 1990, SHD/MV, 259Y GDG 13.

<sup>7</sup> "Sur la nature du déploiement du [porte-avions]," report No. 10/90 CECMED/PAHO/CD, 19 September 1990, SHD/MV, 259Y, GDG 4.

deploy only the military means strictly necessary to maintain its credibility. Regardless, this desire for involvement at the highest level highlights the Navy's interest in using its carriers in any configuration: with a "flat deck" already deployed in the area, logistics and warplanes merely had to follow. Thereafter, failing to obtain the deployment of a Carrier Battle Group, the Navy's General Staff again suggested using it as a helicopter carrier or even as a simple, fast transport in the hopes of rebuilding the Carrier Group once in the field.

Ultimately, these complicated projects did not bode well for the use of the fleet; rather they seemed to be a symptom of maladjustment. As early as 19 September 1990, Vice Admiral Goupil, summed up the general situation in rather pessimistic terms: "The current situation illustrates the limits of our action when we abandon crisis mode and enter a 'logic of war.' This is the main lesson of these events. France's military means allow it a certain leeway in the decision-making process, but we have a very limited margin of action in terms of demanding real freedom of action in case of open conflict."

Starting from that date, the Navy was primarily occupied with controlling shipping lanes for a dual outcome: Iraq's trade embargo and the transport of French troops towards the Arabian Peninsula.

### **Blocking/Projecting: Action on Maritime Traffic**

In a classic display of power between sea and land, an embargo was the first coercive measure enacted against Iraq. It was established progressively and collectively alongside the United Nations' resolutions.<sup>8</sup> Rear Admiral Pierre Bonnot, current ALINDIEN, led this mission for France and the following quotes are taken from his report concerning operations.

Because of the threat of mines, missiles, or air strikes in Iraqi waters, control was enforced at three chokepoints at a distance from Iraqi shores: the Straits of Hormuz, Bab El Mandeb, and Tiran. In order to ensure its presence at all checkpoints, France rejected a British proposal to divide zones by nationality, which would have limited its responsibility to only the Red Sea. However, the anticipated display of power does not seem to have been achieved. Rear Admiral Pierre Bonnot pointed out, "This policy has however the disadvantage of providing each zone of operations with only a limited volume of forces that may have projected [the impression of] a limited engagement. This was particularly felt by the countries along the Gulf who tended to measure this commitment by the number of ships in the region."<sup>9</sup>

In terms of the embargo's organisation, the scope of the mission made coordinating the

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<sup>8</sup> On 6 August 1990, Resolution 660 enacted a trade embargo against Iraq, and on 25 August, Resolution 665 authorized the inspection of merchant ships.

<sup>9</sup> "Compte-rendu de l'opération Artimon," letter n°12 ALINDIEN/OPS, 8 April 1991, SHD/MV 2008 ZF 66/141.



fleets of various nations an essential task.<sup>10</sup> The United States, de facto, held the leadership because it was the naval command of Central Command, which was responsible for defining and enforcing procedures through the creation of a Multinational Interception Force (MIF). However, in such a context, participants remained under national command. Eager to counterbalance the United States, France took the initiative to group together the European assets within the framework of the Western European Union (WEU), without ever reaching the desired ideal of a Europe-U.S. bilateral cooperation, due to differing views among the participants. Notwithstanding, Rear Admiral Bonnot was made responsible for the coordination of the tactical naval groups from the WEU as late as 6 January 1991. He saw this initiative as one of the political successes of the crisis: "From a structure characterized by the existence of national tactical groups under national command and independently operated control, we slowly progressed to a structure composed of multinational battle groups under multinational tactical control, federated by a higher authority. We are heading towards a true organisation [*sic*] of classic command."<sup>11</sup>

This willingness to cooperate is confronted with the very real issues of technical interoperability. During this conflict, the French Navy became aware that the tactical data link 11<sup>12</sup> is a "privileged and indispensable tool for cooperation and for an awareness of the situation. Without this instrument, a ship cannot effectively integrate an allied system. Older ships, which were not equipped, and the smaller ships could not play in the big leagues and were assigned limited duties."<sup>13</sup> Equally disturbing was the confirmed loss of direct compatibility with the U.S. Navy, which resulted in wasted time. As can be expected, "The [Americans] are not ready to revert to a previous generation just to work with one or two French ships!"<sup>14</sup> In general, the operation taught the French Navy that it was underequipped in terms of its communication and information systems, which were designed for peacetime. Here too, small warships such as escort avisos class *Commandant Rivière* and A69 type avisos can seem sufficient during a crisis; but they play only a marginal role when confronted with high threat situations due to a lack of helicopters, L11 tactical datalink, the latest generation of IFF<sup>15</sup> for aircraft, and an anti-missile defence system worthy of the name. Certain units were slightly better equipped with IMMARSAT stations (civilian satellite navigation system), infrared cameras, and Mistral anti-aircraft missiles.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, the last issue of the embargo was its real impact. The statistical report is

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<sup>10</sup> Twenty-five vessels/day at sea transiting through the Red Sea, 30 vessels/day in the Strait of Hormuz. Distances between Djibouti-Ormouz and Djibouti-Suez = 3,000 km.

<sup>11</sup> "Compte-rendu de l'opération Artimon," letter n°12 ALINDIEN/OPS, 8 April 1991, SHD/MV, 2008 ZF 66/141.

<sup>12</sup> Link 11 is a tactical data link system that allows the automatic exchange of information between equipped units, thus creating a network.

<sup>13</sup> "Enseignements conflit du Golfe," telex NMR 006 CD 0303 ALINDIEN, 3 March 1991, SHD/MV, 2008 ZF 66/139.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Identification Friend and Foe*, radar system allowing the recognition of allied aircrafts.

<sup>16</sup> "Compte-rendu de l'opération Artimon", letter n°12 ALINDIEN/OPS, 8 April 1991, SHD/MV, 2008 ZF 66/141.

impressive in appearance (Chart 1), but ultimately, it is more difficult to qualitatively assess its effectiveness. Rear Admiral Bonnot stated: "This control was certainly effective, but in the end, it may also have been a leap of faith because there was no control in the Mediterranean. . . . We cannot say that the embargo was 100% effective. What we can say is that navigation was controlled 100%, that is to say that every ship was controlled and either recognized or visited."<sup>17</sup> It should be kept in mind that the recognition in question was a simple visual identification of the vessel. Regardless of the embargo's actual effectiveness, the very fact that it was short-lived -- compared to historical precedents (the two world wars, for example) -- makes it unlikely to have had an effect on Iraq's military capability. However, one must consider the significant political value of this naval police operation. It allowed certain countries to participate in the coalition in a role that was easy to justify to that nation's general public.

**Chart 1: Statistical Results of the Naval Embargo against Iraq,  
From 26 August 1990 to 12 March 1991**

	<b>USA and non WEU allies</b>	<b>WEU (France excepted)</b>	<b>France</b>
<b>Recognitions</b>	7 898 (30 %)	12 088 (43 %)	7 637 (27 %)
<b>Visits</b>	671 (65 %)	209 (20 %)	163 (15 %)
<b>Rerouts</b>	88 (88%)	8 (8%)	4 (4 %)
<b>Warnings shots</b>	11 (79%)	2 (14%)	1 (7%)

With Iraqi traffic cut off, the transit of a very large flow of men and equipment to the Arabian Peninsula needed to be ensured. The American deployment, for example, totalled 450,000 men and 6,000,000 tons of equipment and supplies, of which 60 percent and 95 percent were respectively transported by sea.<sup>18</sup>

French requirements were much lower but the Navy was far from being able to fulfil them alone. It was the role of the TRAMIN cell (law on Maritime Transport of National Interest), activated during the conflict by the Minister of the Sea, to centralize the

<sup>17</sup> Rear Admiral Pierre Bonnot's oral testimony, 20 June 1991, SHD / MV 36GG 9, track 9.

<sup>18</sup> This was the role of the Maritime Sea Lift Command.

chartering of the necessary civilian ships.<sup>19</sup> The Gulf War saw its first massive application with the French Navy deploying 36 merchant ships of all types alongside its three landing craft transports (TCD). The combined voyages of all ships would total 108 round-trips between Toulon and Yambu, the logistics entrance of the DAGUET division towards the Arabian Peninsula. The first chartered vessels began loading and boarding on 18 September, barely three days after the start of the DAGUET operation. Toulon was the only port of embarkation, and the operation was handled like a routine logistics transit and not as an operational transit. In other words, loading took place as though in peacetime and did not allow troops to be operational upon landing. This choice greatly simplifies logistics by using the civilian standards of containerization, a first for French military operations. However, military constraints led to other issues. The ships needed to be equipped with secure communications systems, especially those carrying headquarters staff. Secondly, even if the threat was almost inexistent, it was decided that civilian ships would be escorted by warships. The latter's task was further complicated by the meeting of "hares" (*The Corsican*, 20 knots) and "turtles" (*Atlas*, 12 knots), with different supply needs but which nevertheless were required to travel through the Suez Canal together.

The progressive accumulation of impressive military might for the campaign to liberate Kuwait made the use of force increasingly inevitable. This recourse was authorized by UN Resolution 678 passed on 15 January 1991. However, the French Navy would not take part in this ultimate operational demonstration of its capabilities.

### **"Moreover, we must deal blows to the enemy": A Lesson of Sea-to-Ground Operations**

Before considering the French case specifically, the role of naval forces in the attack on Iraq can be summarized as:

- Tomahawk cruise missiles, one of the revelations of the conflict, were used on many types of naval platforms;
- 30 percent of offensive missions in the theater were conducted from the U.S. Navy's six aircraft carriers;
- Before the ground offensive, major fighting took place along the Kuwaiti coast to eliminate small coastal units, to clean minefields, and fake a landing. Several Iraqi divisions were thus immobilized and bypassed.

Regardless of the reasons, especially material ones, that kept navy ships and aircraft from the fights, they were not the result of a contextual impossibility, let alone a lack of preparation. In fact, from September to December 1990, the Navy's General Staff tried to obtain acceptance of the participation of naval aviation in the bombing campaign against Iraq, clearly its "core activity." A working group was created to establish an intelligence

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<sup>19</sup> Law n°69-441 21 May 1969, known as TRAMIN, oversees the provision, for the State, of private vessels to ensure naval transport of national interest.

report for a future Naval Task Force<sup>20</sup> and the terms of such participation were studied in details and defended until as late as 30 January 1991 by a letter from the Navy's Chief of Staff, Admiral Coatanéa, to the Joint Chief of Staff.<sup>21</sup> The DESERT STORM air campaign had already been underway for nearly two weeks.

Four scenarios were considered for the GAN, each with its specific interests and constraints. In the eastern Mediterranean, a position facing Turkey would allow an attack from the north thanks to a mountainous terrain that was conducive to penetration; while a position facing Lebanon would open up the choice of targets but would entail flying over Syria, which would have been diplomatically delicate.<sup>22</sup> If the position north of the Red Sea offered the advantage of flying over Saudi Arabia, it had the disadvantage of a highly visible approach over perfectly flat terrain. Finally, entering the Persian Gulf would slice 200 nautical miles off the distance travelled by combat missions but it would require the Strike Group to fully integrate the American command chain. In case any of these scenarios were adopted, the first material factor to consider was the availability of the carriers themselves, and their long-term capacity to support intensive operations. At the end of the year 1990, the *Clemenceau's* capacity was rather diminished. Though it had a greater immediate potential, the *Foch* had to interrupt its activity for maintenance in November. Ultimately, it would still be possible to have an aircraft carrier, but once deployed, it could not be relayed. The Navy therefore needed to carry out a high impact operation in just a few weeks, within the tight framework of the offensive phase of operations.

The effectiveness of airstrikes also depended on the performance of the Super-Étendards themselves. With a double aerial refuelling, their range reached the needed 400 nautical miles. However, this range extension came at the expense of the payload carried, limited to two-400 kilogram bombs, or four-250 kilogram bombs, or thirty-six rockets for ground support. Such raids were possible, but their performance would certainly be weak, due to the extended range of the missions, as well as to the lack of laser-guided munitions firing capacities. Most importantly, they needed to be accompanied by a fleet of support airplanes for electronic warfare or aerial refuelling, and preceded by aircrafts dedicated to the suppression of enemy air defences (SEAD), an extended range of specialized aircrafts that only the American air forces possessed at that time.

Material weaknesses were, however, not sufficient to completely explain why the French Navy did not participate in combat operations. An 8 March 1991 report by the Navy's General Staff's "Operations" office provides a more complex reading:<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> "Groupe de travail Morgane", report n°90 CECMED/PLAN/CDSF, 10 December 1990, SHD/MV, 259Y GDG 4.

<sup>21</sup> Admiral Coatanéa's note to the Army Chief of Staff on the participation of the air and sea battle group in Middle East operations, 30 January 1991, SHD/MV, 259Y GDG 4.

<sup>22</sup> The Syrians also rejected an American request for permission to fly over their airspace. The U.S. ignored the refusal to avoid disrupting the programmed firing of Tomahawk cruise missiles. Michael Gordon and Bernard E. Trainor, *op. cit.*, 253.

<sup>23</sup> "Enseignements de la crise puis du conflit provoqué par l'Irak," report n°43 DEF/EMM/OPS/ACT, 8 March 1991, 259Y GDG 4.

The government's unshakeable will is to maintain the independence of political decisions. The deployment of operation DAGUET was long carried out with a view to preserving the independence of action regarding the United States and the host country, Saudi Arabia. In fact and in the field, it became evident that any action, particularly air activity, as early as the crisis period, could only be carried out in close coordination with allies. . . . At the beginning of the crisis, with insufficient military resources to ensure independent conduct, the Navy could not seriously help prepare for future operations without being more or less integrated into American forces. This was never accepted by the government until December 28, 1990, when authorization was given to ALINDIEN to contact the American command to initiate extensive bilateral talks . . . At less than three weeks to the end of the Ultimatum, Allied plans were already established and the possible integration of French or WEU forces could only be into marginal and non-offensive missions, at least initially. Only a willingness as early as the month of September and no later than mid-December to shift from crisis to war could have facilitated, through the gradual integration as with the DAGUET operation, the Navy's significant participation in offensive missions.

This failure illustrates through a counter-example, the need for coherence concerning the military tool, as well as in its technical complexities, than in its doctrine of employment and in the political use which is made of it.

## **Conclusion**

On 7 March 1991, one week after the end of fighting in Iraq, a study on "the use of naval power in the Gulf War" was sent to the Navy's General Staff by Vice Admiral Michael Tripier, Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Sea, at the time. From his position, he had both the experience gained from the operational command in the conflict and the necessary distance for a panoramic view of the situation. Noting that the strategic vocabulary was in the end rather limited, Vice Admiral Tripier summarized the role of naval forces during the conflict in six general missions:

- gathering intelligence and monitoring the situation;
- denying sea access to weaken Iraq with an embargo;
- using the sea to rally the Allied forces and their considerable logistical support near Iraq;
- neutralizing Iraqi forces and clearing Iraq's coastal waters of minefields;
- feigning a landing to create a strategic ruse;
- and finally, attacking enemy territory from the sea.

In contrast, the actual missions in which the French Navy participated during the entire Gulf War's campaign appear limited, falling short of coalition capacities deployed from the sea.

Vice Admiral Tripier retained two fundamental lessons that would affect the future

design of the fleet. The first is that France cannot go into war alone but rather, alongside the United States. This means a strategic requirement for improved interoperability, which consists in following American standards: "We still have quite a lot to do in terms of inter-allied interoperability. For starters, a realistic attitude is needed. We cannot expect to rule over the United States in this domain."<sup>24</sup> The second lesson is the need to improve the fleet's combat capacities, which cannot be satisfied with "vigilance and cooperation capacities. . . Moreover, we must strike the opponent. In recent years, the focus has been on how to manage the crisis, perhaps at the expense of a prospective imagination focused on combat."<sup>25</sup> The fleet's anti-submarine specificity should be balanced by an improvement of its air defense and means of action against land.

In the 1990s, the French Navy used these earlier lessons and experiences to develop into a Navy "focused on combat" that participated in the Kosovo war (Operation TRIDENT, 1999) and again in 2011 during the campaign waged against Libya (Operation HARMATTAN).

**Dominique Guillemin is a history teacher and has served since 2009 to the Historical Defense Service (Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes, France) where he is in charge of the research project dedicated to the study of the French Navy's overseas operations from the end of the decolonization to today, based on the archives of the Navy's staff. He's also conducting a Ph.D. at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE, Paris) on the same topic: The French Navy's Overseas Operations, 1962-2002. His research fields include French contemporary naval history, history of international relations, conflicts studies, and overseas operations.**

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

**Appendix. Program, Conflict Studies Working Group Bratislava Conference, 2014**



**14<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the  
Euro-Atlantic Conflict Studies Working Group  
of the  
Partnership for Peace Consortium  
of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes**

**“ Doctrinal Change:  
Using the Past to Face the Present ”**

April 7<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup>, 2014

Bratislava, Slovakia



**SLOVAK  
INSTITUTE OF MILITARY HISTORY**



**ROYAL DANISH DEFENCE COLLEGE**

# PROGRAMME

Organizers: Slovak Republic (Institute of Military History / Vojenský historický ústav)  
and Denmark (Royal Danish Defence College / Forsvarsakademiet)

Congress Venue: Hotel Tatra, Námestie 1. mája 5, 811 06, Bratislava, Slovak Republic

## Monday, 7 April 2014

*Arrival of participants*

14. 30 – 17. 30 Registration of participants at Hotel Tatra

18. 00 – 20. 00 Welcome reception at Hotel Tatra

## Tuesday, 8 April 2014

8. 00 – 9. 00 Registration of participants

9. 00 – 9. 30 Opening session / Welcome addresses

**H. E. Miloš KOTEREC**, State Secretary, Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic

**Christian RUNE**, Deputy Commander of the Royal Danish Defence College

**André RAKOTO**, Chief of Staff, French Ministry of Defense History Office

### **9. 30 – 10. 30 PANEL I**

Chair : **Per IKO** (Sweden)

**Niels BO POULSEN** (Royal Danish Defence College Copenhagen, Denmark)

Drawing Lessons from War: the Danish-Austrian-Prussian War of 1864

**Erwin A. SCHMIDL** (Austrian National Defence Academy Vienna, Austria)

Austria-Hungary and the Study of Overseas Wars, 1899-1914



*10. 30 – 11. 00 Coffee break*

## **11. 00 – 12. 30 PANEL II**

**Chair : M. Christian ORTNER (Austria)**

**Efpraxia S. PASCHALIDOU** (Hellenic Army General Staff/Army History Directorate Athens, Greece) - Leadership and Conflict Resolution; the Case of the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913

**Peter CHORVÁT – Miloslav ČAPLOVIČ** (Institute of Military History Bratislava, Slovakia) - Slovak Soldiers on the Frontlines in World War I

**Fredrik ERIKSSON** (Swedish National Defence College Stockholm, Sweden)  
Lessons from the First World War; Swedish Doctrine in the Interwar Period

*12. 30 – 14. 00 Lunch*

## **14. 00 – 15. 30 PANEL III**

**Chair : Dimitar MINCHEV (Bulgaria)**

**Dalibor DENDA** (Institute for Strategic Research Belgrade, Serbia) - Institutional Development of Military History Research in Serbia from 1876 to the Present

**Matej MEDVECKÝ** (Institute of Military History Bratislava, Slovakia) - From Axis Countries to Allied Forces; Changes in Intelligence of Post-War Czechoslovakia

**Éva TULIPÁN** (Military History Institute and Museum Budapest, Hungary)  
Hungary in 1948; Using the Past to Build the People's Army

*15. 30 – 16. 00 Coffee break*

## **16. 00 – 17. 30 PANEL IV**

**Chair : Vladimir PREBILIČ (Slovenia)**

**Dariusz KOZERAWSKI** (National Defence University Warsaw, Poland)  
Polish Military Contingents' Participation in UN Peace Operations during the Cold War Time; Using the Past to Keep Peace the Present

**Janusz ZUZIĄK** (National Defence University Warsaw, Poland) - Poles in the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea; 1953-2014

**Søren NØRBY** (Royal Danish Defence College Copenhagen, Denmark)

The Danish Navy 1989–2012; From the Baltic to the High Seas

18. 00 – 19. 00 *Dinner at the Hotel Tatra*

### **Wednesday, 9 April 2014**

#### **Staff ride 9. 00 – 20. 00**

- 9. 00 Departure of the bus from Hotel Tatra
- 9. 00 – 10. 00 Trip to the Museum of Military History in Piešťany
- 10. 00 – 12. 00 Visit of the Museum of Military History in Piešťany
- 12. 00 – 13. 00 Lunch in Piešťany
- 13. 00 – 13. 30 Trip to General Milan Rastislav Štefánik Museum in Košariská
- 13. 30 – 14. 30 Visit of General Milan Rastislav Štefánik Museum in Košariská
- 14. 30 – 16. 00 Visit of General Milan Rastislav Štefánik Memorial in Bradlo
- 16. 30 – 18. 00 Dinner, Brezová pod Bradlom
- 18. 00 – Departure

### **Thursday, 10 April 2014**

#### **9. 00 – 10.30 PANEL V**

Chair : Dalibor DENDA (Serbia)

**Eduard STEHLÍK** (Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, Prague, Czech Republic) - The Experiences of the Shanghai Municipal Police and Assassination of Reinhard Heydrich in 1942

**Prokop TOMEK** (Institute of Military History, Prague, Czech Republic)  
From Anti-Nazi Resistance Movement to Resistance against Communist Rule

**Jindřich JOCH** (General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic),  
Participation of the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic in Military Operations

10. 30 – 11. 00 *Coffee break*

#### **11. 00 – 12. 30 PANEL VI**

Chair : Janusz ZUZIAK (Poland)

**Dominique GUILLEMIN** (French MoD History Office, Vincennes, France)  
The French Navy and the Lessons Learned from the First Gulf War; 1990-1991

**Blaž TORKAR – Zvezdan MARKOVIĆ** (Military Museum of the Slovenian Armed Forces Maribor, Slovenia) - Lessons Learned from Military Conflicts in Slovenian War 1991; Armed Conflict near Trzin and Mevedjek

**Vladimir PREBILIČ – Damijan GUŠTIN** (University of Ljubljana, Institute of Contemporary History Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
Doctrinal Transformation in Post-Communist States; The Case of Slovenia

*12. 30 – 14. 00 Lunch*

#### **14. 00 – 16. 00 PANEL VII** *Chair : Felix SCHNEIDER (Austria)*

**Tamás NAGY** (Military History Institute and Museum Budapest, Hungary)  
Hungarian Participation in the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam 1973-1975

**Niels KRARUP-HANSEN** (Danish Defence Acquisition and Logistics Organization Copenhagen, Denmark) - Military Equipment; Economic Observations and Lessons Learned

**Milan ŠUPLATA** (Central European Policy Institute Bratislava, Slovakia)  
The Visegrad EU Battlegroup and Future Forms of Joint Regional Units

**Dimitrios N. CHRISTODOULOU** (Hellenic Commission on Military History Athens, Greece) - War is a Violent Teacher; The Study and Impact of Military History in the Greek Air Force Academy

*16. 00 – 16. 30 Coffee break*

#### **16. 30 – 17. 00 PANEL VIII CONCLUSIONS AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEETING** *Chairs : André RAKOTO (France) and Christian ORTNER (Austria)*

**17. 15** Departure of the bus from Hotel Tatra

**18. 00 – 20. 00** Evening reception at the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic

**Friday, 11 April 2014**  
*Departure of participants*

