Baltic Security and Defence Review

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Notes from the Editor – Volume 16, Issue 1 2014

Dear Reader,

This is the last issue of the BSDR that I will edit as I am moving on to another academic venue. We continue to get a large number of submissions for the journal and in this issue we have some interesting articles on Russian military issues. We also have some articles that pertain to military theory and doctrine in a European context and some articles on Baltic area armed forces. We also have two interesting articles on Baltic regional military history. We wish to serve the security studies community, and especially the academic community in this region, by offering academics and professionals in the security studies field an opportunity to publish with us. While having a special focus on Baltic issues, we are also interested in discussing broad issues of European regional security, as well as furthering academic discussion concerning stability operations and current issues on Eastern European security. I wish best of luck to the new Baltic Defence College Dean who will take over as editor in the fall. James S. Corum PhD LTC USAR ret.

Call for Articles for the Baltic Security and Defence Review

The Baltic Security and Defence Review is a peer reviewed academic journal published twice a year by the Baltic Defence College, a staff college for the three Baltic States located in Estonia. The language of the journal is English. The journal focuses on current security issues and military history – with an emphasis on security issues as they affect the Baltic States. We welcome scholars to submit academic articles of 6,000 –12,000 words in length with endnotes (Chicago style) on subjects dealing with: European Security and NATO issues, small state security issues, current security issues of the Baltic Region, the military history of the Baltic region, as well as articles on stability operations. All inquiries and submissions should be made to the Baltic Defence College, Riia 12, 51013 Tartu, Estonia, ph: +372 717 6000, fax: +372 717 6050, e-mail: info@baltdefcol.org.

Russian Armed Forces Military Reforms and Capability Development (2008-2012)

By Major Kaspars Mazitans[*]

Introduction

The lessons learned from the Russian-Georgia war on August 2008 provided a new opportunity for Russian Minister of Defense Anatoly Serdyukov (the Minister of Defense from 2007 to 2012) to announce, in October of that year, the launch of a program of military reform.

Shortly before the war in June 2008, the political masters of the Kremlin replaced the conservative Chief of the General Staff General Yuriy Baluyevsky (Chief of the General Staff from 2004 to 2008) with General Nikolai Makarov (Chief of the General Staff from 2008 to 2012). General Nikolai Makarov was the commander of the Siberian Military District with little influence on the Russian Army's development or on the higher officers of General Staff. In order for General Makarov to remain Chief of the General Staff, he had to support all of Serdyukov's military reforms.

The Kremlin had tried to reform the Russian Armed Forces off and on since the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 2006, Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin said, "An effective response to the terrorists needs to put together a task force of at least 65,000 men. And in all the Land Forces in combat ready units – there are only 55,000, and they are scattered throughout the country. The Army has 1.4 million men, and yet there is no one to wage the war."[1] Until 2008, the personnel of Russian armed forces numbered 1.35 million in peace time with an augmentation to 4.2 million in war time, but the augmentees required a one year preparation period. The aim was to reduce the number of personnel

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down to one million by 2012. The big, slow, conservative, old-fashioned and cost-ineffective Russian military system was like a dinosaur in the computer age. The Russian-Georgia war in 2008 showed that the Russian Armed Forces were not ready for modern warfare. During the war the Russian Armed Forces were organized and acted like a Cold War era structure with a lack of a modern command and control system, modern equipment and technology, and especially lacking in space and computer technology support. In September 2008, President Medvedev announced that military reform would include creating permanent combat-ready units, creation of a new and modern command and control system, improving the military education and training system, reequipping the armed forces, and improving social benefits for the military.[2]

The Objectives of the Russian Military Reforms 2008-2012

On 14 October 2008 Russian Minister of Defense Anatoly Serdyukov announced the beginning of a new period of military reform. The goal of the reforms was to create modern, well-trained armed forces, equipped with the latest weapons and military equipment. In the background of the military reforms were several factors that have had direct impact on Russian Armed Forces sustainability and combat readiness.[3]

At first there was the command and control system (C2). There were different levels of headquarters and decision makers involved. During the Russia–Georgia War the commands came through three different levels of headquarters: the General Staff, the Military District headquarters and the 58th Army headquarters. The Russian force consisted of some infantry and airborne regiments.[4] All these redundant C2 organs were too big and inefficient. For an armed force of 1.35 million, there were 52,000 officers in different level headquarters. At the same time the actual combat-ready troops numbered no more than 100,000 personnel. It meant that for every two combat ready soldiers and officers there was one headquarters officer.[5]

The next issue was personnel. Fifty percent of the force consisted of officers and warrant officers. At the same time there was a problem with the rank and age distribution of the officer corps. The number of junior grade officers was fewer than the number of senior grade officers. The lieutenant-colonels were as numerous as captains. The officer corps was "egg" shaped. At the beginning of 2008 the 1.34 million personnel consisted of 350,000 officers (31%), 140,000 warrant officers (12%) 200,000 sergeants and professional (contract) soldiers (17%).[6] Short-term conscript soldiers constituted 40% of the force (650,000).

Another critical factor was combat readiness. At the beginning of 2008 only 13% of the armed forces was combat ready. Only 17% of Land Forces were combat ready, 7% of Air Force and 70% of Navy. At the unit lever, only 25% of divisions, 57% of brigades and 7% of air regiments were combat ready in an armed force of 1.34 million. To achieve full combat readiness, the Russian Armed Forces needed more than a year and the revival of the mobilization system. Only the Strategic Missile Forces and Airborne Forces were fully combat ready.[7]

In the period from 1992 to 2008, there was an almost-total absence of military armament and equipment purchases for the armed forces. Of course there were small purchases, but not enough to re-equip the military. As a result, the armed forces were equipped with old weapons systems and equipment, some not in working order. The Air Force was in especially poor shape with 55% of the equipment rated as faulty. Only 3-5% of armed forces were equipped with fully modern military gear.

An examination of the main objectives of reform discloses the main priorities for Minister of Defence[8]:

- increasing combat capabilities and training combat ready military forces;

- reducing the number of personnel in the armed forces;

- reducing the numbers of officers and reorganizing the personnel structure;

- reorganization of the professional NCO system;

- reorganization and centralization of the military education system;

- reorganization of the military district system and command and control system;

- reduction of the personnel in the Ministry of Defense and General staff;

- transformation of all military units into highly-professional permanently-ready forces;

- transition the Land Forces from a division-based to a brigade-based organizational structure;

- reduce the number of military units and bases;

- begin outsourcing logistic support;

- increase social guarantees to service members and resolve the housing problem.

A deeper examination of the objectives of military reform discloses the results of the reform.

Military Districts and Command System Reorganization

Until 2010, Russia was divided into six military administrative divisions:

1. Moscow Military district;

2. Leningrad Military district;

3. Volga-Urals Military district;

4. Northern Caucasus Military district;

5. Siberian Military district;

6. Far Eastern Military district;

The main goal of military reform was to establish modern, well equipped and high readiness forces. To achieve this there was a reorganization of the military districts and command system.

The six old military districts were transformed into four new Operational Strategic Commands (OSC) (*operativno-strategicheskoye komandovanie*):[9]

1. Western Military District (West OSC) with headquarters in St. Petersburg included the former Moscow and Leningrad Military Districts and Baltic and Northern Fleets;

2. Central Military District (Center OSC) with headquarters in Yekaterinburg includes the former Volga-Urals Military district and the western part of the Siberian Military District;

3. Southern Military District (South OSC) with headquarters in Rostov-an-Don includes the former North-Caucasus Military District, Black Sea Fleet and Caspian Flotilla;

4. Eastern Military District (East OSC) with headquarters in Khabarovsk includes the former Far East Military District and eastern part of the Siberian Military District and Pacific Fleet.

During the reorganization process there was problem with the title of the new structure: Military District or Operational Strategic Command. A solution was found. During peacetime the title is Military District, but during war time the title changes to the Operational Strategic Command.

As noted by the General Staff, the new military district system was organized after a threat analysis and an analysis of potential theaters of operations (West, South, and East) with the Central Military District as the main reserve force. In the new military district organization, the

subordinate operational strategic commands are all the combat ready forces including the Navy, Air Force, Air Defense and Airborne Forces that are based in the military district areas. The Operational Strategic Command headquarters were reorganized into Joint Combined Arms Armies (JCAA) headquarters.

The three OSC (West, Central and South) includes two JCAAs but the East OSC, the biggest one, four JCAAs. Over the broad-spectrum it was a good idea to subordinate all the troops from the military district under one Operational Strategic Command. But, as usual, there were some exceptions.

First one should consider the Airborne Forces. They are an independent branch of the Armed Forces directly under the command of the Chief of Defense (CHOD). There are four air-assault brigades (one in each military district) under the command of the Operational Strategic Command.

Secondly there are the Strategic Missile Forces and the Aerospace Defense Forces – also independent branches of Armed Forces. The Aerospace Defense Forces is the newest force in Russia, established in 2010.

At the same time there were four levels in the old command system: "military district – army – division – regiment". The military districts consisted of full time units and reserve units with only cadre staff personnel but with full equipment in storage. That organization system came from Soviet Union era and was based on the total mobilization concept.

Picture Nr.1. Map of Russian Military districts[10]

The new command system is organized in a three level system: "Operational Strategic Command – Army headquarters – brigade". In this system the role of the brigade is to be the main operational-tactical unit. The reformers decided that the brigade would be a general, high profile, combat ready operational-tactical unit. To achieve this aim required the reorganization or complete disbanding of the reserve units. Then divisional and regimental level units were transformed into brigade level units.

According to the Serdyukov -Makarov plan, the reduction of personnel must be in the following proportions in the four years from 2008 to 2012: Land Forces – 90%; Navy – 49%; Air Forces – 48%; Strategic Missile forces – 33% and Airborne Forces – 17%.

Land Forces Reorganization

The main task of the reorganization was laid on the Land Forces. Two divisions were retained and 22 infantry and tank divisions were restructured into brigades. All new brigades were expected to be full time units with personnel strength at 90% to 100%.

Defense Minister Serdyukov in 2010 announced the formation of some 85 different Land Forces brigade-level units[11]:

- 39 infantry brigades;

- 21 artillery and rocket launcher brigades;

- 7 air defense brigades;

- 12 communication brigades;

- 2 electronic warfare brigades;

- 4 air-assault brigades.

The size of the new Land Force brigade is somewhere between that of the former division and regiment. The new infantry brigade has about 4, 200 soldiers, whereas the former infantry regiment had approximately 2, 400 soldiers.

The standard organization chart for a typical new infantry brigade is as follows[12]:

- The brigades command group and headquarters;

- Three motorized rifle battalions;

- One tank battalion;

- Two self-propelled howitzer artillery battalions;

- One anti-tank battalion;

- One surface-to-air missile battalion;

- One air-defense battalion;

- One rocket artillery battalion;

- One engineer battalion;

- One repair and maintenance battalion;

- One communication battalion;

- One logistics battalion;

- One reconnaissance company;

- One command and artillery reconnaissance battery;

- One NBC company;

- One radio-electronic warfare company

There was a plan to establish three types of brigades: "heavy", "medium" and "light". The "heavy brigades" would be the main Army units organized into tanks and mechanized infantry brigades. These brigades should be ready for high intensity conflicts with similarly equipped enemy units and with a permanent combat readiness status. The "medium brigades" would be motorized brigades with main tasks in these specific areas: combat in built up areas, mountain and forest areas. They should to be ready for fast deployment and maneuver in a combat environment equipped with wheeled armored vehicles. The "light brigades" would have special high mobility multi-purpose light-armor transportation platforms and be used for tasks and missions where "heavy" or "medium" types of brigades are not optimal.

The idea behind the reorganization from division to brigade is the 100% combat readiness of units. Chief of the General Staff N. Makarov noted that only 20% of the armed forces were maintained at full manning. The others were reserve units. During the reorganization, the reduction of the number of units, personnel and military bases released resources for the new fully-manned units and their re-equipment. An additional argument for reorganization was the ability to reduce the number of military bases. Before the reform, there were 1890 different Land Forces military bases, after reform there were 172 fewer. These bases are to be fully manned, trained and equipped for ground combat ready with clear missions.

To sum up, concerning the military districts and Land Forces reorganization, it is possible to draw some conclusions:

1.   The military districts are too large for effective command and control. Of course, there are planned to be two JCAAs under each JSC (four under the Eastern District), but together this is an awkward, top-heavy mechanism with as many different units under direct command as before the reform.

2.   Division to brigade level reorganization and military district reorganization provide a good possibility to reduce the size of the armed forces and, at the same time, replace commanding officers with men more loyal to Minister Serdyukov and General Makarov.

3.   None of 85 new brigades is combat ready. They lack personnel and equipment. At first it was announced that all infantry brigades would be heavy brigades with 4,600 personnel. In reality there are three types of brigades: light, medium and heavy with different numbers of equipment and personnel.

4.   A positive aspect of the brigade level organization is the ability to form task forces with different compositions for special missions directly under Army Headquarters.

Air Forces Reorganization

The Air Force has been the second largest military service in Russia after the Land Forces. At the beginning of Serdyukov's-Makarov's military reforms, the Air Force had experienced only minor changes from the previous military reform.

In the 1997-2000 reform, the two separate flying services, Air Forces and Air Defence, became one and in 2003 army aviation was transferred to the Air Force. Before Serdyukov's-Makarov's reforms, the Air Force looked very impressive. The Air Force consisted of 2800 aircraft and helicopters and about 100 divisions of air defense units – at least on paper[13]. The service's main problem was that the weapons were close to the end of their life span. For example, in 2008 the newest Air Force aircraft were 15-20 years old and most of air defense weapons systems were in the same condition. In the past 15 years the Air Force had lost up to 200 aircraft and helicopters, in combat and non-combat incidents.[14]

The first stage of Air Force reform was completed by 1 December, 2009. During the first stage, the priority was to replace the old air C2 system: "air army – corps (divisions) – regiment" organization. The air armies and air defense units were replaced with independent commands: Air Force Command, Air Defense Command, Long Range Aviation Command and Military Transport Aviation Command. The Air Defense corps and divisions were replaced by aerospace defense brigades. All these commands included air bases, aerospace defense brigades and logistics units. The air bases consist of air squadrons, the main air force tactical unit, and the aerospace brigades consist of regiments. In this case there was a reorganization of the air C2 structure and the old C2 structure was replaced by new C2 structure: "command - air base - squadron".[15]

One of major elements of the Air Force reform was the transition to the air base system, which became the main structural unit of the Air Forces and aerospace defense brigades of the Air Defense Command. The former regimental air and air defense system had existed since 1938.

Formed into aircraft regiments, air bases combine the actual regiments and auxiliary units for their support, which were previously self-sufficient. The air bases also included formerly separated battalions of airfield security, logistics, communication and radar. Such reassignment brought the principle of unity of command within the air base. The idea was to integrate all aviation and support units under one commander. Previously, independent commanders were also deputy commanders of the air bases. These changes were made in the line of the reform of the armed forces and reduction of the numbers of military personnel. The new air bases were divided into three categories: a 1st category air base is equivalent to the previous aviation division, 2nd category, an aviation regiment, and the 3rd category, separate squadrons. In the first stage of the Air Force reforms there were 52 air bases formed, which replaced the 72 existing aviation and air defense regiments, 14 former air bases and 12 independent air squadrons.[16]

Many of the new air bases are larger than the former aviation regiments. They were enlarged due to the reduction of military equipment at the beginning of the reform and due to the consolidation of separate aviation regiments and individual units under a single chain of command. As a result of consolidation, the total number of aircraft and helicopters could support more than 100 units. All the newly formed air bases became part of permanent combat readiness units. This means that all units have to be manned and equipped according to the wartime organization structure.

The other part of the Air Force reorganization was a C2 reorganization. The air armies were transformed in separate air commands. The air commands are divided into two parts: functional and territorial commands.

Functionally there are three separate commands:

- Long Range Aviation command, which controls all armed forces long-range bombers, air refueling tankers and the Navy missile carrying aviation;

- Military Transport Aviation Command, which is responsible for the deployment of armed forces to various theaters of war, delivering airborne forces, transporting troops and materials by air;

- Aerospace Defense Forces, which has an independent branch status and is responsible for air and space defense, including the special task to control the air defense around Moscow.[17]

Four new territorial commands were created and these replaced the former six air and air defense armies under the command of the six military districts. In 2010 the four new air and air defense commands became a part of the new military districts (OSC): 1st Air and Air Defense Command is part of Western Military District; 2nd Air and Air Defense Command is part of Central Military District; 3rd Air and Air Defense Command is part of Eastern Military District, and the 4th Air and Air Defense Command is part of Southern Military District.

The second stage of the Air Force reorganization started in 2010. The reorganization is still ongoing and the plan is to reduce the existing air bases to ten: one air base for each military district and two air bases for each command.

Due to the new Air C2 system and the new organization of air and air defense commands (functionally and territorially) there was a significant reduction of Air Force personnel. The main command headquarters of the Air Force was reduced from 1500 personnel to 170 personnel and, at the same time, the main tasks and responsibilities were reduced from 30 to five.[18]

The next reorganization of the Air and Air Defense Forces was on 1 December, 2011 when it was established as a branch of the armed forces - the Aerospace Defense Forces. Operationally their status is unclear right now. Under the Aerospace Defense Forces are the Space Forces, Antimissile and Air Defense Forces. The main tasks are to be responsible for air and space defense[19].

The Air Force reorganization is still an ongoing process and right now there are no clear answers as to whether this reform has been successful or not, but there are same questions:

1. According to Russian State Armaments Program 2020 the target is to replenish 80% of the current Air Force fleet by 2020.[20] If this goal is successfully implemented then the Russian Air Force would became the most powerful in the region;

2. The unclear status of the new air C2 structure and Air and Air Defense subordination under the military district (OSC) commands brings up the question as to how this would be implemented during a crisis (wartime) situation. Is "regionalizing" an optimum approach to Air Force effectiveness?

3. The new air base system and announced intention to lower the number of air bases to ten raises the issue of how effective will the "big" air bases be when they include all the Military District air assets?

4. There is no clear status and tasks for the newly organized Aerospace Defense Forces. How are they linked with the air defense system of the military districts?

5. Air base closure and relocation caused a major rotation of personnel. There could be two problems: a social problem with living facilities and the cultural life in the new air bases for relocated personnel and their families, and personnel leaving the Air Force due to the same reason – a lack of social support.

Navy Reorganization

During Serdyukov's-Makarov's military reform, there were less significant changes for the Navy in contrast to the Land and Air Forces.

The main priorities of Navy reform were more or less same as the military reform concept:

- C2 system reorganization and abolition of many interim command headquarters and auxiliary units;

- Optimization and reduction of personnel, including the officer and warrant officer corps;

- Reorganization of coastal units and marine troops to achieve permanent combat readiness;

- Reorganization of naval aviation units and including naval aviation and air bases into the new Air Force structure;

- Establishing a new Joint Submarine Command and subordinating navy fleets under the new military district (OSC) command.[21]

During reform, 240 units and naval bases were reduced to 123, and all reserve units were abolished. All fleets were folded into four new military districts, to be more precise – into three, because the Central Military District is without any fleet.

The Baltic and Northern fleets were included into Western Military District, the Black Sea Fleet and the Caspian Flotilla – into the Southern Military District, and the Pacific Fleet into the Eastern Military District. There were two submarine commands organized in the Northern and Pacific Fleets.

The main question raised during the Navy reorganization was the C2 system. All fleets were subordinated under military district commands which are land-centric organizations mostly manned by Land Forces officers in the commanding positions. In theory it was a good decision to shorten the C2 chain and create the joint OSC (military districts), but the Navy is a specific branch. Fleets often operate outside territorial waters and participate in different operations and activities around the world.

The question is: who will take responsibility for operational planning and execution – the fleet commander or military district commander?

The Main Navy headquarters is now just a coordinator, not a commander like the Land and Air Force headquarters. On 1 December, 2011 the Navy Central Command Post was abolished and personnel in the main headquarters were reduced from 850 to 90 officers.[22]

There was discussion on subordinating naval areas of responsibility under the fleet commanders, instead of the military districts, for submarines, overseas, coastal, special operations and logistic and support commands, but there is no available information as to how this was implemented within the current fleet structure.[23]

Reduction of Military Personnel

Another major objective of military reform was the reduction of personnel. Downsizing the Army from 1.34 million to 1 million by 2012 involved changing the old 'egg-shaped' structure to a 'pyramid' structure. In the old 'egg-shaped' structure majors and lieutenant-colonels dominated, but in the new 'pyramid' structure the lieutenants and captains are still the majority of the officer corps.

The table below shows the numbers of reduced positions by military ranks during the reform.

Military grade	Nummbers of positions 2008	Nummbers of positions 2012	% of reduction
General	1106	866	-22%
Colonel	15365	3114	-80%
Lieutenant-colonel	19300	7500	-61%
Major	99550	30000	-70%
Captain	90000	40000	-56%

| Lieutenant | 30000 | 35000 | +17% |
| Second Lieutenant | 20000 | 26000 | +30% |

Table 1. Reducing of military positions 2008-2012 [24]

The officer corps was originally going to be downsized from 335,000 to 150,000. But in 2010, it was raised to 220,000. The other edge of personnel reform was the reorganization and disbandment of the warrant officer corps (*praporschiks* and *michmans*) and convert these people into professional (contract) soldiers and sergeant corps (NCO). The warrant officer corps was established in 1971 and in 2008 there were 140,000 Warrant Officers serving as junior officers or senior NCOs. According to Serdyukov's-Makarov's reforms the Warrant Officer corps could be closed down and changed into the NCO corps.

The warrant officers in the Soviet and Russian Armed Forces have a special status. They are between the sergeants and officers. In some units they served as platoon commanders, in others in junior officer positions and replaced the junior officers.

Training warrant officers was carried out in special schools. In these schools cadets were taught the basics of military psychology and pedagogy and the necessary aspects of the military disciplines. Most of these schools were specialized schools such as the armaments, radio, rocket or navy schools. After the end of the training, all graduates were given military ranks. After graduating from these schools, the warrant officers were involved as technical specialists in the maintenance or the operation of military equipment and weapons, and worked in the rear services. Most often warrant officers were appointed to the position of junior officers.

In 2009, 30 of the 46 special warrant officers schools were disbanded. The preparation of technical specialists to operate military equipment and weapons was discontinued. The remaining schools started training contract sergeants (NCO's). General Makarov noted "the abolition of this institution in the Army and Navy will be done gradually, within several years." The closed-down warrant officers schools would focus on

the preparation of the contract sergeants. There was plan to prepare more than 85,000 NCO's: 65,000 for the Land Forces and 21,000 for the Navy. [25]

According to General Makarov's announcement in 2011, the Russian Army consisted of 200,000 officers, 184,000 NCOs, and approximately 600,000 conscripts. This is close to the one million figure announced in 2008 when the military reform was launched.

According to Major General Konchukov, the former deputy Chief of Staff of the Sibirian Military District, in 2008 the „professional" part of the Army was more than 65%, the officer corps was 350,000, there were 160,000 warrant officers and about 200,000 NCO's. In total there were 710,000 full time professional soldiers. After reorganization, when the number of the army reaches about 1 million people, the professional core was reduced to 38%, with the remaining 62% conscripts from whom 50% are six month soldiers and the other 50% having only minimum military skills. [26]

Military Education Reform

Before 2008 in the Russian Federation there were 65 different higher military education institutions: 15 military academies, 46 military institutes, and four military universities. The new military structure and command and control system required the revision of military doctrine, management systems and the training of officers and NCOs. The new three-level command and control system and the brigade level force organization required special training for commanders at all levels. Providing such training was impossible under the previous system of higher military education.

The solution was found in the enlargement of military schools and giving them the ability to conduct year-round practical training of cadets. Using the former military schools, large training centers were formed, capable of preparing officers in theory and practice simultaneously. Such centers were not possible to create from just one of the military institutions.

There was need to create several large military educational centers that could train officers of all branches and services.

The other aspect of the military education system reorganization was the downsizing of the armed forces, especially the officer corps and the reorganization of the warrant officer and NCO corps. This had consequences as there was no need to retain such a large military education system. In 2012 the new military education system was established.

In the initial phase there were ten new "system-wide" higher military institutions established that were later increased to sixteen. These included three military training and science centers, eleven military academies and two military universities. All teaching staff would be concentrated into these new institutions and other military education institutions undergoing reorganization. [27]

One part of the former higher military education institutions and the research and scientific centers were subordinated to these 16 new institutions. The other former schools were transformed into NCO schools or closed down. It is too early to evaluate these effects of the military education reform. The first part of "new look" sergeants and officers will graduate from new military education centers in the years 2016-2017.

The Other Parts of Military reform

The aim of military reform was not only to reorganize the C2 system and force structure, but also all the systems that were interconnected to build up the armed forces structure.

One part of the old armed forces structure was the mass-mobilization system. The Russian Armed Forces had been 1.34 million and during one year's mobilization time it could be enlarged to 4.2 million. It meant that the armed forces system was dependent on mobilization and its reserve forces structure. During the military reform, all reserve force

units were abolished or incorporated into combat brigades. The current status of the mobilization system is unclear. According to Srdyukov's – Makarov's concept, the first wave of call-ups would go into existing combat units to fill any vacancies. The responsibility for training reservists was assigned to the military district commander. The new system expected that reservists would train within existing combat units.[28]

The reserve units were organized into 60 military bases- big military depots full of military surplus, vehicles and equipment. General Makarov announced that in case of mobilization the armed forces could form 180 additional brigade-level units.[29]

The other part of the system that was out of date was the logistics and supply structure. The former system was self-sufficient and involved soldiers in different types of civilian concerns such as agriculture, food preparation, cleaning, maintenance, construction and other non-military jobs.

As part of the military reforms in 2010, unified logistical support forces formed which included a broad base of logistics activities in single logistics centers that provide all kinds of logistics and transportation support at the military district level. At the same time, maintenance functions began the transition from military units to civilian companies. A number of supply functions were transferred to the civilian sector. So called "outsourcing" included servicing and repair of equipment, provision of personnel with food, bath-and-laundry service, transportation of cargo, navy ship supply, aerodrome operational maintenance of aircraft; refueling of vehicles through a network of gas stations, and the operation of the military infrastructure.

Changing the former supply system into an "outsourcing" system could improve the conditions of military service and allow the soldiers do their primary job –more intensive military training and exercises. All these changes allow for more intensive military training.

The Armed Forces Re-equipment Program

Military reform included not only a new armed forces structure, reduction of personnel, changes in military education, and a new mobilization and logistic systems, but also the re-equipment of the armed forces.

The main aim of military reform was to increase combat capabilities and to maintain high readiness combat ready military forces. It was not enough to change only the organization of structure and C2 system if the armed forces were equipped with the old Soviet armaments and gear. The armed forces seriously felt the lack of new equipment, especially in the Air Force.

The first attempt to reequip the armed forces was made in 2006 when the Russian government approved the first State Armament Program of 2007-2015 (SAP 2015). But there were problems with contract procurement and delivery. The program goal was not achieved and the program failed.[30]

The second attempt at re-equipment started in 2011 when the transformation of the military structure was almost completed. The new (second) State Armament Program 2011-2020 is very ambitious. Its aim is to renew the armament and equipment at the rate of 9 to 11 percent per year to achieve a 70% modernization of the armed forces by the end of 2020.[31]

According to the Valdai Club Report, the Russian government will provide 19.5 trillion roubles (approximately 616 billion U.S. dollars) for the implementation of SAP 2020. The priority areas of procurement will be the Strategic Nuclear Forces, Aerospace Defense weapons, high-precision conventional weapons, and command, control, computers, and C4ISR systems.[32]

The SAP 2020 spending is divided into three categories: weapons and equipment purchase, repairs and upgrades, and research and

development. In 2013 it was as follows: weapons and equipment – 70%, repairs and upgrade – 14%, research and development – 16%.[33]

It is hard to find the exact numbers and types of military equipment procured under SAP 2020. Dr. Dmitry Gorenburg assessed the following prioritization of procurement by the military branches. The Air Force rearmament has the main priority and then the Navy and Land Forces. The Russian Ministry of Defense is trying to modernize all the Air Forces' military aircraft through the SAP 2020. The goal is to purchase 350 new fighters, 1000 helicopters and some transport aircraft. The next largest project is the modernization of air defense capabilities. The aim is to rearm 23 air defense regiments with S-400 air defense missile systems by the end of 2015. There is also an ambitious Navy modernization program which includes ballistic-missiles submarines, conventional submarines, surface ships including two aircraft carriers, and the two Mistral-type ships built in France. The Land Forces will be rearmed with new battle tanks, infantry combat vehicles and tactical ballistic missile systems. The additional direction of modernization is to improve C2 (C4ISR) capabilities. The Armed Forces need to improve the GLONASS satellite system and to implement the new digital C2 system as well as other high-tech devices.[34]

If the announcements about SAP 2020 are correct, then the program is quite ambitious and challenging. But some factors show the implementation of SAP 2020 will be difficult. According to different sources, the rearmament process is not running as smoothly as government officials imagined.

There is a high risk that the new equipment will be delivered late and the program postponed for years. The other part of the risk is connected with the SAP 2020 budget. If Russia has macroeconomic problems, then it could affect the SAP 2020 implementation. On September 2013, Dmitry Rogozin, Deputy Prime Minister of Russia, announced that military procurement for 2013 is 85% complete, but the remaining 15% will be postponed to the years 2014-2015.

The Change of Ministers of Defense

In November 2012, Russian Minister of Defense Anatoly Serdyukov was replaced by Sergey Shoygu, the former Minister of Emergency Services (1994 till 2012). Military reforms carried out by Minister Serdyokov and his team were not possible without Kremlin support. Of course, there were mistakes and poor decisions and/or poor implementations. Each new Minister of Defense and Chief of General Staff starting their duties announced new reforms or stopped the ongoing processes.

The same question was on the table of the new Minister of Defense Sergey Shoygu. But it was not so easy to stop or reverse the Serdyukov – Makrov military reforms. Military and civilian experts conduct reform after careful analysis. Some of these analysts are former generals who retired during the reforms. When Minister Serdyukov started the military reform in the Russian Army, the number of generals was approximately six times more than in the US military. According to several military analysts, what is important for this reform is that it was the largest military reform since 1950 when Marshal Zhukov reorganized the Red Army after Second World War.

What is the main outcome of the military reform of 2008-2012?

The military reform of 2008-2012 transformed the Russian Armed Forces into a new organizational structure with the main aim to improve combat capability. The improvement of combat capability includes reorganization of armed forces structure, abolishing the mass mobilization system, and decentralization of command and control system.

The military reform eliminates the old large armies and divisional-level war doctrine and steps into 21st century network-centric military theory with the brigade level unit as its core. Military reform eliminated the mass mobilization and reserve unit machinery. After the reform, some military units are permanently combat ready, other brigades and units are located in military bases and could become fully capable in a week.

The new military district (Operational Strategic Command) and three level C2 system could improve joint coordination among different military services. All military units in the military district are directly subordinated to the district commander and this allows better organization and coordination between units in order to achieve the maximum combat effectiveness. The previous number of units, bases, reserve units, schools and academies was too large and cost ineffective. What is the new Minister of Defense doing to Serdyukov's reforms? Will he turn back to the former military system or continue the Serdyukov reforms?

Minister Shoygu stopped the elimination of the warrant officer corps and brought the warrant officer and professional (contract) enlisted force back to 55,000 warrant officers. The main reason is that the professional NCO, contract sergeant, program did not meet its goal to process and educate the new specialists. Now there are shortfalls of technical specialists in branches of the armed forces. The new NCO's education system takes time to mature and at least three years to graduate its first NCO's. It means that the warrant officer corps could be replaced by NCO's in next six to ten years.

The two most famous military units were turned back from brigade organization level to divisional level: the 4th Guards "*Kantemirovskaya*" Tank Division and the 2nd Guards "*Tamanskaya*" Motorized Rifle Division. Both divisions were transformed by President Putin's decree and the official aim was to "strengthen the historical continuity" of the Russian Armed Forces by resurrecting the names of "famous, legendary units and formations of the Russian and Soviet armies."[35]

Why only these two divisions so far? If we look to history in 1953 during the funeral of Stalin, and in the 1991 and 1993 events, the "*Tamanskaya*" Division was deployed to Moscow[36]. Both divisions are located near to Moscow (no more than 100 km), well equipped and trained, and look like Kremlin "Palace Guard" divisions for emergency situations.

For the time being, some brigades are under consideration for reversion into divisions. So far there are no official announcements and only

unofficial rumors that it would occur first in the Eastern Military District. The Eastern Military District is the largest military district and it faces China.

Minister Shoygu has changed the subordination of air-assault brigades in the AOR of military districts. In the autumn of 2013 some air-assault brigades were not subordinated directly to the Airborne Forces commander but, according to the new military district system, they were under military district command. Since autumn 2013, all airborne and air-assault divisions and brigades are subordinated directly to the Airborne Forces commander.[37]

Putting all airborne units under one airborne forces command and not dispersing them among the military districts (Land Forces) and Airborne Forces Command looks like an internal struggle for influence with a new minister. In this case, the airborne forces commander won.

Minister Shoygu has made no major changes in Serdyukov's – Makarov's plan for military reform. Minister Shoygu will continue these military reforms with minor changes to stay with the ebb and flow of Kremlin politics and public opinion.

Conclusions about Russian Military Reform

It is interesting to monitor Russian media and their opinions about military reform. In 2012, when General Makarov announced the success of military reform and Minister Serdyukov was in power, there were only some critics of reform. The main part of the criticism came from former officers, especially retired generals, and this was understandable as military reform significantly cut down on the number of serving generals. Right now the criticism of reform is increasing, but the chance for success will depend on the will of the Kremlin political masters and the defense minister's backbone.

To sum up, reforms carried out in the Serdyukov – Makarov military reform in 2008-2012 and how they could impact the Russian Armed Forces military capabilities, are as follows:

1. <u>Military district reform</u>.

The four new military districts and ten army systems replaced the old six military districts and seven armies system. There are two main issues in the new system.

The first one is C2 system. The military district commander has full command authority in his area of responsibility. Of course, there are exceptions, the Airborne Forces and Strategic Missile Forces are directly subordinate to the General Staff. The military district commander, through his army commanders, is directly responsible for joint operational planning. The role of the Forces headquarters is minimized and they are not responsible for military activities within districts or to fulfill concrete operational tasks. In peacetime the military district commander is also responsible for mobilization readiness, but during war time, when the military district is transformed into an Operational Strategic Command, all para-military units (emergency, police, and border guards) are transferred under his authority. It means that there is a shorter chain of command, but at the same time there are additional responsibilities for the military district headquarters. They must be able to plan and execute joint operations, including not only air but also naval. They are responsible for mobilization measures and in war time take over responsibility for all military units in the area of responsibility. It takes a lot of training and preparation to get staff officers to this level.

The second issue is the territory of military districts. The map (Picture No.1) shows how different in size the military districts are. The Eastern Military District is two and half times larger than the Western and Central Districts together. One problem for Russian Armed Forces is that the areas of responsibility (AOR) for the military districts may be too large for their current (C4ISR) system to handle. In the new military district organization system, there a "shadow" of US Armed Forces Command organizational system. The US Armed Forces have six independent commands. However, the US military has a more capable and progressive system with the modern C4ISR means and equipment.

The main concern in the military district reform is the Russian – Chinese border area. The military reform reduced military power in the eastern region and, at the same time, according the former chief of the Main Operational Directorate of the General Staff Army General Alexander Rukshin, two of seven Chinese military districts located near the Russian border are powerful and combat ready. Is China ready for a military conflict with Russia? If not, there may be no need for a large powerful military organization in the Eastern Military District. [38]

The new military district system was created after a complete analysis of the potential threats to the Russian Federation. With the new brigade level organization, it is evident that Russian Armed Forces are focused on low-scale local or regional conflicts.

It is hard to recognize the actual potential of the military district reforms. If all modern technical means and armament according SAP 2020 were in place then the situation in military districts could be different.

2. Command and Control system reform.

The main question is – whether the new three level C2 system is more effective? Currently the General Staff takes overall responsibility for operations, but military districts are primarily responsible for execution of operations. If there is one level cut out of the C2 structure and there is no impact on force headquarters, then the chain of command is shorter and the military district commander has full authority to command troops. It means that orders and decisions are circulated faster from combat units to headquarters.

Is the new 'three level' C2 system simpler and faster? The old command system consisted of military district – army – division – regiment – battalion-company. The new 'three level' system is organized as: military district – army – brigade – battalion – company. Now all combat preparation and coordination measures are the brigade headquarters' responsibility. In the former structure divisional and regimental level headquarters responsibilities were divided, now they are joint under the brigade, but the total number of staff personnel is less. For example, in

the former regiment headquarters there were 48 officers and warrant officers. Now in the brigade headquarters there are 33. This could be a problem due to the lack of military doctrine, training and educated staff personnel. The problem could be solved with properly educated and trained staff officers, and modern command and communication systems (C4IRS).

What if the AOR is too large or there are too many specialized units (Task Forces)? Should brigades be under the direct command of armies and then under military districts, or should they be organized into division formations and than subordinate to the army commander? Why are the Airborne Forces using the old divisional structure and C2 system? There are too many unanswered questions about new three levels C2 system.

There is one very positive aspect to the new C2 system. As noted, the military district commander owns all the troops in his district. This means shorter and faster C2 joint connections between other service units. For example, artillery coordination with navy gunners is the military district's responsibility, but does not to go through the Navy headquarters.

3. Brigade level combat ready forces.

As noted by Minister Serdyukov 'the brigade structure is more flexible, modern and mobile'.[39] The new brigade level organization of the armed forces has been specially developed for warfighting in the new environment, new tasks and new capabilities. According to the new Russian military doctrine the brigade structure would be more flexible, mobile, self-sufficient, combat-ready, capable of rapid response, and ready to take part in local and regional conflicts. But some military analysts criticize the new brigade organization as less combat ready because it is not an organic structure for Russian Armed Forces, and all military training and manuals are still based on the divisional and regimental system. The other argument against the brigade structure is the divisional organizational in neighboring countries. The organizational

structure will not to be the same in all military districts after reform, but organized according to the potential threat.

The current brigade level organizational structure allows developing the task force structure which should be most proper one for a particular military operation. With task forces there is the possibility of including different types of brigades: heavy, light or medium and additional combat support and combat service support units.

There is one strange aspect of the brigade organizational structure. All airborne forces are organized into a divisional structure. The argument is that historically the airborne units are organized into divisions and in the divisional formation the organization of C2 is more effective. If we look to the airborne forces organization and turn back the two brigades into a divisional formation, *Tamanskaya* and *Kantemirovskaya*, and note the concerns about the force balance in the Eastern Military District (the Russian/China border area) there will be an open question about further structural reforms. There are no doubts that any reform takes time and directly impacts combat readiness.

4. <u>Changes in the Military education system</u>.

The main change is the centralization of the military educational system. The new military education system includes three military training and science centers, eleven military academies and two military universities. The reduction and relocation of military academies and universities caused a shortage of scientific and teaching staff personnel. If the military academic institutions are closed down and relocated to join with other institutions 500 km away then people must move together with their families. The other aspect is a lack of study time. In some military academies study time has been shortened from two years to a one year study period. It's clear that there were too many military schools in the armed forces, but the current education system is unclear and there definitely will be further reorganization and changes.

5. Faster mobilization

The military reform ended Russian's mass mobilization and reserve force units system. The new mobilization system is organized to expand the active force units in weeks or months. As mentioned, the complete disbanding of reserve forces was instituted and implemented to support the "permanent readiness" brigade concept. The former Soviet mass mobilization and reserve forces system was too large and cumbersome and there was need for reorganization. The open question is how the mobilization system could work now when the commander of a military district is directly responsible for mobilization. It could take some time to implement and connect the new mobilization system with actual combat units and to organize reservist refresher training in these units.

6. Personnel reform

There is one main problem during the personnel reform and this is the armed forces recruitment of proper personnel. The reduction of the armed forces includes the changes in the warrant officer and NCO corps concept. Minister Shoygu enlisted approximately 55,000 warrant officers due to the lack of professional NCOs. The current conscript system in the Russian Armed Forces has a service period of only one year. The military is concerned that the one year period is not enough for proper training and to maintain unit combat readiness. If the SAP 2020 will be in place in time then there could be problems for training with modern weapons systems.

There is a problem to achieve the one million personnel size of the armed forces. There are 220,000 officers, 190,000 NCOs and approximately 300,000 conscripts. Together this is bit more than 700,000 personnel and is far below the force goal.[40] The personnel shortage could affect the permanent combat readiness of units, which was one of the main aims of military reform. It means that the Russian Armed Forces need to change the recruiting system or downsize the Armed Forces to under one million.

7. <u>Armed Forces modernization program</u>

The new State Armament Program 2020 is a very ambitious project and if the plan will be successfully implemented it will be a real leap into a modern and combat- capable armed force. Nevertheless, there are some risks that could affect the SAP 2020.

The first risk is the overall macroeconomic and political situation in Russia. Military expenditures might need to increase to support the SAP 2020 program. There must be the political will to increase military spending and to take financial resources from social programs. The second risk is related to the Russian defense industry. Is the industry ready to "swallow" such a large military procurement program after years of stand-by when equipment was manufactured mainly for international contractors? Secondly, is Russian industry ready to produce ultra-modern military equipment and devices, especially some IT or high-tech goods in a timely manner according to contracts and to a high quality standard?

The other factors that could affect military industry are corruption and a lack of qualified workers. There is no doubt that all the big procurement programs are affected by corruption. After the collapse of the Soviet Union there was no major army re-equipment program. This means that industry could have problems with modern technologies, quality control, and the supply of qualified and well educated engineers and workers. All these factors could affect the implementation of State Armament Program 2020.

The overall conclusion about Russian Armed Forces military reforms and capability development includes positive and negative features. The positive is the aim to develop permanent combat readiness and well equipped and trained modern armed forces. The military reforms have broken the backbone of the old Soviet mindset.

However, there are also several negative considerations.

There are no objective criteria to evaluate the new military reform and the Russian Armed Forces readiness level to fulfill all tasks according

Russia's military doctrine. There is no objective background for the transformation from the divisional and regimental organization to the brigade level organizational structure. The airborne units are operating in the former divisional level organizational structure. At the same time there are three different types of brigades: heavy, medium and light. In the future, there could be operational and logistical issues problems due to different doctrines and command procedures. There is no clear strategic reserve organization system. The current mobilization system exists just to provide personnel to active units. In a large scale military conflict there could be problems organizing the new units.

Lack of personnel: The reduction of the officer corps could lead to a lack of professionals and problems with qualified staff officers at all levels of headquarters. There is at least a 30% shortage of personnel for the one million sized army. The lack of personnel will affect unit training and combat readiness.

Problems with the implementation of SAP 2020. Currently Russia is working of the new ten years program – SAP 2015-2025. As noted, military procurement for 2013 was only at the 85% level. One could expect that problems with military procurement are greater than officially announced, especially in field of IT, hi-tech and C4IRS equipment, because the production of these technologies is not the strongest part of Russian military industry.

Command and control issues. In Russia, the media announced that in 2012, airborne units conducted a command post exercise, using an automated control system "Andromeda-D" and this system would be in service in 2013. However, there has not been further information about automated control system usage in the armed forces. One could speculate that the system is only partly in service in airborne units, but not in all the armed forces. It may mean that problems with a modern C4IRS system are still unsolved.

The 'new look' Russian Armed Forces depend not only on the implementation of SAP 2020 and re-equipment of the armed forces, but also on the personnel to operate the new equipment. It means that the

future of military reform also depends of properly educated, highly qualified military personnel. This could be problem, because the recruiting and retention of personnel are undermined by unresolved social problems not addressed in the reform.

It seems that Russians are copying Western models of force organization but carrying out the reform in their own Russian style.

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Military integration between Russia and South Ossetia: quo vadis?

By Dr. Grazvydas Jasutis[*]

Abstract

This article examines the concept of military integration as applied to the case of Russia and South Ossetia. It analyzes the integration dynamics and durability in this region and models future developments. The article will also explore the concept of military integration, its diverse perceptions, and its applicability to research. The article focuses on the relevant aspects of South Ossetian and Russian military integration, determining its effectiveness, potential and durability by employing the methodology of military integration. The work is divided into four stages to determine the level of durability and cooperation between Russian and South Ossetian militaries. The article concludes that the military integration has reached the fourth level, which supports a functional dependency between the Russian and South Ossetian armed forces and the cost-effective implementation of military tasks and defense policy.

Introduction

In late January 2014, the de facto Minister of Defense of the Republic of South Ossetia, Lieutenant General V. Yakhnovets, hosted a press conference in Tskhinvali. There he addressed a range of questions

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related to military cooperation with the Russian Federation, including recognition of military ranks, pensions, medical and social assistance, and financial aspects. He excitedly reported that the 4th military base of the Russian deployed in Tskhinvali would be in charge of air defense and air space control of South Ossetia (hereinafter referred as SO)[1]. The military base would be equipped will all means of modern air defense to fulfill its tasks in a professional and timely manner.

This statement has sent a clear message to the international community on recent developments in the Caucasus region, which has been engulfed with conflicts and bloody skirmishes over the last decades. The 2008 war between the Russian Federation and Georgia resulted in many casualties, hundreds of thousands of displaced people, destroyed property, serious human rights violations, and an uncertain future. Without delay, the international community responded, sponsoring the Six Point cease-fire agreement; authorizing the deployment of the European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia; and requesting the Russian Federation armed forces to withdraw to the positions held before hostilities had begun in South Ossetia. Since then, South Ossetia has been de jure recognized by the Russian Federation and has taken persistent efforts to make de facto "independence" irreversible. Over the last years the multiple processes of borderisation, fencing, passportization, restriction of freedom of movement, security measures and irreconcilable position have increased, which has driven an additional wedge in Georgian and South Ossetian relationships[2].

Current military developments between the Russian Federation and SO complicate the implementation of the cease-fire agreement and the probability of any return to the negotiation table to bring about a resolution acceptable to both sides of the conflict. The increased military presence and capabilities are undoubtedly destabilizing regional security. The backlash can be volatile and unpredictable and threaten peace and security in the region. It is true that SO acts as an independent state with its own governmental structure, legal system, educational program, social-welfare, armed forces, police, border guards; the budget is provided by Russia. Their intent to further develop armed forces (in cooperation with the Russian Federation) is logical, considering the

political stream to unite with North Ossetia-Alania, which is a part of the Russian Federation. Moreover, the Russian Federation remains the only ally to cooperate with; the only country to be responsible for the development of the SO economy, policy and security; as well as the only country on its border besides Georgia.

With approximately 30.000 inhabitants, South Ossetia, sandwiched between Russian Federation and Georgia, can be considered rather like a small, dainty mountain town. The lack of study by scholars and practitioners of trends in its post-conflict development stems from limited access to the region, as well as a limited ability to gather credible and trustworthy information. Admittedly, the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict deserves more attention, particularly as to various aspects of the conflict, its development, the peace process, competing interests, the role of the international community, etc.[3] However, SO military cooperation with Russian Federation stands as *terra incognita*, and SO post-conflict processes generally remain under-researched. Gerard Toal and John O'Loughlin presented the results of a public opinion survey of Ossetians living in the territory in late 2010. The survey investigated their trust in local institutions and leadership; ethnic Ossetian attitudes towards other groups, return, and property; as well as relations with Russia and Georgia[4]. Vladimir Kolossov and John O'Loughlin, who analyzed the migration potential in South Ossetia, have indicated that less than one quarter of the current adult residents plan to leave the territories, despite the economic travails and political uncertainties.

The trauma of the 2008 war on both the Ossetians who still live in South Ossetia and on those who fled across the Caucasus to Russia was evident in our survey. This suggests that the longer term likelihood of future residence is not yet fixed for many respondents[5]. Some analysis of socio-economic aspects, reconstruction of the SO economy, and Russia's role in the SO economy can be found in the articles and analytical pieces of Aleksandr Gabuyev, Asa Tibilova, and Batradz Khaberov. [6] The latter has thoroughly analyzed the economic situation in SO and proposed to prioritize and develop some sectors to reconstruct the economy of SO. The institutional developments of SO after 2008 were analyzed by experts in Tskhinvali, who suggested further enabling the SO

administration and fostering their capacity for building.[7] The rather meagre literature on SO AF and its current cooperation with Russian Federation includes only news or messages from Russian Federation or SO public information agencies or governmental institutions, several interviews, and information posted on some websites.

This article aims to analyze the direction of the military integration between Russia and South Ossetia in order to assess its dynamics and durability, and to predict future developments. The research consists of two major parts, covering research methodology and a case study. The first part is focused on the concept of military integration as regards its diverse perceptions, its applicability to the research, and its stages. The second part applies this methodological pattern to explore the level of military integration the SO and Russian Federation AF have achieved. It covers all its aspects including such variables as the legal framework, institutional context, joint training, operations, units, and single command. It attempts to disclose its strength, potential, and durability by employing the methodology of military integration, divided into four stages indicating the level of durability and cooperation between Russian Federation and SO AF. Needless to say, the article is based on extensive open-source research as well as interviews with regional experts to better understand the role of Russian Federation AF in SO, including the author's two years' experience in the European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia and responses from Susan Allen Nan, Gerard Toal and John O'Loughlin.

The article concludes that the SO-Russian Federation military integration has reached the fourth level. This implies a functional dependency between the Russian armed forces (at least for SO) and cost-effective implementation of military tasks and defense policy. It is influenced by external and internal factors supporting its further development, which includes the South Ossetian geo-political location and situation, the role of the ethnic Russian Minister of Defense of SO and his connections with the Russian Federation, a total absence of alternatives for SO defense policy and well-established military links with the Russian Federation. The research concludes that the military integration will proceed until the fourth stage of integration is complete.

A concept of military integration

The concept of military integration is applied in different contexts and various ways. Some US scholars and military analysts retrospectively consider American military integration as a process of abolishing racially segregated units, which was accomplished in 1954 when the Army deactivated the last black unit, the 94th Engineer Battalion.[8] Conflict management experts tend to explore the concept of military integration as an instrument to incorporate former combatants into regular armed forces. It is commonly accepted that integration means that individuals are brought into new positions similar to the ones they occupied in prior organizations which were in combat with their own[9].

R. Licklider underscores that negotiating a peaceful end to civil wars, which often includes an attempt to bring together former rival military or insurgent factions into a new national army, has been a frequent goal of conflict resolution practitioners since the Cold War. Some civil wars result in successful military integration, while others dissolve into further strife, factionalism, and even renewed civil war[10]. Katherine Galssmyer and Nicholas Sambanis have researched this concept of military integration. They have concluded that it has not been an effective peace-building mechanism, but that this is often due to poor implementation of the agreements.[11] Conflict management experts focus their attention and analysis on the creation of multi-ethnic armies, identity issues, the process of reintegration, and the role of the new armed forces in a post-conflict environment. However, the case study of military integration between South Ossetia and Russia does not correspond to this framework because rebels (SO forces) become integrated into their allies' structures (Russian Federation Armed Forces). Military analysts suggest studying military integration as a process of uniting administrative and defense structures for the armed forces under a single command. There are many regional and global military alliances that pursue the policy of uniting defense structures to make them more interoperable and efficient. Even in the Gulf States, the near-term objectives for the region should ultimately be to build a system that is interoperable with regional systems and resources; to establish a regional inter Russian Federation

force that is activated only when needed and is combined in operational exercises. The revised regional defense key objectives now cover all domains - sea, land, air, space and cyber. [12] Namely, this concept of military integration is oriented to strengthen national and regional capabilities, so to counter threats by uniting and building joint elements, systems, and structures.

Military integration has experienced rather meager attention by scholars. Therefore, this article applies a broader and deeper view of military integration: as a multi-stage process, wherein defense structures increase military cooperation and gain a maximum degree of interoperability that gradually results in joint training, joint operations and units, as well as a single command structure. A key word is *interoperability,* which is described as the ability of systems (units, or forces) to provide services to and accept services from other systems, units, or forces and to use the services to enable them to operate effectively together.[13] In fact, national units seek to boost military cooperation, which initially includes training, elements of planning and the exchange of information, and then extending it to joint tasks and units. '

The aim of integration is to form a joint unit of separate national elements that is able to successfully carry out its mission. Hence, practical military integration stages are related to the realignment of national armed forces to pursue common tasks. This should be implemented through common defense planning, the establishment of joint command and headquarters, common training, training of large military units, the creation of joint military units, and participation in joint operations.[14] The process of integration is associated with standardization, which helps to harmonize military procedures, logistics, armaments, technical support and communication means. The goal is to enhance interoperability and improve the ability to act together. The aim of standardization is to increase the operational capabilities of the alliance by enabling interoperability between the armed forces of allied and partner armed forces, or forces of other states, in order to increase the effectiveness of available resources.[15] Depending on the level of interoperability, military forces can be partly or fully integrated. The integration itself can be defined as a technical result.

Initial decision → Institutional level → Instrumental level → Functional dependency

Fig. 1. The stages of military integration

The first level encompasses an initial decision to form an alliance, and it is critically important to identify the scope, direction, and content of military cooperation. For example, The South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was an international organization for collective defense in Southeast Asia created by the US, UK, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan in 1954. According to the Manila Pact (Article 4), each Party recognized that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area, against any of the parties or against any state or territory, which the parties by unanimous agreement might hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agreed that it would, in that event, act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph were to be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.[16] SEATO established its headquarters in Bangkok and organized annual military drills. The Manila Pact did not envisage any further elements of military integration, and military forces had not been employed (the US did request to use military forces in Vietnam).[17] The elements of military integration can be found in peace agreements or in non- aggression pacts. The appropriate attention should be given to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization which unites Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. This organization was aimed at confidence building measures in the border regions and a reduction of military forces. Later on, the states started organizing military exercises and establishing institutions for the coordination of joint actions.

The second level of military integration is an institutional one, where potential allies establish joint working groups and prepare documents to

implement and foster strategic military cooperation. It includes a heavy emphasis on defense planning that pinpoints capabilities, use of force scenarios, standardization, generation of forces, and evaluation of forces' preparedness. Danford W. Middlemiss and Denis Stairs underscore that the US has been able to devote a much larger portion of its overall military expenditures than its allies have toward equipment modernization and training improvement. This, in turn, has made it increasingly difficult for the other partners to keep pace with the qualitative improvements in American capabilities. The holy grail of interoperability within NATO is thus becoming notoriously hard to achieve.[18] At the second stage, allies should work shoulder to shoulder to avoid serious gaps that prevent further integration and interoperability.

The third stage is instrumental, consisting of three elements: joint training, operations, and units. The allies turn from theory to action and systemically implement joint training plans; standardize the procedures on the ground; improve the command and control of military units; participate in joint operations; and finally, they may craft joint units. States that integrate their military units must agree upon structure, personnel, logistics, command, jurisdiction, and aims. For instance, the Baltic States established a tripartite battalion (BALTBAT) in 1994. In the agreement they foresaw that, in order to prepare and train the soldiers of BALTBAT and to assure the work of the battalion in the future, the countries needed to form national peace keeping detachments of such structure and size that they could secure a permanent functional BALTBAT structure, provide for changes in personnel and for a regular issue of equipment. Until the national peace-keeping detachments were transferred to a BALTBAT commanding officer, they were dependent on national command[19].

The fourth level leads to the final step in military integration: functional dependency. The allies are assumed to have been formed into joint units whose control should be transferred to a joint command. There are two options for joint command. The first option is partial subordination to joint command, which happens when armed forces are subordinated to operational HQ for specific tasks, and it is not considered that the allies

have reached this level. The second option is the full subordination of allied armed forces. The research confirms that each stage of military integration adds value to the durability of the alliance; this can be assessed arithmetically[20].

Military integration stage	Indicators	Arithmetic value
1st stage	Agreement	1
2nd stage	Joint institutional framework Joint defense documents	2
3rd stage	Joint training Joint operations Joint units	3
4th stage	Joint command in navy, land and air forces Single command on all force components	4

Table No 1. Arithmetic value of military integration

In fact, military integration does not stop at the last stages once joint military units and joint commands have been established and security at lower cost been assured. National decisions are replaced by a consensus of joint command; armed forces become interoperable and armaments are harmonized. Therefore, the third and the fourth military integration levels reduce the negative effects and support a pro-alliance policy. This illustrates how military integration is quite reliable in the last stages, and therefore joint security implementation than appears as a more acceptable option for the allies.

Military integration between Russia and South Ossetia

The 2008 war between Georgia and Russia served as a means of infiltrating Russian Federation forces into some parts of the Caucasus region that had not hosted them before. In August 2008, the troops of Guards Regiment 693 from the North Caucasian Military District were directly involved in combat operations, and remained in SO. On 1 February 2009, the regiment was transformed into the 4th military base (in Russian: 4 гвардейская Вапнярско -Берлинская Краснознаменная орденов Суворова и Кутузова военная база) which was dispersed in SO and North Ossetia-Alania. Only after one year was it fully relocated to SO.[21] On 4 October 2010, the Southern Military District was established in accordance with the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 20 September 2010, *"On the military-administrative division of the Russian Federation on the basis of the North Caucasian Military District".*[22] Following this, all Russian Federation forces deployed in SO became a part of the Southern Military District, which covered the whole Caucasus area.

There is little information on the South Ossetian Armed Forces that were established in accordance with the 1992 Law on Defence. SO has not adopted a military doctrine, albeit required by the law.[23] The law was amended in 2009 to reflect the transformation of SO into a presidential state, wherein the president is chief commander of the Armed Forces.[24] Consequently, the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs are supposed to draft a military doctrine and present it to the president for approval. The military doctrine should clarify the number of personnel, military equipment and activities. The legal document, which create a framework for military integration between the Russian Federation and South Ossetia, dates back to 2009. On September 15, Russia and South Ossetia signed an agreement on cooperation in the military field which remains a framework document setting forth directions, as well as the scope, of military integration between the two parties. According to Article 2 of the agreement,[25] the parties have expressed an intent to cooperate in the following areas: confidence building and military security, air-defense, military training, communications, military intelligence, logistics, military meteorology and

topography. Technical support and other areas are to be agreed upon in separate documents. Furthermore, Article 8 provides a legal framework for using military infrastructure, hosting military bases, and establishing a joint military unit. The agreement may be considered a cornerstone of military integration, identifying the areas, methods and ambitions of this cooperation.

At the second level of military integration, Russia and SO worked towards establishing joint working groups and preparing documents aimed at implementing and fostering strategic military cooperation. Following the 2009 Agreement on cooperation in military fields, the parties agreed to establish an institutional framework to boost bilateral cooperation that promptly brought tangible results. On the 7 April, 2010, then Russian Federation Minister of Defense A. Serdiukov and the SO Minister of Defense A. Tanaev signed the agreement between the Russian Federation and SO on joint military bases in the territory of the SO.[26] The agreement went into effect 7 November, 2011. It clearly defines that Russian Federation forces deployed in the area in cooperation with the SO Armed Forces, will defend the sovereignty and security of the Russian Federation and SO (Article 4, Paragraph 1). This generic article implies a full spectrum of tasks for the deployed units. In case of a threat, the Russian Federation Armed Forces will act in accordance with the plans approved by a Russian Federation competent institution and agreed to by SO authorities (Article 4, Paragraph 2). In case of attack on either the Russian Federation or SO the deployed forces will be used following a Russian Federation decision (Article 4, Paragraph 3). In case of a terrorist threat to Russian Federation or SO objects, or to Russian Federation citizens, the commander of the military base may make a decision to act without further delay (Article 4, Paragraph 4). According to the commander of the 4th military base, the Russian Federation Armed Forces also supports Russian Federation border guards and monitors the Administrative Boundary Line between Georgia and SO. The document stipulates that the structure of the military base is defined by the Russian Federation in cooperation with SO. This is a long-term document, authorizing the deployment of Russian Federation troops on the ground for 49 years, with automatic extensions for a period of 15 years unless the parties terminate the

agreement. The military base is composed of seven military objects (Annex to the Agreement, Article 1, Paragraphs 1 and 2).

Military object	Location
1. Aviation base	Java
2. Radiolocation company of aviation base	4 km NW of Tskhinvali
3. Airport	Kurta
4. Military formation (Военный городок) № 12 б	Tskhinvali
5. Military formation (Военный городок) № 12 г	Tskhinvali
6. Military formation (Военный городок) № 47/1	District of Tskhinvali
7. Military formation (Военный городок) № 47/2	Java

Table No 2. The structure of the 4ᵗʰ military base

The force total strength can be compared to a brigade-sized motorized unit. Military personnel in the base are mixed and is composed of both professionals and conscripts. The base is manned to 95% of the TOE. Professional servicemen, (mainly command staff, tank commanders and BTR drivers) comprise 22% of its military personnel. The rest of the personnel are conscripts. There is even a decision that the number of professional soldiers in the Russian military bases will be increased, so that the number will reach as many as 900 people.

	Personnel	Tanks	Armored vehicles	Rocket launchers GRAD	Air defense system
SO AF	1250	18	38	0	10
4ᵗʰ Military Base	4000	43	120	18	18

Table No 3. Russian Federation and SO military strength[27]

The build-up and structure of the SO Armed Forces remains unclear. Presumably, the total strength of the SO Armed Forces is 1,250 military personnel, based on a mixed-recruitment system (professionals and conscripts-- with conscripts serving for one year).[28] Infantry battalions might consist of 200-250 soldiers. In August 2012, SO Minister of Defence V. Yakhnovets visited Moscow and discussed the future of the SO Armed Forces. According to the president of SO, Tibilov, the SO will have well prepared armed forces and will reject any idea of reducing its strength or quality (there was a proposal to reduce the SO armed forces down to one battalion).[29] Moreover, SO should keep a reliable reserve, and it is necessary to conduct unit training. The president had a difficult time agreeing to this with the former Russian Federation Minister of Defence and believed it would be easier to reach an agreement with the new Russian Federation Defence Minister, Shoigu. At the present stage, it is planned to keep the same number of troops which will be gradually increased in the future. This is supported by de facto Deputy Minister of Defence I. Gaseev, who explained that SO had a very tough discussion with Russian Federation General Staff to preserve the current structure and numbers of SO Armed Forces.[30] Finally, on both February 2013 and 2014 the de facto Minister of Defence reiterated that no reduction has been planned in the army.[31] It is noteworthy that the Minister of Defense of SO is an ethnic Russian former soldier. He is the former chief of military intelligence of the Russian Federation MOD (Airborne Forces) and his vision is to push the creation of a mobile and deployable SO armed forces, and this plan is supported by the Russian Federation MOD. SO sources claim that the reforms are being carried out in the armed forces in order to create a combat-ready, well equipped army. The reforms will end in mid-2014. If, by that time, the reduction happens, it will be insignificant. Nevertheless, it is very likely that this structure will remain on paper and it might serve as the basis for the SO Armed Forces future. Some SO officials claim that the cornerstone of SO Armed Forces should be a battalion within the Russian Federation 4th military base.

The third stage of military integration is focused on practical cooperation, which includes three levels: joint training, joint operations, and joint units. It appears that the Russian Federation and SO forces

have entered this stage and are employing large-scale cooperation in the domains of training, operations, and the creation of a joint unit. SO Armed Forces military training is conducted by the Russian Federation in accordance with the, "Agreement between the Russian Federation and Republic of South Ossetia on Cooperation in Military-technical Sphere" signed in 2010.[32] Following Article I, the parties decided to cooperate to prepare military personnel, which is carried out in SO and the Russian Federation. There is a military training center "BARS" in the JAVA district, and the Dzartsemi training field where all SO soldiers and military specialists undergo training. Russian Federation forces take part in the training as well to ensure that similar standards and procedures are applied. The SO Minister of Defense assessed a level of preparedness of SO Armed Forces and openly admitted that there are many officers without proper training.[33] Most of the SO soldiers have combat experience, but they lack theoretical experience. Every year, SO MOD sends officers, young specialists and experts to the Russian military schools to attend long and short term courses, to take part in military exercises, or obtain a complete military education. Joint training and studies at the Russian Federation military schools prepare SO specialists in line with Russian Federation standards and ensure familiarity with procedures and standards to be further applied in SO. The military equipment and armaments are compatible, and both Russian Federation and SO soldiers are familiar with them (except for some Georgian weapons that are SO military trophies).

According to the commander of the 4th military base[34], the SO armaments are not very modern. However, they are capable of fulfilling the missions they have. There are T-72 tanks, BMP-2s, 152mm self-propelled "Acadias" and "Hyacinth-Cs", MLRS BM-21s, and 120mm mortars — hardly modern weapons. Snipers are equipped with SVD (Dragunov rifle 54mm 7.62). There is a separate division for tactical missiles, "Tochka-U". Some experts, mostly from the Georgian side, comment on the presence of the S-300 anti-aircraft missile system in the region, but this is strongly denied by the Russian Defense Ministry. It seems that there is no need for the S-300 as the "Tunguska", "Torah" or "Shilka" anti-aircraft and anti-missile systems should be enough. In the meantime, the SO Armed Forces faces significant problems with

weapons and armaments that are old, outdated, and below Russian Federation military standards. The problem has been addressed by the highest political level of SO and it is assumed that new stocks will arrive in SO in the very near future[35]. The Minister of Defense of SO stated that rearmament will be undertaken with strong support from Russia. It is likely to be completed by mid-2014.[36] Currently, SO possess some tanks and armoured vehicles – T72, T55, BMP2, BTR80 and BRDMs; some pieces of artillery which include 122mm 2S1 "GVOZDIKA" SP Howitzer, 122mm BM21 MLRS, 2B11/2S12 120mm mortar and 82mm M69A Mortar; SO air defense is based on ZU 23-2, ZSU/23-4 (Close AD) and MANPADS 9K38 "Igla".

So far, information that Russian Federation and SO forces participate in joint operations has not been proven, though it cannot be disregarded. SO military personnel lack theoretical training. However, this is compensated by their expertise in conducting operations in mountainous areas, their good knowledge of the region, their cultural and linguistic sensitivities, and direct combat experience. A high probability of participation in joint operations implies their cooperation in forming joint combat units. It is worth noting the initiative to create the Ossetian Battalion within the 4th Military Base of the Russian Federation.[37] In February, 2012, the SO Ministry of Defence announced a call to recruit professionals to set up the Ossetian battalion. The total strength of the battalion should be approximately 500 soldiers. Recruits were to be males, no older than 35 and in good health, either with relevant military experience, or else qualified for military service. By the end of 2012 the initiative to create an OSS battalion within the 4th Military Base of the Russian Federation had been substantiated. The SO Ministry of Defence has announced an additional call-up for military personnel for the Ossetian Battalion as a part of the 4th Military Base deployed in SO[38].

The fourth level of military integration is linked to functional dependency, when joint units are subordinated to a single command. SO has initiated the creation of an Ossetian Battalion within the structure of the 4th Military Base and this may well lead to its functional dependency and single command. It is more than obvious that Russian Federation Armed Forces cannot be subordinated to the SO Armed Forces

command, and this is part of their bilateral cooperation agreement. Assuming that the OSS battalion is a part of the 4th Military Base, its combat duties and chain of command should be the same as the 4th Military Base. Formally, the SO Armed Forces may be subordinated to the Russian chain of command. However, in practice it is not clear how this unit could be controlled or tasked.

In conclusion, concerning the SO-Russian Federation military integration, one recognizes the theoretical presumption that military integration increases at each stage.   The current stage of military integration between SO and the Russian Federation is assessed as having reached 6,5 points because it includes a bilateral cooperation agreement (1), an institutional framework (2), training (1), joint operations(1), and a partly-prepared joint unit (0.5). One point is added in assumption that the joint unit is subordinated to a single command. According to the study of military alliances,39 all alliances created after World War Two with a high degree of durability (exceeding 4 value points) have survived. Six and one half points for SO-Russian Federation military alliance demonstrates a high degree of durability and interoperability, which reduces negative effects and supports the policy towards integration.

This article studied the military integration between the Russian Federation Armed Forces and the South Ossetian defense establishments, assessing their legal frameworks, institutional cooperation, joint training, joint operations and units, and an evolving single command structure to rationally predict future developments. SO and Russian Federation military interaction remains a baffling research subjects.

The article applied and refined a concept of military integration encompassing a multi-stage process where defense structures increase military cooperation and gain maximum interoperability that gradually results in joint training, joint operations, joint units, and a single command structure. The SO-Russian Federation Armed Forces have undergone the first and second stages of integration. The 2009 agreement on military cooperation established a solid basis for integration, pinpointing clear directions to strengthen the alliance and,

most importantly towards creating a joint unit. This is a cornerstone document that serves as a legal framework for continuing cooperation and assessing its ambitions and limits. This has led to more intense institutional cooperation and a decision to establish a joint military base on the territory of SO that authorizes the deployment of Russian Federation troops on the ground for 49 years with automatic extensions for a period of 15 years unless the parties terminate the agreement. The developments have positively affected bilateral cooperation between the SO and the Russian Federation Armed Forces and they have embarked on implementing strategic guidance related to training, operations and a joint unit. SO Armed Forces have been trained in full compliance with Russian Federation procedures and models, and it is presumed that any trained SO unit is compatible with Russian Federation standards. Their armaments and means of communication are compatible. The only issue remaining is the SO outdated army stocks that are planned to be replaced by mid- 2014. There has not been any information about joint operations conducted by Russian Federation and SO forces. However, their intent to create a joint unit is clear and participation in joint operations cannot be far off. In February 2012 the Ministry of Defence of South Ossetia announced a call for recruiting professionals to set up an OSS battalion within the 4th Military Base. Although the process of establishing a fully operational unit has not yet been completed, the SO and the Russian Federation intend to accomplish this task. SO and Russian Federation military integration has entered the fourth stage, which implies a single command structure. It would be complicated to organize and implement two commands within one military base, each obeying a Russian Federation chain of command. In fact, the SO-Russian Federation military integration has reached 6.5 points, and its durability seems to be credible and promising. It is driven by external and internal factors that support its further development and durability. The South Ossetian geo-political location and situation; the role of the ethnic Russian Minister of Defense of SO, and his connections with Russian Federation, a lack of alternatives for the SO defense policy, and well-established military links with the Russian Federation suggest that the military integration will thrive reach the fourth stage of integration. This implies a functional dependency between the Russian Federation-

SO Armed Forces (at least for SO) and the cost-effective implementation of military missions and defense policy.

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Danish Peacekeepers in the Republic of Serbian Krajina (Croatia), 1992-1995

By Mr. Jakob Brink Rasmussen[*]

Abstract

This article examines how the existence of the unrecognized state, "Republika Srpska Krajina" (RSK), influenced a Danish infantry battalion during its deployment in Croatia between March 1992 and August 1995. Being a part of *United Nations Protection Force* (UNPROFOR), and later *United Nations Confidence Restoration Force in Croatia* (UNCRO), the battalion was to protect the Serb-controlled parts of Croatia from further hostilities by demilitarization of these areas. However, the RSK-authorities' stubbornness in maintaining their unofficial borders, their wish for de facto recognition of their self-proclaimed state, and their general lack of trust in the international peacekeepers immediately collided with the initial intention behind the mission. Soon after its deployment, the battalion realized that the RSK authorities hampered its implementation of the peace plan, the so-called Vance-Plan.

Through an analysis of a wide range of primary sources this article considers how the battalion responded to these changed circumstances in its distinct local conflict environment. Instead of just considering the Serbs as locals with whom the battalion had the most contact, the article considers the Serb "rebels" as representatives of an unrecognized state. This makes it possible to understand the reason for their hostile attitude, actions and allegations towards the Danish battalion.

The article concludes that the RSK-authorities' intention of consolidating their state borders and basic state structures (most

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importantly their armed forces) played a major role for the Danish battalion. This not only materialized in the battalion's changed perception of the peacekeeping mission as such, but also led to a change in the way of doing things. Thus, it can be argued that the battalion followed a local strategy instead of placing its trust in the international political discussions, which neither the battalion nor the local Serb authorities found specifically valid in their everyday practices.

Introduction[1]

"The delicate thing about this situation is (…) that one party of the Vance-plan, the basis of UNPROFOR, has now been substituted by an unrecognized mini-state which authorities to a large extent is a reality for the UN force."[2] (Colonel Jens Greve, December 1992)

As Liora Sion noted in an article in 2008, it is surprising how little attention has been paid to the ways in which peacekeepers experience missions. According to Sion, this tendency to disregard the actual peacekeepers' views derives from the international-relations theory and its dominant focus on the macro level.[3] Revisiting this literature in 2014, one still notices the lack of studies dealing with local-level interaction between the peacekeepers and the "peacekept." However, since the beginning of this millennium a handful of scholarly studies discussing this have been published.[4]

This article studies the deployment of a Danish battalion in the Serb-controlled parts of Croatia during the UNPROFOR mission between 1992 and 1995. By analysing the battalion's records the article develops new insights about how the existence of an unrecognized state in a mission area influences the thoughts and practices of the international peacekeepers. The analysis also suggests that more attention should be paid to the missing links between a peacekeeping force's written basis and the ever-changing situation on the ground.

The article proceeds as follows: First the article presents a brief overview of the Serbo-Croatian conflict that went led to deploying UNPROFOR to Croatia. Next the article discusses the drafting and content of the peacekeepers' written basis, the so-called Vance Plan. The third section presents the main findings from the study of the Danish battalion's records. Finally the article finishes by concluding and commenting on the results.

The Birth of the Serbian Republic of Krajina and the Decision to deploy UNPROFOR

The conflict between Croats and Serbs in Croatia escalated at the end of the 1980s. By then the Serbs constituted about half a million people, which corresponded to 12 per cent of Croatia's inhabitants. In several of Croatia's communes, however, Serbs constituted the majority. Following the Serb president Slobodan Milosevic's political project of a Greater Serbia, the idea of creating a new Yugoslav republic, the "Krajina", arose. This republic was supposed to comprise those parts of Croatia in which Serbs constituted the majority.[5]

As a direct consequence of this growing Serb dominance in Yugoslav politics, the future Croat president Franjo Tudjman started the nationalist party Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka (HDZ) in early 1989. In April 1990 the party won the first multiparty elections in Croatia since the Second World War. The new nationalist government immediately started discriminating against the republic's non-Croat inhabitants and depriving them of political influence. These actions were especially directed against Serbs, whose national status was changed from being one of Croatia's constitutive people to being only a "national minority."[6]

Serb politicians in Croatia responded by establishing their own nationalist party, the Srpska Demokratska Stranka (SDS). Set up in February 1990 the party started by demanding "cultural autonomy" for Serbs in Croatia. This was later changed into a demand of "territorial

autonomy" from Croatia. However, at that point it was not explained what this type of autonomy would mean in practise.[7]

During summer 1990 the first armed clashes between Croat police and the newly established Serb militias erupted. Backed by the Serbian intelligence service, the SDS set up several so-called "autonomous regions" in which Serbs were armed in order to defend themselves against the Croats. In spring 1991 the Serb leaders in Croatia announced that the Serb-controlled areas would secede from the rest of the republic. Simultaneously, on 25 June 1991, the Croat and Slovene governments chose to secede from Yugoslavia. After a short and failed offensive in Slovenia following the secession, the Serb-controlled Yugoslav army (JNA) turned its focus to Croatia. Under the guise of "stabilizing" the situation in the republic, the JNA actually helped the Serbs there to keep control of the self-proclaimed territories.[8]

The Creation of theVance Plan

The United Nations Security Council's first reaction came in September 1991 when the need for humanitarian assistance to Croatia had proven itself quite evident.[9] The Council's Resolution 713 imposed an arms embargo on Yugoslavia, but the effect was limited. Several JNA generals even welcomed the embargo because it would stop the transfer of weapons to the Croats who, despite their takeover of a former JNA depot, still could not match the Yugoslav federal army.[10] In October 1991 European institutions with NATO's former Secretary-General Peter Carrington in the lead, proposed the establishment of a mechanism to protect Croatia's ethnic minorities politically and territorially. Since the proposal did not mention anything about deploying peacekeepers, Milosevic immediately rejected it. He did not think that this plan would sufficiently secure the Serbs against the Croats. By late 1991, the armed forces of the JNA and RSK were starting to see setbacks on the battlefield, and the chances of keeping control of the occupied Croat

territories kept getting slimmer. Instead, Milosevic approached the Security Council in order to get protection for the Croatian Serbs.[11]

In early December 1991, the UN secretary-general's special representative, Cyrus Vance, was sent to Yugoslavia to evaluate the possibilities of deploying peacekeepers to Croatia.[12] The secretary-general subsequently submitted a report to the council in which Vance's proposal for a peace plan was attached. Prior to this Vance had warned the European governments not to recognize Croatia since this would be a "time bomb" that could cause "explosive consequences" for Croatia.[13]

The peacekeeping plan, subsequently known simply as the "Vance Plan", was considered by all as a temporary measure to create a framework for a more permanent and peaceful solution to the conflict between Croatia, Serbia and the local Serbs. The plan noted that all parties to the conflict had to consent if the plan was to be implemented.[14] Despite its claim to the contrary, there was nothing in the Vance Plan that guaranteed a peaceful solution to the conflict. Instead, the plan was full of vague phrases that encouraged several possible interpretations.[15]

In the report containing the Vance Plan, Vance noted that the circumstances for deploying peacekeepers were not met in Croatia because of the parties' constant violation of the ceasefire.[16] This was further complicated in late December 1991 when Serb politicians in Croatia proclaimed the establishment of their own state, the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK). From this point until 23 February, when the establishment of UNPROFOR was finally adopted, events turned into a diplomatic circus.[17] The then president of the RSK, Milan Babic, was sceptical towards the Vance Plan, as he feared for the Serbs in his unrecognized state when the JNA left Croatia as scheduled. He publicly rejected the Vance Plan in early January 1992. Sensing a collapse in the negotiations on the deployment of peacekeepers, Milosevic chose to bypass Babic and have another leading RSK politician, Mile Paspalj, approve the plan instead.[18] On 3 February 1992, UN Secretary-General

Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported to the Security Council that representatives from the RSK *did* accept the plan and that the Serbian leadership guaranteed that the local Serbs would comply with the conditions in the plan.[19] Milosevic had ignored the RSK president's veto, and Babic informed Boutros-Ghali the same day that the RSK still not would accept the plan. The secretary-general concluded:

The question of whether or not a peacekeeping force deployed in the Krajina United Nations Protected Area would receive the necessary cooperation unfortunately, remains unclear.[20]

Thus, despite Milosevic' assurances about full cooperation, the RSK authorities' acceptance of the plan was never given. A few days after the resolution to establish UNPROFOR, the Secretary-General noted that the mission faced a number of "unanswered questions" regarding the Serbs' acceptance of the Vance Plan's premises. Despite this, he still recommended that the Security Council finally deploy peacekeepers to Croatia.[21]

The recognition of Croatia, which happened at the same time as the discussions about deploying peacekeepers, completely changed the basis of the mission. Croatia's borders followed the former federal borders, and its territory therefore also encompassed the self-proclaimed RSK. International recognition of the RSK was no longer possible. The Croat government therefore interpreted the Vance Plan's phrases about demilitarising the Serbs and rehousing Croat displaced persons as the first step towards total reintegration of the Serb-controlled areas. However, by making UNPROFOR's areas of responsibility correspond almost exactly with the RSK territory, the question about the territorial integrity of Croatia remained unresolved. The Security Council's freezing of the cease-fire lines gave the RSK a temporary form of recognition.[22] The Vance Plan's phrase about demilitarisation would effectively leave the RSK defenceless in case of a Croat attack. It was therefore crucial for them to get UNPROFOR placed along the front lines in order to

consolidate the unrecognized state's newly established borders. As long as these were maintained, the RSK existed in a de facto manner.[23]

Findings

In this section the article turns its focus to its prime object of study: In what ways did the problematic basis described above impact the Danish battalion's deployment between March 1992 and August 1995? The analysis focuses on the years 1992, 1993, and 1995.

The deployment

The first officers from the battalion were sent to the UN-designated areas known as Sector North by mid-March, while the main force arrived a month later. The battalion was to monitor the eastern part of the sector along the Croat-Bosnian border.[24]

The problematic circumstances surrounding the drafting of UNPROFOR's written basis — not least, the local Serb authorities in the Krajina — were soon to erode the mission's possibilities for success. However, by the time of deployment this was not an issue one worried about. On the contrary, the battalion received several assurances from local Serbs that they would cooperate in implementing the Vance Plan. Commenting on this cooperation with the RSK's civil and military authorities during the first weeks of deployment, the battalion's reports were therefore characterised by great optimism. The initial deployment order, for instance, envisioned that the JNA-units would leave Croatia immediately after the deployment of UNPROFOR, and that the Serb militias would hand over their weapons as well.[25] By late March 1992, the battalion noted that the local Serb population was generally satisfied with UNPROFOR's deployment. The battalion assessed that the "task" (that is, implementing the Vance Plan) could be quickly accomplished, as soon as the main part of the battalion would arrive. Symptomatically, the

drafter of the report even assessed, that the mission's biggest obstacle was bad sanitary conditions in the area of deployment![26]

On the same day the battalion's deputy commander noted that, as the battalion's area of responsibility was seeing calmer conditions, it was now possible for the displaced population (mostly Croats) to return to their homes.[27] In early March a local Serb mayor sent a written assurance to the battalion that the Serbs would do everything they could to implement the Vance Plan.[28] Thus by late April 1992, the battalion's first commander Colonel J.B. Nielsen reported that the battalion's meetings with local civil and military authorities were characterized by "mutual trust and great helpfulness."[29] As these examples show, both the battalion and the local Serbs at this time considered the Vance Plan to be *the* valid basis for UNPROFOR's activities in this Serb-controlled part of Croatia.

Despite the optimism, signs were starting to indicate that the mission might not proceed as swiftly as initially expected. By April 1992 the Danish Defence Intelligence Service assessed that:

[There] seems to be a predominantly positive attitude towards UNPROFOR among the civilian population in the Serb Krajina. However, it cannot be excluded that this attitude will change if one [the Serbs] feel that the presence of the UN force does not meets those expectations that nurtures at the moment.[30]

Unfortunately for the Danish battalion, the intelligence service's warning was realised as the initial Serb assurances about cooperation and consent lost their relevance on both the local level and the political level beyond the battalion. The period saw a change in the RSK's attitude towards the mission as such. Those RSK-politicians, who had previously been marginalized by Milosevic during the negotiations establishing UNPROFOR, now started to dominate the mission area. The new RSK president, Goran Hadzic, rejected one of the Vance Plan's most central points; the return of displaced Croat refugees. Already by late March

1992, the Danish battalion noted that Serb forces had burned down houses belonging to displaced Croats.[31] In addition, the RSK authorities moved homeless Serbs into the emptied Croat houses.[32] Just a few weeks into its deployment, it was obvious that the conditions under which UNPROFOR could act had changed in comparison to those at the time of deployment. The following section will address in what ways this affected the Danish Battalion and its area of responsibility.

The unresolved status of the self-proclaimed RSK naturally became an issue for the Danish Battalion. On the local level the RSK authorities sought to consolidate their borders by renegotiating the peace plan's points concerning them. In a meeting in May 1992 between the battalion and local RSK officers, the Serbs demanded that UNPROFOR expand the protected UNPA territories. The demand was presented as an ultimatum to the battalion: Should the UN not comply and expand its protection, the Serbs would not hand over their weapons as originally stated in the Vance Plan.[33]

Just a few days later, the battalion received a letter from a local Serb mayor. The mayor referred to an election in 1990 in which several villages, now placed outside the UNPA, had decided to come under what later became the RSK. The mayor claimed that the Danes should deploy forces *between* the UNPAs and the actual front lines. If the battalion did not do this, the mayor claimed, it would not be able to solve the tasks it had been prescribed in the Vance Plan.[34]

The two demands, from the Serb officers and the mayor, reveal one of the challenges that surfaced between the Security Council's approval of the Vance Plan in late 1991 and the actual deployment in spring 1992. After the approval of the peacekeeping plan, the bargaining parties kept breaking the ceasefire of 2 January. By the time of UNPROFOR's deployment in March, the UN's administrative and solely artificial borders (sectors, protected areas, etc.) no longer corresponded with the actual front lines; they had moved.[35] The RSK interpreted those front

lines as its political borders, which it expected UNPROFOR to maintain. There is no doubt that the Serb inquiries were aimed at inserting the Danish battalion's presence into this strategy.

The battalion now began to express frustration about the RSK and the changed political situation its existence had caused. The Danish commander reported to the sector HQ that the existence of the RSK was directly contradicting the Vance Plan, thereby eroding the battalion's efforts in the area. Nonetheless, the commander recommended that sector HQ meet the Serbs' wish and deploy peacekeepers into the as yet unprotected areas, in order to "preserve the chances of making peace."[36]

At an internal meeting a few days later, the commander noted that the new political circumstances surrounding UNPROFOR had changed "considerably" compared to the initial agreement and deployment in early 1992. According to the commander, the RSK's demands about extending its already unrecognized and illegitimate borders could only be interpreted as "incompatible with the Vance Plan." This was exacerbated by the local Serb officers' announcement that, instead of demilitarizing (as the Vance Plan demanded), the Serb forces intended only to demobilize.[37]

Both the battalion and the sector HQ acknowledged that the RSK's attempt at consolidating its borders was a problem. However, the battalion and its sector headquarters differed in their response. While the battalion called upon its superiors to meet Serb demands and expand the UN's area of responsibility, the sector HQ ordered the battalion not to meet these demands. Instead the battalion should keep its focus on the prefixed administrative UNPA territories, even though these did not correspond with the reality experienced by both the peacekeepers and the bargaining parties.[38] However, the troubling existence of the RSK did actually trickle into the sector HQ. By late May 1992, the HQ admitted that the existence of the RSK might have "far-reaching consequences" for the UN.[39]

Although neither the HQ nor the Security Council acknowledged the Serb demands as legitimate, the latter eventually chose to include the unprotected areas into UNPROFOR's area of responsibility. Those new territories that were not originally included in the Vance Plan were to be known as Pink Zones.[40] However, with the battalion's initial rejection of the Serb demands, a tenser attitude arose towards the battalion. By late May 1992, the battalion registered growing harassment, including restrictions in the freedom of movement and shootings against the battalion's installations and personnel.[41] It was obvious that this hostile attitude had its roots in a growing siege mentality among the Serbs in the RSK. For instance on 31 May 1992, the battalion's intelligence department assessed that:

There [is] no doubt that to many Serbs, it is an increasing part of their reality that they can be attacked at any time. This might be the explanation behind the aggressive attitude and deep frustration that we see among the Serbs […].[42]

In other reports, the battalion noted that local Serbs were producing false rumours about a possible attack from the Croat side. As the battalion noted, these rumours were most probably part of a strategy to make UNPROFOR expand the protected areas (this was reported just before UNPROFOR actually did this in June 1992).[43]

The battalion's area of responsibility thus seems to have entered what Beatrice Pouligny has termed an "no war no peace situation," in which blurred lines between true facts and false rumours had catalysed the growing sense of paranoia among the local population in the deployment area.[44]

According to the Danish commander, the RSKs tenser attitude was a result of their loss of trust in the UN. The Serbs therefore saw less and less reason to cooperate with the peacekeepers. According to the commander, this sad development might affect several aspects of the mission. First of all, the commander regretted that his battalion faced

losing the trust that the Danes had built between themselves and the local authorities. Secondly, the commander feared that the changing situation could affect his own personne,l as the locals might now perceive the battalion's efforts as irrelevant.[45]

Conditions continued to decline throughout the summer of 1992. It became obvious to the battalion that its relationship with the RSK authorities had, in fact, changed from acceptable to worse. The Danes reported it was clear to the peacekeepers that the political leaders of the RSK had ordered all local authorities to seek the state's recognition through UNPROFOR.[46] The battalion also learned that local Serb officers were no longer allowed to make decisions without consulting the leadership in Knin.[47] Meanwhile, based on reports from the battalion, the Danish intelligence service noted that the local Serb population's attitude had changed. The Serbs were becoming "increasingly frustrated by UN forces' inability and unwillingness to support Serbian political goals."[48] The battalion itself observed Serb "disappointment because of the weak results that the battalion had achieved so far."[49] The obvious shortcomings of the Vance Plan also led to frustration among the battalion's own personnel.

In early June 1992, a Danish first lieutenant appeared in an interview, on a Danish television channel, in which he articulated sharp criticism of the mission. The lieutenant was aware of the battalion's situation and especially the local conditions: Besides being an interpreter in one of the battalion's companies, he also served as intelligence officer. According to the lieutenant, critical assessments were based on information from his daily talks and interactions with his colleagues and the local population, including the RSK's military units.[50] He argued that the basis behind the Vance Plan had disappeared because of the existence of the RSK. Referring to his talks with the locals, the population's fading confidence in UNPROFOR's chances of success was eroding the mission. Finally, the lieutenant confirmed what his Danish colleagues had previously been stating among themselves, namely that the growing number of

harassment shootings against the battalion's checkpoints and the local Serbs' burning of Croat houses (which prevented the Croat population from returning home) contributed to undermining the Vance Plan.[51]

These statements subsequently prompted the battalion's deputy commander to write, to his Danish superiors, that he feared the lieutenant's referring to the Serbs as troublemakers could "cause problems during the battalion's negotiations with the local authorities."[52] One should note that the deputy commander did not reject the lieutenant's criticism as wrong. Instead, the strategy obviously was to downplay this criticism to avoid any possible consequences to the battalion's local everyday interactions and negotiations with the Serbs. That the battalion's leadership agreed with at least some of the critique can be seen in reports written just a few days after this case. At an internal meeting the battalion's staff easily validated the accuracy of several of the lieutenant's critical statements. The situation was especially clear regarding the impact of the RSK upon the mission:

There are still problems between UN and the autonomous Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), who consistently wants to renegotiate UN's mandate, so that the UNPA limits will come to follow the cease-fire-line […]. The abovementioned circumstances have and will likely continue to delay UN's taking charge of the area, including the plan for RSK withdrawal of weapon and personnel from the CFL.[53]

Thus it was clear that the battalion at all levels agreed that a substantial basis for implementing the Vance Plan had disappeared and, most importantly, that the Serbs were the greatest obstacle.

Adapting to Change

According to Ian Johnstone, the built-in "error" in agreements concerning cease-fires and about deploying peacekeepers is that they seldom take into account what the bargaining parties signing these agreements expect from the future. That is, the wording of each

agreement reflects only that precise moment when a mediator managed to make the parties agree on something and sign the plan. Beatrice Pouligny argues that a peacekeeping force is primarily a local actor. Based on her studies of UNPROFOR's experiences in Bosnia-Herzegovina, she argues that as soon as the Security Council's resolutions stop having validity on the ground, the peacekeepers might tend to disregard the written basis in return for pursuing a so-called strategy of "localism."[54] According to Pouligny, these local strategies are therefore a way for the international forces to cope with a growing gap between the mission's written basis and the perceived reality on the ground.[55] Pouligny's article described how the Danish battalion responded to the discrepancy between the Vance Plan and realities on the ground.

The battalion's adoption of a local strategy can be shown by analysing two interrelated practices: Specific actions and internal and external communication. However, before examining this question the article first outlines the background in order to show under what circumstances the battalion chose this strategy.

UNPROFOR was ordered to launch phase two of the Vance Plan by July 1992. This involved the Danish battalion in monitoring the Serbs storing their heavy weapons in specified depots. These depots were to be monitored by the battalion.[56] However, the fear that Croatia would force a reintegration left the RSK with little incentive to hand over their weapons – even though UNPROFOR in principal was to protect the areas in question.

Shortly after this phase was to begin, it became clear that the Serbs were resisting their disarmament. Even though a large number of weapons were brought to the depots, local Serb officers deliberately gave the battalion false information about their plans for disarming to delay the process.[57] This was made explicit when a local brigade commander informed the battalion that his superiors in Knin would not let him

demobilize his brigade; that headquarters did not trust UN's guarantees about protecting the Serb-held territories against attack.[58] Responding to this development, the battalion quickly adopted a hidden strategy that involved not pushing the Serbs too much to implement demilitarisation. For example, the battalion's operations chief sent a message to all companies that the Danish soldiers should show "great tact and flexibility" during their interactions with the local units. He noted that the principles of demilitarisation should be followed, but should "in no way seem humiliating" to the Serbs.[59] At a meeting in the battalion headquarters the following day, the Danish commander likewise instructed his Danish colleagues to move slowly on this matter: "for natural reasons" there was a "certain nervousness by all [parties]."[60] It thus seems likely that the battalion's internal communication was directed toward creating a favourable environment for local negotiations.

In the battalion's external communication it seems, however, that the Danes maintained the official position by constantly referring to the Vance Plan. The Danish commander approached local Serb brigade commanders in order to make the demilitarization run smoothly. In these messages he referred to the Vance Plan and the initial Serb assurances the RSK had given UNPROFOR. He stressed that the Vance plan and the assurances were the basis for the cooperation between the battalion and the RSK units and that the plan must be followed.[61]Comparing the internal and external communications, one could argue that the battalion at this point began alternating between a political-official, and a local-practical position. On the one hand, the Danes seemed to have become aware that the missions given to them could not be completed at the pace expected by the UN. On the other hand, they could not publically reject the Vance Plan.

The battalion's relations in its local area were further improved by changing some of the battalion's daily practices. In August 1992 the battalion's chief of staff wrote the following to his companies after local

authorities had complained about a Danish soldier's "supremacist way of controlling vehicles":

Because (…) the UN's working methods [are] based upon that the local population perceives the UN's measures as both effective __and__ just, it must be stressed that one must show great thoughtfulness and sound judgment. (…) The contingent wishes to maintain a reasonable and fair appearance before the local population.[62]

The message from the chief of staff reveals an interesting general perspective. Even though the battalion's implementation of the Vance Plan was to be effective, it also had to appear fair to the Serbs. While it might be an overstretch, one could argue that the message was a way for the battalion to urge its soldiers to lay weight on the element of "fairness" rather than the element of "effectiveness." This example at least shows that the battalion included the local population's perspectives to secure a good relationship in a period of distress due to the demilitarization.

When the battalion's S2 later in 1992 adjusted the battalion's daily practices even further, the relationship between the Danes and local Serb commanders and units became more strained. In an internal message the intelligence officer ordered the battalion's companies to ignore searching vehicles belonging to a number of Serb officers. This included the commander of the demobilized Yugoslav home guard units and the RSK's liaison officer to the Danish battalion. According to the instruction, this change was made to preserve a good relationship between the battalion and the civil and military authorities in the battalion's vicinity.[63]

One week before this special treatment was initiated, the battalion had managed, obviously counter to its own expectations, to carry out a visit to a local ammunition depot. The circumstances surrounding the visit are interesting because the leadership in Knin normally prevented such visits. However, the daily report from the day of the visit states explicitly that the visit was made *without* approval from the Knin. Instead the visit

was approved by the same officers who were later exempted from the vehicle control. The report further notes that the visit was arranged "as a gesture due to the good cooperation between the two parties."[64] One month after the visit, those same two Serb officers are again mentioned in the battalion's archives. In late November 1992 the Danish commander invited a number of RSK civil and military authorities to the battalion's decorations parade to be held in December 1992. Besides the two Serb officers, two Serb mayors were also on the guest list. In addition, no one from the Croat side was on the battalion's guest list.[65]

Social arrangements like the aforementioned were initiated at a time when obviously the very same RSK authorities were systematically doing what they could to derail the Vance Plan. For instance, the battalion in the same period reported that the RSK had set up local authorities whose sole purpose was to distribute empty Croat houses to the local Serbs.[66] Analysis of these actions initiated by the Danish battalion supports the claim that the Danes occasionally found it useful to bypass the RSK HQ and instead activate their local network in order to achieve at least some results.

During the latter part of 1992, as violence started to accelerate in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, a new front opened toward the RSK, and attacks from Muslim patrols on the RSK became more frequent. Local Serb commanders therefore asked the Danish battalion to strengthen its "defence" of the RSK. The battalion could do nothing but reject this request, referring to the Vance Plan, since it did not impose on UNPROFOR any responsibility south of the UNPA. UNPROFOR was therefore not allowed to cross into Bosnia to stop the attacks.[67] This, of course, put further pressure on the RSK.

This paradox was also clear to the Danish commander Only two weeks into his deployment, he concluded that the Serbs' fear of Muslim and Croat attacks were *the* prime reason for their consistent rejection of the demilitarization. This was made obvious after early August, when the

sector headquarters held meetings with the local Serb units. At a meeting with one of these a Serb officers, he explained that the RSK had to protect the Serb population themselves, as UNPROFOR, according to the officer, did not control more than five per cent of the territory.[68]

Within days after this meeting, the Danish commander sent a report home to the Danish Army Operational Command in which he outlined the paradox: The Vance Plan's demand regarding demilitarising the Serbs was quite clear, as was the Serbs' need to oppose this demand. The commander acknowledged that his battalion, and UNPROFOR in general, was not capable of protecting the Serbs against Muslim attacks from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since these patrols were using rifles, the Vance Plan's demand that the Serbs should turn in their weapons was, according to the commander, "completely out of step with the situation."[69] Because of the limitations of the UNPROFOR mandate the battalion sought to act proactively to reduce tensions between Muslims and Serbs in the battalion's vicinity. In October a Danish company arranged an "unofficial meeting" with representatives from both Muslim and Serb military units; they managed to reach a local ceasefire.[70] In these cases the battalion ignored the UN's fixed administrative (and for the parties, unacceptable) borders in order to better cope with the local reality.

It was now obvious that the UNPROFOR mission was characterised by what the peacekeeping literature has termed "mission creep" and "mission erosion." 'Creep' refers to point during the mission when it expands beyond those ends and means the signing parties originally had.[71] 'Erosion' refers to the process during a mission via which the parties' consistent withdrawal of consent facilitates the undermining of the mission.[72] As already noted, the Danish battalion had registered both phenomena at play in its area of deployment within the first year of the mission's life.

It becomes clear that the battalion adopted a strategy of *localism* when one looks closer at how the strategy was implemented on an everyday level throughout the latter part of 1992. By September 1992 the battalion received new operation orders. The document clearly shows how invalid the Vance Plan was in the Danes' everyday activities. In the orders explaining the battalion's cooperation with the local Serb authorities, it was stated that even though the plan officially demanded the Serbs not to carry rifles, realities on the ground meant that this type of weapon was accepted.[73] This change of attitude seems most pronounced in a message from early October in which the battalion's chief of staff explained to all companies that:

As you know, the [Vance] plan is the actual reason why UNPROFOR was established. Thus [the plan] is an interesting document to have read as historical background information for our deployment in the UNPAs. (…) Regardless of how well an understanding one get of the content of the Vance Plan, it neither can or must NOT BE USED DURING LOCAL NEGOTIATIONS, that happens on the "low level" (sorry for the expression!) as part of the normal daily life in the companies' vicinity. The plan is purely big politics and should be treated as such. (…) Thus do not let yourself get caught by a discussion about the Vance Plan.[74]

The quote is interesting because of the chief of staff's significant distancing from the Vance Plan. The plan had obviously evolved into an insignificant and irrelevant expression of politics – but politics that had gotten him and his fellow Danish soldiers to Croatia. The quote also reveals another interesting perspective. As has already been noted, the battalion's inquiries to the RSK authorities were normally characterized by references to the Vance Plan. However unofficially, as this quote indicates, the battalion occasionally seems to have followed its own local strategy, ordering its companies to deliberately disregard the Vance Plan in favour of making its local negotiations run smoothly irrespective of politics.

This development was obviously an optimal scenario for the RSK leadership. Despite the fact that their state had not yet been

internationally recognized, the somewhat stretchy interpretation made by UNPROFOR clearly helped maintain the RSK's status quo strategy. The reason for this was the fixed stagnancy of the Vance Plan. According to the plan, the RSK did not officially exist, and the Serbs' use of violence was regarded as illegitimate (as was also the Croat's). But since the UN had not introduced an updated interpretation and strategy towards the conflict, the RSK and its armed units still existed de facto. This completely changed the premises for the Danish battalion, which might be the reason for the change of practices.

Not all Danish officers seem to have endorsed the change to this strategy. In early January 1993, a Danish company commander complained to the battalion HQ that the gradual implementation of the Vance Plan, added to the interim measures being proposed by the top, left too many possible interpretations for the daily activities within his company's vicinity. The officer noted the problem with the battalion's approval of RSK's use of certain types of weapons, even though they were banned according to the Vance Plan.[75] Unfortunately the battalion's response to the officer's concerns has not been preserved in the archives. However, judging from the remaining reports there is no clear indication that the battalion changed its practices regarding the RSKs use of "illegal" weapons.

The fact that the latter part of 1992 was characterized by many difficulties becomes clear by consulting two of then Battalion Commander Colonel Jens Greve's last reports before handing over the office to his successor. In the first report, written in the first week of January 1993, the commander generally noted how the battalion, through its cooperation with local Serb civil and military authorities, had established a "considerable knowledge of Serbian mentality, thinking and behavioural patterns." He emphasised that this view did not imply he accepted the Serbs' problematic behaviour, but one should refine the general view and not only the critique of the Serb side. Colonel Greve argued that this approach was crucial if any political results were to be reached. The Danish commander viewed the local negotiating

environment as crucial for the battalion's work. He noted the battalion's success in having facilitated local ceasefires, establishing hotlines and setting up meetings at which the bargaining parties could discuss urgent matters. The commander, however, was not optimistic regarding the UNPROFOR mission as such. He stressed that the peacekeeping forces could not fulfill the mission given to UNPROFOR. According to the colonel, the international forces could perhaps contribute with the establishment of the peace necessary for a political negotiated settlement. However, they were not capable of implementing resolutions that were not fully acknowledged by the parties to the conflict. The Danish commander in particular highlighted the RSK authorities' rejection of the Vance Plan, as demonstrated by their practice of moving Serbs into Croat houses, and the Serb units' reluctance to leave the Pink Zones as demanded by the Security Council. He finished his report by stating that the Danish battalion "to a terrible degree" had to work on the parties' premises.[76]

The Croat Offensive in January 1993 --The Croat attack put everything back to zero.[77]

Following the renewal of UNPROFOR's deployment during the first year of its existence, the Croat government became increasingly reluctant to support it. For the Croats the seemingly permanent presence of blue helmets in the Serb-occupied territories was undermining the territorial integrity of the Croatian state. From early 1993, the Croatian government in Zagreb expressed reservations about continuing to accept the renewal of UNPROFOR's mandate. On 22 January 1993, while negotiations about the mandate were still underway, the Croats lost their patience. Without warning the UN forces in advance, the Croat army attacked several Serb-held positions in Sector South. The offensive made Serbs lose almost all trust in UNPROFOR since it had not prevented the attack.[78]

Following the January offensive the Security Council began to include the Croatian government in its resolutions. From that point on, and for the remainder of the mission's life, the Council began to explicitly designate the RSK as UNPROFOR's greatest obstacle in implementing the Vance Plan. Furthermore, the wording of the Council's resolutions no longer insisted that the Croats should move away from the territories taken by force.[79] As opposed to the UNPROFORs written basis, resolution 743 and the Vance Plan, Resolution 815 of March 1993, and the following resolutions regarding UNPROFOR in Croatia, no longer encouraged the parties to reach a political solution to the conflict. Instead, the resolutions began to insist on the Croatian government's legal right to the territories.[80] In addition, the Council decided not to extend UNPROFOR's mandate to more than a few months at a time, as opposed to a full year — as had been the case in earlier resolutions.[81] This shift in strategy influenced the RSK. The January offensive and the subsequent resolutions convinced them that their critique of the Vance Plan had been valid because of UNPROFOR's inability to protect the RSK borders.[82]

The January Offensive had immediate consequences for the battalion's relationship with the Serbs. Despite the fact that the Croat attack had not taken place in the Danish area of responsibility, the local Serbs started a full mobilization, pulling out their heavy weapons (including five tanks) from the UN depots.[83] Days later, a local commander informed the battalion that they were no longer allowed to use certain roads as determined by the RSK. After receiving this message, the Danish commander immediately wrote to UN headquarters that, if his battalion's freedom of movement were restricted as the Serbs determined, there would no longer be any point to keeping his soldiers in Croatia.[84] The Danish commander also complained about the restrictions to the local Serb commander, who promised that the restrictions would not be as extensive as first announced.[85] Despite this promise, the battalion's soldiers still received death threats when they wanted to patrol certain sites in their area of responsibility.[86]

The period following the January attack generally led to increasing pessimism within the Danish ranks. Shortly before handing over the command to a new commander, Colonel Jens Greve offered his view on the development of the peacekeeping mission:

Even though the UN Forces monitor the (new) ceasefire line and borders, the period after 22 January confirms the general experience that the UN Force works on conditions of the parties – and not on the UN's.[87]

It should be noted that the battalion, as before, sometimes chose to give in to these conditions. For instance, following the Croat attack the Danish HQ instructed its companies to refrain from registering Serb units in the field, as this, it was argued, would be "the most calming and safe approach for all parties involved." The headquarters assessed that continued registration could lead to additional restrictions in its freedom of movement.[88]

The period after January also revealed that the Serbs had a hard time supporting the imposed restrictions. During a meeting between the battalion and two RSK brigade and corps commanders the new Danish Commander Colonel Jan Scharling told the representatives from the RSK that they were obliged to follow the Vance Plan. One of the Serb commanders responded to Scharling's demands, telling him that the conditions before and after the Croat attack were not comparable and that the battalion had to adapt to this. This change mainly concerned the restriction of movement. On the other hand, the meeting showed that the RSK commanders were pleased that the battalion would stay.[89] Like his predecessor had done, Scharling in early March 1993 concluded that the restrictions on the battalions' movement should be removed a soon as possible if the continued deployment of his battalion were to make any sense at all.[90]

From that time on the RSK became more infected with a siege mentality, for they expected more Croat attacks. As the Danish Military Intelligence

Agency wrote in early March 1993, the war in Croatia had gone on for so long by then that any reconciliation and rational negotiations would be "extremely hard to obtain." The agency further noted that this development was facilitated by the RSK's intense propaganda broadcast lies about their counterparts.[91]

As one would have guessed, the "counterparts" were not always just the Croats. Instead, the RSK began directing their media campaign against the Danish battalion. This was especially the case after a Croat attack on the RSK inside the perimeter of the Danish battalion in early March 1993.[92] After the attack the RSK authorities adopted an even more intransigent attitude toward the battalion. Through public and non-public protests the RSK intensified their programme to discredit the Danes.

It is interesting to note that a significant number of these protests did not originate from the battalion's local area, but were sent from the RSK's higher levels of command. On 4 April 1993, the battalion received a letter signed by the RSK's interior minister (and later president) Milan Martic. The minister explained that the citizens of the RSK felt great discontent with the UN forces. Furthermore, Martic informed the battalion that the Serb units were now authorized to search the battalion's vehicles.[93] The letter from Martic was, as the battalion noted, undoubtedly the RSK's way of protesting against the Security Council's adoption of Resolution 815, in which it no longer extended UNPROFOR for more than a few months at a time.[94] Naturally, this policy not only facilitated an increase in the RSK's siege mentality, but also made it less likely for the Serbs to give up their weapons.

A few days later the battalion received another protest. This time it came from the commander of the RSK's armed forces, Major General Novakovic. The protest accused the Danes of directly supporting the Croat side and said that the Danish had fired upon a chief of staff from a local Serbian corps. It is interesting to note that the drafters of the

protest had sent it directly to then UNPROFOR commander Lieutenant General Lars Erik Wahlgren to discredit the battalion.[95] The battalion received several other protests as April continued, including another from a local RSK commander. This time, he accused the battalion of supplying the Muslim side with weapons.[96] The same victim mentality was also broadcast publicly through a local RSK-controlled radio station.[97]

In order to counter the protests and false allegations, the battalion sought once again to use its local network of Serb commanders. After the Novakovic protest, for instance, the then Danish chief of staff responded to a number of local commanders that they ought to keep local issues on a local level instead of involving people such as the major general According to the chief of staff, he did not have sufficient knowledge about the situation in the battalion's local vicinity.[98] The fact that the accusations were actually orchestrated high above the local level is supported by a report by the battalion's department of intelligence from the middle of April 1993 made at the same time as the Serb protests began. The report claims that the local Serb brigade commanders apparently did not recognize the unjustified accusations coming from its superiors in Knin.[99] Unfortunately, the battalion's attempt to refute the Serb protests backfired.

Following the many protests and restrictions the battalion's options for meeting its mission tasks became severely limited. This was especially due to the local Serb commander who no longer had sufficient clout (or will?) to see the accusations refuted locally. Following the protests the battalion reported that it could now only meet its mission on a "reduced scale" and only "to a certain degree" conclude agreements with the local military RSK commanders.[100] In his monthly report for April the Danish commander furthermore noted that the Serbs' "critical attitude has further hindered the battalion's work, even though the many protests only slightly resonate on the local level."[101]

Thus, the battalion tried to maintain local negotiations at as high a level as was still possible. Once again, this was tried through both communication and actual actions. For instance, when Danish soldiers had been shot at in late April, the Danish commander urged the responsible Serb brigade commander to maintain contact between the Serb unit in question and the affected Danish company, citing "the excellent collaboration between the RSK and the Danes."[102] Additionally, the battalion tried to deal with the accusations of illegal weapons transport by letting Serb units search the Danish vehicles. The battalion explained that this change of practice might dispel the false rumours about the battalion.[103] The tables had obviously turned: the practice of letting one of the bargaining parties dictate vehicle searches was in direct conflict with the Vance Plan.

Considering the tense situation, the battalion's change of practice probably was an expression of a fragile and ill-founded optimism. Certainly things did not seem to have changed for the better. During the summer of 1993, cooler relations between the RSK and the Danish battalion replaced the previously reported "excellent collaboration." The Serbs imposed more restrictions in the battalion's freedom of movement.[104] Worse, several Danish checkpoints and observations posts were hit by Serb bullets, upon which Danish soldiers had to fire warning shots.[105]

By the middle of July 1993, Croatia and representatives from the RSK had signed the so-called Erdut Agreement. This agreement called upon the Croats to withdraw from the areas they had taken during the January offensive. The no-man's land was subsequently to be monitored by UNPROFOR.[106] As the battalion's fourth commander noted in his August 1993 report, the agreement did not represent a solution to the underlying problem of the conflict - quite the contrary. The Croats, for their part, saw the agreement as a step to reintegrate the Serb-held territories. The RSK, on the other hand, saw the agreement as a way to reestablish Serb authority in the area in question. In addition the RSK

saw the agreement as a test for UNPROFOR to show if the peacekeepers were capable of protecting the areas.[107] Thus, the RSK's interpretation of the Erdut Agreement was very similar to its interpretation of the Vance Plan. The Serbs clearly feared what Nina Caspersens has termed a "creeping reintegration", in which the Croats' slow but consistent measures (political and military) would result in taking back the territories.[108] In the minds of the RSK, UNPROFOR was supposed to be the party to prevent this from happening. The battalion's assessment of the agreement's fragility unfortunately turned out to be true. In August 1993, the Serbs chose to bomb the strategically important Maslenica Bridge. All negotiations between the Croat government and the RSK were immediately suspended.[109]

The deadlock of the conflict as it was experienced by the Danish battalion is thoroughly described in a report by one of the battalion's captains in summer 1993. Based on his knowledge about the local environment, he drew a sharp distinction between the local and political levels of the mission. The captain wrote that his soldiers were often frustrated that their local efforts did not lead to any results because the peace process depended on political negotiations far above the battalion. Instead he noted the difference between the two levels:

In order to reach any results in the company's area of responsibility it has been necessary to negotiate on a local level, where reason instead of politics controls the solutions.[110]

Furthermore, the Danish captain confirmed that the battalion, solely by its presence in the Serb-held territory, mainly promoted the RSK's interests. According to the captain, this led to great frustration by other parties to the conflict.[111] The captain's report reveals a deeper layer of localism. This is most clearly seen by the remark stating that the battalion's greatest successes were achieved exactly when they were created without interference of politics.

The consequences of Operation Medak Pocket

In September 1993 the Croats made another attempt to reintegrate parts of the Serb-controlled territories of Croatia by force. The Croats began an offensive in the so-called Medak Pocket in Sector South. However, this time the military commander of UNPROFOR, General Jean Cot, was not going to let the offensive go unnoticed. As he said after the Croat attack, "Unless the current situation is defused, both politically and militarily, UNPROFOR and associated UN efforts and operations will be jeopardized."[112] In order to re-establish the parties' confidence (namely the Serbian side) in UNPROFOR, Cot decided to force the Croats back from the Medak Pocket in a regular military operation. However, this was not done before the Croat units had systematically cleansed the Serb-populated villages from which the UN was forcing them away.[113]

Despite UNPROFOR's relative success in forcing the Croats back from the Medak Pocket, UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros-Ghali was not optimistic regarding the future of UNPROFOR's presence in Croatia. In his report of 20 September 1993, he concluded that the parties' confidence in UNPROFOR had been severely undermined. Especially, the lack of cooperation from the RSK authorities had made it impossible to implement the critical points of the Vance Plan. He even revealed that he had been "sorely tempted" to recommend that the Security Council withdraw the force altogether. However, fearing that renewed hostilities might erupt if the parties were left on their own, he recommended that UNPROFOR should stay.[114] Thus, both the core issue of the conflict and the UN's argument were the same as before the deployment in early 1992: the lack of cooperation (especially from the Serb side) still hampered the implementation of the Vance Plan, and withdrawing the peacekeepers would still jeopardize the safety of the remaining civilians in the protected areas.

The Croat offensive in the Medak pocket had a negative impact upon the battalion's possibility of using its local network. The Serbs were frustrated because the Security Council had not clearly condemned the offensive. In the battalion's monthly report from October 1993, it was clearly stated that the battalion worried about what this disappointment might mean for its possibility of influencing the local environment.[115] In November 1993, however, the battalion learned that the existence of a local negotiating environment was still valid despite the tense situation in general. The Danes reported that they, via an active "shuttle diplomacy", had managed to keep the number of shootings surprisingly low. By means of weekly tripartite negotiations, the battalion with its sector HQ managed to establish oral agreements about "not shooting at each other." In fact by late November, the battalion had concluded that the prospects for these negotiations were so good, there was a "realistic possibility" of agreement on a real ceasefire between the parties.[116]

Thus by late 1993, there was cause for optimism at the political level. This peaked with the signing of the so-called Christmas Truce in December 1993. The following year, relations between the RSK and the Croat government were relatively peaceful.[117] Then Danish commander Colonel Knud Pallesen, however, expressed some reservations especially in terms of his battalion's relationship with the Serbs:

If the Serbs do not become more cooperative when it comes to freedom of movement in the pink zones, and more open when negotiating with the Croats, it is hard to see a solution to the conflict and a further extension of the mandate on a fragile basis that serves no purpose. The UN's military forces in the UNPA have already established a generally calm situation and the necessary measures for making peace in the area.[118]

The commander's statement is an interesting interpretation of the situation. On the one hand, he imagined that peace could finally be around the corner. On the other hand, he actually doubted the mission's raison d'être by questioning its continued extension by the Security Council.

The Danish Battalion and the fall of the RSK

As the missions proceeded throughout 1994, the so-called *Cyprusiation* of the RSK was becoming reality. Croat and Serb politicians understood this, in two very incompatible ways respectively. The de facto existence of the RSK also became part of the political discussions in the UN. As the secretary-general concluded in his 16 March 1994 report:

The Serb side has taken advantage of the presence of UNPROFOR in its efforts to freeze the status quo under UNPROFOR "protection", whilst establishing a self-proclaimed "state" of "the Republic of Serb Krajina" in UNPROFOR's area of responsibility.[119]

It was clear that the deployment of UNPROFOR had significantly changed its purpose compared to the initial idea in the Vance Plan back in 1991. Thus, in order to counter that, this status-quo situation would continue indefinitely. Croat President Tudjman chose to withdraw his support to UNPROFOR using the same rationale as the secretary-general in his report. By late 1994 it had become clear to Tudjman and the Croatian government that a forced reintegration by military means was the only way to prevent the RSK from further establishing itself as a political reality on Croatian soil.[120] Backed by the United States, Tudjman strengthened Croatia's military capacities, preparing his forces to engage the RSK.[121] On 12 January 1995, Tudjman announced that his government would not stand behind an extension of UNPROFORs mandate, as it was to run out by late March. He could no longer accept that the UNPROFOR de facto functioned as a guarantee for the Serbs' occupation of almost one third of Croatia's territory.[122]

Following Tudjman's decision to end the deployment of UNPROFOR, the peacekeepers observed an increased lack of cooperation from both the Croat and Serb side. Both parties began preparing for the outbreak for war when the peacekeepers had gone.[123] From the perspective of the RSK the Croat decision was fatal since it left the state extremely

vulnerable to attack, should the blue helmets leave Croatia. Thus on 8 March 1995, the RSK leaders announced that the RSK was now in the state of war.[124]

A few weeks later the UN managed to make Tudjman renegotiate the deployment of peacekeepers in Croatia. However, getting almost all his demands through Tudjman made the force' new mandate rather meaningless compared to the original conception of the Vance Plan. On 31 March 1995, the Security Council established the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) to replace the old UNPROFOR mandate. Compared to UNPROFOR, UNCRO was considerably smaller as to the number of soldiers. Most importantly, the new name of the mission included "Croatia" in the title, while "protection" had disappeared. This naturally made the RSK leaders criticize the new mandate: In their view, it predicted the political outcome of the crisis, namely a Croat takeover of the Serb-occupied territories.[125] With a single stroke, the Croatian government had just made the military solution the most likely outcome of the conflict.[126]

Thus on 3 April 1995, a spokesperson from the RSK parliament announced that the mandate annulled the Vance Plan and rolled the political situation back to the situation before the deployment of UNPROFOR in 1992. He further announced that RSKs reintegration with Croatia would never be possible.[127] This clearly demonstrated the panic dominating the political branches of the RSK.

This panic was also observable at the local level. The Danish battalion experienced what the Croat decision meant for those actually in question: the peacekeepers on the ground. The Croats stopped regarding UNCRO as a force to take into account. The Danes reported that it no longer made any difference complaining to the Croats about their violations of the ceasefire and military exercises. According to a local team of UN military observers, the Croat liaison literally threw the incoming protests into his trashcan.[128]

The period after 12 January also showed that the battalion was no longer able to benefit from the local approach that had worked to some extent in the past. As had been the case through the second half of 1994, it was no longer possible to facilitate the so-called local joint commissions, wherein representatives from UN, Croatia, and RSK held meetings to solve local disputes.[129] Instead the battalion set up meetings with the Serb side alone. The content of these meetings clearly showed not only how frightened the Serbs were that a Croat attack was underway, but also how obsessed they were in keeping the battalion along the RSK borders also after the new mandate would be presented. During one of these meetings, a local Serb officer predicted that the Croats would attack irrespective of the presence of UN troops.[130] One month later another Serb officer told the battalion that the safety and existence of RSK was closely bound to the further deployment of the blue helmets.[131]

Thus the Serbs got far more persistent in their demands and actions and none of the traditional peacekeeping measures undertaken by the battalion did seem to work. In early March 1995, the Serbs pulled out their heavy weapons from the depots and placed them along the line of confrontation. The Danish battalion protested and tried to talk the Serbs (and Croats) to demobilise and bring the heavy weapons back in the depots.[132] The Serbs only let the battalion observe specific parts of these depots and imposed further restrictions in the battalion's freedom of movement. The situation had devolved unto absurdity. On one occasion a local brigade commander cancelled a scheduled weapon inspection by the depots, on the grounds that the battalion already knew what weapons were missing and where they had been placed in the field. On another occasion the battalion noticed that the RSK had imported SA-2 anti-aircraft missiles from Bosnia into the UNPAs, but because of the restrictions to their freedom of movement the battalion could not intervene.[133]

As the March 1995 report reads, the last half of the month was characterised by tense anticipation from the Serbian side. However, there is nothing in the records to clearly indicate whether the Danish battalion knew about the upcoming Croat attack in early May. Of course, this is not saying that it could not feel the rising tensions, as has already been shown. In its monthly report of March 1995, the battalion reported that a "very obvious change in the situation" was being observed.[134]

Operation Flash

From 1 to 3 May 1995, the Croats carried out Operation Flash to recover Western Slavonia in the Krajina. Following the offensive approximately 12.000 Serbs are thought to have escaped. The offensive furthermore resulted in a de facto breakdown of the ceasefire agreement between Croatia and the RSK, and annulment of the agreed zones of separation.[135] Operation Flash revealed the obvious weaknesses of the RSK's military capabilities. The Serbian units could not compete with the US-trained Croat defence forces. The operation also showed that crucial military support from Belgrade was no longer to be counted on by the RSK leadership. The Serbian war machine already had its hands full holding its positions by the Bosnian theatre. Thus Milosevic left the Krajina Serbs to their own fate.[136] Bearing this in mind, the RSK authorities therefore began instructing their citizens in how to evacuate themselves.[137] The cleansing of Serbs from the Krajina was also boosted by a massive Croat propaganda campaign directed at the remaining Serbs in the Krajina to make them flee by themselves.[138] The Serbs' precautionary measures can also be interpreted as a sign of increasing mistrust in the remaining UNCRO forces.

Operation Flash dealt a crucial blow to RSK's confidence in the UN, and namely the Danish battalion. Following the offensive, the RSK-controlled media imposed a press campaign against the Danes in which they were accused of having helped plan and execute the recent Croat attack. As on several occasions before, the battalion tried to reject the

Serb accusations and stressed its neutrality in the conflict.[139] The battalion's options in impacting the RSK media machine (and thus its citizens) were, however, now extremely limited. The RSK radio stations refused to broadcast the battalion's retraction referring to the state of emergency in the RSK.[140] Even though the Serb accusations were fabricated, the battalion immediately observed how the campaign had affected the relationship between itself and the local Serbs. At subsequent meetings the RSK officers expressed their disappointment that the UN, in their view, had not been able to do its job of protecting the RSK against the Croats.[141] After a meeting between the Danish commander and a local RSK brigade commander on 5 May 1995, the battalion reported that the meeting atmosphere had been "tense and uncomfortable."[142]

The period after Operation Flash also proved that the battalion's option of using its local network was no longer possible, like it had been in the relatively quiet periods of the deployment since 1992. Almost all battalion records written after the offensive are characterized by pessimism. This was obviously caused by the lack of cooperation from both sides. The battalion noticed, for instance, that its meetings with the Croat side following the May offensive were literally of "no value."[143] Regarding the Serb side the battalion noticed that there was a "strong aversion" at the local levels of command to "enter into binding agreements."[144] The fact that the battalion had lost almost all influence in its area was, according to the commander, almost fatal for the mission. As he wrote by the end of his tour, it was exactly in tense situations like the spring and summer of 1995 that the need for bargaining between the parties was most needed in order to prevent the breakout of war.[145]

As has been shown earlier in this article, the Danish battalion was already severely hampered by Serb-imposed restrictions to its freedom of movement, and it could do little but watch the RSK fall apart as the May offensive rolled over the neighbouring sector. During and after the offensive in early May, it became crystal clear that the Serbs saw

UNPROFOR as a crucial element in their strategy to avoid a forced reintegration of their state by the Croatian government. A number of measures the following months showed that the RSK had effectively taken the Danish soldiers hostage in order to use them as a shield against the expected Croat attack. While the Croat army moved its units away from the zone of separation after the offensive, the Serbs maintained a high readiness of its forces and expressed a "hostile attitude" towards the battalion.[146] Fearing that the Danish battalion would leave the Serb-controlled area, the Serbs started to put down mines on the roads and sites surrounding Danish checkpoints and observations posts in order to keep the Danish soldiers out of there. The offensive also resulted in the battalion's suspending its patrols for the rest of the deployment. Furthermore the Serbs started demanding that those CP and OP situated close to the zone of separation should turn of their lights and diesel generators at night in order for the Serbs to better spot a Croat attack. In this case, though, the battalion rejected these demands.[147]

On the last day of July, the hostile attitude escalated. Behind the scenes the RSK military leadership instructed its units to prevent the UN forces from leaving the area. The order clearly stated that this might involve disarming and taking the blue helmets hostage.[148] On 26 July, as Danish soldiers were starting to remove an observation post in the vicinity of a Serb weapons depot, Serbian units started firing warning shots in order to make the Danes rebuild the post. The Danish commander told the Serbs that only the sector HQ could authorize the rebuild of the post. After discussing the case with the HQ, the post ended up being rebuilt. Furthermore, Danish soldiers were forced to man the post 24 hours a day, despite the fact that the Serbs a few days earlier had imposed a complete curfew.[149] The following day the Danish commander complained about the hostile attitude to the responsible Serb corps commander, urging him to "establish a good relationship" between the RSK forces and the battalion.[150]

However, such complaints were no longer seen as valid to the Serbs — perhaps, not even to the battalion itself anymore. In a briefing about the depot episode, the Danish commander told the Danish Army Operational Command that it seemed "extremely difficult" to alter status quo regarding the placement of the battalion's observations posts, checkpoints and camps. In addition he assessed that removing any more UN posts would not be possible without "hazardous confrontations" with the Serbs.[151] Thus, over the same days, the battalion's deputy commander confirmed to a Danish newspaper that his battalion had now become the Serbs' hostages.[152] This became most obvious when Serb units on August first set anti-personnel mines around the above-mentioned post by the depot. Thus it did not make any difference that the Danish commander had written to his Serb counterpart demanding the removal of the Claymore mines; they stayed where the Serbs had placed them.[153]

Operation Storm

Meanwhile, the international community had turned almost all its attention to the Bosnian Serbs' attacks on the Muslim enclaves of Žepa and Srebrenica in July 1995. The Croat government decided to force a reintegration of the Serb-held territories and subsequently, end the life of the RSK.[154] In a combined air, mobile infantry, and artillery offensive started on 4 August 1995, the Croats not only crushed the RSK capital of Knin, but also recovered most of the Krajina.[155] No help came from the Bosnian Serbs, and the RSK's political and military structures collapsed within hours and days.[156] Having learned from Operation Flash, the Croats this time arranged escape routes for the fleeing Serb population. It is estimated that approximately 200.000 civilians and armed units fled the RSK towards either Bosnia or Serbia.[157] Not all Serbs managed to get away during the offensive. It is well known that the Croat forces committed war crimes against the remaining Serb population.[158] The Danish battalion, for instance, received and wrote

several reports about war crimes committed by Croats, including ethnic cleansings of Serbian villages.[159]

During the offensive, the Danes had no influence on what happened between the parties. One sergeant was killed by a Croat tank shell after he and his men had been used as shields by Serbian soldiers. Several other Danish soldiers were forced by the Serbs to hand over their weapons or else fight with the desperate Serb units.[160] It was not until 8 August that the Croats authorized the battalion to leave their camps and inspect its installations.[161] By then, all signs of RSK command structures had disappeared from the battalion's area of responsibility. On 9 August a newly established Croat HQ contacted the Danes, through them to bid the Serbs to surrender and leave Croatia. However, by then the battalion had no contact at all with representatives of the RSK's armed forces.[162] Because of that, the Danish commander informed his sector HQ that it would be "meaningless" for his battalion to stay in the area.[163] The commander's briefing further uncovers some general features of peacekeeping in an intra-state conflict. With the Croat offensives fresh in mind, the commander wrote to his HQ that:

When the presence of the UN is not accepted by both parties, and when one or both parties imposes servere (sic) restrictions on UN, the peace keeping tasks cannot be carried out, as was the case prior to Operation Storm. This is not only a factor hampering or making impossible the peace keeping operation, but also severely demoralizing for the UN troops.[164]

Obviously such considerations would have helped more before the deployment in early 1992, than after all negotiations had collapsed by summer 1995. The commander's briefing above supports what he and his colleagues had expressed the previous 3 and a half years: The existence of the RSK had made it impossible for the peacekeeping mission to succeed. The (written) basis for the UN troops had been gradually undermined because the principal parties to the conflict never

really had given their unconditional consent to the blue helmets' presence.

Conclusion

Something happens when a scholar carries his or her focus from the political discussions of the Security Council to the zones where the Council's resolutions meet reality. Through the application of theories of unrecognized states, and local aspects of peacekeeping, this article has analysed the experience of Danish peacekeepers in Croatia during the UNPROFOR mission. The central question has been how the Danish battalion perceived and reacted when being deployed to the unrecognized state of Republika Srpska Krajina (RSK) between 1992 and 1995 as part of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The results support the thesis that international interventionist military forces are not passive recipients of their superior's orders.

UNPROFOR's basis was itself undermined prior to the deployment in March 1992. The discussions surrounding the drafting of the Vance Plan, namely resolution 743, should have made more people question whether the Serbs in Croatia would consent and collaborate with the peacekeepers. The representatives of the RSK were especially worried about having to demilitarize and demobilize their armed forces. In addition they were reluctant to leave the protection of the unrecognized state to the neutral UNPROFOR. The Security Council, namely the several secretary-generals, acknowledged quite early that the RSK's missing consent would jeopardize the peacekeeping mission. Time and time again, however, the decision-makers assessed that the presence of UNPROFOR was still better than the humanitarian catastrophe that could erupt, should the peacekeepers not be deployed.

Bu deploying peacekeepers to the Serb-controlled areas of Croatia, the Security Council and the Serb leadership postponed a final solution to the republic's "Serbian question." The peacekeeping mission's basis got

further undermined when the international society chose to recognize Croatia as a sovereign state. This left RSK without the possibility of getting recognized, and did also imply that a military solution by the Croats seemed to be the most likely outcome. Despite this, or rather because of this, the RSK for the next three and a half years fought for the state's survival. This not only materialized on the political level but also was, as has been shown, very evident in the vicinity of the Danish battalion. The RSK intended, for the UNPROFOR forces, a central role in their status-quo strategy, which implied consolidating and protecting their borders with Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croat attempts at forceful reintegration, coupled with the subsequent siege mentality, contributed to the result that the RSK never fully handed responsibility for their security to UNPROFOR — despite this being a central element of the Vance Plan. Recognizing the deadlock of the conflict led the battalion to doubt its relevance. These frustrations were often derived from the RSK's lack of consent and consistent harassment of Danish soldiers. There is no doubt that the battalion's pessimism grew steadily from the time of deployment in early 1992 to the collapse of the RSK in August 1995. The battalion did begin with an optimistic belief that the Vance Plan would be quickly implemented. It was not more than a few weeks into the mission that pessimistic thoughts started dominating the battalion's official and unofficial reporting.

Having recognized the changing conditions, the battalion started implementing a strategy of localism in order to solve at least some of its tasks. The battalion, for instance, changed its practices and internal communications. By so doing, it started deviating from the Vance Plan, yet in official reports the battalion kept referring to the Vance Plan.

The battalion's strategy of upholding an acceptable relationship with the RSK military authorities was only possible to the extent that the situation allowed it. The strategy was most applicable to those periods when the Serbs' siege mentality was at a low level. In tenser situations, however, the battalion's option of influencing the situation was quite limited. This

became most obvious towards the latter part of the mission, when the peacekeepers' presence had become somewhat irrelevant, as there was no peace to keep.

This approach of looking at a peacekeeping mission's local levels reveals interesting things about what happens on the ground. The results suggest that political and military leaders could benefit from considering what expectations and influence the local populations have towards an intervening force. The findings indicate that as soon as peacekeepers no longer are able to thoroughly control their local environment (meetings, oral agreements etc.), it becomes quite difficult for them to accomplish anything at all.

This begs for further studies on this topic. By nature it is somewhat absurd that peacekeepers want to fix things locally rather than stick to a written basis. But herein lays the paradox. Why hold onto a written basis that neither the troops nor the belligerents find valid anyway? The tool of ethnic cleansing that ended up being used to secure Croatia's territorial integrity at the expense of several UN-soldier's lives just makes this question all the more relevant.

As this study shows, the local population might have significant influence upon a peacekeeping mission, and vice versa. More studies are needed in order to tell if this tendency was a general tendency in the course of the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s.

Acknowledgements

[1] Unless clearly stated otherwise, every use of the term "Serb" refers to representatives of the RSK. All used quotes that originally were in Danish has been translated by the author.

[2] Situationen ved DANCON 2/UNPROFOR – december 1992. Hærnyt 1/1993

[3] Sion, "Dutch Peacekeepers and Host Environments in the Balkans: An Ethnographic Perspective," 201.

[4] Among these are: Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen from below: UN Missions and Local People*; Henry and Higate, *Insecure Spaces: Peacekeeping, Power and Performance in Haiti, Kosovo and Liberia*; Jabri, "Peacebuilding, the Local and the International: A Colonial or a Postcolonial Rationality?"; Mac Ginty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance*.

[5] Barić, "The Rise and Fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina (1990-1995)," 89.

[6] Jovic, "The Slovenian-Croatian Confederal Proposal: A Tactical Move or an Ultimate Solution," 263.

[7] Caspersen, "The Thorny Issue of Ethnic Autonomy in Croatia: Serb Leaders and Proposals for Autonomy," 3–6.

[88] Barić, "The Rise and Fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina (1990-1995)," 91f.

[9] By August 1991 300 persons had been killed and 79.000 was internally displaced. Woodward, "The Security Council and the Wars in the Former Yugoslavia," n. 18.

[10] Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe : Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, 226f.

[11] Hedl and Magaš, "Croatia: The Unfulfilled Mandate," 81.

[12] Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe : Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, 256.

[13] UN DOC S/23280, annex IV

[14] UN DOC S/23280

[15] Hedl and Magaš, "Croatia: The Unfulfilled Mandate," 82f.

[16] UN DOC S/23280

[17] Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe : Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, 276.

[18] Caspersen, "The Thorny Issue of Ethnic Autonomy in Croatia: Serb Leaders and Proposals for Autonomy," 11f.

[19] UN DOC/23513

[20] UN DOC S/23513

[21] UN DOC S/23592

[22] Hedl and Magaš, "Croatia: The Unfulfilled Mandate," 83; Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe : Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, 253.

[23] Barić, "The Rise and Fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina (1990-1995)," 93f.b

[24] Juul and Wadskjær Nielsen, *12 År På Balkan: Dansk Fredsstøttende Indsats I Konflikterne På Balkan 1992-2004*, 26f; Petersen, *Europæisk Og Globalt Engagement : 1973-2006*, 459; Petersen, "Den Bedste Ambassadør: Civil-Militære Relationer Og Demokratisk Kontrol I Danmark 1991-2011," 180.

[25] DANCON/UNPROFOR befaling for indsættelse i Dvor/Kostajnica. 15.3.1992. V1

[26] RECCE-rapport afleveret til CDR SEC N. 22.3.1992. V1.

[27] Den militære situation i DANCON indsættelsesområde. 26.3.1992. C1

[28] Letter from a local mayor. Without date. Judged by the content of the letter it is most likely that the battalions received the letter by early March 1992. V1

[29] Daily SITREP. 27.4.1992. C2

[30] Efterretningsoversigt april 1992. FE Q/355.01-001. FE

[31] SITREP til HOK. 28.3.1992. C1

[32] Efterretningsoversigt april 1992, s. 65. FE

[33] Enclosure to HQ DANCON daily SITREP. 13.5.1992. C3. See also MIL INFO SUMMARY NO. 3. 13.5.1992. Straffesager

[34] Written request and complaints. 19.5.1992. C4. "UNPA" is short for United Nations Protected Area.

[35] Trbovich, *A Legal Geography of Yugoslavia's Disintegration*, 301.

[36] Written request and complaints. 19.5.1992. C4.

[37] Særlig hændelse og generel situation. 27.5.1992. C4

[38] Konklusionsreferat af CH-møde. 29.5.1992. C4

[39] Konklusionsreferat af CH-møde. 29.5.1992. C4

[40] Glaurdić, *The Hour of Europe : Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, 285.

[41] Daglig inforep. 31.5.1992. NN.

[42] Daglig inforep. 31.5.1992. NN.

[43] Daglig inforep. 26.5.1992 and 27.5.1992. NN

[44] Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen from below: UN Missions and Local People*, 228.

[45] Særlig hændelse og generel situation. 27.5.1992. C4

[46] Humanitarian problems in DANCON/UNPROFOR AO. 5.6.1992. C5

[47] Referat af CDR's CONF ved Sector North d. 15.6.1992. C6

[48] Efterretningsoversigt for juni 1992, s. 47. FE

[49] Daglig inforep. 5.6.1992. C5

[50] Redegørelse for TV-interview. 20.6.1992. C7.

[51] Redegørelse for TV-interview. 20.6.1992. C7.

[52] Redegørelse for TV-interview. 20.6.1992. C7.

[53] Rapport for CH/HOK uformelle inspektion ved DANCON/UNPROFOR i tiden 17 til 20 jun 1992. C7

[54] Ibid., 140.

[55] Ibid.

[56] O-BEF for iværksættelse af FASE 2. 9.7.1992. C9.

[57] Daily SITREP. 6.7.1992. C9

[58] Withdrawal of the TDF BDE Dvor. 16.7.1992. C10

[59] Demilitarisering: Forholdsordre. 2.8.1992. C13

[60] Konklusionsreferat af CH-møde 09 JUL 1992. C10

[61] Disarmament of paramilitary Forces, civilians and soldiers. 15.7.1992. C10, Armament of Milicia and Borderpolice. 29.7.1992 and Access to Cerkezovac store. 30.7 1992. C12

[62] Personellets optræden på CP samt undersøgelse af køretøjer. 25.8.1992. C14. Original understregning.

[63] Kontrol af køretøjer. 20.10.1992. C17

[64] Daily SITREP. 13.10.1992. C18

[65] DANBAT medal parade 03 DEC 92. C23

[66] Allocation of former Croatian property to Serbian displaced persons in the UNPA-area. 20.11.1992. C23

[67] Minutes from meeting concerning coordination of the demilitarization in DVOR municipality. 24.7.1992. C12. Se også Withdrawal of "Green Berets." Signal fra bataljonen til TDF-hovedkvarteret i Dvor. C13

[68] Sector North Commander's conference with commanding officers and militia commanders on problem of militia weapon and use of TDF/camoulage uniforms held at headquarters Sector North on 13 August 1992. C21. 21.8.1992.

[69] Milicija bevæbning. 26.8.1992. C14

[70] Møde mellem muslimske og serbiske ledere. 4.10.1992. C21

[71] Diehl, Druckman, and Wall, "International Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution: A Taxonomic Analysis with Implications," 40.

[72] Findlay, *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations*, 152.

[73] Bilag 5 til OBEF nr. 1. Retningslinjer for genkendelse, samarbejde og kontrol af TDF, Milicija og Special Milicija indenfor DANCON/UNPA. C15

[74] Vance Planen. 8.10.1992. C18. The chief of staff's own orignal capital letters and underlinings.

[75] Operationsbefaling nr. 1. 14.1. 1993. C20

[76] Briefing text in Danish language. 9.1.1993. C25

[77] Satish Nambiar, first commander of UNPROFOR. Reproduced in Ekwall-Uebelhart et al., *Managing Arms in Peace Processes. Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 37.

[78] Légaré and Tanguay, "Use of Force by UN Peacekeepers: Application of the Medak Agreement in September 1993," 72.

[79] Trbovich, *A Legal Geography of Yugoslavia's Disintegration*, 302f.

[80] Ibid., 302.

[81] Economides and Taylor, "Former Yugoslavia," 78.

[82] Tanner, *Croatia : A Nation Forged in War*, 288.

[83] Speciel SITREP. 23.1.1993. C35

[84] Speciel SITREP. 26.1.1993. C35

[85] Daglig INFOREP. 27.1.1993. C35

[86] Daily SITREP 27.1.1993. C35 and MIL INFO SUMMARY. 4.3.1993. C26

[87] Oplevelser fra DANBAT 2/UNPROFOR. Hærnyt 2/1993

[88] Orienteringsmeddelse. 28.1.1993. C20

[89] Referat af CH/DANBAT møde med CH/Kostajnica BDE and CH/E Korps Banja. 26.2.1993. C20

[90] DANBAT UNPROFOR månedsrapport FEB 1993. 7.3.1993. C20

[91] Efterretningsoversigt for marts 1993. FE

[92] The attack from SN AOR into B-HAC Pocket. 1.5.1993. BH

[93] Special Information. Daily SITREP. 4.4.1993. C28

[94] Daglig INFOREP. 9.4.1993. C29

[95] Protest due to opening fire on members of the Serbian Armed forces of Krajina and prohibiton on farmers to cultivate their land. Appendix to Protest from military authority Knin. 11.4.1993. C29. I does not show how the battalion got their hands in the protests. It most likely were the Serbs themselv who sent a copy to the battalion. It cannot be excluded that a copy of the protest was sent to the battalion by the UNPROFOR HQ in Zagreb.

[96] Sharp protest because of DANBAT illegal actions. Bilag til DANBAT comment to TDF protest letter. 15.4.1993. C29

[97] Oversættelse af udskrift med OB Tarbuk. C29

[98] Protest from military authority Knin. 11.4.1993. C29

[99] Statusrapport. 15.4.1993. C29

[100] Statusrapport. 15.4.1993. C29

[101] DANBAT/UNPROFOR månedsrapport APR 1993. C30

[102] Protest sendt til CO/26 Kostajnica Bde (TDF). 22.4.1993. C29

[103] Beslutningsreferat af møde vedr. UNPROFOR kørende trafik i SUNJA-området. 10.4.1993. C33

[104] DANBAT/UNPROFOR månedsrapport JUN 1993. C35

[105] DANBAT/UNPROFOR månedsrapport JUL 1993. C36

[106] Légaré and Tanguay, "Use of Force by UN Peacekeepers: Application of the Medak Agreement in September 1993," 72.

[107] DANBAT/UNPROFOR månedsrapport JUL 1993. C36

[108] Caspersen, *Unrecognized States : The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Modern International System*, 67f.

[109] Légaré and Tanguay, "Use of Force by UN Peacekeepers: Application of the Medak Agreement in September 1993," 72.

[110] FN-mission i Serbisk Krajina. Fiasco eller succes. 3.8.1993. C36

[111] FN-mission i Serbisk Krajina. Fiasco eller succes. 3.8.1993. C36

[112] Latest developments in the Krajinas. 12 September 1993. BH

[113] Ibid., 74.

[114] UN DOC S/26470

[115] DANBAT/UNPROFOR Månedsrapport OKT 1993 and Bilag 3 til DANBAT månedsrapport for OKT 1993 respectively. HOK 21

[116] Bilag 3 til DANBAT månedsrapport for NOV 1993. HOK 21

[117] Ekwall-Uebelhart et al., *Managing Arms in Peace Processes. Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 44f.

[118] Bilag 3 til DANBAT månedsrapport for NOV 1993. HOK 21

[119] UN DOC S/1994/300

[120] Miller, "Tudjman's Victory: Croatia, the U.N., NATO and the U.S.," 509.

[121] Ashbrook and Bakich, "Storming to Partition: Croatia, the United States, and Krajina in the Yugoslav War," 547.

[122] UN DOC S/1995/28

[123] Gray, "Host-State Consent and United Nations Peacekeeping in Yugoslavia," 267.

[124] Žunec, "Operations Flash and Storm," 72.

[125] Gray, "Host-State Consent and United Nations Peacekeeping in Yugoslavia," 267f.

[126] Miller, "Tudjman's Victory: Croatia, the U.N., NATO and the U.S.," 509.

[127] Morgenbriefing for ST/DANBAT. 4.4.1995. HOK 8

[128] Referat af UNMO-møde ved UKRBAT. 24.1.1995. HOK 16

[129] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[130] Møde med 33 BDE 27 FEB 1995. HOK 26

[131] Møde med 26 BDE 25 MAR 1995. HOK 26

[132] Formal protest over removal of artillery pieces from WSS. 5.3.1995. HOK 5

[133] Underbilag 2 til DANBAT/UNPROFOR månedsrapport for MAR 95. HOK 8

[134] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[135] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[136] Ashbrook and Bakich, "Storming to Partition: Croatia, the United States, and Krajina in the Yugoslav War," 544.

[137] Ibid., 545.

[138] Clark, "Courting Controversy: The ICTY's Acquittal of Croatian Generals Gotovina and Markač," 4f.

[139] Public press release. 5.5.1995. HOK 10

[140] Public press release. 5.5.1995. HOK 10

[141] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[142] Opdate of the situation in DANBAT AOR. 5.5.1995. HOK 10

[143] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[144] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[145] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[146] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[147] Referat vedr. debriefing af DANBAT/UNCRO, hold 7. RP

[148] Marijan, *Storm*, 281.

[149] Rapport vedr. Hændelsesforløbet ved ND54 (Volinja). 26.7.1995. HOK 13

[150] Protest to 39 Banija Korps. HOK 13

[151] Rapport vedr. Hændelsesforløbet ved ND54 (Volinja). 26.7.1995. HOK 13

[152] Danske FN-soldater er gidsler. Berlingske Tidende. 2.8.1995

[153] Claymore mines at ND54. HOK 14

[154] Ashbrook and Bakich, "Storming to Partition: Croatia, the United States, and Krajina in the Yugoslav War," 544.

[155] Bartlett, *Croatia : Between Europe and the Balkans*, 70.

[156] Caspersen, *Contested Nationalism : Serb Elite Rivalry in Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s*, 110.

[157] Ashbrook and Bakich, "Storming to Partition: Croatia, the United States, and Krajina in the Yugoslav War," 545.

[158] Clark, "Courting Controversy: The ICTY's Acquittal of Croatian Generals Gotovina and Markač," 3.

[159] Petersen, "Den Bedste Ambassadør: Civil-Militære Relationer Og Demokratisk Kontrol I Danmark 1991-2011," 210. At least one record from the battalion archive suggests that also Muslim units from Bosnia might have participated in these "cleansings" of civilians. Atrocities in DVOR, indications of WP. 8.8.1995. HOK 15

[160] DANBAT/UNCRO månedsrapport for AUG 95. BH. Also Croat units used Danish soldiers in their fight against RSK. Speciel incident report. 5.8.1995. HOK 15

[161] DANBAT/UNCRO månedsrapport for AUG 95. BH.

[162] Updated SITREP. 9.8.1995. HOK 22

[163] End of tour report for DANBAT, team 7. 14.8.1995. HOK 16

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The Need for a European "Poor Man´s Revolution in Military Affairs and the Fragile Geopolitical Fabric of Europe

*By Dr. Konstantinos Grivas**

Abstract

This article examines the possibility of a serious undermining of European security architecture in the near future, due to a synthesis of several factors. One is the deconstruction of European militaries, with a possible parallel drastic reinforcement of Russian armed forces. The reinforcement of Russian military capabilities could come about indirectly because of a sudden increase in China's land force capabilities, — in the event that the USA and its allies succeed in containing the rising Chinese air and naval capabilities within the China Sea. At the same time, the USA is shifting the centre of gravity of its geopolitical strategy, and therefore of its military power towards the Pacific and China, limiting an American presence in Europe and further denuding western military capabilities. This work proposes the establishment of a sort of *humble RMA* on the part of the EU, in order to reinforce European deterrent capabilities in fragile geo-systems like those of the Baltic Republics. This European RMA will be based on affordable, precise-strike weapon systems that will act within the framework of decentralized war fighting models based on a scientific paradigm that will take advantage of the principles of chaos and complexity (ChaoPlexity).

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Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War and to this day, Europe has been living in a 'post-historical moment', according to the distinctive words of Walter Russell Mead in an article he published in Foreign Affairs[1]. This 'moment' was made possible by US military power, combined with a reliable *modus vivendi* with Russia and the decomposition of Russian armed forces. It was within that security 'moment' that Europe could afford the luxury of dealing with issues such as European integration, the stability of the euro, climate change and other similar matters, while at the same time being utterly indifferent to questions of geostrategic equilibrium. Thus it was led to an unprecedented reduction in its military capabilities. At the same time, Russia was slowly yet steadily regenerating its war machine. And, at some point, history knocked on Europe's door again, the latter being very disappointed to discover that the secure post-Cold War environment could not last forever. The crisis in the Ukraine, the absorption of the Crimea into Russia, and the ongoing threat to the unity of the rest of the country has thrust the Russian threat back into the limelight. There are many who speak of the return of the Cold War; they are quite the optimists. The Cold War was a geo-strategically stabilised situation during which it was extremely difficult even for the most aggressive Russian leadership to take the risk of assuming a hostile posture against European countries. This is no longer the case today.

The most important thing to keep in mind is that instant nuclear reaction-based deterrence is no more. Once, when the two superpowers still had their fingers on the trigger, any war in Europe — however small, could have led to a thermonuclear holocaust and the obliteration of the planet. Such actions, therefore, were simply outside the realm of reality. Today, though, this does not apply. There is no possibility of a mass nuclear-war outbreak between the West and the East. That is, there are no structures and mechanisms anymore that could quickly lead to a similar escalation, if and when such challenge might arise. Even a major dispute between Russia and the USA, in the off-chance it would happen, would require some time to lead again to the creation of a rapid-reaction nuclear arsenal akin to those which held over people's heads their Armageddon destructive power in the Cold War[2].

As to conventional deterrence in Europe, it is safe to say that it has collapsed. European military power is virtually non-existent, while the American presence is all but extinct. So in the author's opinion, the vast difference between Western and Russian conventional military capabilities in the European theatre of operations, combined with the existence of a time lag between a Russian invasion of a NATO country and US deployment of a nuclear threat, provides Russia with a minute yet potentially sufficient window of opportunity for launching a military attack at such a time and place that would allow her to accomplish het strategic goals within a very short period of time, facing the US with a fait accompli. In a sense, a similar strategy might bear a striking resemblance to the limited purpose *blitzkrieg* strategy that India might attempt in case of war with Pakistan, so that the latter would not have an opportunity to use its nuclear arsenal[3]. Similar campaigns might occur in geosystems of small geographical dimensions, so as to rapidly achieve a fulminant result and fait accompli, before a reliable nuclear deterrence response is allowed to be triggered. Perhaps the quintessential geosystem for such an eventuality is that of the Baltic States.

This potential revival of competition between the West and Russia might possibly be dangerously focused on the Baltic region. There are a series of reasons for this possibility. From a geographical point of view, the Baltic Republics constitute perhaps the weakest link of the European and NATO security architecture. That is, they are small in size, consist of plains, and are hemmed in by the Baltic Sea. Moreover, the region lacks other bigger, more powerful countries that could provide reliable support. Additionally, Russian officials from time to time have expressed the view that, as long as they belong to the Euro-Atlantic security structures, the Baltic Republics represent potential offensive footholds of the West, threatening Russia. Irrespective of whether these claims express authentic concerns or constitute an effort to justify and rationalize, in advance, an unfriendly stance by Russia towards these countries, they confirm the fact that the specific region is a weak spot in the political geography of Europe. It is worth noting that the small geographical sizes of these countries and their flat areas make them the ideal field for lightning campaigns by mechanised forces.

Even the possible acquisition by Russia of similar capabilities can be effectively exploited for political coercion/suasion. In reality, even if Russia neither directly nor covertly threatens to use force, just the fact that it might have the possibility to do so is enough to create serious problems for the integrity of the EU and NATO. It also undermines the possibility of long-term, viable, constructive, and cooperative relations between the EU and Russia.

The deterioration towards mistrust between the USA and Russia, inter alia, in the future can also arise as a result of the American military interventions — even, the intention of interventions in various parts of the world, in particular the Middle East. There significant Russian interests are affected, without in the author's humble opinion, American interests being promoted. Another factor may be the competition between the USA and Russia that may be created in the region of the Arctic Ocean. Even the mutation process of the international system, per se, into a multipolar milieu can create frictions and tensions between the powerful countries of the planet, during the shaping of their balances and relations, since a multipolar system is by nature unstable and continuously changing. Finally, the resurgence of the competition between Western Europe and Russia can derive from the disharmony of the geopolitical size of Russia vis-à-vis the western European countries, in conjunction with the expansion of the political and geostrategic structures of the Euro-Atlantic West eastward after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This has currently resulted in an over-expansion of the political borders of "Western Europe".

If there is renewed geostrategic antagonism between the East and the West in Europe, therefore, some minor war incidents of small duration might be considered by the powers of the multipolar system of the future, including Russia, among the choices under-examination for promoting their interests.

Consequently, a key point of this paper is that one should study the development of a new model for the immediate and financial support of Europe's deterrence capabilities against a future Russian threat.

The Danger of a Disharmony of Military Power in Europe

In addition to the possible dysfunction of the political cohesion of the EU and NATO, plus the risk of a revival of the antagonism between the West and Russia, a disharmony of power in Eurasia is threatens to emerge, which may cause further deterioration of the situation. This development, inter alia, is a result of the fact that in recent years the armed forces of European countries seem to be under persecution. In addition, the small-sized armed forces still maintained in Europe are mainly meant for Operations other than War (OOTW), such as peace keeping, peace enforcement and nation building operations. Consequently, the military capabilities required in order to deal with conventional military opponents have been significantly downgraded. The same has happened to a certain degree in the USA, thus creating a gap with regard to the ability to deal with the renewed Chinese forces, and other threats[4]. At this point it should be noted that the gap of power in the United States, which has arisen as a result of both the decrease in the defence budget and the focus of US geostrategy on the development of counter insurgency (COIN) abilities, with the subsequent depreciation of the abilities required to deal with peer and near peer opponents, may deteriorate the gap of power in Europe. If the US should proceed with the radical shift of the centre of gravity of their geostrategy towards the Pacific and China; if, indeed, they intend to quickly develop adequate capability to deal with the new type of Chinese armed forces, this means that they will have even fewer available forces for Europe.

The tendency of US detachment from Europe may further deteriorate through a series of political, financial, energy and other factors. For example, neoliberal followers of the "Small Government" in the USA view public expenditure with distaste, even if they aim at strengthening the armed forces of the USA. In consequence, they are against any strategic commitment of the USA not coinciding with the vital interests of the United States in the most restricted meaning of this term[5]. Moreover, pertaining to the critical field of energy, the possible (but in no way certain) boom of shale oil and gas may considerably strengthen the feeling of self-sufficiency and strategic security of the United States as well as of the American isolationist tendencies, while at the same time

it will restrict the importance of the Middle East in the American geostrategy[6]. In this case, the presence of the USA in Europe may further decrease.

Indeed a part of the strategic importance of southern Europe for the USA lies in the fact that it borders on the energy centre of the world, the Middle East region. If the interest of the USA for the said region should decrease, then consequently the interest of the USA for Europe would also decrease[7]. The opposite also applies, of course. The more the geostrategic interest of the USA for Europe decreases, the more their interest for the Middle East region decreases, since the latter is not as important as the energy provider of the USA, but rather of Europe[8].

Of course with regard to the gap of power being created between Western Europe and Russia, one could argue that even if Europe and the USA have indeed significantly downgraded their military capabilities compared to peer opponents, the same, and even more, goes for Russia whose current army is a pale shadow of its Soviet predecessor. It is indeed so. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian Armed Forces faced a period of deep and prolonged decline. Even since the reins of the country were assumed by president Putin, the choice of the Russian governments to date has been a very moderate renewal of the materiel of the Russian Armed Forces, while the main effort has been made to upgrade strategic systems. In particular, development of the land systems of the Russian Army has been practically nil. This inertia, however, has provided Russia with the possibility to renew its military potential from almost nothing, particularly with regard to the land forces, without being limited by legacy choices that could function as dead weight. Furthermore, in the author's opinion it would be naïve to believe that the traditionally insecure Russia will not build a renewed army, at some point, so as to defend its crucial interests in the vague, unstable, multipolar world that is expected to emerge in the future[9].

A series of possible changes in the international geography of power may push Russia to again acquire significant land military capabilities. One of the said changes is the reaction to a possible move by China to acquire a new type of powerful Land Army. This move might be made if the

United States and their allies in the Far East manage to neutralize China's efforts to acquire strategic naval capabilities. More specifically, today's China, dependent on foreign countries, shall be logically much more extroverted compared to the past. A component of its extroversion, whether we like it or not, is its ability to exercise power projection at large distances from its borders. If the United States, therefore, indeed manages to neutralize the increased efforts of China to develop into a naval power with overseas power projection capabilities, and continues to keep it trapped within the narrow borders of the China Sea using the *AirSea Battle* doctrine or some other methodology, then *it is possible that China shall be pushed to expand through its land borders.*

In other words, the success of a process to trap the naval power of China inside the China Sea might push China to develop capabilities of land power projection in order to break this entrapment. For example, a basic structural point of the geostrategic barrier the USA is trying to build around China is Vietnam which has traditionally had hostile relations with China. Vietnam's submarine fleet is a significant part of the grid aiming to contain the renewed Chinese navy inside the China Sea. Vietnam, however, also borders with China. Perhaps China has not yet forgotten the 1979 Sino-Vietnamese war, and is trying to find an opportunity for a new round so as to confirm its growth into a world-class power. This means that a renewed Chinese Army can be used to break down the barrier built by the West. Furthermore, it is a given that this barrier is based on the Philippines and Indonesia-Malaysia archipelagos, namely a mixed sea-land region. In any event any armed forces that try to break down this barrier and provide China with the ability to turn undisturbed towards the oceans of the world would need land forces.

This is demonstrated by the huge effort being made by the Chinese to create battle-worthy amphibious forces. For this purpose, China has developed in recent years a series of high-capability systems of amphibious operations. The spearhead is the ZBD2000 amphibious assault vehicle, which after the cancellation of the American EFV, is the only modern corresponding vehicle in the world, as well as the PLZ – 07B amphibious self propelled howitzer [10]. This "overdevelopment" of

the said amphibious capabilities may possibly cause a "balancing" movement by the Chinese Land Army, so as not to decrease its specific gravity within the Chinese Armed Forces. In addition, technologies and subsystems that may be developed to strengthen the capabilities of these amphibious forces can be also disseminated to other PLA forces. For example, these extensive amphibious forces need to be as independent as possible of the "petroleum tail," given that their energy support is much more problematic than a clear land force. It is possible, therefore, that we will see, in the coming years, concepts and views that originated in the West related to drive technologies using alternative energy systems, aimed at offering a higher degree of autonomy to military vehicles, being adopted by the Chinese armed forces and developed at great speed by the Chinese war industry. These technologies would also be disseminated to the conventional Chinese Land Army, strengthening its capabilities for large-scale "deep" campaigns in the vast expanses of Russia.

Furthermore, China's drastic strengthening of its military capabilities is basic part to its industrial modernization process, related to the development of its technological base and the enhancement of the competitiveness of its economy. The research and development in military sectors provides geo-economic advantages to the wider economic base for a technologically advanced country. Finally, given the special position that the Chinese Army has in the political structure of China it will be rather difficult for it to remain for long the only sector of the country's armed forces that will not have initiated a substantial modernization program. In any case, the effort of China to strengthen its military capabilities will be difficult to restrict just to the Navy and the Air Forces.

This renewed Chinese Army may quite possibly drive Russian concerns to try to create an equivalent force, in numbers and quality, to compensate for this potential threat[11]. Russia, however, borders not only with China, but also with European countries**.** This means that a reformed Russian army will also constitute a geopolitical challenge for Europe: A Europe that will practically have its land forces being threatened, whereas the United States shall have drastically decreased

their presence in order to aim their power in dealing with the emerging China.

In other words, some developments in the balance of power in the Far East may likewise result, with a series of "pushes," in changes to the security architecture of Europe.

The mechanics of this development would, in general terms, possibly be the following:

1.   China strengthens its military capabilities and aims at developing mechanisms of projection of power at large distances from its borders. In the beginning, it invests in a deep blue water Navy, and in anti-access / area denial (A2 / AD) systems around its coasts.

2.   The US will try to trap the emerging Deep Blue Chinese Navy within the China Sea and neutralize the Chinese A2/ AD capabilities using new war methodologies, such as the *AirSea Battle* doctrine.

3.   China, realizing that it can by trapped by the superior American power and the grid of Washington alliances with the countries of Southeast Asia, will then turn to the land, developing big, modernized land military forces. These also provide China with the opportunity to utilize its big advantages: its vast human resources and its mass production capabilities.

4.   The Chinese "steam roller" results in the panic of Moscow, which rushes to cover the gap by also developing huge numbers of land mechanized forces.

5.   The development of a new, powerful Russian Army creates an imbalance of power in Europe, where the European Countries have been completely disarmed and from which the United States has withdrawn to face China.

Indeed, the Chinese land war machine may become a serious factor of concern for Russia, a fact that inevitably shall cause some compensating

moves to be made by Moscow. Russia, therefore, even if it does not have the slightest wish to cause problems in Western Europe, may find itself with a powerful army, while in Europe there will be a dangerously inviting power gap. This disharmony can, on its own, lead to a regeneration of tension between Russia and the West, especially in "fragile" regions such as the Baltic region. A disproportionately large difference in power status in this specific region would combine unfavorably with the geographical dimensions of these very small countries, with their open terrain allowing for the fast movement of mechanized forces. This would tempt Russia to make a geostrategic move, conducting rapid campaigns that would give the other European countries and the US a faits accomplis and neutralize the Euro-Atlantic mechanisms of strategic deterrence.

A whole category of arms systems, cluster munitions, which were developed to a degree exactly in order to stop the advance of the Soviet "steam roller," has been outlawed in Europe. The lack of similar weapons in the European arsenal significantly facilitates the charge of powerful mechanized forces, while similar weapons are not banned in Russia. This might cause the situation to further deteriorate, since it would enable the Russian army to support its forces with long range artillery systems that would operate in the framework of the network-centric philosophy. Russia would be able to attack, on demand, both fixed and mobile land targets with cluster munitions, causing crushing blows similar even to the ones caused by the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

Furthermore, the development of green energy technologies, for example, the adoption of fuel cell-powered vehicles may significantly increase the tactical and strategic mobility of mechanized units. This would drastically restrict the size of logistic 'tails' and, consequently, reduce the cost of creating and operationally exploiting mass "traditional" armies, based on large mechanized formations, while at the same time it would strengthen their rapid movement capabilities. The additional adoption of robotic vehicles, land and aerial, might allow for the creation of hybrid forces consisting of a mixture of manned and unmanned systems, terrestrial and flying, reducing the required number

of people participating in this force. Further, they could facilitate logistics, reduce operational costs, reduce human losses during operations, and facilitate the manning of such forces. The result would be to further strengthen the mobility of mechanized units, and enhance their subsequent capability to wage fast campaigns.

In very general terms, there is the possibility to see in the future the recreation of a mass-centric and legacy-based Russian army, but with improved information-centric and network-centric capabilities. This army could be equipped with long-range, high-precision artillery systems able both to attack area targets and to achieve hits with pinpoint accuracy. The artillery systems, in particular multiple rocket launchers (MRLs), will likely have the capability for receiving targeting data in flight, and strike moving targets, similar to the Israeli TCS[12]. Furthermore, the old systems may be supported by robotic platforms of various configurations, while they will have reinforced their abilities to operate within the framework of a single network-centric system-of-systems, the sum of which will be greater than the whole. This army shall emphasize rapid, paralytic strikes. It will be "morphic", adjusting its objectives and moulding its structure depending on the changing situation on the battlefield. It can be   expected to also have the traditionally big Russian tolerances for human losses, and much more, for material losses. The "outdated" but absolutely successful merging of the digitized, bearded commandos on mules and horses in the Afghani mountains, which we first saw in 2001, integrated with an omnipresent mechanism of continuous aerial attacks, can also find its Russian equivalent.

How will the small European forces be able to respond to an imaginary future war scenario, even in regions without the geographical special characteristics of the Baltic, where they can be overwhelmed by high precision *Iskander* tactical ballistic missiles, or *Smerch* rocket launchers, able to strike from a distance of 100 km or more? Through the gaps created, the torrent of Russian armoured vehicles shall rush to penetrate, protected by high-capability mobile short range air defence systems (SHORAD), such as the *Pantsir S1*.[13]

Perhaps in the future we will again see, in Eurasia, the creation of big armoured and mechanized formations. Although basically similar to the ones of the '70s or the '80s, these will use extended network-centric technologies and combat methodologies. They will have an increased number of robotic systems and perhaps, they will use high-autonomy automobile technologies based on green energy forms. In a way, these forces could be an intermediate stage between the old armoured and mechanized forces of the Warsaw Pact and the Objective Force of the US Army, which would comprise the network-centric FCS (Future Combat Systems) multi-systems. This innovative form of military structure prevailed over the study of developments with regard to military issues in the 2000 decade, but finally had a bitter end, falling prey to the demands of the insatiable war against terrorism and "monoculture" in the development of capabilities of dealing with insurgents, and any type of low-technology asymmetric threats.

Utilizing modernized forms of war methodologies, such as the old Soviet concept of Deep *Battle[14]*, the future Russian, highly autonomous and manoeuvrable mechanized forces, with a fluid operational philosophy, will be able to move at tremendous speed across the small geographical areas of the Baltic Republics. Such forces could crush any resistance conventional-type military forces managed to offer, or even bypass them, bringing the West a fait accompli before Western security mechanisms even realized what was going on. In other words*, a similar methodology can neutralize, through speed, part of the traditional deterrence mechanism in the said region, especially the one based on the threat of strategic response by the United States.* Even if small US forces of symbolic character are stationed in these countries they can be neutralized simply by being bypassed by the invasion forces and placed in security enclaves. Moreover, if the Russian attack develops at great speed, then by the time the US forces in these countries receive the required instructions about how to react, the operation may be over.

Might the Chinese Revolution in Military Affairs Trigger a European RMA?

In the meantime at the other end of the world, in China a radical mutation of the art, science and technology of war is in progress, and its dissemination in the rest of the world will complicate things even more[15]. The new warfare methodologies developed in the framework of what could be called Chinese RMA[16] place greater emphasis on decentralized combat models and network-centric systems-of-systems, wherein the key role is played by missiles of various configurations. A characteristic example of this trend is of course the development of anti-ship ballistic missiles (ASBMs) with the notorious DF-21D as the leader[17]. Observing the development of these systems, we see a global trend for shifting the centre of gravity in the network-centric/ information-centric combat models from sensors and communication systems to network "executors", namely precision strike projectiles of any type, which utilize the information and attack the targets. In a way we are moving towards the development of "projectile-centric" warfare models, which constitute an evolution of the early network-centric models. In this author's opinion, Europe should closely observe these developments if it wishes to develop reliable and utilizable warfare capabilities for dealing with a wide range of threats, from big mechanized formations to small groups of insurgents.

Accordingly, Europe should examine the usefulness of a realistic, reliable military deterrent mechanism for the Baltic countries (and not only), which will aim at rendering the exercise of military violence by Russia, or even the threat of exercising military violence on which coercive policies could be built, unattractive.

In other words, the establishment of a non-conventional local military force should be considered. This force could serve as a retardation factor against the Russian "steam roller." That is, it might restrict the ability of the future Russian forces to move rapidly into the territories of the Baltic Republics. It will, thus, ensure the time depth of the engagement and deny Russian strategy the ability to achieve a clean result within the

period it will have at its disposal before western collective security mechanisms react. These forces should aim at abolishing any window of opportunity that could tempt Russia to launch a hostile action against the Baltic countries, in the case of a serious breach in the relations between Russia and the West. The objective is to deny the possibility of a dangerous gap appearing in the deterrent strategy of the West in sensitive geosystems such as the Baltic States.

The author's proposal is, in very general terms, that the structure and philosophy of action of these forces should be based on a decentralized philosophy, always supported by scientific paradigms based on the principles of Chaos and Complexity (ChaoPlexity)[18]. These forces, inter alia, could utilize the structures and teachings of the new Chinese ideas on war, such as the theory of *1000 sand grains*[19], of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards' (IRGC) *Mosaic Warfare* concept as well as the German tradition of *Auftragstaktik[20]*.

These local deterrent forces would mainly comprise small combat teams, with highly autonomous capabilities, which for the most part could be achieved thanks to the wide use of "green" energy technologies. These teams would operate in a network-centric fashion, with a decentralized structure so that each one would be able to wage 'its own war'. The enemy would have to destroy all of them, and not just attack their central structure and demolish their cohesion. These teams should have spherical defence capabilities and be able to engage targets using precision strike systems towards all directions and at long distances, utilizing information received either by their own sensors or the sensors of other teams, which could be network transmitted.

Candidate Systems for an Affordable European Force

A category of weapon systems that can play an important role in boosting the dynamic for developing high-capability small and 'fluid' units, stationary and mobile alike, are small-sized missiles with enhanced capabilities in terms of range and hitting targets non- and beyond-the-line-of-sight (NLOS and BLOS respectively). It comprises such missiles

as the Israeli LAHAT[21], the *Spike* NLOS and the *Nimrod*[22] as well as the Russian *Hermes* (Гермес)[23]. Some of these use semi-active laser (SAL) homing systems, requiring laser designation of the target. Some other systems communicate with the launcher's operator, allowing adjustments and guidance to the target long after the projectile has left the launcher (man-in-the-loop). Such a radio-command guidance system is the Israeli *Spike* NLOS missile with a range of 26km. The range of the laser guided Israeli *Nimrod 3* is almost 50 km. In the future, systems with BLOS capabilities using fibre optics may also appear. In the past there were similar programs, like the European EADS *Polyphem* missile, which did not proceed any further for several reasons related to technological maturity, financial problems and geopolitical depreciation. This, however, does not mean that they may not re-emerge in the future. A third category includes self-guided projectiles such as a version of the Russian *Hermes* (Гермес) system. A fourth category includes missiles operating within the line-of-sight (LOS), mainly using laser beam rider methodology, like the Russian *Kornet* (Корнет) missile and the Thales *Lightweight Multirole Missile* (LMM). Especially when combined with automated tracking and guidance systems, as appears to be the case with the *Kornet 2* (Корнет 2) missile (the range of which is estimated to be well over 8 and up to 10km), such systems may prove exceptionally effective killers against large concentrations of MBTs and armoured vehicles. Their assignments may include hitting helicopters and unmanned aerial vehicles with precision.

An interesting European system first presented by MBDA on 17 June 2013 at the Le Bourget air show in Paris, is the CVS203 *Hoplite* missile system. It features vertical launch and has been designed to provide rapid, long-range, precision-indirect fire for land and naval forces as of 2035. It is available in two versions: *Hoplite – S* and *Hoplite – L* and can be launched from three different categories of platforms.

MBDA describes the *Hoplite-S* as "a utility missile for simple supported engagement", and the *Hoplite-L* as a "high-capability missile for complex isolated engagements". Mark Slater, future systems director at MBDA, stated that the *Hoplite* was designed for future battlefields more cluttered

by civilian and friendly forces, meaning quicker reaction times are needed.

Both systems feature a broadly common architecture, while both rockets use a novel air turbo rocket motor utilizing a solid propellant. The motor is designed to provide speeds greater than Mach 3, but it will also allow the rocket to significantly reduce its speed as required. The *Hoplite-S* speed will range from Mach 1.5 to 3.5 and the *Hoplite-L* will have both a maximum speed of more than Mach 3, and a subsonic dwell capability of Mach 0.6.Both systems have been designed to cover distances of 70 km in two minutes at low altitudes, and distances of 160 km in four minutes at high altitudes. MBDA cites a maximum range of 170 km for the *Hoplite-S*, and 140 km for the *Hoplite-L*[24].

The combat teams for the decentralized operational philosophy this study proposes, which would undertake to absorb, like a sponge, the attack of a mechanized force, could be stationary or mobile. In the first case, they should make extensive use of techniques and tactics of concealment, camouflage, deception and passive protection. They could also include "disguise" methodologies of their weapon means in the civilian systems, in the context of logic incorporated into the philosophy of military operations called *Hybrid Warfare*[25]. Furthermore, the possibility of using underground facilities, as is the practice of Hezbollah, should be examined[26]. The West, in general, has not emphasized the applications of these "primitive infrastructures", believing that it will always have the command of the Air and, therefore, only the opponent needs such capabilities. However, this luxury may not exist in the specific case.

An economical system of facing armoured formations for small infantry units, such as the ones examined by this study, could be something like the Ukrainian portable anti-tank missile, the *Korsar*, which is being developed. This new multi-purpose missile is shoulder-fired, guided by a semi-active laser seeker (SAL) and can be used against both stationary and moving targets such as main battle tanks and armoured vehicles, or even high-speed craft and entrenchments. Its maximum range is approximately 2500 m, and it has chemical energy tandem warhead able,

as claimed by the manufacturer, to penetrate 550mm of homogeneous steel behind explosive reactive armour (ERA).   According to the manufacturers of the *Korsar,* it weighs about 2.5 kilos less than corresponding western systems. The weight of the full system is about 18 kilos, while the corresponding weight of the *Javelin* is 21.06 kilos[27].

If the units are mobile, they can comprise teams of high-speed vehicles operating with a *swarming* philosophy[28], moving "inside the cracks" of the enemy army, making wide use of techniques and tactics of fast and unexpected manoeuvres, able to quickly break down in smaller groups and again set up bigger ones. They will also be able to make wide use of techniques and tactics of concealment, camouflage and deception.[29] These teams can be accompanied by small, low-cost UAVs, so as to be able to be available in large numbers, equipped with low-cost miniature precision guided munitions (PGMs). Similar weapons are already being developed for counterinsurgency missions. Most probably, their conversion to deal with armoured vehicles, tanks and other military targets by placing specialized warheads will not be especially difficult. Certain of these systems are: Lockheed Martin's *Scorpion* rocket; Raytheon's *Griffin*; and *Spike*, which has been developed by the Marine Corps and the Office of Naval Research (ONR) of the US Navy. These weapons are sub-products of the unorthodox war waged in Afghanistan and are ideal for linking with unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), possibly also with unmanned ground vehicles (UGVs).

It seems that the United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) has already commissioned the *Griffin,* which is intended to support the action of special operation teams. The rocket's length is 43 inches (1.09 m); the diameter 5.5 inches; the weight 33 lb (15 kilos); and the weight of its warhead is 13 lb (about 5.5 kilos). It is guided to its target via an inertial navigation system, assisted by a global positioning system (GPS/INS), and uses terminal semi-active laser guidance for the final phase of approaching the target. The small size of the weapon allows its use by a wide range of platforms, while minimizing the possibility of collateral damage. It is available in two versions. The *Griffin A* has been designed to be launched from the special operations aircraft ramp (aft-eject) MC – 130W *Combat Spear.* The *Griffin B* is a tube-

launched rocket able to be carried by small helicopters, Group 3-5 unmanned aerial vehicles (according to the US codification), as well as small vehicles of the *Hummer* category. The latter can be equipped with a four- or five-pack launcher on its chassis. A *Predator* UAV can carry three *Griffins* in place of one *Hellfire*, tripling the number of targets that can be hit in one launch, at the same time significantly reducing the cost required for the extermination of a target. The attack profiles of the *Griffin* include a direct target designation with a laser pointer or scheduled course to certain coordinates using GPS/INS. The missile has a multiple configuration fuse allowing the selective firing of the explosive load either on impact, or at a determined height over the target or with time delay. Furthermore, the course of a group of rockets can be programmed to reach and strike a target at the same time[30].

The *Griffin* is one from a series of weapons developed according to the specifications and demands of the Special Operations Command (SOCOM) for small, precision, low-collateral damage weapons. The development of these weapons is carried out in the framework of the "*Stand-off Precision Guided Munition Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration*" (SOPGM ACTD), which started in 2006. This family of missiles includes, inter alia, the GBU – 44 *Viper Strike*. The *Viper Strik*e is a gliding munition, GPS-aided, guided with a semi-active laser seeker for its final guidance to the target. Its weight is 19 kilos with a 6-pound (2.72 kilos) warhead and achieves a 3-meter lethal radius from the centre of the explosion. According to the manufacturer, Northrop Grumman, its precision and small size provide for point precision strikes with minimized collateral damage. The development of weapons of this category is part of the *Dragon Spear* program of the US Air force to reinforce the arsenal of the MC – 130W *Combat Spear* special operations aircraft. Similar weapons have also been tested with the AC – 130U attack aircraft[31].

Another small, cheap precision strike weapon under development for the US arsenal is the *Scorpion* missile, which can be an economical substitute of the antitank *Hellfire* missile. Its weight is 35 lb (16 kg), its length 21.5 inches, its diameter 4.25 inches and was designed to be used with the M-299 and M-310 launchers, the ones used to launch *Hellfires* from

helicopters and *Predator* aerial vehicles. The *Scorpion* is a gliding missile, as it does not have its own motor. Depending on the drop height, it can cover a distance of up to ten nautical miles. It has three alternative seekers: a semi-active laser seeker (SAL); a millimetre wave seeker, to attack targets in rain or fog that do not allow target designation using laser bundle; and infrared sensors to detect heat sources such as vehicle engines.

The *Spike* missile is even smaller. It is characteristically mentioned that if the *Scorpion* is three times smaller than the *Hellfire*, the *Spike* is three times smaller than the *Scorpion*. As stated by Steve Felix, officer of the Naval Air Warfare Center based at China Lake, California, the aim was to develop a very small missile with emphasis on the very low cost and the possibility to be carried and used by Marine troops on foot. It is an easy-to-use, light and absolutely consumable weapon. Felix realized that not only was there no similar missile in the US arsenal and the country's industry, but not even the components that would allow its manufacture. The Navy thus started manufacturing from scratch, from the development of the solid fuel for the rocket engine up to the explosive warhead. The *Spike's* length is 25 inches, with a diameter of 2.25 inches and a weight of 5.4 lb. It has a small solid-fuel rocket engine and is guided by a small one-megapixel camera. Its range is approximately 2 miles. It is fire-and-forget; that is, it does not require further guidance to the target after launch, or help by the launcher, giving him the opportunity to seek cover and not be exposed to enemy fire when guiding the missile to the target.

According to the Naval Air Warfare Center, the *Spike* is the smallest guided missile in the world. If the target of 5000 dollars per unit is achieved, it will also be the cheapest (significantly cheaper than the others). Among all the other tests, it was successfully launched from a small robotic helicopter of the US Army, the *Vigilante*, whose weight is 625 lbs. The *Spike* can lead to a revolution in the use of weapons from robotic systems. It is very small, light, and does not need complex fire control and craft-link systems. Moreover, the gasses of its small engine rocket cannot damage the fragile and light structures of small unmanned aerial vehicles, which cannot tolerate "conventional" missiles weighing

100 lb or more, or the 1000 pounds of impulse produced by the engine rocket at the moment of launch[32]. Even if said systems are not developed, they are still characteristic examples of weapons systems that can have significant applications within the framework of an economical and flexible deterrent force aiming at dealing with big mechanized formations.

The smallest US air-launched precision strike weapon that the author is aware of is the *Shadow Hawk* by Lockheed Martin, which is a small glide missile guided by a semi-active laser seeker (SAL). The manufacturer announced on May 1, 2012, that it carried out a launch test of a *Shadow Hawk* from an RQ-7B *Shadow* aerial vehicle. Said weapon weighs only 11 lb (about five kilos); its length is 69 centimetres and its diameter 70 mm. It is intended for exceptionally high surgical precision missions to attack people with a minimized possibility of collateral damage, even perhaps for the attack of individual people within a group[33]. Finally, Raytheon announced at the AUVSI 2012 (Association for Unmanned Vehicle Systems International) annual conference, that on 18 July 2012, the first end-to-end test drop of a live Small Tactical Munition (STM) named *Pyros* was carried out. The *Pyros* is a small air glide bomb weighing only 6.12 kg, guided to the target by a combination of GPS and semi-active laser seeker (SAL). It was launched in the test from a *Cobra* unmanned aerial vehicle, also manufactured by Raytheon. According to J. R. Smith, the company's representative, the test was carried out in the Yuma Proving Ground, Arizona. The munition is intended to equip small aerial vehicles of the AAI *RQ-7B Shadow* category and can be programmed to explode either in the air, or on impact with the target.[34]

Especially promising for aerial vehicle links, but also links with terrestrial systems, are modified old legacy rockets such as the *Hydra 70* of 2.75 inches that can be converted into "smart" weapons in the framework of various programmes. Some of the relevant upgraded rockets are: APKWS by BAE Systems, LOGIR by Raytheon and the Korean Hanwha, DAGR by Lockheed Martin, GATR developed by the US ATK and Israeli Elbit Systems, TALON by Raytheon and EAI of the United Arab Emirates, and Turkish CIRIT.[35] Small MRLs with small-calibre rockets can be especially interesting for similar small fast-moving

teams of small vehicles, based on their fighting capability at fast movement and fluidity. Jordan is developing a system of this category.

More specifically, at SOFEX 2010, the defence exhibition held in Amman, Jordan, the Jordanian KADDB (King Abdallah Design and Defence Bureau) and the South-Korean Hanwha Corporation presented a small, cheap and flexible fast attack rocket launcher with 70mm (2.75 inch) rockets, initially developed to be used from helicopters. The launcher is placed on a Dodge Ram 2500 pick-up truck with a two-member crew and can launch a 50-rocket barrage in 13 seconds, covering an area of 250x250 meters. It can also launch the rockets in smaller batches or even singly. The missiles are manufactured by Hanwha and are available in various versions, including cluster rockets with high explosive multipurpose submunitions (HE MPSM) and 8mm flechette round cluster rockets. The system can fire in a 360 degree arc around the vehicle. Hanwha provides the rockets, the fire control system and the launcher, and KADDB is responsible for the vehicle modification and the full system integration. Hanwha also develops other rocket systems, among them a multipurpose, next-generation guided MLR with a calibre of 230mm, which is expected to be ready in 2014. It is also cooperating with the US Navy to develop fire-and-forget LOGIR rockets. LOGIR rockets could be launched from a similar platform attacking large groups of vehicles, armoured or not[36].

The author's opinion is that the possibility of autonomous operational action capabilities for robotic attack aerial vehicles and their naval and terrestrial counterparts, should be examined, meaning their ability to make decisions on their own, even for direct encounters with the enemy, without being controlled by a person-operator. At some point we should conquer the irrational Frankenstein or Exterminator syndrome and promote the development of autonomous fighter robots, even for a limited range of applications. In such a case, we would acquire a potentially significant weapon against traditional mass-centric forces.[37] This grid of land combat teams could be supplemented by a second layer at the surface of the Baltic sea consisting of a fleet of small high-speed craft also operating with the swarming philosophy, fitted with BLOS and NLOS rockets, which they will launch against targets in their line of

sight, utilizing information provided by the network. Such craft can be manned or robotic or a mixture and can also be combined with mini and micro UAVs for ISR missions but even for strike missions with miniaturized PGMs[38].

With regard to the sea control of the Baltic, the extended use of torpedoes of ultra-high autonomy, deployed from mini-submarines or directly launched from land should be examined,[39] as well as the creation of hybrid UUV/ torpedo systems and low-cost dwarf-submarines.[40] Furthermore, the link of low cost rocket systems with various surface platforms should be examined. In a way, we could examine the possibility of reviving some "humble" version of the *Arsenal Ships* concept, which appeared at the end of the '90s. Similar vessels should be of low cost, have a small crew, and be fitted with various systems for striking land targets, mainly with a mixture of low cost rocket systems. To ensure their survival, these vessels could be submersible or semi-submersible. The wide application of deception tactics and techniques could be also examined, such as the disguise of the ships in various types of civilian ships, in the framework of hybrid warfare rationales.[41]

Similar defence approaches against much stronger opponents, based on decentralized combat models, could also be applied in other countries as well, one of them being Iran. The IRGC is already implementing a similar decentralized action dogma, called Mosaic Warfare. However, it is the author's opinion that such solutions could be used equally well in European Union states, thereby creating desirable synergies with the Baltics, aiming at dealing with threats other than Russia. Such a country is, *par excellence*, Greece.

The Role of Greece in the Creation of a Humble European RMA

Within the framework of a pan-European endeavour, the Greek Armed Forces could become a substantial factor in moulding such military capabilities, aiming at countering a much stronger opponent in a geographically adverse environment that combines both land and sea. As a matter of fact, Greece could serve as a "battle lab" for the development of innovative, low-cost defence solutions to be used against

a significantly more powerful army. In addition, Greece could contribute to the development of a strategic field of application for these solutions, within a threat environment that would be similar to the one that might exist in the Baltic at some point in the future.

Specifically, Greece faces a series of challenges analogous to the ones faced by the Baltic States, as described above. Some of Greece's defence and geostrategic problems that bear resemblance to those of the Baltic States are the following:

-   Greece has to deal with superior Turkish forces within a geographically confined space that favours quick and decisive campaigns for the creation of faits accomplis.

-   In case of a Greco-Turkish confrontation, it is highly likely that a temporary paralysis of Euro-Atlantic security mechanisms will occur, since both Greece and Turkey are NATO members. This fact offers Turkey a minute, yet possibly sufficient window of opportunity in order to carry out a lightning-fast offensive, such as the occupation of one or more Greek islands in the Aegean before any decisive pressure may be exerted by the USA and other powerful actors in an attempt to stop military operations. So, after the hostilities have ceased, Turkey might find itself in a position of holding strong negotiating cards to be used in talks on defining areas of sovereignty in the Aegean, the EEZ and the continental shelf, the exploitation of energy deposits, etc. Moreover, the Greek Armed Forces have to confront, within a particularly limited space, a much stronger enemy in terms of quantity and now quality, who - in the near future - is expected to have at their disposal systems of much more advanced technology than the respective Greek ones.

Denial of Outcome in the Greek Islands

As aforementioned, a military confrontation that might arise with Turkey (given that it will be an intra-NATO one) is expected to be of an exceptionally short duration. So Greek defence strategy pertaining to the

islands located in close proximity to the Turkish that are thus very difficult to effectively defend could be based on a decentralized defence so as to achieve denial of outcome for Turkey in case of war. Very broadly speaking, the objective is that, upon the end of operations — expected to be achieved relatively quickly as a result of external forces — there must be Greek forces still fighting on the island which therefore produces a "stalemate" in terms of political outcome. That way, negotiations in the aftermath of the ceasefire will have to proceed from a different basis than if the islands had fallen into the hands of the Turks after the end of all Greek resistance. In other words, the extremely short war that is threatening the Greco-Turkish system of balance, as a result of both countries being NATO members, requires a specific result to be achieved on behalf of Turkey within a very limited period of time, which would entail a lightning-fast offensive.

Island Defence Built on Decentralized Small Unit Forces

The incipient enhancement of the Turkish forces' capability to attack with precision a high number of targets on Greek islands in a very short time after having locked on them, as well as the improvement of their capabilities to create scattered and seemingly unconnected airheads, which shall be "unified" through a powerful network of constant suppression fire systems, render the hitherto used Greek island methods of defence rather problematic. Particularly, static defence on shores, in which the defenders passively await the Turkish landing craft, is rendered both anachronistic and dangerous. Static defence positions must be considered as almost certain to be attacked by a plethora of weapons systems. On the other hand, it will be very difficult even for Greek main battle tanks (MBTs) to remain concealed. They will therefore be easy targets if a Turkish network of special ops teams, bombers and long-range, high-accuracy artillery systems is created, equipped with "smart" anti-tank projectiles or with network-centric artillery systems, capable of attacking mechanised and armoured forces in motion.

Based on all of the above, the Greek island defence philosophy should shift from being based on static defence positions or on the action of large formations, which may easily be targeted and successfully attacked

by Turkish weapons of long-distance power projection. Greece should transition to a more fluid defence based on small combat units, with fast movement and concealment capabilities that would make them hard to spot and target by Turkish forces, well as with land, air and sea target acquisition and designation capabilities, to be used by other platforms and also to be directly attacked by them.

In case an island is occupied, these teams must be in a position to maintain their combat capabilities, even if they have suffered debilitating casualties and become isolated in terms of communication. If necessary, they must be capable of dividing into even smaller teams — or even individual soldiers — and carry on fighting. These teams will be conducting constant military operations against the Turkish forces, preparing recapture operations or simply remaining "live" — in military terms. At the political level, any military activity may meet the island's defence requirements, within the framework of a time-limited war, in which one is expected to have an immediate "fire fighting" intervention on behalf of powerful international forces, so that the land will not be considered occupied.

Proposals

Based on the above, an approach is proposed about the strengthening of the European defence capabilities along the following axes:

- - "Green" energy systems that will strengthen the autonomy of action of small forces, who will need to be deployed in the enemy lines with little or no replenishment capability;

- - Small-sized, low-cost precision strike rocket systems with NLOS and BLOS capabilities that could operate in a network-centric environment;

- - Small-sized, low-cost UAVs (especially VTOL UAVs), which could be available in large numbers, combined with small size and weight precision strike munitions able to hit a large range of targets, from uncovered infantry to tanks;

- Artillery systems, mainly MRLs, of very long range, able to produce various results, which could operate in a network-centric environment and could hit even fast moving tank and armoured vehicle formations at long distances. These systems could be combined with naval platforms.[42]

- Technologies and methodologies of concealment, deception and camouflage; the establishment of 'primitive infrastructures' such as underground facilities and tunnels. In these methodologies, solutions should be also examined based on the *Hybrid Warfare* philosophy, even if they are not completely compatible with the current combat ethos in the West, such as the camouflage of the war systems as civilian ones. The relevant methodology has been adopted by the Russians for the missile system CLUB-K. The characteristic of the said system is the carriage and launching system, which is the same with the common 40ft standard containers carried by ships, trains and trucks so that the rockets can be carried hidden and launched.[43]

- In these methodologies, if the creation of a pillar of naval systems that will undertake the support of land systems in areas with small land depth, such as the case of the Baltic, is adopted, then submersible or semi-submersible vessels, fitted with land attack rocket systems can also be included.[44]

[1] "*Although the EU remains in a post – historical moment, the non – EU republics of the former Soviet "Union are living in a very different age. In the last years, hopes of transforming the former Soviet Union into a post – historical region have faded. The Russian occupation of Ukraine is only the latest in a series of steps that have turned eastern Europe into a zone of sharp geopolitical conflict and made stable and effective democratic governance impossible outside the Baltic states and Poland*"
Source: Mead Walter Russel, "The Return of Geopolitics. The Revenge of the Revisionist Powers*", Foreign Affairs,* Vol. 93, Number 3, May / June 2014, p. 76.

[2] "Forget about the hair trigger. I would describe the current U.S. command – and – control system for nuclear weapons in the following way. The wires connecting the 'buttons' to the forces were cut after the end of the cold war. I'm speaking figuratively, obviously. The military completely accepts this. This connections would have to be restored, and practiced, to get a force that could fire".
Bracken, Paul, *THE SECOND NUCLEAR AGE. Strategy, Danger, and the New Power Politics,* Times Books, New York 2012, p. 236.

[3] "India's so called proactive strategy envisions rapid strikes into Pakistan to achieve quick battlefield victories and seize Pakistani territory without generating a nuclear response",
Source: Bernstein, Paul, I., The Emerging Nuclear Landscape, p. 107. in *ON LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR IN THE 21ST CENTURY. (ed). Larsen, Jeffrey, A., Kartchener, Kerry, M.,* Stanford University Press, Stanford California, 2014.

"An important example of India's strategy innovation involves new ways of using conventional forces in a nuclear environment. Called "Cold Start", it calls for the prompt mobilization of fast – moving battle groups made up of armor, helicopters, and mechanized forces to thrust deep into Pakistan as punishment for a Pakistani attack or a terrorist outrage.
Cold Start's subnuclear option recognizes the nuclear threshold as central to which way any conflict will go. The concept is to fight below the nuclear threshold".
Source: Bracken, Paul, *THE SECOND NUCLEAR AGE. Strategy, Danger, and the New Power Politics,* Times Books, New York 2012, p. 164.

[4]A US President's Intelligence Advisory Board (PIAB) report made public on 21 March 2013 claims that the US Intelligence apparatus has paid '*inadequate attention to China, the Middle East and other national security flashpoints because they had become too focused on military operations and drone strikes*'.
Higher officials of the Pentagon described the deception of the American strategy and its obsession with Afghanistan and the war against Al Qaeda as "tunnel vision" effect that has decreased the USA capabilities to understand the China of the future and be prepared for it. As a former American senator and former chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee and currently member of the PIAB asked: which is more important for the USA overtime, China or Afghanistan? As stated by a European official of security agencies: '*The Chinese are throwing immense resources at their defense – industrial complex and the espionage services that support them. This is where the centre of gravity is in the geopolitical struggle for the military dominance – not in the poppy fields of Afghanistan*".
Source: Johnson, F., Reuben, "Al – Qaeda focus made US lose sight of China", Jane's Defence Weekly, Volume 50, Issue 14, 3 April 2013, p. 4.

[5] See Mead, Walter Russell, "The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy. What Populism Means for Globalism", *Foreign Affairs,* Volume 90, Number 2, March / April 2011, pp 28 – 44, about how neo-isolation trends threaten the external affairs policy of the USA.

[6] The Paris-based International Energy Agency (IEA) in its World Energy Outlook (WEO) 2012 report states that '*the extraordinary growth in oil and natural gas output in the United States will mean a sea change in global energy flows*'. The report was made public on 12 November 2012 during a press conference in London. In other words, the report maintains that the USA will achieve a significant degree of independence from international oil and natural gas flows in the near future, thanks to shale oil and gas, tar sands oil and technologies, such as hydraulic fracturing and horizontal drilling, as well as thanks to the growing field of renewable energy sources. This fact could actually redefine military commitments on behalf of the US, forging, thereby, new regional dynamics that could recast one of the US military's principal missions: protecting Middle Eastern sea lanes. Today, while the USA is already importing less than 20% of its oil from Persian Gulf countries and the rate is constantly dropping, China covers half of its needs in oil from these areas and the rate is constantly rising.

According to the report, although the OPEC will maintain its power, after 2020 the USA will rise as the new net oil exporter, accelerating the switch in oil direction of international oil trade, with almost 90% of Middle Eastern oil exports being drawn by 2035 to Asia, then to India and later on to Japan and South Korea.
Lindeman, Eric, "New energy flow direction could redefine US strategy", Jane's Defence Weekly, Volume 49, Issue 47, 21 November 2012, p. 8.

[7] Mainly due to the shale gas of the USA which is possible, without being sure that it will be proven so, that it will provide the USA with energy self-sufficiency but also due to the chaos in the region brought upon by the so-called Arab Spring which removes the region to a big degree, in one way or another, from the Western control.

[8] But also of other critical allies and opponents of the USA, such as Japan and China

[9] In any case, even if the defense abilities of Europe were significantly strengthened as a whole in a magical way, again perhaps there would be a gap in the Baltic Republics. The geostrategic special characteristics of the region could be proven dangerous in case of total or even temporary paralysis of the political operation of the NATO and EU and, as a consequence, of the deterrent ability of the West. In other words, the Baltic region could be cut off, even for an extremely small period, from the mechanisms of power and deterrence of the rest of Europe. In this case, the important role is not played so much by the total balance of power between the Western Europe and Russia, but by the local power of balance in the Baltic region.

[10] Pagotsis A., Vangelis, "Chinese Armored Vehicles", Hellenic Defense and Technology, Issue 44, September 2013, pp. 62 – 73

[11] The length of the Russian-Chinese borders is approximately 2000 miles (3218 km) while China has from time to time made hints that regions today belonging to Russia are "historically Chinese territories". Experts of the Russian industry estimate that up to 2020, China shall have manufactured about 20,000 new tanks, when, under the best conditions, the new Russian tanks will not be over 2300, with the spearhead being T – 95 of Uralvagonzabvod.
Source: Johnson, F Reuben, "Russia 'worried' about China's rising capability", Jane's Defence Weekly, Volume 49, Issue 40, 3 October 2012, p. 9

12 IMI (Israel Military Industries), in cooperation with Elisra Electronic Systems, has developed a revolutionary system which significantly enhances the precision strike of M26 rockets of the MLRS system of Lockheed Martin at low cost. The system is called TCS (Trajectory Correction System) and it costs only 30,000 dollar per unit to be installed on each rocket. When the system was tested on August 10, 2004, six rockets were launched at a distance of 33 km and achieved absolute strike precision with a mean circular error (CEP) less than one meter according to the statement of the president of IMI, Arie Mizrachi, at the journal Jane's Defence Weekly. The system practically transforms the "dumb" rockets into precision strike projectiles.
TCS is based on a terrestrial position – locating system which tracks the rocket trajectory and transmits the new data via radio link. The projectile corrects the trajectory using side thrusters. According to IMI, the terrestrial TCS unit can simultaneously control eight rockets.
Source: Ben – David, Alon, "Test success for Israeli rocket guidance system", *Jane's Defence Weekly,* Volume 41, Issue 34, 25 August 2004, p. 14

[13] At MAKS 2013 the air show, held in Moscow, a new edition of Pantsir S1 with a twin electronically scanned radar, called "Janus" was demonstrated. The newest of these radars is most probably AESA technology, while the oldest is PESA technology. The system is combined with the new 23Ya6 projectile with about 30 km range, while it can intercept targets moving at 1000 m/sec while the older projectiles intercepted targets at maximum speed of 400 m/sec.
Karaisofidis Faidon, Psyrris Thodoris, "MAKS 2013", *FLIGHT & space,* Issue 329, September 2013, pp 30 – 39

[14] For the Soviet 'deep striking' capabilities see: Adamsky, Dima, *The Culture of Military Innovation. The impact of Cultural Factors on the Revolution in Military Affairs in Russia, the US, and Israel,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, California 2010, pp. 24 - 57

[15] For more information about the modernization procedure of the Chinese Army in the previous decade, see:

1) Cole, Bernard, D., *The Great Wall at Sea. China's Navy in the Twenty – First Century,* Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland 2010.
2) Fisher, Richard, D., Jr, *CHINA'S MILITARY MODERNIZATION. BUILDING FOR REGIONAL AND GLOBAL REACH,* Stanford University Press, Stanford California 2010.
3) Shambaugh, David, *MODERNIZING CHINA'S MILITARY. Progress, Problems and Prospects,* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California 2002.

[16] For a more complete and later approach of the RMA phenomenon both in the USA as well as in other states, see: Adamsky, Dima, *The Culture of Military Innovation. The Impact of Cultural Factors on the Revolution in Military Affairs in Russia, the US, and Israel,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, California 2010

[17] Parsons, Ted. "China develops anti – ship missile", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 25 January 2006, p. 12
Stokes, Mark, A., Easton Ian, Evolving Chinese Aerospace Trends. Regional Maritime Implications, p. 25. in *CHINESE AEROSPACE POWER. Evolving Maritime Roles. (ed). Erickson, Andrew, S, Goldstein, Lyle, J.* Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland, 2011
Erickson, Andrew, S., Yang, David, D., Chinese Analysts Assess the Potential for Antiship Ballistic Missiles, p. 329. in *CHINESE AEROSPACE POWER. Evolving Maritime Roles. (Ed). Erickson, Andrew, S, Goldstein, Lyle, J.* Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland, 2011

[18] For a more specialized approach regarding the role played by the each time scientific *paradigm* in the diachronic ideas and methodologies about the war and the role of the theories of Chaos and Complexity in the strategic thought, see Bousquet, Antoine, *The Scientific Way of Warfare. Order and Chaos on the Battlefields of Modernity*. Columbia University Press, New York, 2009.

[19] According to Tom Kellermann, vice president of security awareness, at Boston-based Core Security Technologies, the Chinese philosophy on cyberwar is based on the theory of 1000 sand grains. This means that instead of launching one large attack, you prefer to launch a big number of subtle attacks. Similar views may not be limited only to cyberwar but exist in the whole Chinese war philosophy. Source: Minnick, Wendell, "U.S. Report Accuses China of Cyber Warfare",

Defense News, Vol. 23, No 47, December 8, 2008, p. 22.

[20] The beginning of the evolution of *auftragstaktik* dates back to the years of Frederick the Great. However, its basic form as a methodology of battle was shaped in the Western Front in World War I. For the development of this philosophy of war, indicatively see: Gudmundsson, Bruce, I. *STORMTROOP TACTICS. INNOVATION IN THE GERMAN ARMY, 1914 – 1918,* Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1989 and English, John, A. Gudmundsson, Bruce, I. *On Infantry,* Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, London 1994.

[21] The Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) MBT Missiles Division has developed a naval, low-weight version of the LAHAT missile with semi-active laser guidance (SAL) for small surface vessels for an unnamed client. The projectile weighs 13kg, has a range of 8km and can hit a target at an accuracy of 0.7m CEP (circular error probable). The naval launching platform includes two quad-pack launchers (each weighing approximately 70kg fully loaded).
According to the company, the system is both small and lightweight enough to be launched from ships as small as 10-12m long. IAI MBT Missiles Division stated that the naval LAHAT is capable of surgical strikes against ground and other targets.
Scott, Richard, "Armament trends for smaller patrol craft. Packing a bigger punch. Taking aim at ultra high-speed interceptors". *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Volume 49, Issue 18, 2 May 2012, pp.25 & 29

[22] The Nimrod 3 has a range of nothing less than over 50km and carries a 50lbs warhead. Incredible ground target surgical strike capabilities from great distances are expected to be provided upon completion of the Nimrod 3, as well as other weapons aboard the Israeli Air Force's massive Sikorsky CH-53 Sea Stallion heavy-lift transport helicopter. The helicopter in question is already certified for use with the missile's previous versions.
Rodan, Steve, "IAF integrates Nimrod missile with Sea Stallion". *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 9 January 2002, p.15.

[23] Hermes (Гермес) was developed by the Russian KBP (Konstruktorskoe Buro Priborostroeniya), developer of the Kornet (Корнет) anti-tank missile, used by the Hellenic Armed Forces. The program does not appear to have led to a mass-produced weapon, although *Jane's* did mention in the past that all relevant tests

had been completed and that the system was production-ready. The system uses variants of the Vikhr (Вихрь) anti-tank missile. It consists of a 12x missile launcher that can be mounted on trucks, Kamov Ka-52 attack helicopters, or small surface ships. The missiles shall be made available in different range versions: 15, 40 and 100km. The latter shall be equipped with a secondary booster rocket, which will fly the main missile to the target area. The 15km version will be guided to the target using an inertial navigation system (INS), while the 40 and 100km versions shall be radio-controlled. Terminal guidance shall be either via laser designation or by self-guidance, in case the missiles have been fitted with automatic target tracking systems. These warheads shall combine a passive infrared and a semi-active radar homing system.

The missiles shall be capable of providing armor penetration behind 1,000mm steel ERA.

The system shall be able of being used also for littoral defense and shall be linkable with unmanned aerial vehicles assigned with target search and missile guidance. Butowski, Piotr, "Russia reveals details as Hermes missile build nears". *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 28 January 2004, p.13.

[24] Larrinaga, Nicholas de, "MBDA reveals Hoplite concept", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Volume 50, Issue 26, 26 June 2013, p. 5

[25] Similar methodologies, although applied by countries such as Syria or Iran, would be difficult to be adopted by European countries. However, especially in the case of creating a local deterrent force in the Baltic region, similar capabilities may have a special value. In particular, the adoption of techniques and tactics, including the disguise of military systems into total ones, increases the possibilities of attacking civil targets by the attackers and, consequently, causing non-combatant losses. In this way, however, the totalitarian character of the war conflict, something which may be against the wishes of the attacker who most probably will wish to have a clean cut campaign with very few victims or none at all in the civilian population so as to neutralize the possibility of the conflict slipping to the strategic level and the subsequent reaction of the West. In the unlikely, but not impossible, case that a similar hostile action would occur in the Baltic countries, the attacker would logically want to limit the level of conflict so as to neutralize the possibility of reaction by the West and bring the West to negotiations in order to achieve some political objectives. However, if there are victims among the civilian population,

then there might be strong charging that would push the West to a violent and not a mediocre reaction. Similar logics, thus, of hybrid warfare may have strategic character apart from the tactical one.

[26] For the use of underground facilities in the context of a "hybrid" warfare logic by Hezbollah in the 2006 war, see: Farquhar, Scott, C., *Back to Basics: A Study of the Second Lebanon War and Operation CAST LEAD,* Combat Studies Institute Press, US Army Combined Arms Center, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2011

[27] Dunai, Peter, "Ukraine's Korsar ATGW nearly complete", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Volume 50, Issue 32, 7 August 2013, p. 12

[28] For a transhistorical approach of the swarming war methodologies, see: Edwards, Sean, J.A. *SWARMING ON THE BATTLEFIELD. Past, Present and Future,* RAND, Santa Monica, California, 2000

[29] A historical example showing us how fast-moving and of fluid nature teams of small vehicles, equipped with antitank weapons can win, by applying swarming philosophies, heavy tank forces is the so-called Toyota Wars in the '80s, when Chad guerrillas with "technicals", meaning civilian pick-up trucks equipped with antitank missiles MILAN crushed heavy armored forces of the Libyan Army. For more information, see: Pollack, M., Kenneth, *Arabs at War. Military Effectiveness, 1948 – 1991,* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 2002, pp. 375 – 412.

[30] Matthews, William, "Smaller, Lighter, Cheaper. New Missiles Are 'Absolutely Ideal' for Irregular Warfare". *Defense News*, May 31, 2010, p. 16.

[31] Hewson, Robert, Raytheon Griffin mini – missile breaks cover, *Jane's Defence Weekly,* Volume 47, Issue 35, 1 September 2010, p. 6.

[32] McCullough, Amy. "USMC Tests BAE Guider-Rocket Kit". *Defense News,* Volume 25, No 1, p. 11. 4 January 2010. .

[33] "Lockheed Martin demonstrates armed Shadow". *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Volume 49, Issue 19, 9 Μαΐου 2012, σ. 10.

[34] Williams, Huw, "Raytheon achieves success with Pyros test". *Jane's Defence Weekly,* Volume 49, Issue 33, 15 August 2012, p. 6.

[35] Harrington, Caitlin, "Talon LGRs fired by Kiowa Warrior", *Jane's Defence Weekly,* 6 January 2010, p. 9
Katz, Yaakov, *Jane's Defence Weekly*, "IAF seeks Hellfire substitute". Volume 49, Issue 02, 11 January 2012, p. 16

[36] Hewson, Robert, , "KADBB and Hanwha unveil MRL", *Jane's Defence Weekly,* 19 May 2010, Volume 47, Issue 20, p. 17

[37] It seems, however, that there is tendency for enhancing UAV armament so that they could strike a bigger range of targets and participate in more conventional war scenarios against high technology opponents and not just attack insurgents. GA-ASI (General Atomics Aeronautical System Inc), for example, is negotiating with Raytheon to proceed with fitting the MP-9 Predators with AIM – 9X Sidewinder, AIM – 120 AMRAAM and AGM – 88 HARM missiles manufactured by Raytheon. According to Chris Pehrson, GA – ASI's director of strategic development, they are at the phase of initial design review. He also stated that GA-ASI uses own funds to develop an AESA radar for the aerial vehicle. A basic duty assumed by said radar is avoiding collisions, a big problem for UAVs, so that they can fly over civilian air space. The radar, however, will also have many war applications.
The MQ-9 can carry a load of 1500 lb (680.3 kg) on wing carriers. Furthermore, the company is examining the possibility of putting a Link 16 datalink on the aircraft, a fact that will allow the aerial vehicle to directly send targeting data and position information to manned aircraft in the area.
Source: Lee, Caitlin, "GA – ASI, Raytheon consider air-to-air weapons for MQ - 9", *Jane's Defence Weekly,* Volume 50, Issue 34, 21 August 2013, p. 6

[38] At the end of October 2012, the US Navy conducted a test of using missiles from an unmanned surface vehicle. More specifically, a Spike LR rocket manufactured by the Israeli Rafael was used from a remote operated PEM (Precision Engagement Module) unit. It was a modified Mk 49 Mod 0 ROSAM (Remote Operated Small Arms Mount) manufactured by Rafael with a 0.50'' machine gun and a tandem pannier Spike LR. The system was developed by the Chief of Naval Operation's Expeditionary Warfare Division and the US Naval Sea Systems Command's

(NAVSEA's) Special Warfare Program Office. Spike LR combines electro-optic and infrared seeker with direct guidance by the median wire controller. Its range is 4 km and can trap targets either before or after the launch.
Source: Scott, Richard, "USN completes first Spike LR firing from USV", *Jane's Defence Weekly,* Volume 49, Issue 45, 7 November 2012, p. 6

[39] For instance, German company Atlas Elektronik announced that an extended range (ER) version of the DM 2 A4 torpedo, the SeaHake Mod 4 ER, managed to travel a record distance of 140km during tests in Eckernförde Bay in the Baltic Sea in March 2012. According to company technicians, this performance is 50% higher than what is usually achieved by modern heavyweight torpedoes.
Source: Tringham, Kate, "Atlas Elektronik claims new record for torpedoes". *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Volume 49, Issue 21, 23 May 2012, p.14

[40] A potential example in this category is the design for a new South Korean mini submarine. More specifically, the South Korean Agency for Defense Development (ADD) unveiled the design for a small submarine, intended for the country's Navy. The new vessel is reported as KSS 500A. A particularly interesting feature of the submarine is that it does not use any onboard power generation systems and all of its electrical power needs are covered by two lithium-ion battery banks. It is estimated that the Korean Navy requires five such vessels. The new submarine is expected to replace the two Dolgorae class midget submarines still in active service. These vessels were originally commissioned in the early '80s. The new submarine is estimated to be 37m long, 4.5m in diameter, have a surface displacement of 510 tons and reach a maximum depth of 250m. The vessel was unveiled at the Marine Week 2011 exhibition in Busan in early November 2011.
Source: Mazumbar, Mritynjoy, "Seoul displays new mini-sub concept". *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Volume 48, Issue 49, 7 December 2011, p.14.

[41] For a transhistorical approach of the phenomenon of hybrid warfare, see: Williamson, Murray, Mansoor, Peter, R., (ed) *Hybrid Warfare. Fighting Complex Opponents from the Ancient World to the Present,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, 2012

[42] Apart from rockets, the possible utilization of advanced cannon projectiles may be studied. For example, the American company Raytheon is developing a digital semi-active laser seeker (dSAL) variant of the Excalibur 155mm missile, called

Excalibur-S, and is planning to carry out tests in 2013 or beginning of 2014. This missile will allow the attack against targets for which there are no sufficient targeting information for the ones requesting support fires regarding their position or/ and are very close to the said targets, at distance of 20, 30, 50 meters. Furthermore, it will be possible to attack fast-changing position targets or targets in motion when hit. If the Excalibur missiles "realize" that they are losing the position of the target by 30 meters or more they are not fired.

Excalibur – S is also available for the international market and will have the dSAL common chassis used by the Paveway bombs and Griffin rockets. The missile will have the same range with Excalibur Ia – 2, which can reach 37.5 km. This was announced by Dave Brockway, Raytheon's business development manager for Excalibur on 12 June 2013.

Source: Felstead, Peter, "Raytheon to test laser – guided Excalibur round", *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Volume 50, Issue 22, 19 June 2013, p. 8

[43] Hewson, Robert, "Concealed – carriage Club – K changes cruise missile rules" *Jane's Defence Weekly,* Volume 47, Issue 15, 14 April 2010, p. 5

[44] For instance one such system could be something like the one which was examined within the framework of POLAR project. More specifically, following the cancellation of the SM-4 LASM (Land Attack Standard Missile) program, which was a variant of the SM-1 surface-to-air missile for hitting ground targets, the US Navy examined a series of alternatives. One of them was a variant of the Army Tactical Missile System (ATACMS), which would have a range of between 200 and 300 nautical miles; this system was developed by Lockheed Martin. Another proposal, again by Lockheed Martin, was that of the Precision Over-the-Horizon Land Attack Rocket (POLAR) system, a variant of MLRS rockets with a larger by 58cm missile engine, so as to achieve a maximum range of 108 nautical miles, approximately three times that of ground rockets. The cost of each POLAR would amount to $50,000. Each Mk41 vertical launch system (VLS) cell would be able to launch 4 POLARs.

Each rocket could, in turn, carry between 194 and 404 Dual Purpose Improved Conventional Munition (DPICM) submunitions, depending on the range desired. The maximum range would be up to 105 nautical miles for the 194 projectiles version and 65 nautical miles for the 404 projectiles version. The distanced would be travelled by the POLARs within 240 and 190 seconds, respectively. DPICMs

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could hit both unprotected infantry and armored targets.

According to Lockheed Martin, two POLARs aimed at an artillery battery deployed over an area of 300x100m, with a 50m-deviation error, would strike as hard as 9.8 ERGMs, mentioned elsewhere in the paper.

Each POLAR would cost approximately $50,000, including the DPICMs, provided that the yearly production would be of 2,000 projectiles. Consequently, an attack against a target like the aforementioned artillery battery would cost $100,000 using POLARs and $300,000 using ERGMs.

A significant role in the system's operation was expected to be played by the Northrop Grumman Fire Scout vertical take-off and landing unmanned aerial vehicle (VTOL UAV), which would provide targeting data for the rockets and missiles and would reduce the target location error (TLE) to less than 8-10m.

Sources:

1. Hewish, Mark, "US faces dilemma over naval land attack". *International Defence Review,* March 2002, p.2

2. "Cheaper long-range naval fire support round". *International Defence Review*, April 2002, p.16

3. Hewish, Mark, "Guided naval munitions demonstrate capabilities in first test". *International Defence Review,* August 2002, p. 17

Overview of the Guard and Reserve Forces of the Baltic Sea Countries at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century[*]

By Colonel (Retired) Milton Paul Davis[**]

Europe's security has substantially improved. The threat of massive military confrontation between the major powers has disappeared and the continent as a whole has become a safer place. As recent events show, this does not mean, unfortunately, that Europe is free from risks to its security nor that potential causes for instability, tension or conflict do not abound.

In developing an adequate response to the new strategic environment, the Alliance is conscious of the need to maintain a strong transatlantic link, an overall strategic balance in Europe, a sufficient collective defence capability to manage future crises, and a reinforced European defence role. In restructuring their forces to meet these needs Alliance countries will be more dependent than ever on their ability to draw upon reserve forces.[1]

Since the end of the Cold War in 1989 there have been dramatic changes in Europe, which have affected security in the Baltic Sea Region. These changes have brought great reflection within the North Atlantic Treaty

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[*] *This article is an update of three previously published articles by the same author that appeared in the Journal of Baltic Studies (AABS) in 2006 and in the Baltic Security & Defence Review (BSDR) in 2008 plus again in 2010. See endnote #s 34, 39, & 53.*

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Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) countries of the Baltic Sea Region. These reflections have been concentrated on the defence force structures that were developed to meet the security challenges of the Cold War.

An armed forces reserve and home guard (HG) were key elements of Cold War defence planning and organization of countries near the Baltic Sea. Are the reserve and HG forces still relevant to contemporary security? Maybe the reserve/guard forces are not only still relevant but maybe the paradigm has switched and the reserve /guard forces are the most important forces or could become the most important forces. This paper attempts to answer these questions by overviewing the reserve and HG situation in the ten NATO & EU countries of the Baltic Sea region.

The dramatic changes in the security situation with the end of the Cold War have been most evident in the three Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania also in Poland, Finland and Germany, and to a lesser extent in Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. Approximately twenty years ago the three Baltic States, all of Poland, and a large part of Germany were not only behind the Iron Curtain, but also were the location of Soviet operational and strategic forces that had a menacing offensive posture towards Western Europe including West Germany and the rest of the Baltic Sea area. Today Germany is reunited, the Soviet military build-up in the three Baltic States and Poland is gone, and all five countries are not only free and independent, but have maturing market economies. Germany was already a member of the EU and NATO and now the other four countries have also joined both organizations.

The changes in Europe with the end of the Cold War are not only evident in the three Baltic States, Poland, and Germany but are also very noticeable in other countries. Finland has now had the complete freedom to join the EU, American troops have left Iceland, and the size of active duty military forces has been reduced in all of the countries of northwestern Europe. Consequently, with the Baltic Sea's geographic location, the absence of the menacing activities of the Cold War has had a direct impact on the countries of the Region.

Defense concepts – total and collective as well as the
Home Guard (HG):

The key to future cooperation within Northern Europe is self-defense starting with a military that is credible to both friends and potential enemies. If the ten Baltic Sea Region countries want help from other countries including NATO members, they must be able to restrain the enemy at least long enough for that help to arrive. To restrain the enemy with limited budgets requires both a small regular full time military and a force that can expand the small army rapidly upon mobilization. Making this concept successful requires a well-organized reserve / guard system.[2]

The reserve and HG system is an integral part of the "total or territorial defense" which is a Scandinavian Model sometimes called the Finnish-Swedish Way. This concept is to have the whole country involved in its defense, not just the military. The Swiss use a modified version of this concept.[3] In total defense, business, industry, local government, etc. are all involved in integral plans on how to defend the country. Local armed police/militia and non-violent actions are employed to help the security of the country. It is not just a military issue, but also a national issue.[4] This defensive strategy of "denial" and "total defense" can be adapted to the regional conditions of the local geography and can be summarized as follows:

…A great power aims at a swift military victory that forces the defender to capitulate militarily and surrender politically. Small countries must deny the aggressor its objective through extended, small-scale actions. They must mobilize, at short notice, reasonably well-equipped forces. Total defence also includes passive resistance by the civilian population."[5]

According to two studies done by the USA's Rand Corporation (one for the US Air Force and a more detailed one for the US Secretary of Defense) there are at least two widely accepted characteristics that a territorial defense program consists of:

a)   A mainly defensive military system generally not perceived as a threat by other states and not well designed to attack across the country's borders.

b)   A military relying principally on latent rather than active forces, with a range of participants from across the whole country.   These participants are involved in preparations for military/civil defense duties and normally project a "total" response of all or almost all of the citizens to war.[6]

In a developed mature total defence system, standby reserves allow both active and reserve units to have the ability to grow when necessary in a rapid and organized fashion. For example, platoons become companies and companies become battalions, etc. This can be done by a conscript plan that trains most of the adult male population to be ready to serve when needed.[7]

The conscript system of many countries, using the total defense concept, has the troops training on initial active duty training for approximately one year (sometimes called national service). At the end of this time some conscripts volunteer to stay on as part of the regular forces or to join the HG. But the majority became part of the reserves with some becoming members of organized units and others simply ready for call up upon mobilization. Most of the Baltic Sea countries also have a system to provide these reserves some refresher training every few years.[8]

Total defense does not necessarily only have to consist of territorial latent forces but can also consist of some regular military personnel assigned to protection of the homeland and trained to work with civil defense personnel. The concept of local militias mobilizing and thus leaving their families while they go to forward military zones to protect the country is only realistic if there are civil defense plans and programs well-developed to provide shelter and care for the civilian population. Thus planning in communities is a vital part of any total defense program.[9]

Some of any country's active duty armed forces can be trained and employed as defense forces to assist the territorial militias as part of military defense of the homeland. While others are trained to be available for wartime projection of forces forward of the homeland and in peace time to be used as peacekeeping forces in foreign lands, etc. In the modern integrated European environment, a small country (with maybe the exception of Switzerland) cannot politically solely depend on its own territorial defense. The governments of small countries need to make sure that their militaries are trained to work with their allies in all aspects of defense. These might be formal allies as in a military/political alliance, like NATO, or more informal allies as in an economic/political organization, like the EU. These alliances and the amount of integration within them is the foundation of collective defense, the main concept of NATO. An organization, whose member countries commit support in defense of each other, normally institutionalizes collective defense if any member is attacked by another country outside the organization. NATO is history's most famous collective defense organization. Its Article V asks, but not fully requires, members to assist another member under attack.[10]

Just because a nation is a member of a collective defense organization does not mean it is no longer concerned with territory or total defense of its own homeland and the land of its immediate neighbors. NATO is concerned with territorial as well as collective defense as stated by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at a conference on 26 November 2009: "NATO as a guarantor of territorial defence and a provider of global security.…To put it bluntly: territorial defence no longer starts at our borders–it starts well away from them…."[11]

Before the end of the Cold War, Sweden and Finland mainly employed territorial defense, while the other Nordic countries, as members of NATO, employed a combination of territorial and collective defense. Today, with the EU developing its own defense initiatives and NATO reaching out to all of Europe, collective defense is becoming more important and, as the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SHAPE) stated in 2008: "NATO has transitioned from a defensive alliance to a security focused alliance."[12]

The question remains, are the Baltic Sea Region forces credible and how do the political leaders see their use. If a force is not credible, it will not deter the enemy. What is the position of credible reserve forces in the Baltic Sea Region? One key element in the non-active duty armed forces of the Baltic Sea Region is the HG, which fits in well with all of the collective and total defense concepts.

The HG units of the seven countries in the Baltic Sea Region that have a HG are similar to the US National Guard or British Territorial Forces. The author is considering Finland's Provincial Forces (PF) as a de facto HG. Besides Finland the other six are Denmark, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, and Sweden. Six of the seven are completely filled with volunteers except for Norway which allows conscripts in the HG. The seven HGs are attached to the local community and are frequently aligned with the regular military in training, uniforms, chain of command, etc. At the same time, the HGs have a paramilitary function to perform as auxiliary to the local police/fire/emergency responders and one of their missions in time of total war would be to conduct unconventional (guerrilla) warfare in conjunction with the regular military forces.[13]

The HG, recruited in local areas, provides great advantages when compared to active duty or reserve forces that are not recruited locally. In the HG troops are:

    a. Spread all over the country (almost the same as being constantly mobilized in areas);

    b. Knowledgeable of the local areas (both geographical and societal);

    c. Volunteers: commanders and soldiers are always willing, committed and motivated;

    d. Deeply rooted in the social fiber of the society (almost a national popular movement);

    e. Financially very reasonable to keep on stand-by; and

f. Bringing many civilian acquired skills to the units.[14]

"Most of the [militaries] of NATO are organized with a mix of active and reserve forces. The size, composition, and the degree of mix is usually the result of a nation's perception of the ... threat, "out of area" commitments, and [important] budgetary constraints."[15] As this quote shows, NATO's use of reserve forces (including HGs) allows countries to use the collective and total defense models, for their reserve forces. Also, as the US, Britain and other NATO members have shown in Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan: Guard and reserve individuals and whole guard and reserve units have been involved in force projection as well as their traditional uses for territorial defense of the home land.

Reserve and guard units compared to active units and conscription:

As regards the historical use of reserves, before WW I the US NG was much less centrally organized than it is today and the state militias, as they were known at that time, were mainly used for domestic issues. But state militias could be used abroad as volunteers e.g. during the Spanish American War of 1898. With WWI coming, the US federal government passed laws which made it easier for state militias to be trained to federal standards and mobilized for use overseas. The British had similar issues with its Territorial Army at the beginning of WWI.

There is ample data that a well-trained NG division was and can have as much ability as an active division. "This irrefutable evidence includes numerous observations over many years of one of the US NG's best known divisions, the 29th Infantry Division, which in WW I, WW II (at D-Day), and in Kosovo (at Cold War's end), performed combat and peacekeeping duties exceptionally well while overseas functioning as a US Army division staffed with NG troops and led by NG officers."[16]

[In WW I] two-fifths of the AEF [American Expeditionary Force] soldiers were in Guard units, which sustained two-fifths of all casualties. Of the 1,400,000 men who entered combat, 440,000 came from what

were originally NG units. Without the Guard mechanism, the US would not have been able to express its great power as fast or as effectively as it was able to do.[17]

The leading predecessor of modern Germany, Prussia, very successfully converted the Prussian army from a professional military to a reserve military in the early 1800s. During the Napoleonic wars, the French citizen army under the command of Napoleon defeated Prussia in 1806. After the defeat, Napoleon limited Prussia to only a small professional army with an annual ceiling of 42,000. Circumventing this limiting annual requirement, Prussia developed a very well-organized conscription program that included a complex well-managed reserve system including a type of volunteer "country defense force" or militia (called the Landwehr). This system was so successful that the Prussian ("reserve") Army under the command of General Blücher beat the French in 1813 at the Battle of Leipzig, the largest battle in Europe until WWI. Also the Prussians with their reserve army under Field Marshal Blücher were the most important ally of the Duke of Wellington, the victor at Waterloo in 1815.[18] Maybe this process of building large well-trained and organized reserve and HG forces should be repeated now as Germany and Poland try to cut expenses while at the same time meet their military obligations within the EU and NATO.

The most up-to-date information that relates to the abilities of reserve and guard units has been created over the last few years with NATO countries using mobilized reserve type units on a regular rotating basis in Iraq and Afghanistan. Most of the very positive statistics are coming from America's use of its NG units, but there is also some positive use by other NATO members. In February 2012, the NATO commander (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) implied that that without a doubt it has now been shown that not only in large scale wars like WWI and WWII, but also in these very modern smaller conflicts the enlisted and officer personnel of reserve component units can perform excellently under extreme circumstances.[19]

As the above paragraphs demonstrate, reserve / guard forces with proper training and proper equipment can be as creditable as active

forces. Assuming this to be true opens up whole new avenues of use for reserve / guard forces:

The greater reliance on Reserve Forces in future defence arrangements is an attractive alternative for political leaders concerned about defence expenditures… The cost of Reserve Forces is a fraction of the cost of … Active Forces. Reserve Forces constitute … a credible deterrence, [as well as] a stabilizing and less provocative element to an opposing international coalition.[20]

There is vast evidence, including at least two detailed studies by the US Congressional Budget Office and a smaller/less detailed one by NATO, showing that the cost of reserve units and personnel including training, use of resources, equipment maintenance, pay and allowances is much cheaper than costs for active personnel.[21] In January 2013 with the winding down of the Afghanistan war and the large budget discussions in Washington a new, extensive study has just been completed by the US Department of Defense (DOD) Reserve Forces Policy Board (RFPB). This study shows in no uncertain terms that three times as much money is spent on an active duty person compared to a reserve person. This study, not done by the reserves but by the US DOD, is strong, irrefutable evidence that it is much cheaper to operate reserve forces including NG than active forces. Since this was a study of US forces, the statistics might not apply 100% to Europe, but the study leaves no doubt that the reserves can be much cheaper and in tough economic times this is very important.[22]

"The issue of civil-military relations is one of the oldest subjects of political science."[23] Dr. Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard University states in *The Soldier and the State*: "Civil-military relations is one aspect of national security policy."[24] Huntington goes on to explain: "The military profession exists to serve the state. To render the highest possible service the entire profession and the military force which it leads must be constituted as an effective instrument of state policy."[25]

With the end of conscription across much of Europe, one concern of political thinkers is the loss of a link between the military and the citizens. But a well-organized local reserve system (like a HG) can

develop a strong link between military and civilian societies as seen in some parts of the Baltic Sea region as well as with the UK Territorials and the US NG. [26] Again Huntington states:

The militia embodied the democratic principle that defense of the nation was the responsibility of every citizen. The distinction between officers and enlisted men was minimized, and the line between them did not correspond to any sharp cleavage in the social structure.[27]

In other words the militia [HG or NG (reserves)] is a way to keep the military establishment well-grounded in the civilian society as evidenced by the historical cases of the US NG and the Swiss militia both of which have existed since the beginning of each nation.[28] In 1963, history professor, Michael Foot, a British intelligence officer/war hero of WWII (who was involved with the French Resistance during WWII & at the end of the war with the British Territorials), stated the following about the militia system of some European countries: "As the whole community is engaged in the task of self-defense, no gulf can open between the armed forces and the nation: the two are virtually one."[29]

Charts/tables comparing the ten countries:

The purpose of these charts and tables is to be able to make comparisons of all ten countries. Information in charts/tables is easier to compare than if written in the country summaries. In addition by having the information for the tables/charts come from identical or very similar sources, it is possible to have more accurate contrasts between the countries. Finally even though the ten countries are all located in northern Europe relatively near each other, the charts/tables help make clear that the countries are radically different from each other in both physical size and population and especially different when comparing the size of their military forces.

It also should be kept in mind that military comparisons between countries is not an exact procedure because not any two countries use the same exact methods when deciding when a solider is qualified or physically fit for mobilization and this is especially true when comparing

reserve or guard troops. An example can be seen in the US NG when comparing two almost identical units located in different US states. Just because a state lists a unit as 90% strength does not mean that if that unit activated it would be mobilized with 90% of its positions filled. Some members of the unit might not deploy because they have physical issues or have not completed all training. For example the state of Maryland has a reputation that its mobilization figures for 29th Division units are over 90% accurate whereas some states are in the 80% category or even lower.[30] These same issues and concerns could be applied to other NATO and EU countries to varying degrees.

NATO	EU	Country	Size (sq kilometres)	Size (sq miles)	Population of country
Y	Y	Denmark	43,069*	16,629*	5.5 m.
Y	Y	Estonia	45,227	18,370	1.3 m.
N	Y	Finland	338,144	130,119	5.3 m.
Y	Y	Germany	357,050	137,691	80.2 m.
Y	N	Iceland	102,952	39,768	320,000
Y	Y	Latvia	65,786	25,400	2.2 m.
Y	Y	Lithuania	64,445	25,174	3.3 m.
Y	N	Norway	324,219	125,182	4.9 m.
Y	Y	Poland	312,683	120,727	38.0 m.
N	Y	Sweden	449,793	173,654	9.3 m.

*Does not include Greenland and the Faeroe Islands.

Table 1: *The ten EU/NATO countries of the Baltic Sea Region as of July 2013:[31]*

Denmark:

Component	Army	Navy	Air Force	Joint	Total
Active	7,950	3,000	3,050	2,450	16,450
Reserve	40,800	4,500	5.300	2,900	53,500
Civilian	210	300	120	NA	630

Estonia:

Component	Army	Navy	Air Force	Joint	Total
Active	5,300	200	250	NA	5,750

Reserve	NA	NA	NA	30,000	30,000
Civilian	NA	NA	NA	NA	1,000 (Approx)

Finland:

Component	Army	Navy	Air Force	BG*	Total
Active	16,000	3,500	2,700	2,800	25,000
Reserve	285,000	31,000	38,000	11,500	365,500
Civilian	3,000	500	1,000	NA	4,500

*Border Guard (BG) (including the Coast Guard): A paramilitary force of the Interior Ministry that could be used as a reserve for the military in case of inversion.

Germany:

Component	Army	Navy	Air Force	Joint	Total
Active	70,050	15,850	33.450	76,650	196,000
Reserve	15,350	1,850	4,900	18,220	40,320
Civilian	NA	NA	NA	NA	120,000*

*Is in the process of being reduced to 75,000.

Latvia:

Component	Army*	Navy	Air Force	Joint	Total
Active	2,000	550	300	2,500	5,350
Reserve	NA	NA	NA	NA	10,666
Civilian					

*This includes 600 full time members of the National Guard and 1,400 regular Army personnel.

Lithuania:

Component	Army	Navy	Air Force	Joint	Paramilitary	Total
Active	3,200	650	1,100	2,700	4,530*	12,180
Reserve	4,150	NA	NA	NA	7,550**	11,700
Civilian						

*Coast Guard 530 & Border Guard 4,000: A paramilitary force of the Interior Ministry that could be used as a reserve for the military incase of inversion.
**Riflemen Union: A paramilitary group that was started in World War I and makes up part of the HG.

Norway:

Component	Army	Navy	Air Force	Joint	Paramilitary	Total
Active	8,900	3,900	3,650	7,750	500*	26,450
Reserve	270	320	1,450*	350	46,000*	46,940
Civilian						

*Home Guard, which is covered in more detail below.

Poland:

Component	Army	Navy	Air Force	Joint	Paramilitary	Total
Active	45,600	7,600	16,500	26,300*	22,050**	118,050
Reserve***	NA	NA	NA	8,800	NA	20,000 (Approx)
Civilian						

*This number includes 2,200 Special Forces.
**These are Ministry of Interior Forces in the Border Guards (14,750) & Prevention Police (7,300).
***Poland is developing a completely new reserve system titled the National Reserve Forces (NRF).

Sweden:

Component	Army	Navy	Air Force	Joint	Paramilitary	Total
Active	5.550	3,000	3,300	8,550	800*	21,200
Reserve	NA	NA	NA	NA	22,000**	22,000
Civilian	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6,615

*Coast Guard   **Voluntary Auxiliary Organizations

Table 2: Comparison of active & reserve strength figures for nine of the Baltic Sea EU/NATO countries as of Oct '13 (Iceland has no military except a very small paramilitary coast guard):32

Country	Total in HG	Actively Involved*	Rapid Reaction Force	Full time
Denmark**	43,500	20,000	396	595
Estonia	23,000	13,000	NA	224
Finland***	5,500	4,000	NA	40 (Approx)
Latvia****	5,500	4,200	NA	600

Lithuania	7,550	4,650	NA	50
Norway	46,000	20,000	5500	500
Sweden	30,000	20.000	5000	400

*"Actively Involved" is an estimate based on concepts as discussed in the 2nd paragraph of this section (above) with note #30. It is an attempt to allow for better comparisons between countries.
**Denmark's Rapid Reaction Force is a de facto program of 12 platoons on one hour notice.
***Finland's Provincial Forces (PF) ("Maakuntajoukot") is being treated as a de facto HG.
****Latvia's National Guard is called a HG in this table.

<u>Table 3</u>: Approximate numbers of Baltic Sea Region Home Guard personnel as of

November 2013 (Iceland, Germany and Poland do not have Home Guard

forces):[33]

An updated summary of each of the three groups of countries:

The three Baltic States (published in 2006):[34]

Though the outside world tends to view the Baltic States as a single entity, they are three very different countries with separate languages, histories and traditions and noticeable general differences between their native peoples. …

The story of the Baltic States, especially of Estonia and Latvia, is one of centuries of rule by oppressive foreign powers in which the native peoples were reduced almost to non-peoples. After WWI the three Baltic States emerged from this unhappy history to enjoy just 20 years of existence as independent countries before falling back under the foreign boot with the Soviet takeover of 1940. In 1991 they again won their freedom.[35]

Since the 2006 publication of the author's article covering the Baltic States the developments in westernizing these three countries, including in the area of defense, has continued but more slowly during the last few years with the worldwide economic problems. All three countries have become responsible members of both NATO and the EU and Estonia

has joined the Euro zone after being approved by the European Central Bank to adopt the Euro as its currency.

One half of the Baltic Sea region countries have changed conscription rules including two Baltic States:

In the beginning of July [2010], Sweden ceased mandatory military conscription for reserve forces in case of an attack by a foreign country. The same was done in Latvia in 2006 and in Lithuania in 2008, leaving Estonia the only Baltic State where conscription is still used. [Denmark, Finland & Norway also have conscription.] Estonia defense minister, Jaak Aaviksoo, told the press last Monday [July 2010] that "military service is the matter of honor," where young men "learn to share values and [it] teaches independence."[36]

The HG forces of the Baltic States are constantly improving and becoming more qualified. In all three, members of the HG can volunteer to be on active duty to attend training (including attending the Baltic Defence College) and to serve in foreign countries like Afghanistan. The greatest changes seem to be taking place in Lithuania where the Savanoriai (covered in the 2006 article) is taking on more of the role of a reserve rather than a HG.[37] Also the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union (LRU) (*Lietuvos Šaulių Sąjunga* or *Šauliai*), which has been in existence for several years as a paramilitary volunteer force, is now becoming more like a true HG. Several hundred active duty personnel now act as advisors/trainers to the *Šauliai* allowing it to develop into a more qualified force.[38]

The five Nordic Countries (published in 2008):[39]

,,, the prosperous, peaceful, harmonious Nordic countries … encompass Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. These lands are comfortably set apart from the rest of Europe, and for most of the post-war period they have enjoyed enviable prosperity and political stability.

… All [five] are in the Nordic Council, which meets regularly to discuss non-military problems they have in common. … Denmark, Finland and Sweden have been

especially active and important in supporting the Baltic States, which were the first former Soviet republics to win their independence in 1991.[40]

Since the article's 2008 publication the cooperation among the five Nordic countries has deepened including the creation of NORDEFCO, a Nordic organization with emphasis on defense issues (details about NORDEFCO discussed below under "Nordic Cooperation").[41] All five nations have continued to show that they are very dependable members of the United Nations (UN) and other world/European organizations.

During the last few years with the worldwide negative economic issues, one Nordic nation, Iceland, has developed serious economic problems and one, Finland, has done so well that it has become not only the one Nordic nation using the Euro currency but also one of the stronger nations in the Euro zone. Sweden has not adopted the Euro as its currency, but economically is one of the most successful of Europe. "Unlike much of the rest of Europe, Sweden is roaring ahead."[42]

Three of the Nordic nations are members of the EU and with the present worldwide economic crisis one of the remaining two, Iceland, is now applying to join the EU. If Iceland does successfully join the EU, Norway, the remaining Nordic non-member, might reconsider joining in the future. If this does happen, it will be Norway's third attempt at joining the EU.

Presently, Denmark is the only Nordic country that is a member of both the EU and NATO, but two other Nordic EU members, Finland and Sweden, have begun to look more seriously at future NATO membership.[43] With the three Baltic States and Poland now members of the EU and NATO, it makes NATO membership possibly more attractive for Sweden and especially Finland since the protruding eastern edge of Finland would then not be the only eastern front line of NATO.[44]

Even though the laws and rules of conscription for military service are changing in many countries in Europe, Sweden is the only Nordic country that is changing its policy. Denmark, Finland, and Norway are

presently maintaining their conscript system with Norway still using conscripts to fill some of the positions in the HG.

The HG concept in the Nordic countries has seen some significant changes in the last few years. Norway, with its HG involved with the Minnesota NG via the USA's Reciprocal Unit Exchange Program (RUE) is probably the best trained HG in the Baltic Sea Region. Almost as well-trained are the HGs of Sweden and Denmark.[45] In 2012, Denmark has also joined RUE and the details of RUE are discussed below (in the "Conclusion").[46]

Finland's *de facto* HG, the "*Maakuntajoukot*" or Provincial Forces (PF), is continuing to develop into a very modern force. The PF, under the central government control because it is part of the regular forces, is constantly improving its links to the local communities as a regular HG would.[47] Finland's 20th Century history, including its Civil War, makes it politically impossible for Finland to develop a true HG.[48] Thus, the development of the PF is a very practical substitute for a regular HG.

During the last four years there has been no development of a HG in Iceland. After the NATO/US troops left Iceland in 2006, draft legislation was introduced during 2007 in Iceland's Parliament to form a small NG force of about 750 personnel[49] and in early 2008 a concept was explored to develop an armed police reserve of about 240 personnel.[50] As a result of the Autumn 2008 worldwide recession there was a serious financial collapse in Iceland causing the Icelandic government to change course in early 2009 and neither of the above concepts for a NG or an armed police reserve have developed. Instead the new government has merged some of the departments and cabinet offices.[51] The Icelandic Defense Agency (IDA) which was formed in 2008 as part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has now been disbanded to save funds and its duties have been taken over by the very small Coast Guard which is now part of the newly formed Ministry of the Interior.[52]

The two Southern Tier Countries (published in 2011):[53]

After a rather difficult past, Germany and Poland are trying as best as they can to overcome the painful historical legacy. Without any doubt, internal and international conditions for a permanent German-Polish reconciliation are now better than at any other time in recent history. Motivated by a common heritage and by a mutual interest in European stability and security, German-Polish reconciliation has its own spontaneous dynamic independent of governments and politicians. Friendly relations between Germans and Poles are as essential for peace and security in Europe as cordial links between France and Germany. In political terms, the current and future course of German-Polish relations will have a direct bearing on the architecture of both the entire European continent and that of Germany and Poland more specifically.[54*]

Since the publication of this article in 2011 the westernizing process continues. Germany's reorientation from its previous Cold War frontier position in NATO and Poland's reorientation from its previous Cold War frontier position in the Warsaw Pact were basically complete when the worldwide recession started in 2008. Both countries' economies have slowed during the recent economic crisis, even though Germany has the strongest economy in Europe. Poland has weathered the worldwide problem fairly well, maybe because of its large domestic market and not being very dependent on international trade.

Poland has pursued a policy of economic liberalization since 1990 and today stands out as a success story among transition economies. It is the only country in the European Union to maintain positive GDP growth through the 2008-2009 economic downturn.[55]

As stated above, the laws and rules of conscription for military service are changing in many countries in Europe including Poland in 2009 and Germany in 2011. In both of these large countries conscription has completely ended. Since this is a massive change, it is too soon to completely see what will be the long-term effect on the military structure, but even at an early stage, the transition seems to be operating smoothly.

Neither Germany nor Poland has a HG and neither seems to be interested in constructing one or even a de facto HG like Finland. When the Polish new reserve system, the National Reserve Forces (NRF), was developing in 2009, it seemed as if this might be a de facto HG, but now with it in place, it does not seem to be maturing in that direction.[56] As it is, the NRF is growing more slowly than was projected maybe because of unsatisfactory recruiting efforts and/or overly optimistic plans.[57]

Even though Germany has no HG, it has continued to take part in the USA's Reciprocal Unit Exchange Program (RUE) (details discussed below in the "Conclusion"). RUE, a very useful and realistic training tool, allows German units to train in the USA with American units and American units not stationed in Germany to train in Germany with German units.[58]

Cooperation especially concerning defense within the Baltic Sea Region:

A) Baltic Security Cooperation:

There are many avenues of cooperation in the Baltic Sea Region of Northern Europe. The three Baltic States have developed several military links with the most significant being the Baltic Defence College (BALTDECOL) in Tartu, Estonia. The opening of BALTDECOL in February 1999 is an example of the financial and practical support which streamlined training and made the three states more interoperable. BALTDECOL is an exciting opportunity for NATO members and other Western European nations (Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, etc.) to help train field-grade Baltic officers of regular, reserve and HG forces. It is a very unusual organization in three ways: most of the early funding was from non-Baltic countries (especially Denmark and Sweden), only three of the original instructors were from the three Baltic States when most of the students were/are from the Baltics, and the language of instruction is English not one of the local languages. This means all of the Baltic students (including potential reserve and guard field-grade officers) in the

eleven-month program are heavily exposed to Western military ideas and NATO's main operating language.[59]

BALTDECOL now has many of its instructors and most of its funding from the three Baltic States, but the foundation of this institution was dependent on NATO/EU concepts and personnel long before the Baltic States joined the EU or NATO.[60] In addition the very heavy involvement of the Nordic countries in the early development of BALTDECOL provided an opportunity for a strong continuing foundation for deep cooperation not only among the three Baltic States but also with at least four of the Nordic countries. The BALTDECOL is indeed a true Baltic Sea Region project.

There have been several other cooperative training programs that include the Baltic Challenge exercises (using troops from all Baltic States, other European countries, and the US). Also, besides the creation of BALTDECOL, an educational institution, the Baltic States have formed some multi-state military organizations each having had a supporting Baltic Sea Region country when founded:

BALTBAT, Baltic (infantry) Battalion originally supported by Norway has been involved in peacekeeping outside of the Baltic Sea region. Within the three Baltic States, the original BALTBAT was led by Latvia, but that was dissolved in 2003. A new BALTBAT was created at the end of 2007, this time with Lithuania being the lead nation and this three-country battalion is mainly used for UN/EU/NATO peacekeeping missions.[61]

BALTCCIS was a Baltic Command and Control Information System project led and designed by the German Air Force Information Center in Birkenfeld, Germany. It played an important role in the development of modern staffs at the national levels of all three Baltic States. It was an innovative design for use in the cross-border environment of the Baltic region of Europe.[62] With the three Baltic States now in NATO the need for BALTCCIS has ended.[63]

BALTSEA, Baltic Security Assistance Forum, was established April 1997 in Oslo, Norway based on an agreement among 15 NATO and non NATO members in Europe and two NATO members in North America. BALTSEA had played an exceptional role in coordinating the foreign assistance of 14 supporting states to the Baltic Nations. The main objective of the forum had been to streamline the efforts of the countries involved in this co-operation and to optimize the use of resources in the Baltic region.[64] With the three Baltic States joining NATO in 2004, the need for BALTSEA began to change and the forum was disbanded in late 2005. A yearly meeting/seminar/conference of the 17 nations that were involved in BALTSEA is now held to discuss the current security and defense situation in the region.[65]

BALTRON, Baltic Squadron, is a naval mine sweeping squadron originally supported by Germany and BALTNET is the Baltic Air Surveillance Network that was originally supported by Norway. Both BALTRON and BALTNET are continuing in basically their original format.[66]

The joint institutions mentioned above are designed to have military members in all three branches of service and at all ranks, including reserve/HG members on extended active duty. These are and have been very positive experiments in interoperability. Like BALTDECOL, all joint Baltic programs require the use of English… and have to function with NATO standards.[67]

B) Nordic Cooperation:

The culture and history of Scandinavia are intertwined. The languages of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are very similar and Icelandic is directly related to these three. Finnish is completely unlike the other four languages, but is very similar to Estonian. The five Nordic countries have had a long history of working together and from 1392-1448 were under one crown, the Union of Kalmar, and the majority of today's population has the same Lutheran religion.[68] This Nordic cooperation has not always been completely friendly since Norway, Iceland and Estonia at times have been part of the Danish empire, and Norway,

Finland, and Estonia at times have been under Swedish influence. However, since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, actual "civil wars" within Scandinavia have completely ended.[69]

From the final end of the Kalmar Union in 1523 until the present there has been an increasing desire by citizens of the five Nordic countries for "inter-Scandinavian cooperation" with decreasing political, but increasing economic and cultural interests.[70] Many Scandinavian organizations have developed. Currently two of the most important organizations are the Nordic Council of Ministers, for government cooperation, and the Nordic Council, for parliamentary cooperation, which alone helps fund over 20 other Nordic institutions.[71]

Between World War I and World War II and immediately after World War II, under the umbrella of the League of Nations and later under the early United Nations [UN], serious attempts were made to have cooperation in defense issues and even to form a defense union among the Nordic countries. With the creation of NATO these concepts seemed to diminish, but now with the European Battle Groups, the concept of a Nordic defense group has reappeared. Within the EU Sweden has become the lead nation of the Nordic Battlegroup along with Estonia, Finland, Ireland, and Norway (not in the EU). This is one of several rapid reaction force structures of about 1500 troops set up by the EU's European Security and Defence Policy [ESDP].[72] To see a very detailed discussion of the ESDP, look at *Security and Defense Policy in the European Union* by Dr. Jolyon Howorth, a British expert on European, especially French, defense who presently teaches at Yale University in the USA.[73]

For the first time in the almost 200 years, Sweden made an extremely significant shift to its foreign and security policy of neutrality. In December 2007 the Swedish Defence Commission made the following announcement as part of a press release:

Sweden will not take a passive stance if another EU Member State or other Nordic country suffers a disaster or an attack. We expect these countries to act in the same way if Sweden were affected.[74]

The next very significant event was in November 2009 when the five Nordic Ministers of Defense meeting in Helsinki signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) that formed the Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEFCO).

NORDEFCO does not aim for new military or political alliances between the nations. Mutually reinforcing cooperation in capability development can be achieved without negative influence on participating countries' different foreign and security policy orientation and membership obligations in NATO, the EU and the UN. On the contrary, closer practical cooperation in capability development would constitute a supplemental approach in providing the capabilities and forces required by these organisations.[75]

C. Joint Nordic and Baltic Cooperation:

The first signs of modern cooperation between the countries of northern Europe occurred at the end of WW I in 1918 and 1919 with the assistance provided to the people of both Finland and Estonia during their wars of independence. Assistance came from volunteers and even the intervention of some regular forces of other countries.[76] One of the most notable uses of a regular force was in late 1918 when "a British fleet and volunteer fighters from" some of the Nordic countries, conducting "military intervention" on behalf of Estonian independence, assisted the Estonians with armed attacks against the Soviets to free Estonia of Russian domination.[77]

Until very recently, besides the BALTDECOL few other joint Baltic and Nordic cooperative activities had reached the grand scale of affecting reserves and HG forces. It seems that within the last few years significant changes have started to take place in the Baltic Sea Region that might have an impact on all of Europe and maybe all of NATO.

In late 2010 NORDEFCO invited the Baltic States to become involved with NORDEFCO on certain limited issues. This is not inviting them to be full members, but it is a significant first step.[78]

There is a strong relationship between the Baltic States, especially Estonia, and the Nordic Countries: Finland and Estonia speak languages that are closely related. In the very distance past parts of northwest Estonia were under the Danish flag, and a little more recently parts of both Estonia and Latvia were under the Swedish flag at the same time that Finland was too.[79] The activities of the early years since the Cold War (including the building of the Baltic Defence College and other programs mentioned above) have laid the foundation for new activities to be carried out in "the spirit" of NORDEFCO which has no permanent secretariat.

At this time NORDEFCO has made no effort to link with Germany and Poland, but this is the early stages of a new concept in the Baltic Sea Region. With this greater cooperation military students of the Baltic Sea Region countries (except Iceland) are already attending military training in each other's countries and there are no restrictions on some of these students being members of the reserves and HGs of those countries. The defense staffs of the NORDEFCO countries are now meeting on a regular basis and thus more cooperation is taking place. "In the spirit of" NORDEFCO there is a growing theoretical concept of developing the Baltic Defence College into an institution that in addition to its present duties might also become the coordinating body for a Baltic Sea Region institution providing strategic training at the same level as the US and British War Colleges. Presently this type of training is not done anywhere in the Baltic nor Nordic Countries.[80]

This movement towards cooperation and integration among Europe's small states is discussed in detail by Dr. Jean-Marc Rickli of Oxford University in his 2008 article which he summarizes with:

Even the most unlikely candidates, the Cold War neutral states [Finland & Sweden], have shifted their security strategy towards cooperation. … this has implied increasing defence integration and role specialization to become interoperable with the standards set by NATO and the EU.[81]

The positive attitudes of Baltic Sea Region countries concerning joint cooperation in northern Europe should be contrasted with Russia's antagonistic attitude, which drives some of the external debate about the security of the whole region. Since the end of the Cold War should Russia be seen as the enemy or even a threat? Russia had hoped to develop a buffer zone between it and the West or at least a trading zone, but no one in the Baltic Sea Region is interested in being part of this "gray zone." In June 2012 a speech given by Russian General Nikolal Makarov helped convince many in this "gray zone" that Russia is a threat when the General produced a map showing Europe divided between a Russian missile security zone and a NATO security zone with Finland and the three Baltic States in the Russian zone.[82]Also "Russia's threats have produced precisely the opposite of their intended aim."[83] Russia's unpredictable actions, as demonstrated by its past cutting off natural gas to the Ukraine, create tension and only fortify Baltic/Nordic interest in looking westward to both NATO and the EU.[84] The March/April 2014, situation between Russia and the Ukraine, with Russia physically taking the Crimea, clearly demonstrates that Russia is a dominant force in the north east of Europe that causes concern to the other European states. As stated by a member of the Finnish Parliament in a newspaper quote on 4 September 2007: "Neutrality is a thing of the past."[85]

The security dilemma between Russia and the Baltic States …[has been] … the most vulnerable security issue in the region with the potential to be transferred into the interstate conflict. … The Baltic States perceive Russia as the main threat to their security, emphasizing that Russia has territorial interest in the region.[86]

In Tartu, Estonia on 8 February 2011, the defense ministers of Estonia and Sweden signed an agreement on defense cooperation that outlines the key priorities for defense-related cooperation between the two states (procurement, education & training of forces plus information sharing).[87]

With Poland being wooed by Paris & Berlin, the U.S. consumed by the Islamic world & NATO quickly becoming aloof to their security woes, the Baltics are turning to the one alternative in the region: Nordic states.

The Estonian/Swedish agreement is one example of recent moves by the Baltic States to increase cooperation with the Nordic countries.[88]

This increased cooperation within the Baltic Sea Region supports the increased importance of HG and reserve military personnel for the following reasons:

> a) With increased cooperation each nation of the Baltic Sea Region feels more secure and therefore can have a smaller professional military with more dependence on reserve/HG forces;

> b) With increased cooperation among neighboring countries opportunities abound to perform joint multinational training that is open to reserve/HG forces. These exercises are performed in the physical settings of different countries thus providing a variety of realistic scenarios to HG/reserve forces that they would not normally have without regional cooperation.

As US Secretary of State and retired General of the Army (Field Marshal in the European rank structure) George C. Marshall stated in June 1951: "The importance of adequate reserve forces to the security of the nation has been clearly demonstrated by recent world events…"[89]

Conclusion

Increasing the smaller size of tomorrow's forces will be done by mobilising reserves, by calling to active duty men and women who have been trained militarily, who are civilians in daily life but will be available if needed. … They are known under different names like Reservists or Guards. Whatever their name, nationality or service, they have one common denominator: they will serve if the need is there – they are citizen soldiers.[90]

There is considerable debate among Western nations about potential new members of NATO, the defense mechanisms of the EU, and how

to improve security in Europe. According to a specialist on world security, Buzan, international security is a five dimensional issue (military, political, economic, societal and environmental) and joining NATO only assists with one or maybe two of these dimensions. Some Baltic Sea countries have joined the EU. This step has helped add another one or two of Buzan's security dimensions. By being NATO and EU members and working closely together with other European nations (e.g. forming and joining NORDEFCO), maybe all five of Buzan's dimensions have been addressed for some of the countries of the Baltic Sea Region.[91]

The NATO & EU programs promoting interoperability, although complicated to coordinate, help strengthen the credibility of the militaries in the eyes of any potential foes. The programs increase the ability of HG/reserve and active forces of the ten Baltic Sea Region states to train successfully to NATO standards no matter if a country is a member of NATO or not, and organizations like NORDEFCO made up of both NATO and non NATO members greatly assists in this process.

Dr. Glenn Snyder, a leading political scientist specializing in international relations, states that there are two possible motives for a country to join an alliance or a collective defense organization like NATO: the "guarantee motive" and the "get help motive." According to Snyder, "most alliances [including NATO] have some mixture of these two characteristics…"[92] In NATO's case, the USA is providing the bulk of the guarantee and many European countries, especially the smaller ones, are getting the help, but all are under the security umbrella and in the collective defense together.

Danish LT General Hillingso states that a major reason for membership in a collective defense organization like NATO is that, if a country is a member of NATO, it does not matter if it is defendable or not because an attack on one is an attack on all. An enemy would think twice before it attacks small nations, if it knows that all NATO would respond with the possibility of some mobilization. As stated earlier in this paper, a key statement that Hillingso makes is that for a group of small nations to survive they must work together and they must have a total defense

system that mobilizes the whole nation. He and others advocate the theory that to mobilize the whole country, a strong reserve and HG system is needed that is quick to respond with credible plans and weapons.[93]

In the field of collective defense, all ten of the Baltic Sea Region countries have believed for the West (NATO & EU) to be able to help them, they must be strong enough to hold on until reinforcements arrive. All ten countries have helped themselves by adopting NATO standards for interoperability, participating in NATO exercises, working with EU and NATO partners, and developing both total and collective defense systems which include credible reserve structures.[94]

The reserve component concept first developed by the Swedes, Prussians (Germans), and other Europeans in the 1600-1800s is very significant today in northern Europe.[95] "This idea that the army was not to fight the next war, but was to train the nation to fight the next war, should not be underemphasized! ... Theoretically, the Prussians believed, when the reservists marched off to war, his hometown support marched (symbolically) with him."[96]

This concept of total mobilization that allowed Finland to successfully defend itself in World War II against the USSR is a model for other countries. The reserve systems of all Baltic Sea Region countries (except Iceland) are becoming increasingly modernized. The Baltic Sea Region's modern reserve/HG forces are now designed to mobilize within a few hours to protect strategic locations thus providing host nation support as part of collective defense. Also, if necessary, the HG forces of many of the Baltic Sea nations might be able to form plausible guerrilla forces, which would provide an additional deterrent to any enemy thinking of attacking. Historical evidence indicates that several of the countries in the Baltic Sea Region have had a link between guerrilla forces and the HG.[97]

The HG concept continues to develop in northern Europe and, if Finland's "*Maakuntajoukot*" or Provincial Forces (PF) is counted as a *de facto* HG,[98] seven of the ten Baltic Sea Region countries have HGs.

Thus, as has been shown above, the HG can save defense funds, provide excellent military forces, provide a possible training forum for development of guerrilla forces, and provide a strong link between the civilian community and the military society. Therefore it seems that Iceland, Germany and Poland could look very carefully into the development of a HG or at least in the case of Germany and Poland have some of their reserve troops begin to function as a *de facto* HG.

With the end of the Cold War starting in 1992 the countries of northern Europe began to look for a financial peace dividend. The desire to save money on defense has continued through today reinforced by the world economic recession of the last five years and twenty two years of peace in the Baltic Sea region. As discussed by Dr. John Preston in his very recent book *Kuhn's The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* timing and supporting events are a key for changes in paradigms.[99] Budget cuts across all governments departments have helped support the Preston's discussion concerning Kuhn's theories in relation to the timing of a paradigm shift towards a greater dependence on the reserves and HG/NG or militias in the Baltic Sea nations.[100] This new thinking would allow the countries that adopt a greater dependence on reserves/militias to save money and still have a strong defense. This paradigm shift might make it possible for the Baltic Sea nations, who already have a long history of using well-trained militias, to maybe develop a militia system like Switzerland's which has the greatest dependence on the use of militia of any European country.[101]

As stated above, one area that allows Germany and Norway to excel in training is their involvement in the USA's Reciprocal (Small) Unit Exchange Program (RUE formerly SUE). Germany, Norway, and as of 2012, Denmark, are the only Baltic Sea countries that are part of this program, but other countries do belong (e.g. Britain and Belgium). The RUE allows reciprocal training exchanges of company size units every year for training and 50% of the costs are paid by the USA. Countries formerly behind the "Iron Curtain" (e.g. Estonia & Poland) might be eligible to apply for 100% coverage by the USA, and presently it looks like Estonia is considering RUE.[102]

For many years the active and reserve forces of Germany as well as the HG of Norway have trained with active, reserve, and NG forces of the USA. Every year the German and Norwegian military have had exposure to training opportunities from a non-Nordic/non-European source. Therefore long before the end of the Cold War, the recent European reductions in the size of active forces and the consequent improvement of reserves/HGs, Germany and Norway have had some special company size training for its military. Maybe this long-term special cooperative training can partly explain German and Norwegian preparedness. Naturally annual training with the US is only one factor, but an option that could be explored by other Baltic countries. The training opportunities allowed by law under the State Partnership Program (SPP) between nations (e.g. Estonia with Maryland & Poland with Illinois), could be expanded into RUE by a memorandum of understanding (MOU) before the SPP ends in its present format and cuts off valuable training for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland just when the countries are expanding their western military type training. As the above sections on the Baltic Sea Region and the following quote summarize, the countries of the Baltic Sea Region are carefully modifying their defense organizations including the use of conscripts, reserves and the HG to deal with current situations:

From this analysis it would appear that NATO [& EU] leaders should be very supportive of reserve forces in light of the changes now swirling through Europe. Indeed, reserves may be among the best hopes of those who would argue that military forces need to be maintained in Europe … Thus, if reserve forces are the bastions of support for the military in Western democracies and bulwarks against pacifism … then NATO [& EU] leaders need to provide every encouragement to member governments to continue to actively maintain & promote reserves.[103]

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"We have an entire ocean region that had previously been closed to the world now opening up," Huebert said. "There are numerous factors now coming together that are mutually reinforcing themselves, causing a build-up of military capabilities in the region. This is only going to increase as time goes on."

Statement by Rob Huebert, Eric Talmadge, Huffington Post: "*Arctic Climate Change Opening Region to New Military Activity*", 16 April 2012.

Arctic – the New "Great Game" or Peaceful Cooperation?

By Colonel (Retired) Risto Gabrielsson and Colonel (Retired) Zdzislaw Sliwa, PhD[*]

The global warming issue has been an ongoing topic for decades and is very controversial. Different participants regarded climate changes as normal phenomena that have been present throughout history. Nevertheless, a majority of scientists seem to think that the global warming, or the "greenhouse effect", is in fact still taking place and the world's average temperature is rising alarmingly. This process could have several outcomes. One of them could be the opening of the so called North-Western route through the Arctic from Northern Europe to the Pacific. Another result could be emerging opportunities to explore the whole area and its continental shelf followed by exploitation of vast natural resources. Is it the opening of a new frontiers or the start of a new "Great Game" among nations; this time in the Arctic area?

It is recognized that the Arctic Ocean's summer ice cover is only half of what it was 50 years ago[1] and climate change has meaningful impact on the indigenous people and possible exploitation of the region. What is important is that the natural resources include rare minerals, oil, gas and timber, all of which make them worth the attention of many nations. Moreover, access to new marine areas present new fishing opportunities, as traditional areas are already overfished. Arctic tourism to this exotic area is on the rise. As for now, there are four major global players interested in the Arctic: Russia, China, the US and EU.[2] They are all

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[*] *Colonel (ret) Risto Gabrielsson and Colonel (Retired) Zdzislaw Sliwa, PhD are members of the faculty of the Baltic Defence College.*

doing intensive research and looking for legal based options to exploit resources.

The natural resources in the Arctic are quite remarkable to include large deposits of nickel, zinc and iron ore. However, the most valuable resources are gas reserves, which could amount to as much as 30 % of the world's undiscovered reserves, as well as oil, which encompasses some 13 % of world's undiscovered stocks.[3] This is confirmed by the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) report, estimating that „m*ore than 70 percent of the mean undiscovered oil resources is estimated to occur in five provinces: Arctic Alaska, Amerasia Basin, East Greenland Rift Basins, East Barents Basins, and West Greenland–East Canada. More than 70 percent of the undiscovered natural gas is estimated to occur in three provinces, the West Siberian Basin, the East Barents Basins, and Arctic Alaska.*"[4] Such vast reserves could be a source of competition involving use all available instruments of power by global powers. According to scholar Scott G. Borgerson, without *"U.S. leadership to help develop diplomatic solutions to competing claims and potential conflicts, the region could erupt in an armed mad dash for its resources."*[5] Nevertheless, so far nothing indicates that the disputes would cause major instability over the exploitation of the area. But, Russia shocked the world when its mini-submarine dived at the North Pole and placed a Russian flag on the seabed. Still, arguments calmed quickly after this episode. The situation is further complicated as a result of the legal status of the Arctic region. Currently, eight countries have land borders there, namely: Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Canada and USA. However this does not cause border disputes. Five of these states abut the Arctic Ocean having land in the Arctic Circle: Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and United States. Moreover, there are Iceland, Finland, and Sweden possessing land in the circle.[6] The possession of land is an important factor as it is related to Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) supporting legal claims.

Nevertheless, currently there are some minor issues regarding maritime territory between Canada and USA in relation to the Beaufort Sea, and between Canada and Denmark in relation to the Baffin Bay. However, Norway and Russia have already agreed upon the boundary in the Barents Sea.[7] As for now, Norway and Russia are most actively

exploiting the gas and oil resources in the area. In general, even though the region is rich in resources, its influence to boost the economy of the „regional eight" is estimated to be moderate. It looks that the new emerging options could have a greater impact rather on rising economies like China and India, which are looking for possibilities to benefit from the Far North's resources.[8]

Arctic Highway found?

It has been a long-time dream of rulers and businessmen of Europe to open a free Northeast / Northwest Passage from Europe to USA and the Pacific. Such the shorter way would make a sea trip faster and much cheaper. However, such an option will not be available as even though the climate seems to be warming, as the Arctic's ice cap does not diminish evenly each year. In autumn 2013 it seemed to expand steadily again, but then in the beginning of 2014 it diminished quite significantly. The Finnish News Agency *Yle 1 Uutiset* reported, „*according to the American research institute NSIDC the northern sea ice cap has been the third smallest during the history of measurement and for a while second smallest during this year. The satellite measures started in 1979. Last autumn the Arctic ice cap expanded fast, but the increase slowed down in December. In mid-January the ice cap was about 800'000 square kilometres smaller than the average during the last 30 years*".[9]

There are predictions that sea ice could speed up melting down soon- in the summer of 2015 or 2016. Such the opinion was presented in the Guardian by recognized ice expert Prof Wadhams of Cambridge University[10]. He claims, *"Climate change is no longer something we can aim to do something about in a few decades' time, and that we must not only urgently reduce CO_2 emissions but must urgently examine other ways of slowing global warming, such as the various geoengineering ideas that have been put forward."*[11] However, other estimates state that the northern sea routes would be ice free even sooner, but only during just a few days or weeks during the summer period. However, ice-clogged winters throughout current century could change the situation. Use of those routes would theoretically be possible, but with significant constraints as the speed of many ships will not be

high enough to overcome icy southern routes. Arctic navigation also includes risks linked with routes that are not in use year-round.[12]

Conflicts expected in the region?

 As for now, any serious international conflicts in this area are not likely even though there are real expectations and Artic claims imposed by several nations. The current peaceful cooperation is supported by feasible treaties that are already in place. The U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea for example, "*comprises 320 articles and nine annexes, governing all aspects of ocean space, such as delimitation, environmental control, marine scientific research, economic and commercial activities, transfer of technology and the settlement of disputes relating to ocean matters*". Some of the key features of the Convention are the following:

- Coastal States exercise sovereignty over their territorial sea which they have the right to establish its breadth up to a limit not to exceed 12 nautical miles; foreign vessels are allowed "innocent passage" through those waters;
- Ships and aircraft of all countries are allowed "transit passage" through straits used for international navigation; States bordering the straits can regulate navigational and other aspects of passage;
- Coastal States have sovereign rights in a 200-nautical mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ) with respect to natural resources and certain economic activities, and exercise jurisdiction over marine science research and environmental protection;
- Coastal States have sovereign rights over the continental shelf (the national area of the seabed) for exploring and exploiting it; the shelf can extend at least 200 nautical miles from the shore, and more under specified circumstances;
- All marine scientific research in the EEZ and on the continental shelf is subject to the consent of the coastal state, but in most cases they are obliged to grant consent to other

states when the research is to be conducted for peaceful purposes and fulfils specified criteria.[13]
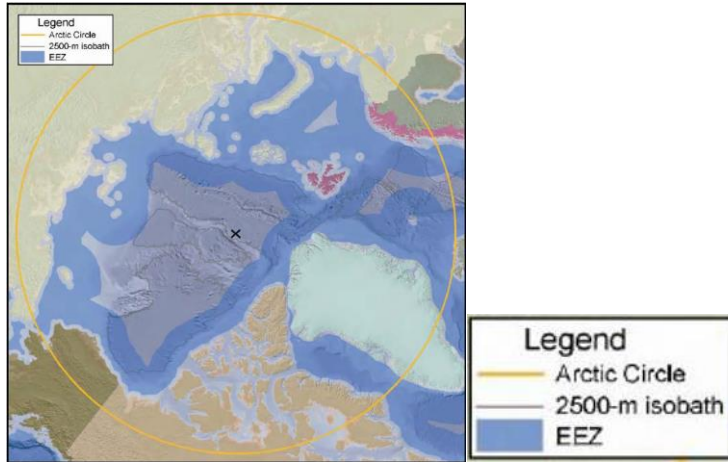

Fig. 1. The Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).

Each of the five states bordering the Arctic Ocean has claimed its respective EEZ and its outer limit cannot exceed 200 nautical miles. Recognition of their rights could have significant consequences as they could possess sovereign rights over all living and non-living resources in the water column, seabed, and subsoil. The limits of the EEZ are ambulatory.[14]

The U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is overarching and gives broad rights also to those nations that are not even bordering the countries of the Arctic Region. It emphasizes the peaceful use and scientific research of the region and free passage through the straits used for international navigation. Another important organization is the Arctic Council, a high-level intergovernmental forum founded in 1996 by the Ottawa Declaration. It consists of eight member states: Canada, Denmark (including Greenland and the Faroe Islands), Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States. Additionally, six international organizations representing Arctic Indigenous Peoples have membership participant status.[15] The aim of the Council is to:

- provide means for promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States, with the involvement of the Arctic indigenous communities and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues, in particular issues of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic,
- oversee and coordinate the programs established under the AEPS[16] on the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP), Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME); and Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response (EPPR),
- adopt terms of reference for, and oversee and coordinate a sustainable development program,
- disseminate information, encourage education and promote interest in Arctic-related issues.[17]

It is remarkable that military security issues are not included in the agenda of the Arctic Council. Although the Council has not made bonding agreements or treaties, its importance has increased due to fruitful cooperation in recent years. The security aspect is nevertheless important. Even though military conflicts are not very likely in the area, there is a visible growth of military presence there. Canada, Norway and Russia – members of the Council - have had military and naval exercises in the region. Conversely, the USA has not been very active, but lately has paid more interest in this hemisphere. The US Department of the Navy published on 10 November 2009 the NAVY Arctic Roadmap recognizing that the climate is changing and most rapid changes are taking place in the Arctic. As a result as "*the Arctic is primarily a maritime environment, the NAVY must consider the changing arctic in developing future policy, strategy, force structure, and investment*".[18]   What is important is that both the EU and NATO include members and non-members of the Arctic Council and neither organization has been very active in an Arctic context yet. This is significant as potentially these organisations could have much stronger role in building cooperation, trust and security in the area. European Union's Arctic Conference is still planned, but with no visible timeline.

Russian Arctic Policy – protecting an unalienable part of the Russian Federation

In late March 2009, the Kremlin publicly released the full text of its new Arctic strategy. The document, first issued in September 2008, lays out a remarkable expansion of official Russian sovereign interests in what was previously agreed-upon as part of the so-called *"global commons"*.[19] It includes four chapters: 1. Russia's national interests in the Arctic; 2. Main goals and strategic priorities; 3. Fundamental tasks and means of realization of state policy; and 4. Fundamental mechanisms of implementation of the policy. It does not provide any clear differentiation between the various terms employed in the document (e.g. "interests", "goals", "priorities", "tasks", "means" and "mechanisms"). The state policy emphasizes the importance of the region in two domains: as the North Sea passage and "Russia's foremost strategic base for natural resources" by 2020.[20]

The first chapter describes five main goals in the Arctic including expanding the resource base in the region to fulfil „*Russia's need for hydrocarbon resources, aqueous biological resources, and other forms of strategic material*"[21]. The second chapter deals with national security, protection and defence of national boundaries based on preserving military capabilities in the region. The next chapters highlight the preservation and protection of the natural ecosystem; formation of a unified information space, and the importance of „*international cooperation, guaranteeing mutually beneficial bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the Russian Federation and other Arctic states on the basis of international treaties and agreements to which the Russian Federation is a signatory*".[22] The updated document provides general policy guidelines, which will be implemented by all national structures related to the Arctic "*on the basis of the document and subsequently on their implementation—or lack thereof. As experience with the previous ambitious plans shows, achieving the goals may take longer than scheduled, if they are achieved at all.*"[23]
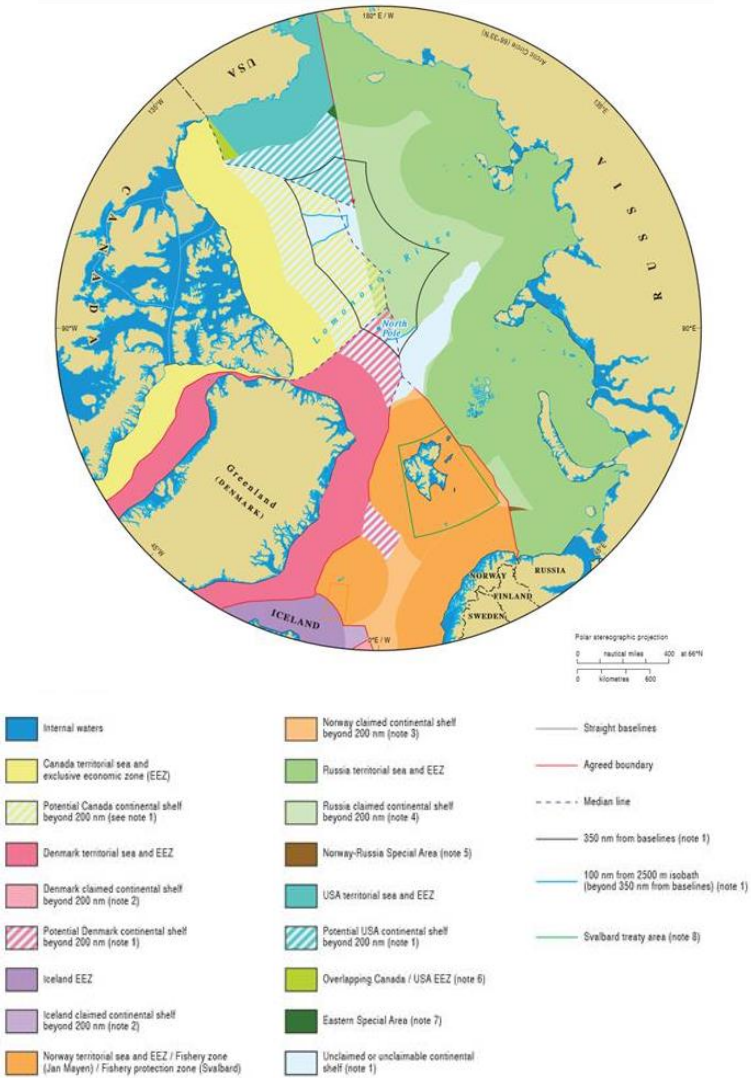
Fig. 2. Maritime jurisdiction and boundaries in the Arctic region.

Figure 2 depicts potential areas of continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles (nm) for Canada, Denmark and the USA. These are theoretical maximum claims assuming that none of the states' claims the continental shelf beyond median lines with neighbouring states where maritime boundaries have not been agreed. In reality, the claimable areas may fall well short of the theoretical maximums. It is also possible that one or more states will claim areas beyond the median lines. (The map: © International Boundaries Research Unit, Durham University)[24]

Closely intertwined with the importance of the region to Russia are the country's efforts to delineate the outer limits of the continental shelf in the Arctic Ocean region, defined as a top priority task to be accomplished by 2015. What is significant is that the Russian government is clear that the process has to be carried out entirely within the framework of international law.[25]

The importance of the Arctic is closely related to the Russian economy, which is still heavily dependent on raw materials export. The policy paper outlines it clearly. Russia is placing a great part of the development of the economy on the exploitation of the vast Arctic energy resources and free passage for commercial traffic. It has no choice but to look for new resources, and at the same time denying their use by other actors to preserve strong position on resources market and to support economic development. To secure this Moscow is building up and maintaining the required military capability within the ongoing process of its armed forces modernization. The policy paper intentionally articulates the importance of cooperation with the international community according to the international treaties and agreements when exploiting the Arctic. Russia, as well as its neighbour China, does not yet possess power projection capability to match that of the USA, so both countries prefer to influence the developments through international organizations like the United Nations.

Continental Shelf, (The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea)

Article 76, Definition of the continental shelf

1. The continental shelf of a coastal State comprises the seabed and subsoil of the submarine areas that extend beyond its territorial sea throughout the natural prolongation of its land territory to the outer edge of the continental margin, or to a distance of 200 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured where the outer edge of the continental margin does not extend up to that distance.

Rights of the coastal State over the continental shelf

1. The coastal State exercises over the continental shelf sovereign rights for the purpose of exploring it and exploiting its natural resources.
2. The rights referred to in paragraph 1 are exclusive in the sense that if the coastal State does not explore the continental shelf or exploit its natural resources, no one may undertake these activities without the express consent of the coastal State.
3. The rights of the coastal State over the continental shelf do not depend on occupation, effective or notional, or on any express proclamation.
4. The natural resources referred to in this Part consist of the mineral and other non-living resources of the seabed and subsoil together with living organisms belonging to sedentary species, that is to say, organisms which, at the harvestable stage, either are immobile on or under the seabed or are unable to move except in constant physical contact with the seabed or the subsoil.

Russian territorial claims

Under the international law no country owns the North Pole or the region around it. The UNCLOS states that, *"every State has the right to establish the breadth of its territorial sea up to a limit not exceeding 12 nautical miles, measured from baselines determined in accordance with this Convention. The outer limit of the territorial sea is the line every point of which is at a distance from the nearest point of the baseline equal to the breadth of the territorial sea. Except where otherwise provided in this Convention, the normal baseline for measuring the breadth of the territorial sea is the low-water line along the coast as marked on large-scale charts officially recognized by the coastal State."[26]* So, following defined international law *„ no one owns the Arctic but adjacent countries can ask the United Nations for an extension of their own zones of economic interest beyond the standard 200 miles if they can prove that the seabed is an extension of their own continental shelf. Russia got started early, sending two major scientific expeditions into the deep Arctic to collect evidence that the sea floor all the way up to the North Pole, known as the Lomonosov Shelf, is actually a continuation of the Siberian landmass and thus, Russian territory."[27]*

Following the UNCLOS, the five states (USA, Canada, Russia, Norway and Denmark), that abut the Arctic Ocean are limited to an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which is: *"The exclusive economic zone is an area beyond and adjacent to the territorial sea, subject to the specific legal regime established in this Part, under which the rights and jurisdiction of the coastal State and the rights and freedoms of other States are governed by the relevant provisions of this Convention. The exclusive economic zone shall not extend beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured."[28]*

During the last century the Polar region and major part of the Arctic Sea and the sea bottom were considered to be international space. Nevertheless, two factors have prompted several countries to make new claims in the Arctic area: the adopted UNCLOS and the seasonal retreating ice cap in the area. However, the extended continental shelf does not spread over a state's EEZ since it is determined solely by drawing a 200-nautical-mile (370 km) line using territorial sea baselines as their starting point as stated in Article 57 of the UNCLOS. There are several disputes about territorial rights among several states. One of the

older ones was a Russian and Norwegian 40 year long dispute related to, "*dividing the Barents Sea and part of the Arctic Ocean into clear economic zones extending to the edge of Europe's northern continental shelf*".[29]   The two countries reached an agreement in 2010 and divided the area in question in half. The only party that was disappointed after this successful agreement was the Greenpeace who were upset that the representatives talked about oil and gas right after the agreement and not about global warming.[30]

Nevertheless, the Russian Federation has the greatest claims in Arctic area believing that its Lomonosov Ridge stretches all the way to the Northern Pole, which gives rights to claim this sector of continental shelf (Lomonosov Ridge – see Fig. 2). The Russian expedition in 2007, when six explorers led by Artur Chilingarov planted a Russian flag on the seabed at Northern Pole, caused a lot of international criticism, not the least from Canada. Sergey Lavrov, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, defended the expedition stating planting the flag in unexplored territories is customary and that the mission was to take samples to prove Russian claims to that area. Pavel Baev in his research work, "Russia's Race for the Arctic and the New Geopolitics of the North Pole" writes: "*Officially, Moscow has maintained that it acted in full compliance with the Law of the Sea Convention. The goal of the on-going series of expeditions is to collect scientific evidence for resubmitting to the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) its request to confirm that some 460,000 mi² of underwater terrain between the Lomonosov and Mendeleev ridges are the continuation of the Siberian shelf and thus could be added to Russia's exclusive economic zone*".[31] According to Associated Press president Putin: … *angrily dismissed suggestions that the Arctic should be placed under the jurisdiction of the international community saying that "The Arctic is an unalienable part of the Russian Federation that has been under our sovereignty for a few centuries" and " it will be so for the time to come."*[32]

China's emergence in the "Arctic Race" has made Russia more concerned especially, according to statements made by Admiral Vladimir Vysotsky, Russia is not going to back one inch in the Arctic area it considers its own.[33] NATO's role in the area has also alarmed Vysotsky as, "*Russia's economic interests are threatened by the activities of NATO and a number of Asian countries in the Arctic*".[34] He is aware that politics must be

supported by other instruments of power including military capabilities. As a result, the Northern fleet, one of Russian four fleets, is the strongest one and possesses about two thirds of Russia's total maritime strength and special Arctic forces brigades will be established in the area. All the units will be subordinated to the newly created the Northern Fleet-United Strategic Command (Severny Flot-Obedinyonnoye Strategicheskoye Komandovaniye, SF-OSK)[35]. The most recent clash of statements has been that of Russia and Canada, enhanced by the planting of the flag on the seabed at the North Pole. As soon as then Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Baird announced that Canada would expand its territorial zone all the way to the Pole, this caused a reaction from Russian President Vladimir Putin, who made strong statement during Defence Ministry Board in Moscow, saying *"I would like you to devote special attention to deploying infrastructure and military units in the Arctic"*.[36]

Recognizing the need for dialogue the SIPRI's Arctic Futures project, in cooperation with Russia's Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), organized an international workshop in Moscow from 30 September to 01 October 2013 on Russia's Strategy for Developing the Arctic Region until 2020: Economics, Security, Environment and International Cooperation. The participants, officials and experts came from Russia, Europe, and North America but also, for the first time, also from North East Asian states including Republic of Korea and China.[37] In his speech Ambassador Anton Vasiliev, Russia's Senior Arctic Official to the Arctic Council, emphasized "*the positive, stable and predictable*" situation in the Arctic region highlighting the role of the Arctic Council as "*the central institution of cooperation in the Arctic*". Next, Dmitry Afinogenov, a representative of the Apparatus of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, underlined the strategic interests of the country; including national defence, economy and business and energy security.[38] During the workshop the following consensus seemed to prevail, "*Participants agreed that an armed conflict in the Arctic is highly unlikely and that the Arctic is one of the most stable regions in the world.*" Although, "*At the same time, the possibility of future conflict cannot be completely overruled but if conflict does happen it is more likely to be the result of spill-over from conflicts elsewhere. There may be a need to develop confidence-building mechanisms to avoid misunderstandings between the Arctic states in respect to traditional security*

issues."[39] It was also recognized that although shipping in the Northern Sea Route (NSR) has lately increased, it is not regarded as a serious competitor to Suez Canal for a long time in the future. The reasons are the challenging weather conditions, short period of navigation and underdeveloped infrastructure.[40]

When discussing the Russian approach it is noteworthy that the language differs as sometimes the official rhetoric is quite hard and offensive, sometimes international cooperation, obedience to the international laws and peaceful development are emphasized. Moreover, the significance of the UNCLOS, the Arctic Council and OSCE is often underlined. One could assume that a large part of the hard talk is for internal purposes and directed to the Russian people as a part of domestic politics as Moscow claims historical rights to the area. Whether the claims will show some practical benefits, is a question of the future. The events in Ukraine during the second decade of 21st century could be a warning that Russia, and maybe other nations, could be ready to use all necessary means to forward their political agendas in solving territorial disputes and claims. In relation to the Arctic it changes the situation by threatening possible developments.

Canadian Arctic Policy clashes with Russia, USA and Denmark?

Canada is the second country in the „Arctic Five" to have vast claims in the Arctic. Each country that abuts an ocean has a right, according to international law, to claim up to 200 nautical miles of seabed beyond its territorial markers. Such a country can even claim a further extension up to 350 nautical miles, if it can prove that the seabed is connected to the country's continental base.[41]

To be accepted, these claims need a thorough and comprehensive mapping of the area for the U.N. A process like this is expected to last from several years to decades. A country that has signed the UNCLOS has ten years' time, from the signing of the agreement, to make further claims. Canada signed UNCLOS in 2003, so the time to announce claims is limited and Prime Minister Harper did this at the last moment – in

2013.[42] It is a continuity of Canadian national policy as on July 9, 2007 Prime Minister Stephen Harper stated: "*Canada has a choice when it comes to defending our sovereignty over the Arctic. We either use it or lose it. Make no mistake; this Government intends to use it. Because Canada's Arctic is central to our national identity as a northern nation. It is part of our history. And it represents the tremendous potential of our future.*"[43] The reference to „ *...national identity as a northern nation"* sounds a bit like the Russian rhetoric about Arctic issue. It is speculated in the press that this claim is more about domestic politics than the possible raw materials in the seabed.[44] The new claim is expected to put Canada at odds not only with Russia, but possibly also with USA and Denmark, and the latter is supposed to have its own claim about the North Pole. Meanwhile, the USA worries more about the NSR and its status as an international waterway.[45]

Fig. 3 Map of the (Canadian) Northwest Passage

(Source: Foreign Policy Association, „The (Canadian) Northwest Passage",

December 3rd, 2009)

The dispute with Denmark concerns the Hans Island located in the centre of the Kennedy Channel of the Nares Strait between Canada's Ellesmere Island and Denmark's Greenland. Both countries recognize it as integral part of their territory. The island itself is small; but the ownership has an impact on the size of the maritime zone. Although the dispute goes on, it is so far peaceful and cooperative in nature.[46] It is important to mention that there is no certainty about the possibility to exploit natural resources in the Arctic Sea and also the option to use the NSR. Maritime zones are usually measured from the baseline where the dry ground ends and sea area starts. This baseline follows the contours of the coastline. In some cases, where the baseline is very dented with archipelagos and small bays, a country can draw a straight baseline around the whole area and count its maritime zone starting from this baseline. Doing so, Canada considers that the Northwest Passage is situated in its internal waters and, under international law, Canada is autonomous sovereign over this area.[47]

Contrary to the Canadian position in this matter, the USA regards the NSR to be in international waters. The country underlines that, „*Under International law, a strait must meet a geographical and a functional requirement to be considered international. The geographical requirement is that it must be a water corridor between adjacent land masses that links two bodies of the high seas or other waters. The functional requirement is that it be used as a route for international maritime traffic. If a strait meets these two requirements and is thus international in the legal sense, foreign states have navigation rights, or right of transit, through the strait – which means that they do not have to request permission to navigate through it*".[48] Some critics say that the sea traffic has been very scarce in this passage and this makes the US case weak. Others note that the traffic is supposed to increase because of global warming and it would fulfil the requirements to achieve international status. The dispute between Canada and USA is still ongoing. What makes it difficult to solve is the fact that the USA has not ratified the UNCLOS. So, on what basis could this case be solved?

Another dispute between Canada and the USA is related to defining the maritime boundary between Yokon and Alaska in the Beaufort Sea. The region, *"is considered to be resource-rich and both countries have their own concept*

how to delimitate the boundary. Multiple and overlapping claims create the constant potential for disputes. For instance, if the Lomonosov Ridge is proven to link Siberia and Ellesmere Island, then Canada, Denmark and Russia might face a three - way delimitation problem",[49] which will complicate the process leading to possible legal battles.

China wants to sit at the same table

Even though the North-eastern Asian countries don't neighbour the Arctic areas, China, Japan and Republic of Korea (ROK) have long wanted to join the Arctic Council as permanent observers. This action would not grant them the right to vote, but an invitation to meetings would come automatically creating and an opportunity to see the developments and each country's position in the debates. The three countries do not expect any gains soon, but they want to keep future options open. They are afraid that when the recent and possible future claims are solved the international portion of the Arctic will be much smaller.[50] They have been successful, as on 15 May 2013 six countries (China, India, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea and Singapore) were granted Observer States status in the Council during the session in the Swedish Kiruna.[51]

As for now, the Arctic is not especially high on Chinese agenda. But its political importance is growing. It is exemplified by the fact that the official authority dealing with Arctic is not particularly large in number of personnel. Affiliated to the State Oceanic Administration (SOA) of China, the Chinese Arctic and Antarctic Administration (CAA) performs the function of organizing Chinese Arctic and Antarctic expeditions and administering Arctic and Antarctic related affairs on behalf of SOA. The same administration handles both the Antarctic and Arctic. In the Antarctic the Chinese research and exploration activities have a longer history; however the activities in Arctic have been accelerated only lately. To do this, China has put a great effort in lifting its Arctic profile in recent years calling itself as „*a near Arctic state*" and extending research activities. Moreover, the new research centre, the China–Nordic Arctic Research Centre, was opened in Shanghai in December 2013 with

participation of six institutes from Norway, Finland, Iceland, Denmark and Sweden during its inauguration. A Chinese research station has already been established earlier in Ny-Ålesund on the Norwegian archipelago of Svalbard.[52]   The claims are also highlighted by the statement that the interest in Arctic is caused by its direct climate and environmental impact on China. Qu Tanzhou, director of the CAA stated, that "w*e need to increase scientific research and expeditions to better comprehend the Arctic Ocean and global climate change*".[53] China is showing physical presence in other ways also e.g. by the ice breaker „Snow Dragon's" or "Xuelong's" showy expedition in 2012 and crossing the top of Arctic on the way back from Iceland. The plan is also to launch an ambitious concept by 2014 which, "*intends to launch the first of a series of new icebreakers to join Xuelong, thus enabling the CAA to conduct more frequent polar exploration and research missions*"[54]. The plan is rather important, as "*when the 1.25-billion-yuan ($198 million), eight-thousand-ton vessel sets sail, China will possess icebreakers that are larger than and qualitatively superior to those of the United States and Canada*".[55] Such the fleet will support also sea transport through the region.

Sea transportation is a critical question for China as it greatly depends on energy imports. The Suez and Panama Canals are currently operating with maximum capacity and they are endangered e.g. by piracy. To avoid trouble, some companies have already chosen the much longer and expensive southern route around Africa. So, it is possible that the Northeast – Northwest route would be cheaper, faster and pirate-free compared to the traditional sea routes. But control of commercial traffic is not easy as with *"its vast Arctic coastline, Russia not only controls the lion's share of Arctic resources within its exclusive economic zone (EEZ) but controls much of the Northern Sea Route".* This is one of reasons why Moscow is a very important partner in the region for Beijing.[56]

Besides the interests in ship routes through the Arctic, China is investing heavily in oil exploration in the Barents and Pechora Seas and is interested in Greenland iron ore, being there already as an investor. The third special interest in the region is fishing. But, recognizing its importance for small players like Iceland and Greenland, China has been establishing bilateral cooperation with these nations to get support in its

interests in the Arctic Council.[57] If the five circumpolar states' would be able to extend their Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ), it would mean that international waters would consist only of a rather small portion of the Arctic. This would be a nightmare for China. The five "Arctic states" had a meeting in Ilulissat, Greenland, in 2008 and made a bilateral declaration that states, among others things, "*The Arctic Ocean stands at the threshold of significant changes. Climate change and the melting of ice have a potential impact on vulnerable ecosystems, the livelihoods of local inhabitants and indigenous communities, and the potential exploitation of natural resources. By virtue of their sovereignty, sovereign rights and jurisdiction in large areas of the Arctic Ocean the five coastal states are in a unique position to address these possibilities and challenges. In this regard, we recall that an extensive international legal framework applies to the Arctic Ocean as discussed between our representatives at the meeting in Oslo on 15 and 16 October 2007 at the level of senior officials. Notably, the law of the sea provides for important rights and obligations concerning the delineation of the outer limits of the continental shelf, the protection of the marine environment, including ice-covered areas, freedom of navigation, marine scientific research, and other uses of the sea. We remain committed to this legal framework and to the orderly settlement of any possible overlapping claims.*"[58] For China and other non-circumpolar states the declaration has made an impression that they are excluded from the Arctic.

Recognizing the complexity of the situation and using cooperative and diplomatic language through international organizations, some authorities have also used confrontational tones. According to *The Diplomat*, Chinese Rear Admiral Yin Zhuo stated, "*The Arctic belongs to all the people around the world as no nation has sovereignty over it*" and "*China must play an indispensable role in Arctic exploration as we have one-fifth of the world's population*".[59] Zhuo is not the only Chinese authority using this kind of warning words. China also questions the authority of the Arctic Council and its legitimacy, the International Maritime Organization and the whole Arctic legal status. It seems as Beijing wants to reform the laws to better fit its own and more general international interests.[60] Canada and the USA have been nonchalant facing China's aspirations, but Beijing has made softer approaches to some of the smaller Arctic countries, namely Iceland and Denmark. The relations with Norway are rather icy as a result of a dispute over the Nobel Prize granted to the Chinese

human rights activist Liu Xiaobo. But Iceland, with its recent economic problems, has been an easier target. With serious investments China is hoping to get its "foot in the door" in Arctic policies. Also Denmark has voiced its sympathy to Chinese aspirations but the challenges are linked with the development and exploitation of the vast resources on Greenland.[61] Besides its aspirations and interests China seems to be lacking a clearly defined strategic objectives in Arctic policy. This makes the other actors, mainly the Arctic states, uneasy. To avoid misunderstandings, the "a blueprint" would diminish misperceptions in the matter.[62]

Disputes and cooperation

The USA is the leading superpower without question. However, its main interests have been elsewhere, in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Pacific region, and not in the Arctic.[63] During the Cold War the region was used mainly for scientific research and as a manoeuvre space for submarines. After this period the American ambitions in the Arctic have slowly increased. The National Security Presidential Directive and Homeland Security Presidential Directive dated January 9, 2009, establishes the, "*national the policy of the United States with respect to the Arctic region and directs related implementation actions*". It emphasises the national security interests in this area to, "*include such matters as missile defence and early warning; deployment of sea and air systems for strategic sealift, strategic deterrence, maritime presence, and maritime security operations; and ensuring freedom of navigation and overflight. "* [64] Among other issues, the directive stresses that freedom of navigation *"is a top national priority. The Northwest Passage is a strait used for international navigation, and the Northern Sea Route includes straits used for international navigation; the regime of transit passage applies to passage through those straits. Preserving the rights and duties relating to navigation and overflight in the Arctic region supports our ability to exercise these rights throughout the world, including through strategic straits.* "[65] This standpoint clearly differs from that of Canada concerning the Northwest Passage. The paper also recognizes the economic issues in the area, environmental aspects and international scientific cooperation.

Later that year on 10 November, 2009, the US published a Navy Arctic Roadmap, which "*considers a number of strategic drivers including national policy guidance, the changing Arctic environment, the potential increase in natural resource extraction and inter- and intra-Arctic shipping, the activity and interests of other Arctic nations, past and present Navy experience in the Arctic, and current Fleet capabilities and limitations for Arctic operations.*"[66] The Roadmap recognizes that the Arctic is warming up twice as fast as the rest of the globe and opening new possibilities if the nearly ice free summers occur during the next decades. The paper states, that "*these developments offer opportunities for growth, but also are potential sources of competition and conflict for access and natural resources.*"[67] As laid out earlier in the paper, America has disputes with Canada about the status of the Northwest Passage, as to whether it is an international area or not. The second major issue is the border between the Yukon and Alaska, as Washington has not ratified the UNCLOS. What happens if the Russian claims about the extension of its zone all the way to the North Pole are realized? Such challenges are recognized, as they could increase tensions in the region considerably.

NATO as an organisation has not played visible role or presence in the Arctic, although four out of the five circumpolar states are NATO members. Norway has been the most vociferous supporter of NATO's physical presence in the region. The ex-Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg stated last year, that "*We have made the High North a top defense priority, and we will continue to encourage NATO and the European Union to play a higher role in its security*". So far NATO Secretary-General Rasmussen has rejected a direct "Arctic" presence.[68] Instead of a coherent NATO strategy in the Arctic there are the member states' own national strategies emphasising different aspects and national interests. The Russians see NATO's role in a different light, considering the Arctic as a possible and new area to grow NATO's influence. It does not mean direct military confrontation, but rather rivalry in economic, technological and political fields. Russians believe that NATO regards the Arctic as a strategically important region and the new concept adapted after the Cold War has expanded NATO's area of activity beyond its 'old' Area of Responsibility. Russia has also observed that the military activities of NATO have greatly increased in the Arctic area since 2006, and they are expected to increase even more in the future.[69]

The Russian International Affairs Council publication, "*NATO and a New Agenda for the Arctic*" presents two possible security scenarios in the region. The first would be the so called "negative security scenario" claiming that military presence and hostility in the Arctic will increase and the activities of the important international organisations, such as the Arctic Council and the Council of the Barents/Euro-Arctic Region (SBER), will gradually decline. The second is called, "the positive security scenario" highlighting the potential for enhanced international cooperation in the Arctic area. As such, the "*actualization of the Arctic problems by a military-political bloc dominating in the world offers an opportunity to construct a new architecture of international relations in the Arctic based on positive security.*"[70]

The recent Russia – Ukraine crisis might complicate the „positive security scenario" and cooperation in the Arctic region. Russia's acts in Crimea have created doubts about the willingness of Russia to comply with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and to cooperate in the context of the Arctic Council. The reopening of the old Soviet military bases in the region has caused some criticism and even the cancellation of the Norwegian – Russian - US naval exercise „Northern Eagle". Those developments have been a direct consequence of the crisis and the future is not easy to predict.[71]

Are we entering a new "Great Game"?

There seems to be several policies and strategies in the international community about the activities and use of the Arctic Region. It would be in the best interests of the Arctic circumpolar states and the whole Arctic Council to define the strategic objectives as accurately as possible and to establish the claimed enlarged zones as decided by UN. It is critical for all the relevant players try to gain as much as possible before any internationally recognized decision will be taken. Among them, Canada is no exception, being ready to compromise on several options, mainly with the US. Canada strives to have a credible and convincing presence in the region, but so far the effort has been modest. The US, on the other hand, has not showed great enthusiasm on the Arctic issue. Its

stance is that a significant part of the Arctic Sea, which Canada considers as its inner area, is actually international waters. What makes this legally difficult is the fact that the US has not still ratified UNCLOS.

Russia and China, who both lack a real power projection capability to match that of the US, try to influence situation mainly through different international organisations. It is interesting how both use soft language, and then again confrontational tones, as the situation requires. Russia's objectives are clear and far reaching. If they materialize, it would be the major player in the region. China's interests have increased only recently and it seems that China tries to be a recognized actor that will not be excluded from the use of the region if predictions come true. China is boldly exploiting the global economic situation to gain a better position at the "Arctic table". China has considerable economic power and it is using it mainly to affect the smaller Arctic Council states. Although Beijing benefits today, in the long run this cannot be in the best interests of the Council members, especially as the lack of a clear Arctic strategy is still confusing the "Arctic 5/8".

Besides new possibilities, climate change creates new threat scenarios. Greenpeace has made some spectacular and showy demonstrations against the oil drilling business motivated by the environmental concerns. Ecological catastrophes could have a fatal influence on fauna and also the indigenous population. The limitations of fishing in the area, and on the other hand, the fishing policy of some Arctic nations, divide the eight Arctic countries today and will most likely in the future.

As expert opinion still differs quite significantly about the resources available in the Arctic region and about the feasibility of the Northwest and Northeast routes, it is hard to say if there are practical economic gains to be achieved. This uncertainty causes respective states to play a mainly political game. Russia, as the country with longest shoreline in the Arctic Sea, is a major actor in this context. The recent Ukrainian crisis will probably have some consequences in the Arctic. First, the European countries that are heavily dependent on Russian energy will seek alternative energy sources. The dependency on Russian gas has been

widely criticized, not least by the leading NATO state the US. Would Arctic energy resources be part of the solution?

Secondly, the confidence-building measures in the region have encountered a setback and the cooperation between the Arctic countries is going to be more difficult. Was planting the Russian flag on the seabed of the North Pole a starting point to a continuum which was followed by the war with Georgia and now annexation of Crimea? And if so, how will this reflect on the Arctic issue? Will it lead to an increase in the militarization of the area? Given now Russia has been excluded from the G8 Group. There have been demands by some Western countries to exclude Russia from other international forums. How this reflects on the work of Arctic Council remains a question of the future. So far, trust building and cooperation in the Arctic area has been a leading and accepted principle.

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Assessing Professional Military English Language Skills in Sweden and its Neighbouring States

By Ms. Annette Nolan[*]

Introduction

The Baltic and Nordic States collaborate on common defence through bilateral and multilateral agreements and through international bodies such as the EU and NATO/PfP. While there is a general understanding that common defence needs to be conducted through a common language, and that effective communication is critical to success, the nations in the region have no common formal policy on the validation of language competence for military posts. Encouragingly, there is some collaboration between nations on the issue of language assessment which has resulted in an emergent understanding that further cooperation and policy development are desirable. At best such developments should lead to the application of a common framework through which military employers and educators can transparently exchange information and draw conclusions about potential employees in terms of their ability to participate fully and effectively in either appointments or the educational setting through English.

Many of the individual nations in the Baltic and Nordic region have established professional assessment teams that provide reliable assessments of military professionals' English language competence. Teams meet professionally through different forums. An annual meeting of language assessors in the Nordic countries under the auspices of the Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEFCO) is held and attended by Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The aim of this group is to share experience, best practice and establish a common understanding of language assessment issues in the military community. Other professional meetings are organized in the region. In 2013 the Baltic

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Defence College held a regional seminar on language assessment which attracted participants from the neighboring states and focused on the role of statistical analysis in ensuring the reliability of test results.

Nations consult with each other on a regular basis with a view to sharing insights and experience. I conducted a very brief and informal survey of the countries and testing organizations in the region to draw some comparisons with the approach to assessment in Sweden. The survey included questions about the extent of testing, the assessment audience, the framework of reference used, and the performance of those being assessed. It showed that practices in the assessment of English for military purposes varied between the responding nations. These differences underline the fact that deriving a common policy is complicated. There are sociological factors that create barriers to taking a common approach. These include the varied nature of international military agreements and alliances between nations. In addition the picture is further complicated by external factors including local public service requirements, and the interface between the military and the general education systems.

Although there is no common assessment approach between testing organizations, there does appear to be a good degree of consensus about best practice. The military in the different countries also recognize, and are supportive of the need for a network to establish further shared practice in this area. Nevertheless, many of the assessment groups in the region are small and would benefit from greater interaction with each other and Military HR units. Improved liaison would create a greater understanding of how effective language assessment is of importance to the military employer both from the perspective of appointing personnel, and, from that of selecting personnel for education and training conducted through another language.

Assessing Languages in the Military Context

NATO/PfP have the most active international network for language professionals, the Bureau for International Language Coordination

(BILC). BILC is NATO's advisory body on language training and testing issues. It organizes annual conferences and seminars for language testers through partner nations. Courses are arranged for language professionals in Europe primarily through the language unit at the Marshall Centre which, in partnership with BILC, has pioneered the notion that common language testing and assessment are necessary to ensure that potential military employers can judge whether personnel can operate effectively in professional roles. Extensive work has been done through the BILC secretariat to promote the notion that military employers should state requirements when employing staff in posts where the professional use of another language is required, and inroads have been made in establishing standards for English and French as well as what are called operational languages. These are languages used in regions where operations are being conducted such as Dari and Pashtu in Afghanistan. The importance of effective communication during operations cannot be understated even if the consequences appear self-explanatory. The majority of deployment appointments still do not specify a particular level of language skills, at least not in an objective way. It is common to see subjective references to language ability such as 'good' and 'excellent' where the applicant is simply able to judge their own competence, but measured against what standard?

Experience of recent and current deployments of personnel to areas of central and North Africa have reinforced the importance of language planning and assessment when appointing key posts that involve liaison through another language. The lack of French language capabilities of deploying units has been increasingly cited as a barrier to operational success in those regions. And, perhaps more surprisingly in recent evaluations of operations in the Nordic region insufficient competence in English has also been cited as a barrier to success.

The choice of assessment systems to use

Despite awareness of the complexities, even with all of this collaboration, achieving a standard approach to language assessment and language assessment policy is not a priority for the military in the region.

Attempting to do so might well be hampered by a number of complexities. The first of these is that two commonly used frameworks of reference coexist in the educational culture. The common framework of reference for language training and testing used by most military organizations in the region is STANAG 6001(edition 4) [1], a criteria-referenced table of language proficiency, the first edition of which was adopted by NATO in 1976. The ubiquity of the use of STANAG 6001 in the military community has resulted from interaction between nations in NATO-led training and operations since the 1960s. In the post-Cold War era it was important that assessment design in the Nordic and Baltic military contexts reflect the criteria applied in the international military community with which collaboration took place. A key requirement of those being assessed for any language qualification they receive is that it provide a valid `passport` to work in those communities; the conception then was that STANAG 6001 did so. At present the prevailing conception in the region is that STANAG 6001 referenced assessments are still the most valid, as the need for military interoperability with NATO has grown. However, this may be a simplified view. The reality, at least from Nordic and Baltic perspectives, is that the EU and NATO recognize different language proficiency criteria. Thus it is difficult to ascertain which framework of reference creates the greatest freedom of movement for the military professional. STANAG 6001 is also the preferred criteria in the military context over that applied routinely and commonly in European educational communities, The Council of Europe Framework of Reference for Language learning (CEFR)[2]. Although the body of research on STANAG 6001 is not substantial, it is widely applied in military recruitment processes. Much of its perceived validity derives from its association with the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR)[3]. The ILR is the United States federal interagency organization for the coordination and sharing of information about language competence. On comparison the relationship between both scales is a highly transparent one.

In both the EU and the US, there has been a very active movement on a federal level to provide a common transparent framework of reference for employers and academic institutions enabling them to differentiate within the range of language abilities. In both cultures language is

perceived as a key professional competence. When it comes to the military though, European Military language training and assessment organizations could be said to be applying standards that are generally more familiar to stakeholders in the US public service and educational contexts. Admittedly this facilitates recruitment to NATO posts and training. It is, however, worth noting that this standard is not recognized in application processes in professional or academic contexts in Europe, where CEFR-linked assessments are required. It is also worth mentioning that in most institutions, only specific tests such as IELTS and the upper levels of the Cambridge ESOL are recognized. The implications of all of this are not without controversy on either a regional or European level. In an evolving European educational and military context there is a dilemma for military language assessment professionals: namely, whether to adhere to National, European or NATO standards. From their perspective it may be the case that they would like to achieve an assessment system that provides the end users with an interface with both systems.

From the perspective of the language assessment organizations, which framework of reference to apply is just one of the issues in the construction and administration of a reliable and valid assessment process. Other key issues are designing and applying processes that are transparent, and considered reliable and valid both in the national and international military setting. While considered to be reliable indicators of general proficiency, many of the more generic tests linked to the CEFR, such as IELTS and Cambridge ESOL's suite of tests mentioned above, are not necessarily perceived as good indicators of professional military language competence. In many of the countries under discussion, self-assessment has also been an accepted practice for some positions in the military, as well as for course admission and applications for civilian positions. While the real requirements for language usage are not necessarily high in all of these cases, it is important for perspective employers to understand that self-assessment is rarely a reliable indicator of actual language proficiency. It leads to both under and over – estimations of ability. It is also important to distinguish the posts where professional levels of language usage are instrumental in performing tasks effectively.

Key Concepts in Professional Language Assessment

In order to understand what assessing language skills for professional purposes entails, it is useful to explore some key concepts related to the assessment of professional language competences. These key concepts include linguistic definitions of language proficiency, as well as assessment modalities and the notions of reliability, validity and authenticity. They also require an understanding of what Douglas refers to as the components of specific purpose language ability.

Assessment Types: The distinction between achievement and proficiency tests

There are a range of different types of language assessments applied for different purposes, including achievement tests and proficiency tests. Achievement tests are summative in nature and are syllabus-linked. They usually aim to act as a summary of the learning and development of learners at a particular time and act as measure of course material mastery, or content. Proficiency tests, on the other hand, are;

"..designed to measure people's ability in a language regardless of any training they may have had in that language. The content of a proficiency test is not based on the content or objectives of a language course. Rather it is based on a specification of what candidates have to do in order to be considered proficient." (Hughes, 2003 p.11).

Proficiency tests are usually linked to a particular set of criteria, such as STANAG 6001 or the CEFR scales, and are therefore described as criterion-referenced. Criterion-referenced assessments gauge performance in terms of explicitly predetermined standards and are designed to provide information about what the user *can actually do with the language* (*ibid* p.20). In the literature on language testing, these are generally contrasted with norm-referenced tests, which rate individual performance within a group with a mean or average as a basis of comparison. There is a broad consensus in the region that proficiency tests are the most appropriate way to assess language competence, as a means of providing military employers with a predictive measure of a

potential employee's language competence. There is a further consensus that proficiency tests designed for the military should be derived from themes that are of thematic relevance to the military professional, to ensure that the assessment is constructed in such a way that it is perceived as relevant.

As discussed, STANAG 6001-level descriptions are most frequently used as the criteria for measuring language proficiency in the military, despite the fact that they make no reference to military language skills. Like the CEFR, this framework describes generic language competences. It is intended as a basis for syllabus design and assessment, linked to the notion of the progression of language skills up through a hierarchy of linguistic competence levels (scales). They are both linked to what are widely recognized as the key skills and sub-skills in language performance. In both, the 4 skills: *reading, writing, listening and speaking*, can be broken down further into component sub-skills. They can, in other words, be further sub-divided into *can-do* concepts or statements that assessors can refer to in assessment design. It is thus possible to elicit samples of performance in these skills across the range of levels described, and to target specific aspects of language use.

Achievement tests are generally not suitable for such purposes, as they limit the assessor to including discrete language items and genres taught within the framework of a particular course. The results consequently are unlikely to yield comprehensive insight into how well the individual performs in different settings when using a variety of genres unless the course itself covers all skills. Proficiency tests target broader linguistic skills and sub-skills, and are generally more comprehensive. Ultimately the choice of which approach to use depends on the purpose of the assessment. If the assessor is interested in evaluating the achievement of the learning objectives of a particular programme or course, then using achievement assessment techniques is more effective. Proficiency assessments, on the other hand, provide more comprehensive information. They aim to be predictive of the degree of sophistication with which test subjects can use the language in a broad range of settings, and the extent to which they can adapt linguistically to new situations.

Proficiency tests that target broader competences provide a more useful predictive assessment of the student's performance than achievement assessment. The reason for this, as Douglas points out, is that when well-designed, they distinguish between problems of *language knowledge* and *background knowledge*. In other words, as discussed in the Swedish context below, they allow assessors to fairly assess language performance and to draw broad, rather than specific inferences about language usage, as distinct from other types of knowledge. They also enable the employer to draw comparisons about the language competence of those graduating from pre-service courses, who will perform a range of *yet-to-be* defined tasks (Douglas, D. *Assessing Languages for Specific Purposes*, pp. 20-21), who have neither the background knowledge nor professional experience associated with professionals at later stages in their careers.

Authenticity, Validity and Reliability

In professional education, authenticity is an ever-recurring concept for teachers, assessors, employers and students. Teachers and assessors are keen to design courses and assessment tasks that reflect the professional tasks the participants will perform in real life. Employers and students are keen to see the relevance of academic processes in preparing them for their real-life professional tasks. A generally accepted definition of authenticity, from a linguistic perspective, is *instances of activities or processes associated with instances of language use*. They are situational and interactional, and typical of users in particular communicative situations (Douglas, P. 17). In the case of assessing LSP, the task of broadly predicting the professional tasks the participant will perform in real life is broadly achievable, so that assessment approaches can be modeled on the genres and situations in which these professionals may perform. The assessor can also ascertain the degree and types of language knowledge that would be required to perform such tasks in a professional context.

As Alderson cautions, however, *"The ability to extrapolate from assessment to the real world is (still) important, but it is equally important not to confuse the assessed event with the 'real thing'."* Alderson, 2000, p. 27). Thus assessment should be a means of predicting the ability of the students to perform in real life situations yet cannot authentically replicate all of these factors,

particularly the affective and unpredictable, however well assessments are designed. This is a particularly relevant caution in the context of military education and training wherein there is a keen awareness that training and exercises cannot fully replicate the stressful conditions of real life. If they are well constructed, they are a generally good indicator broadly predictive of how individuals may respond. In other words the outcomes of the assessment are likely to be a reliable, rather than perfect indicator of how the individual will perform.

Reliability is a very important concept in assessment. Assessments taken at different times by the same participants under the same circumstances should yield similar outcomes. In practical terms it can be difficult to find evidence, for testing at higher levels of proficiency is often analytical, as opposed to when quantitative measures of assessment are applied. However, the outcomes for comparable target groups studying at the same level should be broadly consistent, as reliability is the …

"consistency of measurement across different characteristics or facets of a testing *situation, such as different prompts and different raters. A test is said to be reliable if individuals receive the same score from one prompt to the next, and if a group of examinees is rank-ordered in the same way on different occasions; different versions of a test, or by different raters.* (Cushing Weigle. S. *Assessing Writing*, p.49)

From an assessment perspective, validity is another key concept. Assessments are said to be valid if they measure what they are intended to measure (Hughes, p.11). All assessments should aim to have *construct validity (ibid)*; and measure essential theoretical constructs of language ability. In the context of assessing military English the construct is bound to include genres and discourse types typically associated with professional situations. For an assessment to have construct validity the assessor is required to understand the meaningfulness and appropriateness of the inferences they can draw from the assessment outcomes.

In the context of LSP assessment directed at a specific professional group, the need to satisfy the requirements of construct validity, reliability, and authenticity are of utmost importance. This can be

achieved through the design of effective elicitation techniques that are based on empirically verifiable linguistic phenomena. Most importantly, to ensure reliability ratings must be consistent. Ideally more than one rater should be involved in the assessment of each person being assessed, to achieve inter-rate reliability. The fact, however, that candidates are assessed distinctly on all 4 skills can also contribute to reliability, as long as their results are broadly consistent in all 4 areas.

Translated into practical terms, all this means that language assessments for the military should include tasks that replicate the types of tasks professionals would have to perform in the military setting, based on content themes that the assessment audience can relate to. In other words they should be based on the components of specific purpose language ability associated with military discourse. Douglas (2000 P.35) provides an insightful overview of these components that is useful to both assessors and educators.

LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE
Grammatical knowledge
Knowledge of vocabulary
Knowledge of morphology and syntax
Knowledge of phonology
Textual knowledge
Knowledge of cohesion
Knowledge of rhetorical and conversational organisation
Functional knowledge
Knowledge of ideational functions
Knowledge of manipulative functions
Knowledge of heuristic functions
Knowledge of imaginative functions
Sociolinguistic knowledge
Knowledge of dialects/varieties
Knowledge of registers
Knowledge of idiomatic expressions
Knowledge of cultural references

STRATEGIC COMPETENCE
Assessment
Evaluating communicative situation or test task and engaging an appropriate discourse domain
Evaluating the correctness or appropriateness of the response
Goal setting
Deciding how (or whether) to respond to the communicative situation
Planning
Deciding what elements from language knowledge and background knowledge are required to reach the established goal
Control of execution
Retrieving and organising the appropriate elements of language knowledge to carry out the plan
BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE
Discourse domains
Frames of reference based on past experience which we use to make sense of current input and make predictions about that which is to come

Table 1 – Components of specific purpose language ability (Douglas 2000, 35)

Higher Level Assessment Design and Communicative Language Ability in the Military Context

There is broad agreement, in the literature on language assessment, that valid and reliable assessment reflects underlying language knowledge and abilities, based on models of communicative language abilities in a given setting or within a particular domain of discourse. This is language ability from the perspective of how well the user combines all of the components of language use to be communicatively effective.

Both the CEFR and NATO STANAG 6001 are models of communicative language ability based on notions of comparison with the skilled native speaker's communicative competence as well as the explicit linguistic requirements a particular setting would place upon a person.

Models of communicative language ability identify three core components of language ability. The first is *knowledge of structural elements of language*. This includes accuracy in both vocabulary and grammar and the range and complexity of structures and lexis a person can use. *Discourse knowledge* is knowledge of the ways in which cohesive written text and spoken discourse are structured and coherence maintained. *Sociolinguistic knowledge* includes knowledge of the way language is used in a variety of social settings (e.g. style, genre, register) (*ibid p. 29*) to achieve skilled social interaction. All of these features are identifiable within both scales.

If we take the STANAG scales for writing as an example, the underlying communicative abilities that have been identified by researchers into the writing process including Bachman, Hymes and Canale and Swain (as discussed by Cushing-Weigle in chapter 2), are comparable. For example, in the description of writing level 3 in STANAG 600, the following statements about precision, the structural elements of writing, and discourse knowledge can be found.

Precision	Structural elements	Discourse knowledge
Control of structure, vocabulary, spelling, and punctuation is adequate to convey the message accurately.	*Errors are occasional, do not interfere with comprehension, and rarely disturb the native reader.*	*Can use the written language for essay-length argumentation, analysis, hypothesis, and extensive explanation, narration, and description.*

Table 2. Examples Statements from STANAG 6001 Level 3 Writing

There are also statements about sociolinguistic competence that identify issues, such as the relationship with the audience and appropriate register, as well as about the degree of sophistication and abstraction achieved. In lay terms, then, someone who scores level 3 in an SLP could generally be perceived as a fairly advanced user of the language, capable

of performing professional tasks, as opposed to a merely functional vocational tasks. Comparisons can be drawn between all levels of the scales and all four language skills.

Proficiency scales often provide generic insights into the themes, discrete linguistic features, and genres those being assessed can deal with and employ. An example of this can be found in the STANAG Scales for speaking at level 4:

Can perform highly sophisticated language tasks, involving most matters of interest to well-educated native speakers, even in unfamiliar general or professional-specialist situations. Can readily tailor his/her use of the language to communicate effectively with all types of audiences. Demonstrates the language skills needed to counsel or persuade others.

These types of statements are relatively easy to interpret which is not the case for all elements of the scale. Because they are generic, there is always the likelihood the interpretations are subjective.

Prompt attributes used in high level assessment

It is perhaps worth discussing prompts at this stage, with a view to understanding the complexity of higher level assessment. Prompts are the main method for eliciting larger samples of language in writing and speaking assessments. Prompt attributes, in terms of language assessment, can be described as characteristics of a prompt that elicit specific performance from those being assessed. At higher levels this generally means that prompts are multi-faceted. There is broad support in the LSP assessment literature for the notion that prompts should reflect the real-world needs of the target assessment group as discussed under the heading of authenticity above. There is also broad consensus in the literature that the topics and themes used in LSP prompts should be of broad interest to the target assessment group as this gives them a fairer chance of performing to their potential. An additional area on which there is general agreement is, at higher levels, prompts should incorporate elements that require both expeditious, and slower language-

processing operations. In plain terms this implies that elicitation techniques should target both the accuracy and fluency features associated with language performance at different levels.

In terms of assessing writing and speaking at higher levels in LSP contexts, tacitly prompt attributes should aim to trigger the relatively fluent and fast production of texts of sufficient complexity to meet high level discourse (genre, style and structure) and accuracy requirements. From the perspective of designing relatively authentic elicitation techniques for military officers, we can take into account that they would also have to produce what Cushing – Weigle (p.40) refers to as public writing:

that is writing beyond sentence and paragraph level and intended for an audience in the public domain. i.e. reserved for those in specialised careers…

— the military being an obvious example of such a career. We can also extrapolate, from this, the fact that military officers also have to engage in speaking events intended for audiences in the public domain using extended forms of discourse, including presentations, facilitating, discussions, etc.

Officer English Assessment Practices

A brief survey of the military language training and assessment groups was conducted in the Baltic region, with a view to finding out the extent to which each nation tested or assessed English among their officer corps; the framework of reference they use; the extent to which tests conducted by military testing organizations are recognized by the military; and when tests were administered. The respondents were Norway, Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

The picture, while far from simple, is nevertheless interesting in terms of the way the complexities of military and political alliances may conflict and impact on practices. There is one prevalent feature: The CEFR and STANAG references co-exist in some way in the different countries, as

the education systems align more to Europe, while the mobility of military employees has become more NATO oriented. With the exception of Finland, all of the Nations conducted STANAG 6001-referenced tests. These tests are conducted at different levels as a consequence of the varying degrees of general English language proficiency among professionals in the region. Finland conducts The National Certificate Test for General English Proficiency, and their officer students are awarded ECTs for their study of English. The test is a public service-type test so the practice is comparable to ILR-based assessments used in the United States. It is also CEFR referenced. One of the main aims of both CEFR and ILR is to allow for a common standard of assessment to be applied for professional and academic purposes, in order to create transparency and interoperability across public-service institutions and within education systems. Arguably, Finland's approach provides them with a valid inter-professional system of assessment, allowing for comparisons between different public service groups that are transparent both in the national and European context.

In the other nations surveyed, language assessments in the military context are conducted to facilitate collaboration with NATO, and consequently, its many European member states. These usually yield what is referred to as a STANAG 6001-standardized language profile (SLP), which profiles candidates across a scale range of 6 levels; 0 is described as 'No Proficiency' and 5 as 'Highly articulate native speaker'. The numerical scales have descriptions for all the four language skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. Such extensive descriptions are of great utility in both syllabus and assessment design. Although it includes a level 5, no nations test at this level, and few at level 4 because of the inherent complexities in doing so. At these levels the extent and variety of the samples of language knowledge that can be elicited are associated with the more complex aspects of language performance, such as pragmatic competence, semantic precision, and knowledge of stylistics. The notion that the assessments are standardized is based upon shared interpretation of the STANAG scales, rather than uniform approaches to assessment.

The nations under discussion engage in a range of practices to try to ensure their language assessments are as valid and reliable as possible. Some nations conduct filter tests with students. Estonia and Latvia, for example, apply the ALCPT (the American language course placement test) and Sweden, the Oxford Placement Test. While they do not provide information about the level at which test-takers perform the 4 language skills, filter tests are generally predictive — if they are well-constructed. In the case of Sweden, the statistics reveal a positive correlation between filter tests and the actual STANAG test results. This is also likely the case in other countries where filter tests are employed. The testing context also varies in the nations under discussion, and reflects the variations within their military training systems. Denmark tests almost exclusively for profiles required for specific international postings, while Norway and Estonia conduct tests in the context of pre-deployment and in-service courses. There is also a range in the levels tested in the different countries, depending on whether tests are directed towards officer, or lower ranks. However, tests are mainly conducted at STANAG levels 2 and 3 with the officer corps usually taking the higher level test. In Sweden tests are available on demand, although the vast majority are administered at the end of courses taken as part of the military university programmes. In addition assessments are conducted between levels 2 and level 4.

One commonality in the region is that the results of tests conducted by the different testing groups are recognised by the military. Whether officers are required to have an SLP for specific appointments or for initial employment varies. So, too, does the way that results are reported and archived. In many cases no record of the result is submitted to HR departments. Countries would benefit from more effective reporting processes. In Estonia, for example, results are reported directly to the Military HR department, while in Sweden they are archived by the National Defence College, available on request. It is perhaps in the interest of the military to require that personnel have a profile, kept on record and dated, to provide testimonies of language ability in the event of relevant deployments or training.

The Swedish STANAG Test

The Swedish STANAG test is administered by The Swedish National Defence College (SNDC). The tests is usually administered in the final phase of programme courses leading to undergraduate and post-graduate degrees for pre and in-service officers. In each programme there is a content-based language course in English which is designed to support the students in their ability to process the academic input they are exposed to in English. The extent of this input increases with the level of the course. Although ECTs are not awarded directly for the English course time, time for the study of English is included in the courses. Students are also required to take part in an assessment process, or else to take a complete STANAG test in order to be awarded an SLP. It has been the policy of the Swedish Armed Forces since 2011 that cadets graduate with an SLP. The SNDC has adapted the practice of awarding SLPs at the end of their other programmes as a means of validating the graduating students' competence. The practical benefits are obvious. Firs, tests can be administered on a relatively large scale to officers at comparable stages in their careers. Second, it allows the administering body to conform to one of the prerequisites, if test results are to yield valid, reliable and comparable outcomes: namely, that they are administered under as similar conditions as possible. Obviously too, the SNDC acquires an up-to-date archive of test results which can be used for advisory purposes for the armed forces.

Tests are offered in range levels 2 to 4. The reason that tests are offered up to level 4 is that the assessment audience could be described as relatively sophisticated in terms of its ability to use English as a foreign language. Many of the programme participants at the college are already at, or above the higher levels of proficiency described in STANAG 6001 and the CEFR. The reasons for this sophistication are many. For instance, there are entry requirements in English for admission to military training programmes that almost guarantee that the students generally are at, or above B2 on the CEFR. In addition there is an ubiquity of usage of English in Swedish society which has led to a general amelioration in English language proficiency, particularly among those aiming for careers that may involve international service or

relations. In the case of military officer training, entrants often exceed basic application requirements significantly and many have already worked or studied in international settings. In terms of assessment design, all of this implies that elicitation tools must be extensive, designed to target high levels of language performance. They must further reflect authentic professional linguistic genres and settings, if the tests are to be perceived as reliable indicators of military professional language competence.

There are two further key factors in the equation. In the context of assessing at SNDC, the students are taking both pre- and in- service training programmes which are interdisciplinary in nature. This means that, while the students are studying what can be described as courses in language for specific purposes (LSP), these courses are linked to others which cover a broad range of theoretical and military domains at different professional levels. The implications are that the approach to assessment must vary for the in- and pre-service audience. At the same time it must also cover a broad range of themes that take into account the differences in non-linguistic competences. In addition, to produce comparable results, it is important to have a trained testing team that can distinguish linguistic from content knowledge, with a view to producing as objective results as possible that refer exclusively to the language skills of those being assessed.

Conclusion

From the perspective of achieving a uniform and transparent system providing freedom of movement for those being assessed, choosing between which approach to take to military language assessment in the Nordic and Baltic Regions is complex. What is important is that assessment groups in the region work toward systems from which inferences about language abilities can be drawn by users. It is also important that these systems be transparent for the end user: the assessed, and their employers.

Military officers in the region have relatively high levels of language competence, and are likely to be even better in the future. A rigorous approach to designing effective assessment at higher levels will therefore become increasingly important. Assessments at such levels are complex to design as to a practical perspective and resources. Especially, the end user should not rely on self-assessment; objective, fair assessment is much more desirable. It is of great importance that assessments be designed in such a way as to allow the assessor to draw inferences about what the person being assessed can do, inferences based on the components of specific-purpose language ability. Such an approach inspires confidence in the end user.

Assessors in an education context, such as the one described above, can design assessments that are not as such an absolute measure of ability, but that aim to reliably predict the professional language abilities of those assessed in professional settings. Such assessments should attempt to be predicative of potential performance in real-life settings and in the professional domain. At the same time they also need to be of utility to those taking the test by giving them a qualification that they can apply to their real needs, either in terms of career or education application purposes. They should also be based on valid constructs that allow those interpreting the outcomes to feel confident that the assessment itself measures the type of skills the participant needs in real situations.

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[1] For a digital version of STANAG 6001 see http://natobilc.org/stanag/doc/NU-ST%206001%20NTG%20ED4.pdf

[2] For a digital version of the CEFR descriptors see http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/cadre1_en.asp The CEFR is the common reference tool describing language proficiency used in the European Union for educational and vocational purposes.

[3] For an overview of the Interagency Language Roundtable scale see http://www.govtilr.org/skills/ILRscale1.htm

The League of Nations and the Baltic. The case of the planned plebiscite and international force for Vilnius

By Mr. Enrico Magnani[*]

The re-composition of the political landscape after World War I saw a long and controversial follow up, especially in Europe, wherein the newly born states proposed to assume the nationalist and imperialistic approach that had plunged the major powers into the conflict that had just concluded. The end of Austro-Hungarian, Russian and German Empires originated the establishment of a number of new countries — in some cases, the re-establishment in a new framework of previous state entities. These were all marked by mutual hostility, controversial borders, and a sometimes inextricable mix of populations that did not want live together ever again.

This was especially true in the Baltic. The efforts of the international community to defuse the friction points, through informal frameworks like the Conference of Ambassadors[1] or institutional architectures such as the League of Nations, achieved a range of successes and failures. Indeed, both schemes reflect the dynamics of power between the main actors. Their divergent strategies and polarized positions compounded the natural limitations of the very mechanism mandated to resolve the issues.

The Vilnius Case

During World War I Lithuania, then part of the Russian Empire, was marked by the co-existence of Lithuanian and Polish segments of its population. It eventually fell under German occupation. In 1917 the Germans allowed the establishment of the Lithuanian National Council, which in February 1918 declared independence. With the help of German forces, Lithuanian troops successfully fended off the Bolshevik offensive.

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The self-proclamation of independence was not recognized by the Allied Powers, although part of the Lithuanian territory had been captured by Bolshevik forces in January 1919. After Germany collapsed in November 1918, the desperate requests for help by the Lithuanian government went unheeded. Subsequently in April 1919, Polish forces led by Marshal Pilsudski pushed the Red Russian troops out from the Vilnius region. A plebiscite for the territory, which was claimed by both Poland and Lithuania, was promised but never held.

The issue of Vilnius was a point of friction between opposing nationalities, fuelled by an incomplete census. It was initially handled by the Principal Allied and Associate Powers as, in line with article 87 of the Treaty of Versailles, they had the right to redefine the borders. The attempted mediation by the Council of Ambassadors met the strong opposition of the Lithuanians and failed to achieve concrete results.

The Bolshevik winter offensive of December 1919 and the Pilsudski-led counteroffensive in Ukraine had left the disputed territory in a vacuum de jure, with a de facto Polish military presence and administrative power. In summer 1920, a new Bolshevik offensive had led to the re-occupation of Vilnius. Then the final Polish counteroffensive in July/August had led the Soviets to a rapid withdrawal from the area. Vilnius was by now held by the Lithuanians, despite Polish claims.

Then on 5 September, the Polish Foreign Minister Prince Sapieha brought the issue before the League of Nations, requesting its intervention under Article 11 of the League's Covenant[2]. Although the Lithuanians agreed, they denied the Polish allegations about their cooperation with the Bolsheviks, stating that they had merely occupied Lithuanian territory during their war against Poland[3].

The Council of the League included the issue on its Session's agenda, which was held in Paris. The representatives of the parties were invited to participate as ad hoc members. Several meetings took place between 16 and 19 September. The Belgian FM Hymans, as Council President, proposed the Curzon line as the provisional demarcation between the parties. In addition, Lithuania would have to remain neutral in the

conflict between Poland and Russia. All the territorial rights of the parties would be decided later[4].

Lithuania and Poland accepted the League proposal on 21 and 23 September, respectively. The Council appointed a special Military Commission of Control consisting of one officer each from Britain, Italy, Japan and Spain, led by a French colonel, tasked to supervise the respect in situ of the demarcation line by the parties. The Council further established a political Committee of Three formed by a French, a Japanese, and a Spanish diplomat, to take charge of leading the political discussion[5].

Despite this initial agreement, Poland continued with its allegations that Lithuania had supported the Bolsheviks. In Suwalki the LoN's Military Commission of Control, which had installed itself in the mission area at the beginning of October, brokered a ceasefire leaving Vilnius in Polish hands. Additionally, the parties were to respect the Curzon Line (with some modifications, especially in the northern segment) as the provisional demarcation line. The agreement was signed on 7 October[6].

On 8 October 1920, Lucjan Żeligowski (born in Oszmiana, modern Ashmiany, now in Belarus, an alleged Lithuanian) and the 1st Polish Army Lithuanian-Belarusian Infantry Division (composed mainly of POWs and volunteers from the territories of modern Belarus and Lithuania) under his command essentially defected. Against the Polish Government's orders, they took control of the city of Vilnius and surrounding area, pushing back the Lithuanian troops.

On 12 October Żeligowski proclaimed independence for the 'Republic of Central Lithuania', with Vilnius as its capital[7]. The League strongly protested against Poland, which answered that Żeligowski's action was out of Warsaw's control. According to LoN military observers, between October and December the 'volunteers' in Vilnius had increased from 20.000 to 50.000 and had begun constant skirmishes with regular Lithuanian forces.

The preliminary, informal peace agreement between Poland and the Soviet Union on 12 October 1920[8] introduced an element of (apparent)

normalization into the area. The League took it as a window of opportunity to invite Warsaw and Kaunas to send plenipotentiaries to Brussels to discuss the issue of Vilnius. Unfortunately, the negotiation process was conducted in an environment of mistrust. Indeed, the League believed neither Lithuania's claims that it had not operated in concert with the Bolsheviks, nor Poland's claims that Żeligowski was a mutineer — although he did operate in close coordination with Pilsudski. Still, the League proposed a plebiscite, to be conducted as rapidly as possible under its supervision[9], which was accepted by the parties[10].

However, the Polish recognized that the demobilization of Żeligowski's forces could be problematic and requested that many of the Polish inhabitants be considered eligible to vote, claiming that they were born in the contested area. Lithuania rejected the Polish request, claiming many of the 'volunteers' were Polish not originally from the Vilnius area. Though the parties' accepted, other points of profound disagreement were left open: the delimitation of the contested area subject to the plebiscite, and the manner in which the "popular opinion" was to be expressed, as well as the practical arrangements to achieve them.

The League made it clear it was willing to impose the measures to the parties and decided to retain the Military Commission of Control in the area, with the task to monitor the situation on the ground. Although the parties continued to have diverging positions, the Military Commission of Control submitted to the Council an operations plan in which the province of Vilnius (excluding the city) should be divided in ten districts represented by three elected delegates, accompanied by a Lithuanian and a Polish delegate[11]. The Chairman of the Military Commission of Control also submitted a recommendation that an international military force should be dispatched to the area to maintain security and guarantee a free and fair vote[12].

The Military dimension of the operation

The military control of the League's planned mission to Vilnius territory was placed by the Council under the newly established Permanent

Military Naval and Air Commission[13]. The action and potential role of the Commission would fall under the terms of articles 1, 8, 9, 11, 16 and 19 of the League's Covenant[14]. Like many other actions taken by the League, the establishment of the Military, Naval, and Air Commission also suffered the skepticism of some Member States, as witnessed by the exchange of letters between Sir Eric Drummond, at time Principal Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary, 1915-1919 the first SG of the LoN and Maj.–Gen. Charles Sackville-West, British Military Representative of Allied Supreme War Council[15].

Despite the lack of real political support, the Permanent Commission drew an initial plan, similar to other operations executed within the framework of the Principal Allied and Associate Powers. They led plebiscites and negotiations in Schleswig-Holstein, East Prussia (Allenstein and Marienwerder), Upper Silesia, Teschen, Burgenland/Sopron, and Klagengfurt. The plan was finalized and completed by the Military Commission of Control for Vilnius[16].

The scheme included a military force to be dispatched to the area (preceded by military observer teams), tasked to maintain security; disarm or expel regular and irregular forces; monitor the parties' contingents allowed to remain in the area; supervise the local security forces; protect the negotiation phase; and guarantee a free and fair conduct of the vote. This included the count and proclamation of results, as well as assisting the orderly transfer of power to the new authority (or resumption of the previous one).

France, Great Britain and Spain pledged to dispatch two infantry companies and a machine-gun section each. Belgium also promised one infantry company and a machine-gun section. It was agreed that the Member States of the Council (including Poland and Lithuania) should establish a mechanism of cost-sharing, also involving the League in other aspects (such as civilian staff attached, transport, incidental costs, billeting, correspondence etc.)[17] As the planned contingent consisted of 1,800 to 2,000 troops, the Council also voted to ask Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden to each provide an infantry company and a machine-gun section.

The planning element of the Permanent Military, Naval and Air Commission (formed by French, British, and Spanish officers) submitted a detailed plan to the Council in which many aspects of the operation were proposed: Danzig/Gdansk, should be the main logistic base and entry point. The French and British contingents should be taken from the existing occupation contingents in Klaipeda/Memel and Gdansk/Danzig. The British and French contingents in the two cities should be considered a back-up element in case of armed confrontation between the international forces and the parties. The force should be integrated with administrative and medical staff of the HQ (to be located in Vilnius), as well with a group of liaison officers tasked to deal with the warring parties. The required knowledge of Polish, Lithuanian or Russian was an element of difficulty in the selection of these officers, who needed to be either lieutenant-colonel or full colonel in rank[18].

To facilitate the smooth beginning of the operation, the Permanent Military Commission suggested the appointment, as Force Commander, the Chairman of the League's Military Commission of Control already present on the ground. The Council also decided to appoint Civil Commissioners, whose specific role and duties were to be determined later. These duties generally were related to relations between the International Force and local authorities, as well as the administration and supervision of the plebiscite.[19] Nonetheless, the announcement of the agreement between the League, Lithuania, and Poland and the planned dispatch of an international force to Vilnius sharply increased the level of tension on the ground.

Żeligowski called for an offensive against the provisional capital of Lithuania, and for elections to the so-called 'Diet of Central Lithuania'[20].

The efforts of the LoN Military Commission of Control defused the onset of an open crisis in November, when an offensive by Żeligowski's forces was effectively halted and three neutral zones between the parties established. Due to the divergence between Lithuania and Poland on the terms of the implementation of the agreement, the deployment of the British and French forces was put on stand-by. Once deployed, they would become the Initial Entry Force of the League's Military operation.

Between November and December, the Council's call to other Member states to contribute troops received positive answers from different capitals. In addition, Greece agreed to send a half-company of infantry[21]. The French government voluntarily undertook the organization, dispatch and supply of the international force, Marshall Foch's staff making the preliminary arrangement for the national contingent. This once again demonstrates the existence of a grey area surrounding the Member States, the League of Nations, and the Allied and Associate Powers. The medical support for the contingent was to be provided by the League of the Red Cross Societies, following the visit of a delegate to the area, already affected by typhus. Additionally the American Red Cross would carry out a massive humanitarian assistance programme to the local populations[22].

On 3 December 1920, Lithuania informed the Council of the League that Kaunas had received a strong note verbale from the Soviet government, recalling the terms of Article 4 of the Treaty of Moscow, which obliged the Lithuanian government not to allow the formation and presence of foreign troops hostile to Russia on its soil. Many of the troop contributors were countries that had helped the White Russian forces, including the British and French. Thus, the Lithuanian delegation asked the League not to send foreign troops until negotiations with Bolshevik Russia were concluded. Yet the massive Red Army presence near the border between Lithuania and Poland represented a clear threat.

Furthermore, there were signs of existing clear reservations against the efficacy of a 'popular expression of opinion', also shared by other actors within the LoN[23].

The League's reaction to the Lithuanian request was therefore negative, as it clearly testified the weak position of Kaunas vis-à-vis a Soviet threat. The League therefore formalized the previous decision to appoint a Civil Commission (aka Plebiscite Commission), led by a British General and formed by three diplomats from Italy, Spain, and Belgium. The Civilian Commission would work in close contact with the Military Commission of Control, and when deployed, with the International Force.

The Commission was to prepare all the arrangements, in cooperation with the parties, for a free and fair plebiscite[24]. The forward move by the League to force Lithuania and Poland to cooperate provoked another, more threatening note verbale from Russia to Kovno. This communiqué was more openly, albeit indirectly addressed against Żeligowski's Warsaw-backed forces. The months of December 1920 and January 1921 saw a substantial stalemate, broken by a note from the Lithuanian Foreign Minister. He asked the League to replace the contingents from Britain and France, as countries that had participated in the operations against Bolshevik Russia, and to oblige the Polish forces to leave the contested area, explaining that Kaunas could not contravene a treaty with Russia without endangering the safety of 200,000 Lithuanian refugees in Russia[25].

Realizing that situation was very hard for the Lithuanian government, the League requested the Military Commission of Control, the Civil Commission, and the Committee of Three to increase their pressure on Warsaw to reduce Żeligowski's force to some 15.000 troops. The threat from Moscow was so clear that Lithuania considered that not only was its very existence in jeopardy, but also the plebiscite and the related deployment of foreign forces in the area[26]. Despite the increasing concerns, the Civil Commission continued planning for the plebiscite.

On 24 February 1921, the Committee of Three informed the Council that as of December 1920, Danzig could no longer be used as the rear logistic and operational base for the International Force due to the withdrawal of the British contingent from Danzig[27]. Facing this new difficulty, which impeded the arrival by sea of many contingents, the Council, on behalf of France, approached the Swiss, Austrian, and Czechoslovak governments requesting the authorization of its troops' passage to Warsaw, instead, where an existing French army base could be used as the main base for the international force.

Vienna and Prague answered rapidly and positively, but Berne objected since two of the necessary preconditions were unfulfilled, namely an agreement between the interested states and guarantees against a resumption of the conflict. The latter, in the eyes of the Swiss

government, was critical owing to Moscow's threat and the possibility of internal Bolshevik-led unrest in Switzerland and other countries[28]. While the League negotiated with Switzerland, the number of countries willing to contribute troops for the international forces progressively eroded.

Because of this stalemate, the League decided to promote direct negotiations between Poland and Lithuania to solve the issue, and to postpone the plebiscite until a political agreement could be reached[29]. The parties agreed to this on 11 March 1921. The Council duly informed those Member States of the League which had promised to contribute forces for the international military mission that the proposed "popular expression of opinion" was finally abandoned. The British, Danish, French, Norwegian, and Swedish contingents, which had been kept on stand-by, were no longer needed[30].

Later a bitter confrontation between Member States (especially the Scandinavian states) and the League emerged about the reimbursement of expenses related to the establishment and maintenance of the deployed contingents[31].

Post Facto

The Council, taking note of the situation on the ground, kept the Military Commission of Control and the Civil Commission stationed in the area, with the task to continue to monitor the situation and provide good offices between the parties. After reaching a new agreement in principle, the League opened a new round of talks under the chairmanship of the Council President, Belgian Foreign Minister Hymans. Perceiving that the Vilnius question depended on the general relations between Lithuania and Poland, Hymans proposed in April 1921 that Lithuania should be divided into two autonomous cantons/provinces, Kovno and Vilnius, under a federal government modelled on Switzerland, with its capital at Vilnius. It should then be united with Poland by a political, military, and economic agreement, and have joint councils for foreign affairs and other matters.

Faced with Poland's opposition, Hymans presented a different proposal, which once again was considered too favourable to Lithuania[32]. In the meantime between October and November 1921, Warsaw progressively implemented the annexation of the Vilnius area[33]. Between January 1922, when a self-organized election was held in the region, and 24 March 1922, when the Polish Diet ratified them, the area was formally annexed despite Kovno's violent protests. The Military Commission of Control and the Civilian Commission were repatriated at the end of 1922.

In a note to the Council on 16 April 1923, Lithuania stated that it would continue to claim its right to its former capital and to the whole territory of Vilnius[34]. The Council took note of the progress report of FM Hymans[35], wherein the issue was cynically labeled 'part of history', expressing satisfaction that it had not degenerated into a bloody conflict[36]. While Bolshevik Russia did not recognize the new situation, on 10 December 1927, Lithuania terminated the state of war with Poland, which considered the question closed.

Conclusions

The attempted plebiscite for Vilnius emerged, among the various plebiscites organized after World War I, as the only genuine operation of this kind organized by the League of Nations. All the others were in fact organized within the framework of the Allied and Associate Powers' post-war governing body, the Conference of Ambassadors[37]. Again, the absence of the United States as a 'presence balancer' from the architecture of the League of Nations weakened its action, leaving France a free hand to guarantee the role and profile of Poland, thereby to ensure its allegiance in a hypothetical Eastern front against a possible German post-Versailles revanche[38].

The ambiguous role of France, seen through the actions of its military and diplomatic staff, should be read in this light. Despite a formal adherence to the spirit and the letter of the Covenant, they undermined the impact of the League's action in Lithuania, de facto impeding the deployment of the planned force for Vilnius and limiting the role and

importance of the Military Commission of Control, until their final withdrawal after the unilateral Polish-led plebiscite. The same ambiguity was shown by the inaction of the Allied and Associate Powers framework. Paris was also indirectly helped by the Soviet Union, opposed to having foreign forces close to its national borders. France, vehemently anti-Soviet, took advantage of Moscow's strong opposition to a democratic solution to the Vilnius issue by imposing another one, in favour of Poland.

France was seriously concerned that any defeat for Poland would ultimately weaken it as a second front against Germany. Paris considered that the withdrawal of its forces from the Klaipeda/Memel area, which was faced with Lithuanian nationalist irregular forces incursions[39], accompanied by the Conference of Ambassadors' endorsement of the new situation on the ground, would be a fair compensation for the Vilnius disappointment and frustration.[40] In December 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors handed over the issue to the League[41] which, with the Klaipeda Convention, recognized the fait accompli[42]. Lithuania, the weakest actor, also paid the price for achieving independence while under German military occupation, which negatively influenced the perception of the Western countries at such a chaotic juncture in European history[43].

[1] G. P. Pink, The Conference of Ambassadors (Paris 1920-1931), Geneva Studies, Vol. XIII, Nos 4-5, 1942

[2] The Aims, methods and activity of the League of Nations, LoN Secretariat, Geneva, 1935, p.37;

[3] Memorandum by the SG of League of Nations, LoN O.J., Spec. Supp. N.4, p.10; statement of M. Voldemaras, LoN Council Minutes Meeting, 9th Session, 17 September 1920

[4] LoN Council Minutes Meeting, 9th Session, 17 September 1920, p.62;

[5] Spain, Belgium, Brazil and Greece were the first non-permanent members of the Council, while the permanent members were Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan; S. Wanbaugh, Plebiscites since the World War (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 1933) Vol. I, p. 305

[6] The agreement was lately named Suwalki Agreement; Agreement between Lithuania and Poland with regard of establishment of a provisional modus vivendi, LoNTS – League of Nations Treaty Series 1022, Vol. VIII, pp. 174-185;

[7] Vilnius, the historical capital of Lithuania, was designated in the Constitution of Lithuania and for 19 years Kaunas became the temporary capital of Lithuania. The occupation of Vilnius was greatly resented by Lithuania and there were no diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Poland for most of the period between the two World Wars

[8] The Peace of Riga was formally signed on 21 March 1921;

[9] Resolution of the Council of the League of Nations calling for a public expression of opinion under the auspices and supervision of the League, adopted 28 October 1920;

[10] LoN O.J. Spec. Supp. N. 4, p.27 and p. 152;

[11] note by the Secretary-General, LoN Council Minutes Meeting, 11th Session, 14 November 1920;

[12] Note au sujet des forces necessaries pour assurer la realization de la consultation populaire dans les territoires contestes entre la Lithuanie et la Pologne, LoN Archives, Differend polono-lithuanien, doc. 1;

[13] S. Wanbaugh, Plebiscites since the World War (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 1933).

[14] Report on the Constitution of the Permanent Commission of the League of Nations, League of Nations, B.R. 184, Document, 8/264/247, League of Nations, Geneva, 1919;

[15] the British proposal, officially focused to avoid duplication and overlapping, proposed that the national military delegations and international secretariat of the Permanent Commission would met initially in Versailles, and coinciding with the military component of the Allied and Associate Powers architecture, possibly with the inclusion of delegates of other Member States of the League, instead of Geneva; Drummond to Sackville-West, B.R. 184, Document, 8/264/247, League of Nations, Geneva, 1919; S. Sami, The League of Nations and the debate of disarmament 1918-1919 (Interpolis, Nuova Cultura, 2012).

[16] G. P. Pink, the Conference of Ambassadors (Paris 1920-1931), Geneva Studies, Vol. XIII, N.os 4-5, 1942; D.G. Williamson, The British in Germany, 1918-1930, the reluctant occupiers (Berg, New York/Oxford, 1991).

[17] Japan and Brazil abstained to the vote in the Council and self-excluded themselves for the composition of the force;

[18] Report of the organization of the International Force for Vilna, approved by the Council of the League of Nations, November 1920;

[19] LoN Council Minutes Meeting, 11th Session, 26 November 1920;

[20] Telegram for Colonel Chardigny, the Chairman of Military Commission of LoN, to the League of Nations, 10 November 1920;

[21] The offer made by the Greek government had not be accepted because of transport and supply difficulties;

[22] LoN Council Minutes Meeting, 12th Session, Annex 163. p.96, 1 December 1920;

[23] LoN Council Minutes Meeting, 11th Session, Annex 129j. p.62, 3 December 1920;

[24] LoN Council Minutes Meeting, 11th Session, Annex 129k. p. 62-5, 8 December 1920;

[25] Statement of Colonel Chardigny to the League Council, 1 March 1921, LoN Council Minutes Meeting, 12th Session, p.30;

[26] Lithuania, question de Vilna, N.83, Note of Tchitcherine;

[27] Report of Committee of Three to the Council, LoN Council Minutes, 12th Session, p.14; Williamson D. G. The British in Germany 1918-1930, the reluctant occupier, Berg, London, 1991, p. 123;

[28] LoN Council Minutes, 12th Session, pp. 21-22 and 42;

[29] LoN Council Minutes, 12th Session, Annex 163b;

[30] Statement of the Secretary-General before the Fourth Committee [Organisation of the Secretariat and Finances of the League] of the Third LoN Assembly, Minutes of the Fourth Committee, pp. 89-90;

[31] LoN Council Minutes, 18th Session, p. 526 and 21st Session, pp. 1173-4 and Annex 402;

[32] LoN Council Minutes, 13th Session, Annex 226a;

[33] Report of Military Commission of Control, 24 Dec. 1921, Annexes 3, 4, and 5 pp. 13-15;

[34] Lithuania, question de Vilna, Annex I to N.152;

[35] LoN Council Minutes 24th Session O.J. Vol. 4, 1923, Annex 409, pp.664-665;

[36] LoN Council Minutes 24th Session O.J. Vol. 4, 1923, N. 6, pp. 580-6;

[37] Scott G.- The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations (Hutchinson, London, 1973) p.63; G. P. Pink, The Conference of Ambassadors (Paris 1920-1931), Geneva Studies, Vol XIII, Nos. 4-5, 1942;

[38] Wandycz P. S., France and her Eastern Allies, 1919-1925: French-Czechoslovak-Polish Relations from the Paris Peace Conference in Locarno (Univ. of Minnesota Press; Minnesota, 1962).

[39] Brown C., Memel taken by storm. Lithuanian force the bridge and troops swarm into the city. French hoist with flag, New York Times, 16 January 1923) 40) Rapport adressé à la Conférence des ambassadeurs par la Commission extraordinaire de Memel, 6 March 1923;

[40] Rapport adressé à la Conférence des ambassadeurs par la Commission extraordinaire de Memel, 6 March 1923;

[41] LoN O.J. 1924, p.121;

[42] LoNTS – League of Nations Treaty Series (1924). Convention concerning the Territory of Memel, n. 736, Paris, 8 May 1924;

[43] Paoletti C., The activity of the Italian Military Representative to the Allied Commission for the Baltic states, November 1919 – February 1920, Baltic Security and Defense Review, Volume 13, Issue 2011, pp 162-182; Bennet G., Cowan's War, the story of British naval operations in the Baltic, 1918-1920, Collins, London, 1964; Oun M., Walter H., Sammalsoo P., Struggles in the Baltic; the Estonian and the British Royal Navies' Operations in the Baltic during the Estonian War of Independence, 1918-1919 (Grenader, Tallin, 2012); Scott G., The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations (Hutchinson, London, 1973