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**THE BUILDING OF THE STATE DEFENCE CAPACITY
BASED ON A TERRITORIAL DEFENCE SYSTEM**

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Abstract:

Geopolitical situation of Poland in XXI century is very complicated. The main source of threats is the Russian sphere of influence in eastern Europe with concept of superpower domination. In this scope the national security strategy based on operational forces supported by NATO alliance is not enough during conflict. Membership of Poland in NATO obliges to develop individual capacity to resist armed assault without depriving her of sovereignty for defence of state. Poland must be ready to individual defence own territory. Keeping of defensive ability to protect area of state must requires Territorial Defence. The building of the Territorial Defence is the current challenge for Poland and was presented in article.

Key words: Territorial Defence Forces, national security strategy, concept of territorial defence

1. Geopolitical situation of Poland in XXI century

The change of international system was made by means of geopolitical actions, i.e. the Sino-American agreement and the fall of the Russian economy related to the reduction of oil prices. The current system is based on American military and economic domination, as well as NATO, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization. They are actors who are working on a system. The events of recent years, such as the aggression of the Russian Federation in Ukraine, the destabilization of the Middle East and the North Africa, and subsequent terrorist attacks, show growing threats to Poland. The dynamics of events in the security environment is the biggest after time of collapse of the Soviet Union. Also the largest since the time of Poland's independence in 1989 which was the result of the collapse of the Yalta system based on the domination of two states: US and Soviet Union. Inevitably that there are changes due to the decline of the role of Western states and the growth of new economic powers. Non-state actors (transnational corporations, NGOs, social movements or extremist groups) are very broad and varied, with extremely different motivations and ways and means of action. When in 2014 Polish highest rank politicians and top authorities had claimed that Poland was in the best geopolitical and security situation for the last 300 years - Ukraine was in war. A war that could undermine stability and security, while at the same time demonstrating the weakness of Polish security policy. The international system created after the fall of communism based on the unipolar domination of the United States of America did not define the future and responsibility for the security of Poland. Polish government was also not aware of the safety. This situation has caused uncomfortable, forced entry into the period of chaos, international anarchy and the rivalry of the superpowers, which sought economic solutions and international agreements. In this situation, the position of Poland as the dominant country in the region without having strong armed forces became very

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doubtful. Polish responses to the change in the situation should be to start the armaments and build the army. Polish situation after accessing to NATO and EU had been reason to destroying army. Both of them were recognised as a full guarantee of Polish security. The strategy of Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland has been changed from defensive to expeditionary. The whole Polish security policy had the character of transforming the Armed Forces into an expeditionary corps with tasks as police functions rather than defend the country. This policy led to reduction of the Armed Forces while the eastern neighbour (Russia) was leading the armaments, increasing the expenditures on the construction of modern armies. The conflict in Georgia has shown that Russia has specific aspirations for undermining the existing international order [1].

The building of defence capabilities in Poland especially a strong armed forces and territorial defence should begin in the first decade of the 21st century. Nowadays, Polish army has got about 100 thousand of which only 30% are operational forces. It is definitely not enough to defence Poland. At the present time, it is big challenge to change awareness of society to the need of build powerful armed forces and territorial capabilities but above all to change the security strategy. The latest Concept of Defence of the Republic of Poland Developed in May 2017, was based on the capacity of an army capable of defending the territory of Poland. Government of the Republic of Poland has adopted a draft of increasing defence budget up to 2.5% DGP in 2032 years. Spreading the program for 15 years is fraught with great inefficiency due to the dynamics of the baby boomers of the late nineties. The 15 year perspective seems to be also wrong because over a period of 15 years there may be a considerable overestimation of the international order. From the other point of view, the Polish security strategy was based on participation in NATO military alliance and contributing to the economic strength of the European Union. Anchoring in Western integration structures is the basis for the security of the Republic of Poland and creates conditions for the welfare of its citizens. Therefore, Poland is dependent on partnership with the United States. Although the deployment of NATO battalions in the Baltic States and Poland has a propaganda value, notwithstanding, it has a weak defensive potential against Russia's possible aggression. Poland is aware that it is necessary to build up adequate military capabilities to avoid being in a situation of war as a weak state unable to defend itself. Only own defence capabilities, strengthened by NATO alliance, allow Poland to avoid exposure to the war scenario [2].

2. National security strategy of Poland - defence potential

The potential of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland is related to the general state, its economic situation and the level of society. While security is a fundamental issue and its financing will be assured even in the event of downturns, the plans for reforming Polish defence depend on the effectiveness of the implementation of the Polish Strategy for Responsible Development. This will achieve a defence expenditure of at least 2.5% of GDP, calculated by the NATO method, by 2030. The direction of the adopted reforms is clearly defenceless. Poland wants to be able to defend its territory and help its allies. In 2032, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland will be ready for every aspect – will have modern equipment of high potential, trained soldiers and trained procedures. This task becomes particularly important in the context of the increasing use of irregular activities in our neighbourhood. Threatening mainly for Poland and countries interested in stable international order, the Russian Federation seeks to strengthen its position by using various methods, breaking international law or using force and coercion. Russia declares and recognizes NATO as the main threat to its security, despite the numerous actions of the North Atlantic Alliance indicating its defensive nature. This is particularly alarming in the context of the continued growth of military spending and the

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ongoing modernization of the Russian armed forces. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland must be ready to cooperate with other services in crisis management operations, both in Poland and in allied countries. Certain situations may require a coordinated response from the military and non-military institutions. Despite its concentration on the basic defence tasks, Poland will be ready to participate in foreign operations, with a minimum reduction of the country's defence potential. The Strategic Defence Review, launched in July 2016, is a reflection of current and future challenges for the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland. In the first place Polish army had to prepare the state to defend his own territory and has an ability to deter him on the basis of his own defence potential. Although the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland are ready to cooperate in combating various types of threats, they are primarily related to the potential aggression against Poland and the repulsion of irregular activities below the threshold of war. Operational forces, supported by the Territorial Defence Forces, are prepared by the Polish Armed Forces to neutralize actions below the level of war, to respond to non-military crises or to participate in foreign operations. ***What needs to be done by the Polish Armed Forces in the next 15 years?*** Being a member of NATO is the base of our collective defence thinking. In the next 15 years, determination will be needed in reaching agreement between members of the NATO Alliance, building a common threat catalogue and strengthening alliance solidarity. After a period of focusing on operations outside the treaty area, the alliance again turns to issues of collective defence and deterrence. The Defence Concept of the Republic of Poland provides that the Polish Armed Forces in 2032 will be one of the most modern and largest armies in Europe. There will be five types of forces: the Navy, Air Force, Land Forces, Territorial Defence Forces and Special Forces. During 8 years the number of soldiers will exceed 200 thousand. The basic condition for their effectiveness will be the ability to cooperate in joint operation - especially operational troops with territorial defence troops. The Territorial Defence Forces will fully develop with increased firepower to fulfil a variety of tasks. Their main mission will be to cooperate with the operational armies, primarily as light infantry. They will also be designed to repel irregular activities and support crisis management. The emphasis on this kind of integration will be in an intensified program of exercises and war games co-organized by central and local governments. In this way the non-military state defence preparations will be responsive to the needs of the Polish Armed Forces with particular emphasis on the Territorial Defence Forces. The aim of the future Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland will primarily be to create conditions for mobilization and effective collective defence operations, rather than fighting for advantage or projection of power. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland will recreate the role of a division as a tactical element. It is planned to create a fourth operational army division to multiply the ability to deter. Used military equipment, suitable for use in missions, will be equally effective in fulfilling defence needs of the country [2].

3. Concept of Territorial Defence Forces in Poland

Poland, by participating in the NATO Alliance, increases its military capabilities and NATO membership obliges "to keep and develop individual capacity to resist armed aggression." According to point 8. of the Concept of Strategic Alliance (1999) alliance by joint action enables members to realize their basic national security objectives, without at the same time depriving them of their sovereignty in the field of defence." [3] The construction of the General Territorial Defence is the current challenge of Poland in particular its fundamental for the security of the state. According to International Military and Defence Encyclopaedia, "Territorial Defence - a component of a modern military structure whose link with the non-military system decisively affects the effectiveness of

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national defence"[4]. So, *what challenges the modern Territorial Defence should face in Poland?* As a component of the military system, Territorial Defence should include the militarization of society, resources and land for defence at territorial levels, in close cooperation with governmental and local government, security services, public order, medical and specialist rescue. The territorial nature of the territorial defence must also ensure interaction with non-governmental organizations, economic and the public operators. Strategic objective is to ensure effective deterrence and defence of the population, local facilities and regions. Utilizing the benefits of defending one's own territory ensures the effectiveness and inviolability of Poland. Territorial Defence is functionally a military form of universal defence, but structurally part of the military system. The territorial defence forces are a territorial part of the armed forces organized and used for defence at the local and regional level and functioning in the subordination of territorial command system. They are units of land forces prepared to conduct regular and irregular activities. In this scope are: local defence, protection and defence of municipalities, protection of important facilities and areas (critical infrastructure), conducting irregular activities, supporting of expand on operation of own forces and NATO reinforcements as well as readiness for humanitarian operations. Humanitarian operations includes prompt support of local authorities and society in the event of natural disasters, technical catastrophes and others, and special military assistance also outside these areas. They can fight independently, support the operational army, provide assistance to a population as part of emergency evacuation, rescue operations and local defence in permanent areas of responsibility. Functioning of territorial defence during peace is linked to the building of reliable strength and image of Poland's inalienability as a basis for effective deterrence, protection, defence and participation in ensuring the protection of the population, property and the environment in times of natural disasters, technical disasters and other disasters and needs [5].

Hence tasks of territorial defence in peacetime concern:

- planning and readiness of territorial defence at all organisational levels of state;
- coordination and preparations of civil-military plans for national defence;
- common military and rescue training of subsequent young generations;
- training of reserves of territorial defence to protect and defend their areas;
- preparing and conducting joint civilian-military training and other exercises;
- establishing, inspiring and supporting existing NGO organizations with patriotic-defence character;
- support the civil authorities and a public in situations of natural, technical and other disasters;
- participating in widespread patriotism and civic education;
- caring of independence traditions as well military and social;
- joint responsibility for security of local communities.

Responding to situation - military or non-military crisis - in a general way is a goal for effective prevention, mitigation or removal of the effects of the crisis. In non-military crisis tasks of territorial defence forces are follows:

- achieving full readiness for military reaction in the non-military threat area;
- strengthening or taking control of critical infrastructure;
- supporting the authorities and the public in preventing and counteracting non-military threats;
- minimizing and eliminating the effects of the crisis and restoring normalcy.

For military crisis or terroristic attack tasks of territorial defence forces are follows:

- achieving full readiness for military reaction in threat area;
- developing a territorial recognition system;

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- strengthening the protection and defence of state border and critical infrastructure;
- combating reconnaissance, diversionary or terrorist groups;
- preparation of protection and defence of area in direction of the threat;
- providing protection of operational troops in units, starting areas and manoeuvring roads;
- conducting engineering development within defence areas and on the outskirts of deployment of operational or territorial defence troops;
- incorporation of militarized institutions and paramilitary organizations.

The goal of territorial defence during the war is widespread protection and defence of borders, cities and critical infrastructure. In cooperation with operational forces paralyze the movement and actions of the opponent to their complete destruction or displacement from the territory of Poland. For war time tasks of territorial defence forces are follows:

- achieving full readiness;
- protection and defence of state borders, localities and critical infrastructure;
- combating reconnaissance, diversionary or airborne assault;
- supporting for operational development and operational forces;
- paralyzing of the movement and actions of enemy;
- protecting national authority and institutions, population, property and the environment from repression, plunder and destruction.

Tasks of territorial defence during the occupation:

- conducting of irregular activities in massive scale to paralyze the movement and actions of the aggressors forces and their destruction or displacement from the territory of Poland;
- protection and defence of belowground structures of state power and of social organizations;
- defend of population from repression;
- protect of national treasure before plunder and destruction;
- securing the reconstructing and functioning of state authorities and social organizations in released areas.

Arming and equipping the territorial defence forces should ensure effective implementation of tactical, rescue and rescue missions. Suggested basic equipment and armament territorial defence unit:

- shooting weapon;
- anti armour weapon;
- mines;
- off-road vehicles, trucks, minibuses and motorcycles;
- engineering equipment;
- CBRN equipment;
- basic medical rescue equipment;
- basic ecological rescue equipment [6].

4. Territorial Defence Forces – challenges and threats

Territorial Defence Forces are alongside the operational forces a common defence component of Poland. They have territorial command organs and territorial defence forces prepared for local defence as also defence in permanent areas of responsibility. As a military form of common protection and defence, it is prepared to carry out at territorial level protection of local borders and important objects and defence areas, including critical infrastructure. In the event of an enemy intrusion into the territory of Poland, territorial defence will carry out irregular operations in cooperation with operational troops until the

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enemy is completely destroyed or repulsed. Territorial Defence Forces will support operational forces during their development and operations, local powers and society while natural disasters, technical disasters and others [7].

According Prof. Jozef Marczak from War Studies University in Poland, "Territorial Defence shall carry out the following missions during defence of Poland and NATO: (1) armed, (2) coordination of civilian-military activities and (3) non-military missions." Armed missions include protection and local defence, irregular operations, combat and logistical support of operational troops. The mission of coordinating civil-military activities is linked to the arrangements plans (by the command organs with governmental and self-governmental authorities) and preparation civilian service to support of military operations, as well as military support for authorities and citizens in situations of natural disasters, technical catastrophes and others. Non-governmental missions include participation in civic education, patriotic education, cooperation with schools and non-governmental organizations, preparation to support civil authorities and society in times of peace, crisis, war and possible occupation.

The main research problem of this article was related to the tree functions of TDF: (1) deter the enemy with own massiveness; (2) common and massive defence after collapse of operational forces; (3) provide assistance to citizen in crisis and war situations.

The aim was achieved and its realization allowed to draw the most important conclusions:

- in coming years it is necessary to further develop and consistently implement plans aimed at increasing defence capabilities;
- territorial defence forces, regardless of their organizational form and functioning will greatly contribute to the increase of the defence capacity of the state security system.
- territorial defence impacts on effectiveness of national defence decisively as it exploits strategic advantages of defending own territory. Therefore, it is necessary to start locating territorial defence troops in eastern and north-eastern parts of Poland.
- The Territorial Defence Forces should be an independent kind of Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland and be part of the command system.

The presented article is an analysis of the Concept and key determinants of the creation of the Territorial Defence Forces in Poland. Synthesis of the information obtained from these studies reflects the author's position [6].

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