Territorial defence forces in Poland after the second world war

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Abstract

Objectives: The aim of the research was to solve the research problem contained in the question: What is the origin of the Territorial Defence Forces, what transformations accompanied this formation in the past and how is this type of troops prepared to combat military, paramilitary, non-military and hybrid threats?

Methods: The methods adopted in the research process include, above all, a critical analysis of a wide range of source materials, including monographs, scientific articles, legal acts, competence documents and information materials of the TDF Command. The theoretical methods characteristic of the security sciences, i.e. analysis, synthesis, comparison, inference and abstraction, were supplemented by participatory observation.

Results: The research results confirmed the relationship between the state's defence strategy and the shape of the territorial defence formation. Financial conditions are of great importance in the creation of territorial defence but the need for an adequate response to new threats, including hybrid threats, is becoming an absolutely key determinant.

Conclusions: The conclusions from the research clearly indicate the legitimacy of keeping the Territorial Defence Forces within the state security system. The establishment of the Territorial Defence Forces in Poland after World War II was associated with the involvement of operational troops in the structures of the former Warsaw Pact. After the political transformation, the units of Territorial Defence Forces were significantly reduced until their complete decommissioning. The emergence of new threats, including hybrid threats from the Russian Federation, implied the need to rebuild the Territorial Defence Forces.

Keywords: Armed Forces, Territorial Defence Forces, security of Poland

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Introduction

From the dawn of civilization, military operations were conducted with the use of the local territorial component, strongly connected functionally with the local authority. It was used to organize defense on the spot. At the same time, there was a practical, permanent, and paid for, armed component not tied to a given area or region, used mainly to perform strike tasks on the opponent, but also to conduct ad hoc defense, but incomparably smaller than the possibility of its preparation by the "local component". The first of these components has become the prototype of the currently functioning territorial defense forces (used locally, only on the territory of one's own country), while the latter illustrates modern operational troops (professional, field, expeditionary and strike units). (Jakubczak R., 2014, p. 39-40)

The territorial component made it possible to effectively defend local areas with a much lower financial outlay than in the case of operational troops, and also created a broadly understood community of defense against external threats. The low training costs required for this formation and the ability to build up substantial reserves of defense-trained personnel were the main reasons for the creation of this type of troops. (Jakubczak R., 2014, p. 40)

Bearing in mind the above facts, it can be stated that the purpose of territorial defense is "to prepare and conduct the defense of regions and facilities throughout the country, to create conditions for the development and operation of operational troops, and to undertake irregular activities on a mass scale, as well as to support non-military defense activities." (Jakubczak R. et.al., p. 29)

Security over the centuries has been one of the most basic human needs. Over the years, the threats accompanying humanity have changed and this resulted in the need to adapt to the prevailing difficult conditions and overcome them. In recent years, many issues related to military security have also changed. In order to maintain the security of its citizens, the Polish government is obliged to identify accurately the potential threats and take appropriate actions to combat them.

In the face of a real threat from the Russian Federation, it was decided to reactivate the Territorial Defence Forces - the fifth type of the Armed Forces. Well-equipped, highly mobile troops are to be a serious strengthening of the operational troops in times of peace, crisis and war.
In this article, the author presents the history of the Territorial Defence Forces (TDF) in Poland after World War II and also showed the idea of their formation and functioning in the public domain. In addition, the author introduced the reactivation of Territorial Defence Forces in 2016, the process of forming units and subunits, their structure and the most important tasks.

1. Territorial Defence Forces in Poland between 1947-2008

Since the end of World War II, Polish authorities have shown extensive initiative in terms of the formation of the Territorial Defence Forces. The main reasons for such actions were the desire to rebuild the country's defence capabilities, as well as effective influence on the potential military threats resulting from the geopolitical situation in Europe at that time.

The development of the TDF concept during the Cold War was largely due to fears that the territory of Poland would be an area where nuclear military operations could take place by the two largest world powers, namely the United States and the Soviet Union, which belonged to two different military pacts - NATO and the Warsaw Pact (WP). At that time, Poland belonged to the Warsaw Pact. This pact was characterized by an offensive doctrine of action, which, in the event of a conflict, required our country to send operational troops to the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact. This prospect worried the authorities in terms of the impossibility of defending the territory due to the separation of entire operational troops. Therefore, the idea of establishing Territorial Defence Forces was based on their staying in the country and taking responsibility for its defence.

In the 1960s, the Polish authorities established the National Territorial Defence (NTD) program. It consisted of several components: the Territorial Defence Forces, the National Air Defence Army (NADA), the Naval Territorial Defence Forces (NTDF), the Internal Defence Army (IDA), the Border Protection Army (BPA) and, additionally, training and backup units. The formation of such a structure made it possible to provide Poland with increased protection in the event of a military conflict. With the change in threats, both the equipment of the NTD and its size were adjusted. The main military threats identified by the National Defence Committee at that time were: massive strikes by means of air attack, missile attacks, both conventional and nuclear, air and sea landings, as well as diversionary groups.

During the war, the NTD was to consist of 18 brigades (including 16 TD brigades and 2 engineering brigades) and 47 regiments (35 backup and training regiments, 9 engineering regiments and 3 mechanized regiments) which were subordinate to the commands located in three military districts. It was assumed that in peacetime the number of NTDs would amount
to approximately 154,000 soldiers and during the war as many as 673,000 soldiers. (National Defence Committee, 1959)

The NTD troops were divided into several types which meant that each of them could take up specific tasks within the state security. NADA was typically focused on the protection of the population and critical infrastructure, both military and civil, against air attacks by a potential enemy. BPA focused on securing the state border, and IDA was intended to secure the proper functioning of important facilities in terms of state security and defence, and moreover, they took anti-diversionary measures. On the other hand, the mission of the classic TDF units was to take measures related to non-military threats, e.g. removing the effects of natural disasters.

Due to the general reduction of the Armed Forces of Polish People's Republic at the end of the 1980s and the disarmament negotiations undertaken between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states regarding the reduction of the number of troops, the Polish authorities decided to disband the NTD, and this decision was justified by the possibility of taking over their tasks by the operational troops. On the basis of the operational order of the Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces No. 0112 of September 15, 1988, the process of decommissioning of the NTD began which was to last until the end of 1989. In fact, the disbanding of the TDF troops was completed in March 1990 (Doctrine and Training Centre of the Polish Armed Forces, 2017).

However, in November 1990, immediately after the disbanding of the NTD was completed, due to the analysis of the security environment of Poland, the reactivation of these troops was initiated. Between 1990-1994, there was a polemic about the concepts and structures that could be adopted by the new TDF troops, unfortunately the talks did not bring the expected results, as none of the ideas was implemented.

Such a course of action meant that Poland did not have the TDF troops for several years, and the only actions taken by the authorities were the constant creation of concepts regarding the number, structure and tasks of the TDF troops. (Doctrine and Training Centre of the Polish Armed Forces, 2017). The breakthrough came in the late 1990s, namely in 1999, just before Poland joined the NATO. It was then that the "Concept of Territorial Defence Development" was created which was approved by the Minister of National Defence on January 11, 1999. This concept divided the territory of the country into three parts which were to constitute areas of the gradual formation of TDF units. Partly, it was a kind of break with the past because it had a different attitude towards the TDF soldiers who were no longer to serve the operational forces as a "workforce and guard" as in the times of the Warsaw Pact.
Such an approach was probably the desire to start a fundamental transformation of the Polish Army in order to free itself from the communist thought and change it to the Western standard.

Since the beginning of 2000, the aforementioned Concept of Territorial Defence Development began to be implemented. However, already at the initial stage of implementation of the assumptions made there, it was realized that the funds provided for this purpose were insufficient. Consequently, it became impossible to implement all the adopted points of the concept. This is demonstrated by the fact that by the end of 2001, only four TDF brigades had been formed, based on the previously existing units of operational troops. Such action was disadvantageous from the point of view of the entire institution of the Armed Forces because a new force was not created but only transformed into another one, not necessarily better. At the beginning of 2002, another document concerning the Territorial Defence Forces appeared, this time it was the Concept of the rebuilding of the territorial defence forces. The authorities decided to implement this concept because, as previously mentioned, the financial resources were not sufficient to fully cover the costs of the Concept of Territorial Defence Development (1999). The most important demand of the concept of reconstruction of the TDF troops was to reduce their numbers. Since that moment, the TDF troops were to count 2-3 thousand soldiers during "Peace" and 50-70 thousand during "War". The changed concept assumed that most of the Territorial Defence units, after the mobilization announcement, would perform tasks as subunits for the protection and defence of facilities. In addition, the operation of motorized TD units was planned which were to be intended to supplement and secure the activities of both own and allied operational troops. Nevertheless, by 2003, seven TDF brigades were formed which, in theory, had 35 light infantry battalions and 5 engineering rescue battalions. The achieved number of Territorial Defence Forces subunits constituted only 1/3 of the forces planned in the 2002 concept. Moreover, these units were created with incomplete use of the demands adopted in this concept. (Doctrine and Training Centre of the Polish Armed Forces, 2017).

In 2003, the TDF troops comprised a total of seven brigades: the 1st Gdańsk Territorial Defence Brigade (Lębork); 2nd Mińsk-Mazowiecki Territorial Defence Brigade (Mińsk Mazowiecki); 3rd Zamość Brigade of Territorial Defence (Zamość); 14th Przemyśl Territorial Defence Brigade of Hetman Jerzy Lubomirski (Przemyśl); 18th Białystok Territorial Defence Brigade of Marshal Edward Rydz-Śmigły (Białystok); 22nd Mountain Territorial Defence Infantry Brigade (Kłodzko); 23 Śląsk Brigade of Territorial Defence (Gliwice).
At the end of 2003, it was decided to disband the 23. Śląsk TD Brigade. Then, in 2005, its fate was shared by the 2nd Mińsk-Mazowiecki Territorial Defence Brigade which initiated the complete breakup of the territorial defence forces. Initially, the number of jobs in the remaining TD brigades was reduced and they began to be reformed into TD battalions. Such a change meant that these units could not fully perform their tasks. In 2008, as a result of the enactment of the professionalization program of the Polish Armed Forces by the authorities, the remaining forces of this formation, which were intended to execute tasks during "P", were disbanded. At that time, new conditions were introduced which assumed that the TDF troops would be mobilized only in times of crisis or war. All existing TD units have been transformed into mechanized battalions. Then, the Territorial Defence Forces ceased to exist. (Doctrine and Training Centre of the Polish Armed Forces, 2017).

The accession of Poland to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1999, as well as to the European Union (EU) in 2004, initiated a significant reduction in the sense of military threats to our country among the society. NATO and the EU were perceived as a kind of security guarantees and the significant weakening of Russia's armed forces at that time only intensified this feeling. Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty has provided Polish citizens with a high level of certainty in terms of the inviolability of territorial integrity, as demonstrated by the research conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center. (CBOS, 2009) These studies show a significant increase in Poles' belief that there is no threat to the independence of the country after Poland joined NATO (71% of respondents). Over the years 2000-2009, the number of respondents, convinced that there is no threat to independence, never dropped below 61%. Such a result is an undeniable proof that the Polish citizen was guaranteed a sense of security at a high level which was maintained.
In 2015, the Polish authorities made another attempt to rebuild Territorial Defence Forces as an independent type of armed forces. Such actions were undoubtedly caused by the military aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine a year earlier. Although this event did not constitute a direct military threat to Poland, it confirmed the assumptions of many European experts regarding the imperial aspirations of Russian President Vladimir Putin and the desire to regain the former Russian spheres of influence. An additional factor causing increased concerns of the Polish authorities was the way in which the Russians executed this aggression, namely the use of unconventional methods of military operations, also known as hybrid warfare. Such a course of action caused great concern among the Polish authorities but also among Polish society. This was particularly influenced by the form and scale of the attack executed by Moscow, as well as the fact that a neighboring country was attacked. It should also be remembered that the aggression against Ukraine was not the first event of this type. Russia launched a massive cyber offensive against Estonia in 2007, as well as a violent military operation in Georgia in 2008. These events showed both the international community and Polish society that Russia's policy is geared towards planning and testing of its actions in a way that it causes the greatest breakdown in the cohesion and unity of NATO and EU members and weakens their firmness in unanimous decisions, especially in terms of Article 5 of the NATO Treaty.
At this point, it is worth mentioning the survey conducted among Polish society in 2009, when nothing indicated that Russia was pursuing an expansionist policy. The study is called "The security of Poland in the international arena" and one of its parts relates to the relations between Poland and Russia. The respondents were asked whether, in their opinion, friendly and partnership relations between the two countries are possible or not. An affirmative answer was given by 65% of the respondents while 45% were negative. Such a result indicates a rather positive attitude of the public towards Russia at that time. Additionally, the study posed another very pertinent question, namely whether Russia will seek to regain influence in our part of Europe in the near future. The respondents answered this question less clearly but the majority said that they did not (67%) and only 28% of the respondents gave an affirmative answer. It follows that Russia's striving to regain its former sphere of influence in Central and Eastern Europe was noticed by the public, but was recognized as a phenomenon that has no impact on the security of Poland. (CBOS, 2009)

The events in Ukraine in 2014 resulted in a redefinition of issues related to national security. Steps had to be taken to strengthen the defence of the country in connection with the expansionist policy of the Kremlin. It was necessary to thoroughly rethink the condition of the Polish Armed Forces, especially in terms of the assurance of territorial integrity. The Polish authorities' in-depth analysis of threats, the course of armed conflicts in the 21st century, defence experiences from the 1st and 2nd Republic of Poland and conclusions from the existing defence systems of other countries with a geopolitical position similar to Poland, showed that the security of the state, in addition to relying on the professional army, treaties and presence in international organizations, the collective defence system of the country, consisting of civic communities, should be taken into account.

The conclusion of the authorities from the analysis was the idea of rebuilding the Territorial Defence Forces which were created in 2015. The idea of establishing Territorial Defence Forces was to perform defence tasks in specific areas within the territory of the country, support operational troops and provide assistance, if necessary, in situations of non-military threats. It was assumed that the manner of their operation would be mixed, i.e. both regular and irregular. One of the biggest assumptions when creating new Territorial Defence Forces was the incorporation of the local community into their ranks which was to give them an advantage in knowing the area in the event of an enemy attack, as well as strengthen the sense of duty to defend themselves. In structural terms, territorial defense forces are territorial units of the regional and local level that are subordinated to territorial command bodies, i.e. such command structures of troops that are organized on the principles of the administrative
territorial division of the state, which means that these troops create a system of territorial defense with these organs. (Jakubczak R. et.al., p. 35)

The first formal step taken by the Polish authorities on the way to creating a new type of armed forces was the approval by the Minister of National Defence on April 25, 2016 of the Concept for the creation of the Territorial Defence Forces (Stage I 2016-2017) which provided for the creation of seventeen TD Brigades (BTD), one for each voivodeship, with the exception of Mazowieckie Voivodship where two BTDs were to be established.

The process of creating TDF units was initially divided into four stages:

- Stage I - creation of the Territorial Defence Forces Command in Warsaw, formation of the first three TD brigades in the eastern part of the country (Podlaskie, Podkarpackie, Lubelskie voivodships)
- Stage II - creation of the next three TD brigades located in the voivodships: Warmińsko-Mazurskie and Mazowieckie, additionally commencement of the process of forming the Territorial Defence Forces Training Center, as well as the Logistics Support and the Command Battalion.
- Stage III - formation of seven TD brigades deployed in the following voivodships: Pomorskie, Kujawsko-Pomorskie, Łódzkie, Świętokrzyskie, Małopolskie, Wielkopolskie and Śląskie;
- Stage - IV - creation of the last four BTDs deployed in the following voivodeships: Zachodniopomorskie, Lubuskie, Dolnośląskie and Opolskie (Ministry of National Defence, 2016).

The concept of establishing the Territorial Defence Forces assumed that these troops would be an option for Poland to restore military security through more effective use of its economic, demographic and cultural opportunities. The organizational structure of the Territorial Defence Forces is built on a similar principle to the structures in operational troops but differs in that it takes the dislocation factor of respective units into account. The structure is headed by the TDF commander who performs his tasks using the Territorial Defence Forces Command which has been able to act in March 2017. Since that moment, the process of taking over the first TD brigades deployed in Lublin, Rzeszów and Białystok, began.

The most important tasks of the Territorial Defence Forces Commander include: planning, organizing and conducting training of subordinate military units and organizational unions; planning and organizing the mobilization and operational development and use of the Territorial Defence Forces; preparation of the resources of the Territorial Defence Forces for combat operations; performing tasks related to the participation of units and subunits of the
Territorial Defence Forces in combating natural disasters and eliminating their effects, protecting property, search operations and saving or protecting human health and life, as well as participating in the implementation of tasks in the field of crisis management and cooperation with other authorities and entities in matters related to state defence. (Act of November 16, 2016 amending the act on the compulsory military service of the Republic of Poland and other acts, 2016).

Tasks for Territorial Defence Forces presented in the act in such a way allow to supplement the tasks performed by operational troops and to relieve them significantly, especially in the context of non-military threats. The inclusion of Territorial Defence Forces into the crisis management system meaningfully contributed to the responsiveness, especially to the dangers of all kinds of natural disasters because soldiers of the territorial military service usually live in areas affected by the disasters, they immediately inform their superiors about the occurrence of the threat and they can also proceed immediately to conduct anti-crisis activities.

The Territorial Defence Forces are currently subordinate to the Minister of National Defence which is a different solution from other types of armed forces which in peacetime are subordinated to the Chief of the General Staff. Such a solution was adopted at the stage of establishing Territorial Defence Forces but it assumed that this type of troops would be subordinated to the Chief of the General Staff after they were fully operational. Initially, it was planned to complete this process in 2021, however, according to recent estimates, it will be in 2024 or 2025.

The basic organizational unit of the Territorial Defence Forces is the TDF brigade which is located at the tactical level and its main task is to prepare subunits and command them in all states of defence readiness of the state, as well as organize the protection and defence of military facilities, training commands and staffs, troops and personal reserves. In addition, it performs tasks related to the constant maintenance of mobilization and combat readiness, the tasks of supporting public security and helping the society during crisis situations, rescue operations and, if necessary, the elimination of the consequences of accidents, catastrophes and natural disasters. In addition, it performs the tasks of protection and defence of infrastructure facilities that make a significant contribution to the national economy and support the Polish Armed Forces, as well as the implementation of projects in accordance with the Military Command System - in the event of an external threat to state security. (Command of the Territorial Defence Forces, 2018). The structure of the TDF Brigade is presented in the figure below.
The TD Brigade acts as a resource distribution center, in particular as a support for training and operational activities but also for coordination of activities with operational troops. There are also combat, support and security subunits operating in the TD Brigade. Light infantry battalions play an essential role in the entire brigade structure which may include from three to five battalions in a brigade. The discrepancy on this issue is caused by several factors: the specificity of the operating environment and the resulting opportunities and threats; location, in particular the size of the voivodeship and its population density; tasks of operational troops as well as allied forces. (Czwolek K. et. al., 2021) In addition, the TD brigade also includes: a command company, a logistics company, a support company, an explosives engineer company and a medical platoon. The numbers of TD brigades differ which results from the number of light infantry battalions owned by the brigade. If there are four battalions in the structure, then the number of soldiers in the brigade is about 3,000. The number of TD brigades is largely determined by demographic factors in a given region. The TDF command assumed that the structures of respective brigades should be individualized in such a way as to take the specificity of a given region into account, including the threats present there. Thus, in one voivodship the emphasis is placed on the formation of subunits capable of protecting and defending important facilities and in another one the priority will be maneuvering units that can perform tasks, e.g. conducting irregular activities.
Light infantry battalions are the basic units in TD brigades which are located in large county cities. They make up the basic operational module in times of peace, war and crisis. Each battalion is an independent tactical unit, consisting of: from three to five light infantry companies (depending on the location), platoons: fire, logistics, command and support, and a medical team. The size of the light infantry battalion fluctuates around 700 soldiers. These subunits must be organized, trained and equipped in a way that will allow them to conduct independent operations in the conditions occurring in the Permanent Regions of Responsibility (PRR) of the battalion with particular emphasis on specific combat environments, such as: urbanized, forested or mountainous terrain.

Fig. 3. Structure of a light infantry battalion

Source: own study

To sum up, the organizational structures of Territorial Defence Forces units are very similar to those found in operational troops. The biggest difference, however, lies in the fact that these are light infantry units which makes this formation very universal and versatile but also makes it have its own limitations that should not be forgotten when planning or conducting operations by TDF. A characteristic feature of light infantry units and subunits is the lack of heavy armored personnel carriers or tanks. The lack of such equipment means that Territorial Defene Forces are unable to execute typical offensive operations allowing them to inflict heavy losses on an enemy with armored or mechanized units. However, the key word
in the previous sentence is the word "typical", because TDF subunits are able to conduct irregular activities, especially in the urbanized area and in such a situation the enemy units mentioned above would have serious problems despite having heavier equipment and much more powerful units at their disposal. All motor vehicles owned by Territorial Defence Forces perform only transportation functions. Basically, this type of armed forces is typically defensive in nature which means that the countries neighboring Poland do not have to be afraid of using these forces to launch an armed attack on them.

A significant difference as for the comparison of the structure of the TDF troops to operational troops is the adaptation of the former to the administrative division of Poland. This factor is crucial and it is a kind of indicator of the credibility and effectiveness of the formation. The functioning of TDF is defined on three levels: central (national), voivodeship and county. The first of the three levels - the central one - is the Territorial Defence Forces Command, the lower level, the Territorial Defence Brigades are located at the voivodeship level, light infantry battalion headquarters are located in large county cities, and companies are located in most counties. Such a distribution of units subordinate to the Territorial Defence Forces Command guarantees a short response time to emerging security threats. However, the large dispersion of units is problematic in terms of the correct implementation of the training and command process during combat and crisis management operations, especially when using larger components of resources.

Since the reactivation of Territorial Defense Forces in 2016, their image among the population has significantly improved. Polish society, when asked whether it is an opponent or a supporter of the Territorial Defense Forces in Poland, has given different answers over the last five years. In February 2017, only 19 percent expressed their deep support for this formation, and five years later - 40 percent, which undoubtedly can be considered as a great improvement. Undoubtedly, the events beyond our eastern border, where Ukraine is facing an armed attack by the Russian Federation, have an influence on the improvement of the image and the degree of usefulness of the formation. Such situations are an opportunity for the society to notice certain threats that are not noticed on a daily basis. The survey results are presented in the chart below.
Conclusions

The Polish Territorial Defence Forces have significantly changed their tasks and structures over the years, however, all along, at the beginning of the Cold War, their idea was to defend the homeland by a locally established community, perfectly familiar with the area of future operations and trained to perform tasks in times of peace, crisis and war.

The Territorial Defence Forces, which were created after World War II, were to be a significant factor influencing the reconstruction of the defensive capabilities of the country, after Poland suffered losses in this conflict, as well as an effective response to the contemporary military threats that resulted from the geopolitical situation prevailing at that time.

An important reason for establishing the Territorial Defence Forces during the Cold War was membership of Poland to the Warsaw Pact countries and the resulting obligations. This pact was characterized by an offensive doctrine which increased the probability of using the
forces of allied states in the event of an armed conflict. In such a situation, all operational troops were to be assigned to the place of war, and the territory of the state at that time would remain unprotected. The Territorial Defence Forces were supposed to fill this gap and, in such a situation, to stay on the territory of the country and defend it in the event of an enemy attack.

Later, the Polish authorities developed many concepts of the Territorial Defence Forces which assumed a very large number and a large variety of this type of troops. Such solutions made TDF an important factor of state security having the strength and resources to respond effectively to various types of threats.

Between the end of the 1980s to 2008, the Territorial Defence Forces were disbanded and reformed several times. During that period, new concepts of this type of troops emerged, most of which were impossible to implement, mainly due to a lack of financial resources.

In 2015, another attempt was made to reactivate Territorial Defence Forces. It was the response of the Polish authorities to the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine in 2014 and the occupation of the Crimean peninsula. Ensuring security for the Polish society was a priority, so it was decided to create one TD brigade in each voivodeship, and two in the Mazowieckie Voivodeship. The basis of TDF operation is to involve the local community in defending its "small homeland", and their motto: "Always ready, always close" gives an idea of how soldiers of territorial military service are to act. This is the shape of the Territorial Defence Forces to this day performing mainly crisis management tasks, thus relieving the operational troops.
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