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Ukraine

THE ROLE OF THE TERRITORIAL DEFENCE IN A HYBRID WAR ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE EVENTS IN UKRAINE 2014-2016

Summary:

State policy regarding the use of civilians for the defence of the country, promotion of military service and bringing them into the territorial defence battalions deserve special attention, given the difficult political and economic situation in the country after the Revolution Benefits. Thus, the experience of Ukraine regarding the formation of the system of territorial defence, and other mechanisms to combat the enemy in a hybrid war can serve as an example for other countries and alliances, in order to avoid similar mistakes and use them in the future for their own defence.

Keywords:

Ukraine, territorial defence, Crimea, Donbas, hybrid warfare, Russia

Modern armed forces are impossible to imagine without high-precision weapons, aircraft, tanks, artillery. However, no item, how automated it would not be, will not replace the human. It is the human factor remains decisive on any battlefield. The experience of recent armed conflicts XX – early XXI centuries shows that, where the regular army is powerless to successfully operate guerrilla groups. Therefore, today virtually all countries of the world pays special attention to issues of territorial defence. This term is a modern interpretation of the well-proven in the past, people's militias and guerrilla movements.

Since time immemorial, when still only laid the foundation of regular armies, militias have existed. They were formed mainly of peasants, who, in spite of the poorly armed (often military weapons became agriculture implements – pitchforks, scythes, etc.) and the lack of proficiency demonstrated bravery and courage in defence of their native land. Sometimes the walls could not withstand the strong and powerful fortifications and militia kept the defence to the

end. Where regular troops turned to flee, the enemy met Draught ordinary men or even runaway serfs, ready to give their lives for their land¹.

The lessons of history are not forgotten. In many states, the experience of guerrilla warfare counted and multiplied. In the context of armed conflicts that take place in Ukraine in recent years, especially with hybrid war, the formation of the territorial defence system became one of the most important decisions that allowed stopping the advance of military operations deep into the territory of Ukraine. Since the Ukrainian army for a long time after the declaration of their independence was in a very difficult conditions of existence and some of its divisions, which is on the eastern borders of the country to be influenced by the Russian security services and units of the Black Sea Fleet in Crimea, Ukraine was not ready to conduct military operations against fighters that were supported by the Russian army in the Donbas and Crimea.

Ukraine is facing serious challenges of modern methods of warfare. The concept of a hybrid war is actively used by the Russian Federation against the Ukrainian government on its south-eastern borders. The conditions that contributed to the outbreak of a hybrid war began:

- internal political instability associated with the events on the Maidan, and the overthrow of the regime of Yanukovich;
- a high level of influence of Russian mass media on the population in the southeast region of the country;
- low standard of living of citizens of Ukraine;
- populist approach of the military and political leadership of the state to the principles of acquisition and maintenance of the troops;
- the lack of an effective system of state territorial defence and combat-ready formations and units of the Armed Forces.

Hybrid warfare, in fact, a mixture of classic warfare with the use of irregular armed groups. The state leads hybrid war makes a deal with non-performers – the militants, local community groups, organizations, and the relationship is formally completely denied. These performers can do things that may not make the state itself, because every State is obliged to comply with the terms of the Geneva and the Hague Conventions on the Laws of War on Land, as well as agreements with other countries. All the dirty work in such a situation can be passed on to non-State actors.

Against this background, artificially created by inter-ethnic hysteria, which initially provided a powerful propaganda through the media and abundant financing mercenaries with weapons and instructors, and then the military equipment and professional military. The war is conducted with the help of cheap mass force – local radicals, lumpen and other criminal elements in the Donetsk region, sabotage and reconnaissance groups, former military personnel

¹ Д. Гайшун, *Исторический взгляд на развитие территориальной обороны*, <<http://www.belvpo.com/ru/4160.html>> (10.11.2016).

and the Armed Forces, the Cossacks and mercenaries from the Caucasus and other unstable regions of the world.

On the one hand, use the regular army, albeit only with the aim to scare – from now to the border with Ukraine tightened around 40,000 Russian soldiers. Thus, Ukraine is a strong pressure in the event of incorrect or inappropriate policy actions can be a full-scale intervention of the troops. On the other hand, in Ukraine there are groups that are managed from Russia. In this scheme of warfare is extremely difficult to respond. When the boundary of the adjacent state crosses the army troops or tank division, everything is clear, but in this case nothing is done. Instead, it is silent annexation, with the involvement of militants and ethnic groups on the ground, according to the agreement and under the supervision of the Russian Federation.

Russia used against Ukraine the concept of a hybrid war, which in many ways is unique structural and functional point of view: it is hybrid in form and in content – asymmetric. Clearly the nature of a new type of war, demonstrated first Russian annexation of the territory in the spring of 2014 the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and then – to support local radical elements and full-scale invasion of Russian troops in the eastern regions of Ukraine.

America and Europe will always continue to say that they do not recognize the annexation of Crimea to Russia, that is, it will be another frozen conflict, the same as Nagorny Karabakh. But, even though legally we do not recognize, the de facto annexation of Crimea happened – Crimea became part of Russia, and Vladimir Putin he got what he wanted. Here is another important feature of the hybrid tactic of war: the international community is placed before a fait accompli. The international community is saying *We do not recognize*, but the fact of accession has already taken place. In the short term this is a very successful tactic when it will be possible to capture new territory without firing a shot.

As for the events in the Donbas, the purpose of hybrid warfare is not the conquest and destruction, but the economic destruction of the country. Destruction of the country is an acceptable goal, that this area became no man's land of chaos. Victory in this war – a long-term instability and the ongoing process of the war. That, over time, should enable the "Moderator War" get the approval of the international community in the role of peacemaker. In modern conditions of hybrid warfare – it's quick and cheap way to destroy the country, or complete submission of its foreign interests.

The terrorist army are cheap, fairly numerous, and most importantly - effective, because it does not adhere to its own legal norms and international agreements. This army does not belong to anyone, therefore no way to strike back strike on the aggressor. It is cost effective – one thousand trained fighters rapidly cheaper dozen trained soldiers armed with modern tools for combat. "The moderator of the war" does not bear moral and legal responsibility for the death of mercenaries and bandits. The low standard of living in neighbouring

countries leads to a decrease in the cost of fighters, so the cost of maintaining them is negligible.

The difficulty of doing hybrid war is that in the ordinary course of the war the army is fighting against the army, and in the course of a hybrid war fighters under the banner of protecting the rights of the people of the region are fighting in their territory, namely with their statehood. What, in fact, a war against the same population. In such circumstances, when the share of the population supported the militants deceived, no army is unable to protect the state from the territory of a gang formations, without causing loss and damage to their populations. Where the armed forces are destroying their own fighters, where the town (village), destroyed and killed civilians, militants and enhances them closer to the target "moderator" goal – the destruction of the country².

Events in the south and east of Ukraine raises the question of revaluation in society views on the effectiveness of taken at the beginning of the century the political course for the development of the national army. The level of threats to national security – one of the main factors that affect the format of the content of the regular army. So when in peacetime combat capability of the armed forces is reduced, usually by reducing their numbers, the relevance of the territorial defence of the country should significantly increase and intensify. It should be noted that the preservation of defence capabilities is a rational combination of these, interconnected, constituting the state's defence capability, the implementation of which is based on the national historical and socio-economic opportunities. Of course, the core of Defence of Ukraine were and will be the Armed Forces. But the more the army becomes a high standing for the budget, that is, high-tech, mobile and professional (contract), but due to the significant investment remains small in number, the stronger must be the state policy in the sphere of territorial defence.

According to Ukrainian legislation, the main tasks of territorial defence is:

- security and protection of the state border;
- ensuring the conditions for the proper functioning of public authorities, bodies of military administration, rapid deployment of troops;
- protection and defence of important facilities and communications;
- the fight against sabotage and reconnaissance forces, other armed forces of the aggressor and illegal armed groups;
- organization, preparation and coordination of movements of resistance in case of occupation of the territory of Ukraine or any part thereof;
- organization and implementation of emergency measures;
- carrying out rescue and other emergency operations in hazardous areas;

² І. Якубець, *Проблеми територіальної оборони. Центр дослідження армії, конверсії и розоруження*, <<http://cacds.org.ua/ru/comments/339>> (26.08. 2014).

- protection of the population from the effects of hostilities, accident (damage) caused by the use of lethal force, acts of terrorism and sabotage;
- the maintenance of the legal regime of martial law and states of emergency.

State policy regarding the use of civilians for the defence of the country, promotion of military service and bringing them into the territorial defence battalions are particularly noteworthy, given that the formation of the territorial defence system will prevent the development of a military crisis in the region and strengthen the position of the Ukrainian military.

From the outset, the anti-terrorist operation conducted in eastern Ukraine, and until now, attention multimillion Ukrainian public is continuously focused on the activities of volunteer battalions, organize themselves in support of the National Guard of Ukraine. Sincere concern about the fate of fighters from the population manifested in the material support - the call of the heart, without any involvement of the state, multi-million society patriotic citizens alone has equipped and equip combat volunteer group, and the invaluable support of thousands of volunteers, working in real time fundraising for the purchase, transport and delivery to the ATO zone necessities.

The war came to the Ukrainian land suddenly and rapidly... Due to objective reasons – lack of effective protection of the state border, the action plan of the General Staff in the case of intervention and effective combat-ready army to be mobilized as soon as possible - in parallel with the preparation of the units of the Ukrainian army to the anti-terrorist operation (ATO) in the east, and began the formation of volunteer battalions³.

While the Ukrainian armed forces are in transition in combat-ready position of the state, were cleaning step and reform, modernization and adaptation to the new conditions, the readiness to confront militants in the occupied territories of the country showed the volunteers, civilians, who formed the backbone of the first battalion of territorial defence, appeared in 2014 .

Acquisition of territorial defence battalion of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (AFU BTrO) personnel began on the basis of the Law of Ukraine dated March 25, 1992 No. 2232-XII *On Military Duty and Military Service, Regulations on military service by citizens in the Armed Forces of Ukraine*, approved by Presidential Decree of December 10, 2008 No. 1153/2008, the order of the Minister of Defence of Ukraine dated April 10, 2009 No. 170 *On Approval of the Instruction on the organization of the implementation of the Regulations on passing military service by citizens of Ukraine in the Armed Forces of Ukraine*. Military commissariats and military authorities (operational command) have been authorized to call upon the citizens of Ukraine for military service, and to

³ М. Буковецкая, *Украинские добровольческие батальоны: кто есть кто на карте боевых действий*, <<http://mignews.com.ua/avtor/blogs/3730389.html>> (12.11.2016).

take the citizens of Ukraine for military service under the contract. By the formation of the battalions of the territorial defence of Ukraine Armed Forces of Ukraine were involved activists of Self-Defence Mайдan. The first of these was formed the 11th Battalion of Territorial Defence (BTrO) to Kiev-based location in the "Ukrainian House". Also, Mайдan self-defence fighters were part of the 24th battalion of territorial defence (BTrO) Lugansk region "Aydar". In the following months it was formed volunteer battalions "Donbas", "OUN", "Right Sector", "Azov", "Dnepr", and others. The practice of deploying battalions of territorial defence showed that the battalion to the area (region) is certainly better than nothing, but not enough to maintain the territorial defence in the regions and assist the forces involved in the ATO.

Information, sometimes quite contradictory, about the activities of volunteer battalions many civilian people sincerely concerned about the fate of the country, is not always clear. Accumulated questions remain than answers on them. And find out where the true reality displayed, and where - not quite, quite difficult. For example, see in the "information war" dirty PR technologies in which they are working against the volunteers, who finances and coordinates the activities of separatist insurgents and foreign soldiers? Who really needs help, and who is just playing the patriotic feelings and dedication to use Ukraine, the desire to make every possible effort for the coveted peace and victory over the terrorists?!

Since the territorial defence forces responsible for the fulfilment of a number of important tasks in the field of national defence, that these units need to pay much more attention than has been done until now. Analysis and generalization of practice of application of territorial defence battalions in the area of the fighting in the east of Ukraine gives grounds to assert that these military units carried out non-core functions. At that time, senior government officials had a distorted view of the place and role of territorial defence battalions in the system to ensure the country's defence. They just plugged the hole and used as a conventional military units, despite the fact that in most cases in a real combat soldiers territorial defence forces were not ready to carry out their tasks. The exception is perhaps that the 24 territorial defence battalions "Aydar", which was formed in the Lugansk region in early 2014, but this unit can only formally be considered a battalion of territorial defence. Almost the entire personnel of the Battalion "Aydar" was formed from volunteers coming from different regions of Ukraine (and not only), and many fighters in the past have had the experience of taking part in the hostilities. That is why the Battalion "Aydar" from the outset not performed support functions, as provided for by law, and participated in the fighting as an ordinary assault unit of the regular armed forces. In this regard, it can be argued that today in Ukraine is practically no experience in organizing and targeted use of the territorial defence forces. This is a significant disadvantage in the Ministry of Defence. Today we need to pay more attention to the development of territorial defence forces, because with

their help, you can significantly increase the level of Ukraine's defence capability⁴.

Military experts believe that one of the main problems is that there is still no comprehensive security sector reform started, which would encompass all security forces. For example, the formation of different kinds of reserve teams in the field at the same time is now planning three government agencies: the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Internal Affairs and the State Service for Emergency Situations. Along with the Ministry of Defence initiatives in the Interior Ministry said that on the ground it is necessary to create a municipal police. Also in preparation of the State Service for Emergency Situations of the reform, which wants to establish rapid response teams in emergencies. It is not known whether these three types of troops somehow coordinate their activities, whether they are in the same structure. In addition, in light of the announced large-scale administrative reform and decentralization, it can be assumed that the question of their maintenance will be entrusted mainly to local authorities. Do they have enough resources to it – another open-ended question.

Based on the features of the conduct of hostilities in the east of Ukraine, it is worth noting the need to find new ways and mechanisms for a substantial renovation of the territorial defence system in Ukraine, enhancing its effectiveness and functioning. Hybrid warfare makes revision plan of formation of the armed forces, and especially the formation of mobile military units that must differ from stationary. This requires a change in thinking and in relation to the type of future conflicts and threats counteraction to select tracks. It should also be noted that territorial defence, taking into account the forms and methods of hybrid war, cannot be reduced to a range of military activities, and versatile, the national system of military, political, economic, and special events that require legal regulation, in particular the definition of: territorial defence tasks, including: special; organizational principles of territorial defence, the preparations for and conduct of territorial defence, as well as the procedure for their implementation, including measures aimed at countering the hybrid methods of production War. Thus, the improvement of the territorial defence system in Ukraine should become one of the most efficient and expedient way to achieve and maintain a high level of the state's defence capability.

In the sphere of organization of territorial defence advisable to develop the institution of military service in the military reserve, which must be entered in order to prepare the citizens of Ukraine to carry out territorial defence tasks in the administrative-territorial units, as well as targeted training for the acquisition of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other military forces personnel. Also require a legislative definition of the way the citizens of motivation to undergo military service in the reserve, as well as the issue of improving the organization of service in the military reserve.

⁴ О. Березюк, *Как правильно защищаться*, <<http://sila-prava.org/ru/oleg-berezyuk-kak-pravilno-zashhishhatsya/>> (13.11.2016).

Such organizational approaches of constructing territorial defence will strengthen national defence, which will allow Ukraine to deter an aggressor from the intentions of deep invasion and promptly enforce territorial defence tasks, and put a significant number of trained organized reserves of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other military formations. The current military-political situation in which our country is the subject of a hybrid war by Russia, shows that rethinking approaches to the understanding of national security have an critical important task. Thus, Ukraine needs to harmoniously combine state policy on the development of professional, mobile, high-tech regular Armed Forces to the development of territorial defence. A condition in which turned out to Ukraine and its actions in specific situations, gives reason to assert the importance of the study of modern practices and conduct opposition hybrid warfare.

Thus, the experience of Ukraine regarding the formation of the system of territorial defence, and other mechanisms to combat the enemy in a hybrid war can serve as an example for other countries and alliances in order to avoid similar mistakes and use these tools in the future to improve its own defences.

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