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Fear as a Determining Factor in the Development of Special Forces and the Territorial Defence Forces in Poland in the 21st Century

Introduction

According to the Oxford English Language Dictionary, the word 'fear' is defined as 'an unpleasant emotion caused by the belief that someone or something is dangerous, likely to cause pain, or a threat.'¹ The concept of fear is related to, among others, the conduct of hostilities and it actually is a natural phenomenon which is known not only to soldiers in a battle but also to societies directly exposed to warfare. In his work entitled *On War*, a general and a military thinker Carl von Clausewitz identifies four elements which coalesce to form the atmosphere of war, including:

- danger,
- physical exertion,
- case (friction),
- uncertainty.²

As the first mentioned factor, 'danger' is inextricably linked to the feeling of fear. A natural reaction of every human being is to avoid danger. When it is impossible, fear and anxiety arise. If a person can overcome their fear and take control over it,

¹ *The New Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford 2001.

² C. Clausewitz, *O wojnie. Podręcznik strategii*, Wydawnictwo Mireki, Kraków 2010, p. 48.

courage is born.³ Therefore, it can be said that courage is nothing else than maintaining the ability to act rationally and effectively despite the fear you feel. Moreover, it is the ability to use fear as a constructive factor of action, from which you can create something new and innovate. Just like an individual human being, entire societies and even states react. Fear and danger can make people feel overwhelmed or push them towards some new and original solutions in the field of defence.

In the last twenty years, world security has had to face new non-military threats such as:

- global Islamic terrorism with its most spectacular cases – the World Trade Centre attacks, and
- the SARS-CoV-2 virus pandemic.⁴

These two cases, at different times, had a decisive impact on the development and even the continual existence of the two formations of the Polish Armed Forces: Special Forces in relation to global terrorism and the Territorial Defence Forces in relation to the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic. Therefore, it is worth tracing back how the fear of global terror and the fight against it in the last twenty years has affected the Special Forces, particularly, the JWK⁵ SOF Unit based in Lubliniec (former 1st Special Forces Regiment). Further on, it should be examined how new incidents such as Russia's aggressive policy and the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic have influenced the Territorial Defence Forces. The answer to these questions is based on available unclassified sources and literature on the subject, as well as participant observation. Neo-realistic research is also used for the purpose of this article. It is worth mentioning that during his military career, the Author commanded SOTU⁶ in Iraq and SOTG⁷ in Afghanistan. Currently, he is a Brigade Commander of the Territorial Defence Forces.

An outline history of special operations in Poland

In order to present the changes which have taken place in the Polish Special Forces, it is necessary, first, to briefly describe their tradition and the state before September 2001. In the Polish armed tradition, Special Forces have had a long history. Lisowski's 'Zagończycy', Hetman Stefan Czarniecki's strategy during the Swedish invasion of 1655–1660, and the Wawelberg Group in the Silesian uprising are some of their oldest and greatest examples.⁸ The units conducting special operations in the interwar period were:

- the 1st Independent 'Commando' Company – operating within the Polish Military Forces in the West during WW II;⁹

³ *Ibidem*, p. 85.

⁴ R. Borkowski, 'Terroryzm międzynarodowy', in: E. Cziomer (ed.), *Zagrożenia i instytucje bezpieczeństwa międzynarodowego*, Oficyna Wydawnicza AFM, Kraków 2016, pp. 65–69.

⁵ JWK – former 1 Special Forces Regiment, the oldest Polish SOF Unit located in Lubliniec city.

⁶ SOTU – Special Operations Task Unit.

⁷ SOTG – Special Operations Task Group.

⁸ P. Witkowski, *Polscy komandosi. No. 10 Commando*, Wydawnictwo Garmond, Częstochowa 2020, pp. 27–31.

⁹ J. Rybak, *Nieznana historia 62 Kompani Specjalnej WP*, Creatio PR, Warszawa 2017, pp. 9–20.

- the AK Battalions – operating under the Home Army Diversion Headquarters, 'Miotła', 'Parasol', and 'Zośka',¹⁰
- Polish Independent Special Battalion – as part of the Polish Military Forces in the East during WW II.

After the Second World War, the development of special units was continued under the Communist regime. Among the most significant ones of that time were:

- the 1st Assault Battalion stationed at Dziwnów (based in Lubliniec since 1986),
- the 62nd Special Forces Company stationed at Bolesławiec,
- the 56th Special Forces Company stationed at Szczecin,
- the 48th Special Forces Company stationed at Cracow.

After the fall of Communism and signing of the Warsaw Pact, the Polish Army faced great changes also affecting the special units. Everything had to be changed from doctrines to the structure, to the training system. The most important task was to define who should be treated as a potential opponent. On 21 February 1990, the National Defence Committee issued a resolution of the Republic of Poland's new defence doctrine. It provided for a significant reduction of the armed forces, liquidation of the political branch and the defensive character of the army.¹¹ The new conditions also had an impact on the operation of the special forces units. The decision was made to form one large special forces unit and so, in 1993, the 1st Special Forces Regiment was created based on the 1st Assault Battalion, and at the same time, independent special companies were disbanded. Additionally, the formation of the SOF GROM Unit as part of the MSW (the Ministry of the Interior) and the SOF FORMOZA Unit in the structures of the Polish Navy began. It is best to present the development of the Polish SOF units taking size and subordination into consideration, on the example of the 1st Special Forces Regiment.

At the time of its formation, the 1st Special Forces Regiment was subordinate to the Chief of the General Staff, precisely to the Board of the 2nd Reconnaissance and Radio-electronic Warfare SG. The Special Operations Department functioning within the Management Board planned the development and specified the tasks to be performed by the special unit. Such a solution had a negative impact on the development of the unit which, ignoring the word 'special' in its name, carried out tasks related to reconnaissance. 'The Special Actions' manual, the main document determining training and planning of their use, was created in 1985, and until the end of the 1990s, it was classified. According to the manual, special operations are

[...] one of the types of military reconnaissance having an impact on the enemy – directly inside its ORBAT – in order to weaken the combat capabilities and morale of troops [...] The main goal of special operations is reconnaissance (obtaining credible, accurate, and timely information about the enemy and the area) and, in specified situations, subversive influence (destruction or incapacitation of important objects or disorganisation of their functioning). Moreover, sometimes the purpose

¹⁰ L. Niżyński, *Batalion Miotła. W dywersji, sabotażu i Powstaniu Warszawskim*, Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, Warszawa 1992, pp. 7–70.

¹¹ J. Rybak, *Lubliniec.pl: cicho i skutecznie. Tajemnice najstarszej jednostki specjalnej Wojska Polskiego*, Creatio PR, Warszawa 2011, p. 39.

of these activities is an intended psychological impact on the army and even the civilian population, especially hostile towards us.¹²

Until the end of the 1990s, the 1 PSPEC (1st Special Forces Regiment) had in its structures two special battalions and one diversionary battalion which included a company of divers. In the special battalions, one special company was fully professional, the rest were composed mostly of conscripts (only the command staff were made of professional soldiers). The main combat elements were the special operation sections of six soldiers. As for the equipment, there was a lack modern observation devices, there were only a few pairs of night-vision goggles, the communication equipment was very unreliable, and there was practically no individual gear provided by the army. It was common practice to buy things at the civilian market, for example boots, sleeping bags, mats, backpacks, and later also tactical vests and even elements of the armament (picatinny rails, tactical flashlights, etc.). The archaic training system left much to wish for. Fire training was based on general instructions, there was no situational shooting, allocation of ammunition was limited. Tactical training, according to the mentioned manual, focused on operation in wooded terrain, use of observation posts, penetration and, occasionally, ambushes. The so-called adventure activities were popular, involving landings of a special group, a long distance from its mother unit, with the task of conducting reconnaissance, e.g., an industrial facility, and returning stealthily afterwards. That type of exercise undoubtedly shaped the desired character traits such as independence in decision-making, the ability to improvise, and creativity, but tactically, they were better suited for reconnaissance than for special units.

A very significant negative factor was a lack of a dedicated command able to properly prepare and command special operations. Logistically, the 1 PSPEC was under the command of the Land Forces, but in operational terms, the planning and managing activities were carried out by the General Staff. This lack of a specialized commanding structure was the main factor hindering the development of an individual. In addition, the subordination of JW GROM to the Ministry of the Interior (from 1999 directly to the Minister of National Defence) and JW FORMOZA to the Navy, made the exchange of experience, particularly with JW GROM (already at a much higher level of training), virtually impossible.

As far as the human factor was concerned, the situation was different. Professional soldiers serving in the unit (extended or contract military service included) belonged to the elite of the Polish Army. Good physical prowess, creativity and, above all, an open attitude to new trends were to bring results in the future and to show the decision-makers what important tasks could be performed by these units.

The possibility of cooperating with the US Army Special Forces had a very positive impact on the development of the 1 PSPEC. In 1994, the first Polish officers visited the base of the 'Green Berets' (the 10th Special Forces Group). In 1993, the soldiers of the 1 PSPEC together with the 'C' Company soldiers of the 10th Special Forces Group participated in joint army exercise code-named 'Two Eagles'. The next joint army exercise code-named 'Dagger 1' and 'Dagger 2' took place in 1997 and

¹² Sztab Generalny WP, *Działania Specjalne*, Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 1985, p. 13.

1998. In 1999, Poland joined NATO, and that year the Polish commandos from Lubliniec, together with the GROM soldiers and the British 22nd SAS Regiment, were able to participate in joint military exercise code-named 'Artist Ulan' and organized in the south-eastern part of Poland. During the exercise, the soldiers of the 1 PSPEC and GROM formed mixed military teams alongside with the 22nd SAS Regiment. Thanks to several days of the joint actions, they obtained first-hand experience of the modern special operations and could see how much they were lacking in terms of the command system, military communications, and the modern approach to training. Despite all, these international contacts remained a kind of window on the world. The soldiers of the 1 PSPEC had an opportunity to observe operations of NATO's leading special units. Steps were taken to obtain instructions, especially from the Americans, such as the 'Ranger Combat Manual'. All of that, combined with observing the allies on the joint training courses, affected the training process tremendously. However, the main factors hindering the development were a lack of appropriate equipment and incomprehension from the superiors. There was also no possibility of participating in foreign missions with a compact subunit. Naturally, individual soldiers took part in the missions in the Balkans or in the Middle East, which were then taking place; however, the homogenous special tasks sub-unit was never dispatched.

The fear of global terrorism and the transformation of the Polish Special Forces: the impact of the events of 11 September 2001

The attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001, and the fear of global terrorism were a turning point in the development of the 1 PSPEC and the entire Polish Special Forces in the following years. At the NATO summit in Prague, in November 2003, the Member States had to answer another question: What steps should be taken to adapt the Alliance to the changing reality and, in particular, to the 'new face' of global terrorism? It was decided that there was a need to develop a rapid reaction force in the NATO's areas of responsibility. The Polish Government declared that, by the end of 2003, it would set up a special operational task force to support NATO operations. A dedicated group was assigned to operate under the leadership of the Joint Special Operations Forces Group (JFSOC) and had the possibility to develop functional task units such as:

- command of the special operations task force, combat readiness of 10 days;
- task unit (Land Forces) with a force of a company for special operations, combat readiness of 10 days;
- task unit (Air Forces) with a force of six special operation aircrafts, combat readiness of 10 days;
- task unit (Navy) with a force of one patrol for special operations, combat readiness of 10 days;
- Staff Personnel as staff for the JFSOC Headquarters.¹³

¹³ Author's archive.

The above-mentioned forces were to meet the requirements of the MC437 NATO Special Operations Act and to have operational capabilities including:

- the task force – to operate independently and imperceptibly behind the lines and deep in the areas of NATO's responsibility and places remote from operational bases;
- the communication system – to ensure an exchange of voice and data information by radio, telephone and/or satellite communication over long distances;
- the aircrafts – to be demonstration-capable, providing fast supply at night and under all takeoff and landing conditions (VTOL) or during short takeoff and landing (STOL).
- vessels – to be the demonstrative and providing coastal transport within a range of 100 m;
- the operating bases – to function independently and invisibly.¹⁴

By the decision of the General Staff Chief, the Land Forces Commander was obliged to prepare forces, meeting the above requirements. The 1 PSPEC was indicated as one of the executors. The first steps towards achieving this goal were the initiation of an intensive language training with a priority on the English language, and the acquisition of modern communication equipment. The battalion structures were re-organised, and their name changed to Special Operation Task Group. Additionally, the staff structure was unified according to the NATO standards. In terms of planning and managing special operations at the tactical and operational level, it was planned to implement the procedures compliant with NATO (STANAG 2022).

These key changes coincided with other events important for the future of the Polish Special Forces. In September 2001, shortly after the attacks on the World Trade Centre, the 1 PSPEC unit set off on the 'Amber Fox' mission in Macedonia, and in August 2003, several dozen more soldiers of that unit flew to Iraq as part of the Polish Army Military Contingent. The GROM military unit, which had been within the structures of the Ministry of National Defence since 1999, also continued its engagement in the missions. In March 2002, in Afghanistan, and then in April of that year, in Iraq, there began a period when the soldiers of the 1 PSPEC and the GROM military unit had an opportunity to gain practical experience in conducting special operations under war conditions. Unfortunately, the development of training and the command at the tactical level were not accompanied by building the skill of planning and managing the activities of special units. While during their mission the GROM soldiers were within the structures of the allied special forces, where they could count on their involvement in the actions typical for special forces, the 1 PSPEC soldiers were commanded by the unprepared subsequent shifts of the Polish Military Contingent. The lack of proper command and control structure of the special forces resulted in improper allocation of tasks and wasting the soldiers' potential. For example, at the beginning of the 5th shift of the PKW Iraq (Polish Military Contingent Iraq), officers planning to use the Special Group, which in the case of the PKW was the district of the MND CS commander, used to send the group to carry out patrol tasks or to escort planned logistic convoys if conventional forces were not available. Fortunately, the efforts of Deputy Commander of the MND CS

¹⁴ Author's archive.

Brigade General Włodzimierz POTASIŃSKI (who would, in the future, prove to be the most charismatic commander of the newly formed Polish Special Operation Command) along with the special forces' commander of the MND CS division, General Piotr Czerwiński, led to sending the special unit patrol to the base in Al-Kut where ODA, of the 5th US Special Forces Group, was stationed. As a result, that was one of the most active Polish specialists' shifts.

The situation in Poland was even worse. The lack of specialized command negatively influenced the development of the 1 PSPEC (due to direct subordination to the MOD, the situation of the JW GROM was way better). The unit suffered from the lack of modern equipment, the soldiers' attempts to introduce a new type of training and operation planning based on the mission experience were not met with understanding, and a necessity to conduct selection was denied on account of having a negative impact on the unit completion rate. There were no doctrinal documents that would contain a catalogue of tasks performed by special units and define their place in the command-and-control system. Back in 2006, the Command of the Land Forces recognized the 1 PSPEC as a long-range reconnaissance unit, not a SOF unit.

In 2007, the Polish Government, fulfilling the commitments made at the NATO summit in 2003 and drawing conclusions from the activities of the special units in Iraq and Afghanistan, established the independent Special Forces Command which was modelled on what the US Government did 20 years earlier. It was a response to threats related to terrorism and clearly visible ineffectiveness of the existing structures being tested in the first years of the so-called wars against global terrorism. The examples given above are the best proof of that. On 15 August of the same year, General Włodzimierz Potasiński¹⁵, an officer who perfectly understood the specificity of special operations and a visionary open to foreign experience, was appointed commander of the newly established Command. Until January 2008, the newly created structure included all the special units: the 1 PSPEC (currently the JWK SOF Unit), GROM, and FORMOZA. From the beginning of creating a new type of troops, cooperation with the most experienced NATO forces in that field, i.e., the United States Special Forces, was already decided. As a result of this close cooperation, the new formation started to develop rapidly. In February, the last shift of the 1PSPEC left Iraq. It was the last time the Polish special forces were not under a dedicated command. In 2011, the first Polish doctrinal document, D.D.3 – 5 'Special Operations', was issued. It described tasks, structures, the rules of cooperation, as well as planning and organising the command of the special forces. In autumn 2013, at the largest training of NATO's special forces that year with over 2,000 soldiers from 15 countries participating, the Special Forces Command was the first Polish Command to confirm the ability to plan and manage special operations as part of the allied special operations in accordance with the NATO standards. Poland obtained the status of a framework nation in commanding special operations. A certain stage in the history of the Polish Special Forces came to an end. In the case of the Polish Armed Forces, the fear caused by threats related to global terrorism became a direct factor behind that rapid development of the Special Forces in response to the new challenge. Thanks to the right decisions, Poland was made a local leader in the field

¹⁵ The first commander was Brigadier General Edward Gruszka.

of special operations, and other countries such as Hungary and Croatia were able to benefit from our experience.¹⁶

The development of the Territorial Defence Forces as a result of the fear of Russia's aggression and the SARS-CoV-2

The idea of territorial defence is not new in the history of the Polish military thought. The examples of it can be found in:

- Medieval mass levy,
- the January Uprising during the Partitions of Poland,
- the national defence in the interwar period,
- Poland's Territorial Defence Army during the Communist era and the first years after regaining full independence.¹⁷

The annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation and the general situation in Ukraine made the Polish decision-makers aware that building Poland's military security only on a professional army and the alliance with NATO may not be sufficient to effectively defend the integrity of the state. Moreover, a professional army has many undoubted advantages but several fundamental disadvantages as well. The enemy can easily measure its potential, it does not expand its reserves, and most importantly, it is unable to do that due to the costs it generates in order to fully use its potential. Owing to these difficulties and concerns about Russia's policy, a decision was made in 2017 to form a new type of troops and call them the Territorial Defence Forces (TDF). The concept assumed the creation of Territorial Defence brigades, one in each voivodeship and two in the voivodeship capitals. They were to be led by a specialized Command. The number of forces was estimated at around 50,000 soldiers. Within the implemented concept, professional soldiers constituted 10 percent of the personnel, the remaining part was a new type of service – military territorial service which made it possible to combine professional work with military service. At the time of writing this article, there are 15 TD Brigades (TDB) operating in Poland plus the TDF Training Centre in Toruń and the Command of the Territorial Defence Forces in Zegrze. For the purposes of the functioning of the new type troops, doctrinal documents have been developed which indicate the area of operations and define the basic tasks. Apart from strictly combat training, great emphasis is placed on building the ability to support local communities in case of various natural disasters and non-military events. Additionally, in 13 TDBs a new project is being implemented to use dogs in search operations for missing people. The dogs are trained to operate in wooded and urbanized areas and support the Ground Search and Rescue Teams operating in case of air crashes. During military operations the dogs will be used to assist in search of sabotage groups or hostile militants.

¹⁶ The author several times has led combined POL, HUN, and CRO SOF task groups during international exercise.

¹⁷ W. Sokół, 'Wojska Obrony Terytorialnej w historii Polski (wybrane problemy)'. *Bezpieczeństwo – Teoria i Praktyka* 2017, vol. 28, no. 3, p. 325.

Despite a widespread agreement among experts on the need to build in Poland structures capable of giving support to operational troops, the Territorial Defence Forces triggered a lot of negative reactions in the military environment and in some parts of society. The effectiveness of the adopted training system was questioned, as well as the possibility of the Brigade's operational use. The legitimacy of allocating modern equipment directing to the newly formed units was also disputed. The first opportunity to test the new type of troops was the flood in May 2019. The system created by the Territorial Defence Forces for anti-crisis purposes passed the exam. It is identical for each Brigade and consists of the same elements including:

- a support assessment team whose task is to assess, in cooperation with the local civilian authorities, the needs for military involvement;
- a company support module – the basic 'executive' module dispatched to the location of the incident with the force up to 150 soldiers equipped with, among others, light engineering equipment, boats and a generation unit (there is one mobile Container Field Power Plant of the 900KW capacity in each TD Brigade);
- a reconstruction support team – an element operating after the operation has ended in order to assess the military potential required to restore the state before the incident.

When in March 2020 the first case of CoV-19 infection was confirmed in Poland, in every voivodeship there were TD sub-units able to cooperate closely with the local authorities in order to counteract the threat. The course of the TDF involvement in the fight against the pandemic will be presented on the example of the 13 TDB. On 9 March 2020, the soldiers of the Brigade, together with the Police and the State Fire Brigade, supported the Border Guard in organising sanitary control points, and from 15 March that year, in border protection in the Silesian and Opole voivodeships. Similarly, in March, the airport in Pyrzowice was supported in accepting compatriots returning by air transportation. Another task was to support nursing homes in the evacuation of infected residents and to help the staff with patient care. In May, the soldiers began to participate in the screening of miners by organizing Drive Thru points for several mines with the efficiency of up to 1,300 samples taken daily. Over the next months, the range of activities began to expand and at the time of writing the article the results were as follows:

- hospitals supported – 98,
- medical facilities with support provided – 10,
- oxygen cylinders transported to hospitals – 195,
- swabs taken – 65500, including, 15516 in nursing homes,
- airports supported – 1,
- patrols carried out as part of the quarantine compliance control – 2853,
- food delivered – 91 tonnes,
- DPS / nursing homes supported – 23,
- sanitary and epidemiological stations supported – 17.
- Brigade soldiers donated over 517 litres of blood.
- 19 transports were made in support of the Material Resource Agency. The soldiers of the Brigade, for over two months, supported warehouses in repacking and preparing transports.
- Brigade soldiers supported 3 field hospitals, one in Opole and two in Katowice.

- A webinar focusing on preparation for a secondary school certificate of compliance with sanitary procedures was organized for over 1,500 teachers.¹⁸

As part of expanding their competences, soldiers were trained and are still being trained in lying patient care, driving emergency vehicles, providing qualified first aid, and taking smears. At the same time, improvement classes are organized in accordance with sanitary requirements to maintain the skills of combat training. Currently, a sight of a soldier in an olive uniform in a hospital, a nursing home does not surprise anyone, and the criticism of creating the new type of formation has weakened and is not considered by the most significant experts. Moreover, at the initiative of the Territorial Defence Forces commander, two international conferences of commanders of the territorial defence formation have already taken place under the name: 'The ETC-2 European Territorial Cooperation'. They are an excellent platform for exchanging experiences, sharing training resources, and exchanging information on threats.

Conclusion

The Chief of the General Staff, General Rajmund Andrzejczak, likes to say that only by leaving your comfort zone can you create something new and innovative.¹⁹ For many decision-makers and Polish officers, the creation of Special Forces and the Territorial Defence Forces was, and for some still is, a step out of their comfort zone. When I went to Afghanistan as the TF50 commander in 2010, many the PKW officers tried to lead to a situation which was similar to that in Iraq. Fortunately, I was assigned to a great commander, the then-Brigadier General Andrzej Reudowicz who understood perfectly well that only by supporting our actions, even those surprising ones, will we be able to achieve the goal of improving the security of the local population and the allied forces. Our efforts were appreciated by the ISAF command. When after a year and a half I was sent back to Afghanistan, even the commanders at the battalion level knew that the presence of special forces troops had brought measurable benefits in terms of improving the security of their subordinates.

At the time of writing this article, several thousand soldiers of the Polish Army across the country are supporting local communities in the fight against the SARS-CoV-19 pandemic. Among them there are the soldiers of Special Forces and the Territorial Defence Forces, the two types of troops described here. The new threats and the fear associated with them are responsible for their rapid development and the reinforcement of their military position. However, care should be taken not to let those changes in the command-and-control system destroy their achievements. These depend on political decisions based, among others, on the fear of the sovereign willing to provide resources for development and create tools to ensure more safety.

¹⁸ Based on an unclassified internal report.

¹⁹ J. Sabak, *Gen. Andrzejczak: Chce wyprowadzić wojsko ze „strefy komfortu” [RELACJA]*, 2018, <https://www.defence24.pl/gen-andrzejczak-chce-wyprowadzic-wojsko-ze-strefy-komfortu-relacja> [accessed: 21.03.2021].

For the Territorial Defence Forces, the time of the pandemic is an excellent opportunity to prove that the decision to create them was well-grounded. Unfortunately, concentrated effort to support local communities negatively affect maintaining the appropriate level of combat training; therefore, it will be of prime importance to start gradual withdrawal of the forces as the pandemic subsides, bearing in mind that the Territorial Defence Forces are focused on supporting, not replacing civil institutions.

The modern world is a rapidly changing system full of opportunities and new challenges and this also concerns the field of security. Further development of new formations such as Special Forces, the Territorial Defence Forces, or the latest project of the Cyber Forces, will show what the place of Poland in the contemporary world is.

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Strach jako czynnik determinujący rozwój Wojsk Specjalnych oraz Wojsk Obrony Terytorialnej w Polsce w XXI wieku *Streszczenie*

Celem artykułu jest analiza wpływu strachu przed nowymi zagrożeniami w dziedzinie bezpieczeństwa na rozwój polskich Wojsk Specjalnych oraz Wojsk Obrony Terytorialnej. Została ona przeprowadzona chronologicznie z uwzględnieniem zmian, jakie zachodzą w Siłach Zbrojnych RP. W artykule wskazano zasadnicze efekty osiągnięte w rozwoju obydwu formacji, a które zostały wywołane w odpowiedzi na strach i poczucie zagrożenia. Wspomina się również o wyzwaniach, jakie ciągle stoją przed Wojskami Specjalnymi i Wojskami Obrony Terytorialnej. Przyjęto, że pojawiające się w ostatnich 20 latach zagrożenia wywołujące uczucie strachu wśród jednostek i całych społeczeństw spowodowały podjęcie przez polski rząd decyzji dotyczących szczególnego rozwoju dwóch rodzajów sił zbrojnych – Wojsk Specjalnych i Wojsk Obrony terytorialnej. Analizy dokonano w oparciu o dostępne źródła i literaturę przedmiotu oraz obserwację uczestniczącą.

Słowa kluczowe: globalny terroryzm, pandemia SARS COV-2, strach, Wojska Obrony Terytorialnej, Wojska Specjalne

Fear as a Determining Factor in the Development of Special Forces and the Territorial Defence Forces in Poland in the 21st Century *Abstract*

The aim of this article is to analyse the impact of a fear of new threats in the field of security for the development of the Polish Special Forces and the Territorial Defence Forces. The study was conducted in a chronological order taking into account the changes still taking place in the armed forces of the Republic of Poland. The article indicates the main results achieved in the development of both formations and brought by fear and threat. It also points out to the challenges still faced by Special Forces and the Territorial Defence Forces. It has been assumed that the threats of the last 20 years, causing a sense of fear among individuals and entire societies, prompted the Polish Government to make decisions regarding detailed development plans for two types of armed forces – Special Forces and the Territorial Defence Forces. The analysis was based on the available sources and literature on the subject, as well as participant observation.

Key words: fear, global terrorism, SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, Special Forces, Territorial Defence Forces

Angst als entscheidender Faktor für die Entwicklung von Spezialeinheiten und der Armee zur Territorialverteidigung in Polen im 21. Jahrhundert *Zusammenfassung*

Das Ziel dieses Texts ist eine Analyse des Einflusses der Angst vor neuen Sicherheitsgefahren auf die Entwicklung der polnischen Spezialeinheiten und der Armee zur Territorialverteidigung. Die Studie wurde chronologisch durchgeführt, um auch die aktuellen Veränderungen in der Armee der Republik Polen zu berücksichtigen. Der Text zeigt, dass die wichtigsten Fortschritte bei der Entwicklung beider Formationen durch Angst und Gefahr impliziert wurden. Außerdem werden die Herausforderungen erläutert, die aktuell vor den Spezialeinheiten und der Armee zur Territorialverteidigung stehen. Es ist

davon auszugehen, dass die Gefahren der vergangenen 20 Jahre, die den Einzelnen und ganze Gesellschaften in Angst versetzten, die polnische Regierung dazu bewogen haben, Entscheidungen zu detaillierten Entwicklungsplänen für zwei Arten von bewaffneten Einheiten zu treffen – Spezialeinheiten und die Armee zur Territorialverteidigung. Die Analyse basiert auf den verfügbaren Quellen, der Fachliteratur und teilnehmender Beobachtung.

Schlüsselwörter: Angst, globaler Terrorismus, SARS-CoV-2-Pandemie, Spezialeinheiten, Armee zur Territorialverteidigung

*Страх как определяющий фактор развития
Войск специального назначения и Войск территориальной
обороны в Польше в XXI веке*

Резюме

В статье проанализировано влияние страха перед лицом новых угроз в области безопасности, его влияние на развитие Войск специального назначения и Войск территориальной обороны Польши. Анализ проведен на хронологической основе с учетом изменений, происходящих в Вооруженных силах Польши. В статье указаны основные эффекты, которые были достигнуты в развитии этих видов войск и которые были ответом на чувства страха и угрозы. В работе также упоминаются проблемы, с которыми до сих пор сталкиваются Войска специального назначения и Войска территориальной обороны. Предполагается, что угрозы, возникшие в последние 20 лет вызывающие чувство страха у отдельных людей и целых обществ, вынудили польское правительство принять решения о специальном развитии двух типов вооруженных сил – Войск специального назначения и Войск территориальной обороны. Анализ был основан на доступных источниках, научной литературе и личных наблюдениях.

Ключевые слова: глобальный терроризм, пандемия SARS COV-2, страх, Войска территориальной обороны, Войска специального назначения Польши