BOOK SUMMARY
»ARMED FORCES AND TERRORISM IN LIGHT OF 21ST CENTURY CONFLICTS«

The conclusions[1] following the 11 September 2001 event showed that national security systems were no longer able to efficiently respond to new threats brought about by the changed global security situation. Therefore, the majority of countries started to intensively identify new tasks and relations among the entities responsible for the implementation of tasks and provision of adequate national security. A greater emphasis was dedicated to ensuring international security. Terrorist acts that previously had local character are now acquiring global dimensions with their new forms. This is a proof that modern countries are no longer the only entity of international relations possessing monopoly over funds allocated for mass violence.

Upon the end of the Cold War, the situation in the international arena has changed tremendously. The countries as basic entities of international law no longer represent a major source of threat to each other. The occurrence of unipolarity with one truly strong global superpower, i.e. the United States of America, which is however not in position to control all negative phenomena in the international community, has led to a number of ethical, religious, international and ideological disputes. Globalisation as a global process involves not only positive but also negative elements. These are reflected primarily in the expansion of the Western culture to the areas of other traditional cultures. Globalisation brings not only fair redistribution of the world's wealth, but it rather contributes to its concentration in individual centres of power. All these processes are met with opposition in the major part of underdeveloped world, also manifested in various forms of terrorism. Globalisation and media as major products of terrorism have helped terrorism to outgrow the local milieu and become one of the major global threats. In itself, international terrorism endangers the existence of the international security system and, at the same time, individual entities within the system. The importance of national and international security should also be given special emphasis. Counter-terrorist measures are not just important per se, but should be carried out to safeguard the values established in the society that are threatened mainly by terrorism as a major threat.

[1] A group of US researchers of the RAND Corporation, C. Bowie, R. Haffa and R. Mullins, claim that the key new element today is the lessening importance of the previously prevailing Eurocentric paradigm of the role of the armed forces. In their opinion, new threats have amorphous forms and the epicentre, from which they are spreading across the world (Trends of Future Warfare – Joint Force Quarterly No. 35, 2004, pp. 129-133, adopted from Žabkar (2005:141).

Armed forces have occurred as a key entity of ensuring national defence against external aggression in all national security systems. Owing to the changed security situation and assessments that do not foresee any conventional military attacks on the country, the armed forces started to acquire a new role and tasks concerning national security. In addition to the fact that the armed forces are involved mainly in peacekeeping operations, peace support or peace enforcement operations, the world is witness to the processes defining their role also in the provision of internal security and counterterrorism. The role of the armed forces is, because of their technical capabilities, qualifications and organization, increasingly occurring in the form of support of other entities in the provision of the national internal security. These processes of engagement can be perceived in the broader protection of the national borders, counter-terrorist activity, surveillance and defence of the national air space, control of the weapons of mass destruction, and assistance for the mitigation of the consequences of terrorist attacks and natural disasters.

We are on the threshold of an important period of change, as the political elite are slowly realizing, mainly due to constant terrorist threats posed to Europe, that the current arrangement of national security systems does not fully meet the requirements and needs of responding to new asymmetric threats. A system where defence forces are not capable of providing basic conditions for their own security is not and cannot be satisfactory.

An appropriate legal basis and support of political structures in a country can significantly contribute to the speed and effectiveness of creating a counter-terrorist system, with the armed forces given an adequate role. This special hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the civil control of the military is a phenomenon occurring in different forms and linked with various dilemmas throughout history. The definition of appropriate civil military cooperation is particularly characteristic of democratic societies. Due to its potentials reflected in personnel, finance, materiel and technology, the military as a repressive authority may in its essence pose a certain threat to the activity of the civil society in democratic systems. The position of the military in democratic systems is very specific, since all other institutions of the political community are focused on peacetime activities and non-violent resolution of various contradictions, wishes and interests. On the other hand, the military is the only institution, the goal of which is to participate and operate in wartime activities or emergency operations, and to utilize all available means of mass violence means if necessary. It is these features that constitute the fundamental difference between the military and its operations and other organizations of the country.

A historical analysis provides examples of military potentials being exploited for narrow political purposes, most often demonstrated in overthrowing the ruling power through coup d'état. This reveals the significance of appropriate and balanced control mechanisms in civil-military relations. The entire control system is composed of various measures, which can be described as parliamentarian, expert, administrative, judicial and inspection control, and finally as control of the public and the entire civilian society. If civilian control proves to be inappropriate in the sense of excessive control measures, it can cause adverse effects and can be reflected in restricted operations by such an important structure as the armed forces are for the country.

In order to ensure efficient operation of the counter-terrorist system, the basic precondition is to establish appropriate regulation and transparency of the legal basis that, among other things, defines the operation of the armed forces. This framework also includes the system of appropriate control mechanisms specifying civil-military cooperation and efficient control of the military.

It is important to note that in addition to the militarisation of the society, the democratic relationship between the civilian structure and the military can be destroyed by an excessive control of the political power of the armed forces. In such cases, political decisions interfere too radically with the military organization, or in practical terms, political decisions dominate the areas where expert decisions should be taken exclusively. It is legal and legitimate for the political power to appoint the highest military commanders (chief of general staff), although there is always a dilemma in such cases of the proper ratio between political reliability and professional competence of such persons. Historical experiences clearly indicate that excessive interference of civilian authorities with military personnel matters and hence the parallel integration of soldiers in high structures of the ruling politics may lead to the functional transformation of the military as a defence institution against the external enemy and an institution supporting the actual authorities. Excessive counter-terrorist measures can be very dangerous, as in the majority of cases they affect human rights and restrictions thereof. Appropriate response to such occurrences can only be possible in a society that has developed democratic processes. It is important that control is diverse and includes all entities of the security system, yet also allows efficient operation of all agents. Slovenian civil society does not require inefficient armed forces, but rather the armed forces capable of deterring all forms of threats that could jeopardize the normal functioning of the Republic of Slovenia. Naturally, it will be necessary to establish beforehand all conditions and measures for the creation of an appropriate system of counter-terrorist activity in the armed forces themselves

and for their active involvement in the processes of the national security system. Initially, it will be necessary to carry out changes to the legal basis for the functioning of the armed forces related to terrorism suppression.

A comparative analysis conducted in selected sample countries of NATO, and the Republic of Austria as a member of the Partnership for Peace programme and a country most comparable with the Republic of Slovenia in terms of size, clearly reveals the trend towards redefining the role of the armed forces. This new role is mirrored particularly in the expansion of powers for countering terrorism as one of the major threats to national and international security systems in the period of the post-block division. In all national defence and security systems the military appears as a crucial entity, particularly in ensuring defence of the country against external aggression. Owing to the changed security situation and assessments with no real anticipation of a classic conventional military attack on the country, the military is growingly assuming new roles and tasks related to the national and international security. In addition to its involvement in the international security, particularly in peace support and enforcement operations, the world has been confronted with the processes that determine the role of the military in internal security and counter-terrorism. Due to its better equipping level, qualifications and organization the military has been increasingly used to support other entities responsible for national internal security. These processes of engagement have also been perceived within the broader context of border protection, fight against terrorism, surveillance and defence of the national air space, control of the weapons of mass destruction, and assistance for the mitigation of the consequences of terrorist attacks and natural disasters.

A detailed review and analysis of forms and trends in international terrorism in the book further indicates changes and amendments to strategies implemented by international and national security systems in the field of counter-terrorism. A detailed overview of the authority of the entities of the Republic of Slovenia's national security system reveals specific deficiencies, and the need for supplementing the role of the entities and for intensifying interagency cooperation. However, we should be aware that the country has limited financial, personnel and materiel potentials. Narrow interests of individuals and groups will therefore have to be overcome and certain entities will have to be merged with the aim of establishing efficient bodies which will be able to adjust to and to counter the threats potentially threatening national security. The armed forces can, by redefining their role and powers deriving from their personnel, financial and organizational potentials, contribute to more efficient counter-terrorist activity.

The current role of the armed forces enables, at a given moment, certain forms of support to various bodies, also in the field of counter-terrorism. The Slovenian Armed Forces should as part of the amended regulation be granted additional powers. Even the greatest defenders of a stronger role of the armed forces in counter-terrorism are aware that the military should solely complement and support the entities that are by their nature primarily intended to deter such threats.

A comprehensive counter-terrorism system includes an increasing number of activities distributed among a growing number of social entities. Their efficient organization and coordination in particular are key evaluation of the success level of the entire national counter-terrorist system. Mechanisms for integral and comprehensive prevention of terrorism occurrences can in no way be efficient without appropriate integration of the Slovenian Armed Forces. The book provides clear conceptual requirements for mechanism definitions for efficient operation during terrorist attacks, and the mechanisms for the integration of the armed forces in the mitigation of the consequences of committed terrorist acts. The intensity and scope of cooperation of the armed forces with other entities or subsystems has significantly increased lately, which can be clearly confirmed with the fact that other entities also felt the need for support offered by the Slovenian Armed Forces. Particular mention deserves cooperation between the Slovenian Armed Forces and the Police, search and rescue bodies, and particularly the intelligence and security bodies of the Republic of Slovenia, as the Slovenian Armed Forces together with their capabilities are present in crisis areas as part of their international engagement. The growing number of links between counter-terrorist actors raises the need for efficient interagency and inter-level coordination of operational processes. A special indicator of quality and quantity is also the planning process and procurement of equipment for the augmentation of the Slovenian Armed Forces' capabilities. The long- and medium-term programmes clearly determine the dynamic of the procurement process to acquire capabilities also utilized for counter-terrorist activity. This includes in particular procurement of transport aircraft, helicopters, unmanned aerial vehicles, air defence equipment, information and communications devices and equipment enabling the Slovenian Armed Forces active involvement in counter-terrorist activity. This cooperation will develop on two levels: as participation within the national system on the first, and within the international system on the second level through participation of the Slovenian Armed Forces in different crisis response operations, the strategic goals of which are also prevention and reduction of causes of terrorism, and its suppression. It is of course necessary to be aware that the findings in the book suggest the need for appropriate organizational, structural and

personnel measures within the armed forces to ensure efficient operation of the Slovenian Armed Forces in countering terrorism and hence conditions for supporting other bodies with the Republic of Slovenia. Preparations for appropriate involvement of the Slovenian Armed Forces will demand fundamental changes to exercises, training of the management, development of concepts and doctrines, and the development and introduction of new assets. Armed forces have to be capable of functioning in diverse weather conditions and environments, with the adversary engaging conventional forces and in particular non-conventional forms of warfare. Instead of conventional warfare, non-conventional, asymmetric warfare of the system against the system is paving its way to the foreground. Special mention deserves the need for the reorganization and redefinition of the areas of special operations, intelligence and security operations and especially the system of force protection, which includes complete measures in individual areas of counter-terrorist activity. Of special significance for the efficiency of the armed forces is cooperation among their constituent bodies in their structure. The established command and control mechanisms within the armed force's structure demand certain changes and improvements. This applies particularly to the engagement of special operation forces and force protection. Based on appropriate analyses of problems and needs in the book section dedicated to the role of the Slovenian Armed Forces, certain solutions and proposals for a new model of the system-wide regulation of management in these two areas are offered. The relations and definitions of roles within the armed forces should also be based on the appropriate legal basis that allows a detailed definition of special tasks and planning for the development of individual entities. On this basis it can be concluded that the Slovenian Armed Forces can, through detailed definition of their role and powers concerning their personnel, financial and organizational potentials, contribute to more efficient execution of counter-terrorist activities.

All findings can lead us to conclude that detailed definition of the role and powers of individual organizational structures within the Slovenian Armed Forces represents a key factor of more efficient counter-terrorist action.

Without an appropriate system-wide introduction of the education and training model for counter-terrorist operations in the armed forces it will be impossible to ensure proper operations and generation of the planned capabilities. The system of military education and training for counter-terrorist operations is not autonomous and is indispensably linked with the capabilities of other entities of the Republic of Slovenia's national security system.

In the field of counter-terrorism in particular, these processes of education and training will have to be sped up and training programmes supplemented with relevant topics. Qualifications of personnel, units and commands are crucial for efficient operations of the armed forces in countering terrorism. Education and training will have to involve continuous integration of lessons learned, operational standards and techniques, and the design of appropriate training materials. The education plans for the years 2007, 2008 and 2009 already reflect the growing number of topics on this subject matter. The plan also provides guidelines for the further modernization of the curriculum and the integration of counter-terrorist topics.

The education and training process should also include learning from lessons. Following the example of good practices in NATO member states, the Slovenian Armed Forces have decided to establish the Lessons Learned Department. This organizational unit is responsible for the gathering and analysis of past operations, education processes and the design of professional reference books that would entail examples of good practice and positive experiences. These experiences can improve the conduct of new counter-terrorist operations. Activities in the process of analysing lessons learned should be intensified and become one of the key factors in the entire education and training system.

Research is another area closely linked with the education and training process. The actual implementation and requirements depend heavily on the amount of funds earmarked for this purpose. Research activity at the Ministry of Defence, including the Slovenian Armed Forces, is focused on the development of projects increasing the capabilities of the Slovenian Armed Forces. For good results it is necessary to efficiently link and coordinate research activity within the Slovenian Armed Forces, and researchers and projects in the entire Republic of Slovenia, as well as with research institutions of the European Union and NATO.

Moreover, computer modelling has become one of the key capabilities of modern militaries allowing simulations of various tactical situations and introduction of new capabilities, among others also in the field of counter-terrorism. The Slovenian Armed Forces should attract experts from other institutions of the national security system to these processes. In the international sphere, cooperation in research should be encouraged with the aim of developing joint capabilities, exchanging information and research findings, and also promoting the Slovenian Armed Forces. Some basic steps were already taken by allocating defence funds for research work and by linking defence requirements and science. The importance of terrorism-related threat perceptions is also seen in the increasing number of articles on counter-terrorism published within the Slovenian Armed Forces.

In the further validation of analysis results mention should be made of the effects exerted on the personnel system of the Slovenian Armed Forces through the education and training system.

The establishment of appropriate personnel models and consolidation is the goal and requirement of every, even the smallest, system. The efforts towards generating counter-terrorist capabilities of the Slovenian Armed Forces can indicate one of the major success factors. The entire personnel model should consider various factors and at the same time adjust to appropriate changes affecting us daily in the modern world. In the functioning and development such personnel model should, among other things, take into account primarily the connection between the education and training system and personnel management in the Slovenian Armed Forces. It can therefore be concluded that the Slovenian Armed Forces are slowly introducing certain measures providing an adequate long-term education system for counter-terrorist activity. On the other hand, it should be stressed that the actual situation is far from perfect or the required system-wide arrangement. However, with help of verified indicators it can be claimed that education and training on counter-terrorism is of key importance for ensuring the required readiness level and that it influences the changed values of the Slovenian Armed Forces' personnel in understanding the importance of countering terrorism. The training level can only be the result of an adequate education and training process in place in the Slovenian Armed Forces. Perceptions of the importance of counter-terrorist activity and particularly the important role of the Slovenian Armed Forces in this respect is also reflected in the growing interest of the Slovenian Armed Forces' members for posts in the units primarily intended for counter-terrorism. The indicator of an increased number of articles on counter-terrorism within the Slovenian Armed Forces reflects specific changes in the awareness among the personnel about the importance of this threat. Over the past three years, the number of articles on this matter has increased in professional publications issued by the Ministry of Defence or the Slovenian Armed Forces.

The changed values and perceptions among the personnel about terrorist threat can be attributed to the fact that in strategic and other assessments of security environment terrorism appears as one of the major threats. On the other hand, the implementation of activities to be planned in these documents should be assessed with a considerable measure of criticism.

The analysis of causes and forms of international terrorism, and the effectiveness of counter-terrorist strategies in particular in this monograph indicates the fact that appropriate cooperation among various bodies can be of crucial importance for successful counter-

terrorist action. Practically identical conclusions can be gathered in an international comparative analysis of modern militaries and their national systems.

The national security system is witness to specific slow and positive developments involving the Slovenian Armed Forces in the comprehensive system of countering terrorism. Representatives of the Slovenian Armed Forces have been included in all major coordination bodies on various levels of the system operation. The most important are of course, in addition to the Secretariat of the National Security Council, the Interagency Group for Transnational Threats directly coordinating counter-terrorist activities and providing direct assistance to the national coordinator for counter-terrorism and the relevant bodies responsible for the safeguarding of the critical infrastructure. Coordination carried out within the Interagency Group for Transnational Threats was also given as an example of good practice by the EU Evaluation Group during its visits to the Republic of Slovenia in the years 2005 and 2008. Moreover, efficient interagency relations between the Slovenian Armed Forces and the Police, and the Slovenian Armed Forces and the search and rescue bodies should also be mentioned. In the first case, cooperation has been established on various levels and fields of operation.

The entire system of counter-terrorist activity involves several stages that include various bodies of Slovenian national security system. An important role in this system is given to the Slovenian Armed Forces appearing through its activities in various stages. It should be noted that the entire system of counter-terrorist activity is divided into three major phases. These phases could be defined as prevention and organization of terrorist acts in the first stage, the actual execution of terrorist acts and the period immediately following the terrorist act in the second stage, and the mitigation of the consequences of terrorist acts in the third stage. Each of these stages has its own specific characteristics that significantly affect the dynamic of activities performed by various bodies of the national security system. The Slovenian Armed Forces with their capabilities play or should play a very important role in all three stages by supporting other bodies in their counter-terrorist activity. For the first stage it can be stated that the major role in preventing and organizing terrorist acts is entrusted to the Police, and Intelligence and Security Services. Although a rather narrow definition, it can also be viewed from a broader standpoint that the most important part of suppressing terrorism is eventually the elimination of its causes. Although the armed forces located in a crisis area can often instigate terrorist acts, their role should also be viewed from the perspective of activities dealing away with the causes of terrorist occurrences. In short it can be claimed that through civil-military cooperation the armed forces can support the restoration of conditions and

creation of the security environment allowing normal living conditions in a particular area. Also in narrow terms, in the first stage the armed forces can, given their capabilities, utilize specific potential that can efficiently support other bodies in countering terrorism, such as intelligence and security system, air policing and others. In the second stage, their special operation and combat forces can directly assist the Police in its fight against or confrontation with terrorism or resolution of various situations, such as hostage- taking and similar. In the last stage it is the armed forces that can use their capabilities for the mitigation of the consequences of terrorist acts to the fullest. The tasks and powers of the Slovenian Armed Forces are of course specified in the proposed structure of the Slovenian Armed Forces' concept on counter-terrorism as described in the book. All processes of the gradual integration depend on different factors influencing the size and dynamic of engaged forces.

The basic purpose of the book, on the basis of methodological approach and comparative analyses, is to reach relevant conclusions about the need for specific system-wide measures in the Slovenian Armed Forces and indirectly also in Slovenia to ensure more efficient suppression of threats, such as terrorism.

The analyses and comparisons described in the book show that there are still several open and unresolved issues of the system-wide regulation of counter-terrorist activity both within and outside the Slovenian Armed Forces that reduce the operational effectiveness of the security system. During the reorganization of the Slovenian Armed Forces and upon the entry into NATO and the EU these relations will have to be appropriately supplemented and defined. In order to reach this goal, the entire expert public will have to be activated within the Slovenian Armed Forces, the Ministry of Defence, and beyond. After more than a decade the time is ripe to realize the importance of efficient counter-terrorist engagement of the Slovenian Armed Forces within their area of responsibility and powers. Only thus it can be expected that security bodies will efficiently complement the mosaic of entities which ensure the completeness of both the defence and security systems. The end result should be the appropriate level of national security.

The proposed system measures combine the experiences of long-standing efforts in the intelligence and security area of the Slovenian Armed Forces, an overview of models of the militaries in compared states, such as the United States of America, United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany, Republic of Hungary, Republic of Austria, French Republic, Canada and others, and the peculiarities of the defence and security areas to be taken into account in

the Republic of Slovenia. The states compared in the analysis have achieved most structural changes in their systems to ensure appropriate effectiveness of countering terrorist threats.

The book presents some conclusions indicating the fact that the role of national security entities should be redefined in the light of the changed global security factors. Being aware of the limited financial, personnel and materiel potentials, efforts will have to be directed at overcoming narrow interests of individuals and groups, and at encouraging mergers of specific entities to create efficient bodies capable of adjusting to and deterring threats that could potentially threaten national security. The solutions that proved to be fully correct and efficient in the recent past have become obsolete and inefficient nowadays. In this respect, Charles De Gaulle' proverb: »We should not keep an army we are used to but rather build the one we need« appears highly relevant for the Slovenian Armed Forces.