

Relics of Cold War Defence Transformation in the Czech Republic

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Preface

In November 2003 SIPRI published *Relics of Cold War: Europe's Challenge, Ukraine's Experience* (SIPRI Policy Paper No. 6), which addressed the whole range of burdens and policy challenges—from surplus weapons to obsolete force structures—that the end of the cold war in 1989–90 left for European nations. That publication included a case study of Ukraine's plight, which was one of the most complicated in the Euro-Atlantic area as a result inter alia of the stranding of some former Soviet nuclear objects on Ukrainian territory. *Relics of Cold War: Defence Transformation in the Czech Republic* provides a further illustration of these general problems, and allows an element of comparison and contrast with the Ukrainian case by addressing the same questions from the perspective of Czechoslovakia, and then the Czech Republic, from 1989 to the present. SIPRI aims to add further national case studies to this series in due course.

Miroslav Tůma's account presents a Czech view of the Czech Republic's experience as part of the Czechoslovak federation and then as an independent state. It shows that even a relatively advanced Central European nation faced serious challenges of its own in the 1990s, not limited to the complications caused by the peaceful separation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The early years of defence transformation in the Czech Republic were handicapped inter alia by governments that marginalized military concerns in favour of economic reform and by the departure of many skilled young officers who saw a brighter future in the emerging private sector. NATO entry proved the *deus ex machina* that both inspired and necessitated the boosting of Czech defence performance on all fronts, including military personnel management and transparent and rational budgeting. Earlier shortcomings still account for some of the country's remaining defence and security challenges, however, including the aftermath of the hasty and far-reaching dismantlement of Czechoslovakia's once mighty arms industry.

Miroslav Tůma's study impresses by its individual yet carefully considered judgements and by the completeness with which it illuminates different aspects of defence transformation, including such unglamorous but vital elements as resource management and environmental clean-up. Its portrayal of the impact of NATO's collective influence, and that of help from individual alliance members, also offers detailed testimony to how the end of the cold war did make things better—a useful reminder at a time when NATO's enlargement and its consequences are in some danger of being taken for granted. Thanks are due to the author, and to Caspar Trimmer at SIPRI for the editing.

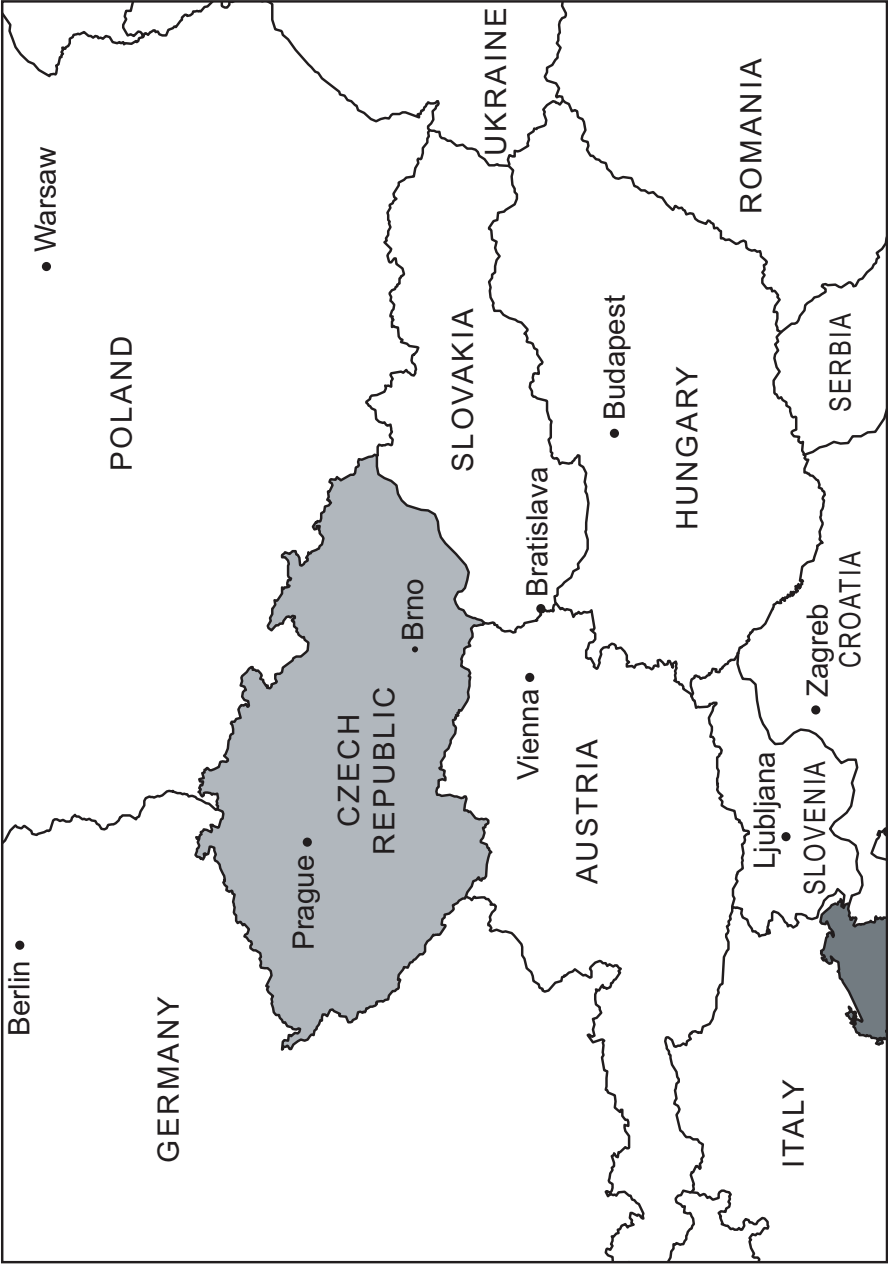
Alyson J. K. Bailes
Director, SIPRI
July 2006

Abbreviations and acronyms

ACR	Army of the Czech Republic
AOP	Asociace obranného průmyslu České republiky (Association of the Defence Industry of the Czech Republic)
C ⁴ I	Command, control, communications, computers and intelligence
CCMS	Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society
CEE	Central and East European
CFE Treaty	Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
CSFR	Czech and Slovak Federal Republic
CSPA	Czechoslovak People's Army
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
IFOR	Implementation Force
IMET	International Military Education and Training
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JCTP	Joint Contact Team Programme
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOD	Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCO	Non-commissioned officer
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PARP	Planning and Review Process
PFP	Partnership for Peace
SALW	Small arms and light weapons
SFOR	Stabilization Force
UN	United Nations
UNGCI	United Nations Guards Contingent in Iraq
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
WTO	Warsaw Treaty Organization

Overview of modern Czech history

On 28 October 1918, the newly created Czechoslovak Republic—incorporating the historic Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Czech Silesia) and Slovakia—declared its independence after three centuries under Austrian and then Austro-Hungarian rule. This First Republic, initially led by its popular first president, Tomáš G. Masaryk, lasted until the resignation of his successor, Edvard Beneš, in October 1938. This followed an agreement between France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom forcing Czechoslovakia to cede the Sudetenland to Germany. From March 1939 until the end of World War II Czechoslovakia was split into the German Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia and the nominally independent Slovakian State, which was also under de facto German control. Czechoslovakia regained its independence in 1945. The Communist Party took over government in 1948 and in 1955 Czechoslovakia signed the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance (the Warsaw Treaty) along with Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union and, from 1956, the German Democratic Republic. A period of hard-line communist rule followed. Attempts at democratic transformation in 1968, the so-called Prague Spring, were ended by a Soviet-led invasion by the forces of fellow Warsaw Treaty Organization members in August 1968, after which the leading reformists were replaced with orthodox Communists. Czechoslovakia's Communist regime relinquished its monopoly on power in November 1989 following more than a week of popular demonstrations, a series of events known as the Velvet Revolution. A former dissident, Václav Havel, was elected president of the renamed Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. On 1 January 1993, the federation was peacefully dissolved and the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic (Slovakia) became independent democratic states. In 1999 the Czech Republic joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and in 2004 it joined the European Union.



Map of the Czech Republic and neighbouring countries, 2006

1. Introduction

The end of the cold war radically changed both the security environment and the defence priorities of the countries of the Eastern and Western blocs. In the years that followed, many of the former Communist states of Central and Eastern Europe had to struggle with adapting their defence and foreign policies to the new context at the same time as they were establishing democratic governance and market economies. The Czech Republic was one of the more successful countries in this respect. The process of economic, political and social transformation in the country was peaceful and relatively smooth, even through the dissolution of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (CSFR) and the creation of two independent republics, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, on 1 January 1993. The Czech Republic was in the first groups of former Communist states to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which it did in 1999, and the European Union (EU), in 2004. The transformation of the Czech Republic's defence sector, an enormous task, has had many setbacks, but now, a little over a decade and a half after the end of the cold war, the Army of the Czech Republic (ACR)¹ is in the midst of a new round of reforms that should leave it a small, modern and fully professional force able to make valuable contributions to EU and NATO security structures and to international operations, particularly through its specializations in passive electronic surveillance and protection against weapons of mass destruction.

This Policy Paper traces various aspects of defence transformation in the Czech Republic, first as part of the CSFR and then as an independent state. Chapter 2 examines the steps taken to bring the armed forces under democratic control and management—one of the most urgent tasks after the fall of the Communist regime—and how civil–military relations have developed in the Czech Republic since then. Chapter 3 describes the often faltering progress of reforms in the Czechoslovak and then Czech armed forces aimed at adapting them to their new national and international roles. Chapter 4 focuses on personnel and social policy challenges linked to the military reforms, including the implementation of huge reductions in troop numbers, relocation to new garrisons after the 1989 Velvet Revolution and again after the dissolution of the CSFR, the resignations of thousands of skilled and experienced younger officers, and the phasing out of conscription in 2004. Chapter 5 examines the Czech Republic's participation in international peace operations and how military cooperation has helped in armed

¹ According to the official designations, the Army of the Czech Republic (ACR) comprises ground forces, air forces and air defence, while the Armed Forces of the Czech Republic comprise the ACR, the Military Office of the President and the Castle Guard. In this paper, the terms 'armed forces' and 'army' are used in their more usual senses: 'armed forces' refers to the ACR (and, where relevant, the Military Office of the President and the Castle Guard), while 'army' refers to ground forces only.

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forces reform at all levels. Selected aspects of the defence economy—including economic management, military spending, procurement processes, the arms industry and arms trade controls—are described in chapter 6. Chapter 7 examines the steps taken to address the environmental impacts of past and present military activity, particularly at military bases used by Soviet troops during the cold war. Conclusions, including policy recommendations based on the Czech Republic's experiences, are presented in chapter 8.

The rest of this introduction briefly describes some of the most important factors and processes that have influenced the Czech Republic's post-Communist defence transformation.

The end of the cold war and the Velvet Revolution

Soviet military defence underwent fundamental re-evaluation under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev in the latter half of the 1980s. A new defence doctrine announced by the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO)² in May 1987, stating that global peace was more important than ideology, signalled the beginning of the end of the antagonistic relationship between the WTO and NATO, East and West, that had characterized the cold war.

These events placed the Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe in an unfamiliar security environment. Most significantly, the risk of becoming involved in a global confrontation arising from a spontaneous conflict between East and West, which had shaped their defence policy, was virtually eliminated. New security risks soon became apparent in the form of regional conflicts and other, asymmetric, threats in Europe and elsewhere. To adapt to the new environment, these countries needed to thoroughly transform their conceptions of, and practical arrangements for, defence and security. Intensifying cooperation with international organizations and forging new alliances became of prime importance.

With the threat of Soviet intervention theoretically removed by a new Soviet and WTO policy of non-intervention, the non-Soviet Communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe collapsed under popular pressure from late 1989—Czechoslovakia's Communist Party fell from power during the bloodless Velvet Revolution in November 1989—and the post-Communist Central and East European (CEE) countries embarked on transformations aimed at building democratic states with market economies, pluralist societies and full respect for human rights. The challenges were complicated by a lack of precedents. Few other European countries had made comparable transitions from totalitarian or authoritarian regimes to democracy. The experiences of Greece, Portugal and Spain offered some guidance

² The WTO, often referred to as the Warsaw Pact, was created by the 1955 Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance. As the cold war was ending in 1989, the WTO comprised Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union.

but, unlike the CEE countries, none of these was obliged to entirely rebuild its society, economy and state structures.

For a short time after November 1989 Czechoslovakia's new political leaders pushed for the abolition of both the WTO and NATO—perceiving them both to be relics of the cold war—and were among the most enthusiastic advocates of institutional multilateralism, especially of strengthening the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and its security role. This position, largely influenced by post-cold war euphoria, quickly gave way to a policy of seeking early membership of NATO. Czechoslovakia set in motion the dissolution of the WTO at the meeting of WTO foreign ministers in Prague in March 1990, when it tabled an initiative to establish a European security commission, with the WTO playing only a marginal role as an instrument of disarmament. On 1 July 1991 the WTO was officially dissolved.

In 1990 Czechoslovakia's new federal government introduced a revised defence doctrine and defence policies reflecting the obsolescence of the WTO. These were also influenced by the confidence- and security-building measures between the East and the West in the Helsinki Process of the CSCE in the 1970s and 1980s,³ by the new regime's interest in joining the Euro-Atlantic and European security structures, and by the anticipated withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory (see chapter 3).

Czechoslovakia's new political elite, which included many former dissidents, gave the interests of the armed forces and the defence industry low priority and focused instead on economic and political matters. This attitude reflected not just the effective absence of an external military threat but also long-standing anti-military sentiment among the Czechoslovak public and the popular identification of the armed forces with the old regime.

The dissolution of the federation

The dissolution of the CSFR necessitated the division of the federal armed forces and the dismantling of Czechoslovakia's federal security and defence systems. Although it led to a decline in the Czech state's international significance, the split had many positive outcomes for the country. For example, it freed the Czech Republic from the less economically successful and developed Slovakia. It also gave the country a new geographic separation from the unstable post-Soviet area and the Danube region, where the effects of the fragmentation of the former Yugo-

³ Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, 'Document on confidence-building measures and certain aspects of security and disarmament', in 'Final Act', Helsinki, 1 Aug. 1975, URL <<http://www.osce.org/item/4046.html>>, pp. 10–13; and Lachowski, Z., *Confidence- and Security-building Measures in the New Europe*, SIPRI Research Report no. 18 (Oxford University Press: Stockholm, 2004), pp. 10–12.

slavia were most acutely felt. The slight ethnic tension that had grown between Czechs and Slovaks was also eased.⁴

The break-up of the CSFR presents, in all these respects, a stark contrast to the tragic events in the former Yugoslavia. The peaceful nature of the separation has made it easier for the Czech Republic and Slovakia to develop close and friendly relations, including between their armed forces. This has been reflected in the two countries' mutual support in their efforts to join the EU and NATO.

New alliances, new challenges

The first post-cold war round of NATO enlargement, in 1999, was driven mainly by political considerations: the ambitions of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland on the one side, and the interests of the existing NATO members, principally Germany and the United States, on the other. Compared with the next round of enlargement, in 2004, the technical capabilities and preparedness of the incoming members' armed forces were of secondary importance.⁵ Even so, there were a number of political, doctrinal and technical requirements that applicants had to demonstrate their sincere intent to meet, and the Czech Republic was engaged in a lengthy pre-accession examination process as a consequence.

As early as 1990 Czechoslovakia started contributing to multinational military and humanitarian operations, most of them led by NATO, helping to raise the country's international profile and giving Czech forces valuable experience. The Czech Republic was admitted to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council on 1 January 1993 and opened official dialogue towards NATO accession from 1995. The NATO Partnership for Peace (PFP) programme and other bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation with NATO members, especially the USA, proved invaluable in helping the Czech armed forces and Ministry of Defence to adapt to NATO requirements, concepts and practices, both before and after the Czech Republic's accession to NATO on 12 March 1999.

The Czech Republic started negotiations about joining the EU in 1998 and was admitted on 1 May 2004. Since becoming an EU member the Czech Republic has continued to contribute to EU-led international operations and to participate in European defence-related programmes and structures.

While Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic were working to meet the challenges of the end of the cold war, security organizations such as NATO, the Organ-

⁴ Frank, L., 'Regionální bezpečnostní prostředí České republiky' [Regional security environment of the Czech Republic], ed. J. Furfánek, *Bezpečnostní politika České republiky: výzvy a problémy* [The security policy of the Czech Republic: challenges and problems] (Czech Ministry of Defence, Military Information and Service Agency: Prague, 2004), URL <http://ceses.cuni.cz/sbp/doc/2004/konference/sbornik_bpcer_vyzvyaproblemy.pdf>, p. 89.

⁵ Šedivý J., *Dilema rozšiřování NATO* [The dilemma of NATO enlargement] (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2001), pp. 26–27.

ization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE, as the CSCE became after 1995), and the UN were starting to adapt to new security threats. At the start of the 21st century, terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems emerged as the highest priorities on the global security agenda. A large part of the organizational, legislative and other measures adopted in the West in the past few years are aimed at countering these threats, which demands yet more adaptation by the ACR.

2. Democratic control of the military

The Czechoslovak People's Army (CSPA) was a pillar of the Communist regime, controlled by and loyal to the Communist Party. Shifting the control and loyalties of the CSPA to the country's new political elite and cutting old CSPA links with the Communist Party were urgent priorities for the democratic movement during and immediately following the Velvet Revolution. However, once any real threat of a military-led counter-revolution had been neutralized, the longer-term tasks of establishing civil-political control and oversight of the armed forces—a fundamental requirement for NATO entry—and of democratizing attitudes and institutions in the forces proved much more difficult. The shortage of civilians with experience of military affairs and a general reluctance among politicians to work on defence issues were among the factors allowing the persistence of traditional military decision making throughout the 1990s, arguably hindering military reforms.⁶

Depoliticizing the defence sector

On 3 December 1989 the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly replaced the last cold war Czechoslovak defence minister, Milan Václavík, with Major General Miroslav Vacek. Through his authority and shrewdness, Vacek succeeded in rallying the armed forces behind the new national leaders. Vacek promptly abolished the Main Political Administration, the section of the Ministry of Defence (MOD) through which the Communist Party had politically controlled the armed forces command. Also in December 1989 the new president, Václav Havel, replaced the Communist Party general secretary as chair of the National Defence Council—the central organ coordinating all security matters across all ministries—and the council was reconstituted with members of the new federal and republican governments. All activity was suspended at the Military Political Academy in Bratislava.

As supreme commander of the armed forces, Havel set in motion the first wave of post-cold war personnel and structural reforms of the MOD and the armed forces command. Important aims were to transform the CSPA, in which 82 per cent of professional officers were Communist Party members, into an apolitical military loyal to the state, to optimize democratic oversight of the military command and to involve civil society more deeply in defence matters, which had not been possible under the old regime.⁷ In December 1989 civilian Antonín Rašek, a former officer

⁶ Sila, J., 'Civilní řízení a kontrola ozbrojených sil' [Civil management and control of the armed forces], ed. Furmánek (note 4); and Šedivý, J., 'Analysis: Czech military transformation', *NATO Review*, spring 1995, URL <<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2005/issue1/english/analysis.html>>.

⁷ Khol, R., *Old Strategic Thinking in the New Strategic Environment: Problems of Adaptation of the Security Policy of the Czech Republic* (NATO Defense College: Rome, 2000), p. 23.

dismissed by the Communist regime for his role in the democratic reform movement in 1968, became deputy defence minister for education and cultural affairs, responsible for dismantling the apparatus and influence of the Communist Party in the armed forces. His administration (which was later renamed the Social and Humanitarian Affairs Section) was also responsible for ensuring the social welfare of military personnel, advising commanders, cultivating human resources, and a range of other functions related to changing the character of, and professionalizing, the armed forces.

One of Vacek's first initiatives was a rapid survey of individual officers' attitudes towards the country's new regime. By August 1990, after numerous rounds of screening, more than half of the high command, including nearly all of the generals, were removed and many other officers who were considered politically compromised were purged. Military counter-intelligence, which had been under the joint authority of the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Interior and was associated with abuses during the Communist era, was placed under the Ministry of Defence as the Military Defence Intelligence Service. Most of its officers were dismissed or transferred (many to the newly established military police). Under new legislation,⁸ 1023 officers who, like Rašek, had been dismissed following the 1968 WTO invasion of Czechoslovakia were welcomed back into the forces, creating a pool of experienced and politically reliable officers who could be placed in important posts. One, Karel Pezl, was made armed forces chief of staff in 1991.

In October 1990 Vacek, who was accused of involvement in planning military suppression of the Velvet Revolution, was replaced by a civilian, Luboš Dobrovský, a close friend of Havel and like him a former dissident. Dobrovský pushed ahead the conversion of the MOD into a civilian organization by among other things eliminating the chief of general staff's ex officio position as deputy minister of defence and making the chief of general staff commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Dobrovský insisted on a new defence policy and made clear his support for the military professionals, an attitude that was sometimes criticized for allowing a number of pre-1989 functionaries to remain in senior positions. However, he also supported the appointment of civilian specialists into military management func-

⁸ Zákon o soudní rehabilitaci [Act on Judicial Rehabilitation], Act no. 119/1990, 23 Apr. 1990, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1990/sb025-90.pdf>>; and Zákon o mimosoudních rehabilitacích [Act on Extrajudicial Rehabilitation], Act no. 87/1991, 21 Feb. 1991, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1991/sb019-91.pdf>>. The Act on Judicial Rehabilitation was intended to overturn and redress legal convictions from the Communist period that were now deemed to violate human, civil and political rights. The Act on Extrajudicial Rehabilitation focused on redressing extrajudicial injustices relating to property ownership, civil action, labour rights and so on. Almost 12 000 former professional soldiers who had been persecuted and discharged from the armed forces by the Communist regime appealed for rehabilitation and some 9500 were successful. Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, *White Paper on Defence of the Czech Republic 1995* (Ministry of Defence/Impuls: Prague, 1995), p. 24.

tions.⁹ Dobrovský suspended the activities of the Military Defence Intelligence Service, arguing that none of the military intelligence staff should continue in their posts, even if they had passed screening.

By 1993 almost no generals from before the Velvet Revolution were left in the armed forces command, and any officer who had ever served in a political or counter-intelligence post—automatically assumed to be an ‘orthodox Communist’—had been removed. This approach has been criticized on the grounds that many good officers were expelled while some loyal communists who had served in non-political posts were allowed to stay. There were also complaints that some purged officers were kept on the payroll in less-exposed military or newly created civilian posts in the defence sector.¹⁰

Other initiatives aimed at strengthening democratic control of the military at this time included the creation of several military and non-military groups to oversee and guide the reforms. Overall, the initiatives of the newly elected Federal Assembly in this area were often made ad hoc and did not reflect a considered strategy. In December 1990 the Federal Assembly established a post of civilian inspector general to personify parliamentary control over the military. However, the post was never filled. The USA’s International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme (see chapter 5) and similar international courses helped to prepare several civilians for military management and oversight functions.

Developments in the independent Czech Republic

After the Czech Republic’s independence and the creation of the ACR there was little change in the civil–military relationship for several years. The new defence minister appointed in 1993, Antonín Baudyš, initiated further purges of the military command, but his main focus was on structural reform of the armed forces.¹¹ Until about 1997 the only executive institutions involved in forming Czech defence policy and strategy were the MOD and the general staff. This was partly the result of the ‘branches’ policy of the governments of Václav Klaus (who served as prime minister from 1993 to 1997), which gave relative autonomy to different branches of government. The lack of people with sound knowledge of military matters in the Czech parliament meant that the parliamentary security and defence committee had very little influence on defence policy. (This changed when several people with experience in the MOD were elected to parliament in 1997.) A general rejection of long-term planning, which was associated with the Communist regime and seen as incompatible with market economics, also impeded the approval of basic strategic

⁹ Greiner, F. and Rašek, A., ‘K organizační výstavbě resortu obrany a armády’ [Towards the organizational building of the MOD and the armed forces], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 4 (1999), p. 101.

¹⁰ Ulrich, M. P., *Democratizing Communist Militaries: The Cases of the Czech and Russian Armed Forces* (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, Mich., 1999), p. 115.

¹¹ Ulrich (note 10), p. 85.

documents by the political authorities, giving the military commanders considerable freedom in decision making.

The new Czech constitution promulgated in 1993 did not create an equivalent of Czechoslovakia's National Defence Council, thus leaving a void in this aspect of political control of defence and security. This situation changed only in 1998 when, prompted by the country's impending admission to NATO, a similar organization was created, named the National Security Council and headed by the prime minister.¹² The anticipated broader involvement in defence matters of political actors and civil society—the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the political parties, the parliament, academic and research organizations, and non-governmental organizations—also only started to materialize on a significant scale at around that time.

Frequent changes of staff and decision makers in the MOD have also obstructed long-term strategic planning of military affairs by the democratic authorities. Under the coalition governments led by Klaus's rightist Civic Democratic Party (1993–96 and 1996–97), the positions of minister of defence, and in some cases of the deputy ministers, were filled by members of the Christian Democratic Union–Czech People's Party. The defence ministers in this period—Antonín Baudyš (January 1993–September 1994), Vilém Holář (September 1994–July 1996) and Miloslav Výborný (July 1996–January 1998)—were weak in their reform efforts and failed to address critical problems in the ACR and defence policy. The situation was aggravated by the numerous personnel changes in the bureaucratic apparatus responsible for briefing ministers. Between 1993 and 1995, the first period of military reforms after the dissolution of the CSFR, many questionable decisions were made, most notably the signing of contracts for expensive modernization of several hundred T-72 tanks and an order for 72 L-159 light combat aircraft, both of which have been heavily criticized.¹³ In May 2001 the defence portfolio was again given to a former army colonel, Jaroslav Tvrdík, who was charged with addressing a crisis in military management (especially financial management).¹⁴ Tvrdík resigned in 2003 over cuts in the military budget and was replaced by another former officer, Miroslav Kostelka. In 2004 Kostelka was appointed national security adviser and replaced by Karel Kühnl of the Union of Freedom–Democratic Union, another civilian. Kühnl was the 11th defence minister to be appointed since 1989.

¹² Khol (note 7), pp. 24, 26; and Šesták, O. and Prskavec, K., 'Struktura a dosavadní činnost Bezpečnostní rady státu' [The structure and activities of the National Security Council], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 2 (2001), URL <http://www.army.cz/avis/vojenske_rozhledy/022001.htm>, p. 23.

¹³ Eichler, J., *Mezinárodní bezpečnostní vztahy* [International security relations] (Oeconomica: Prague, 2004), p. 147. The T-72 and L-159 projects are discussed further in chapter 6 of this volume.

¹⁴ Saman, V., 'Zeman fires Vetchy in defense shakeup', *Prague Post*, 9 May 2001, URL <<http://www.praguepost.com/P02/pp.php/?id=33545&a=3>>.

Transparency and public relations

From 1990, civil–military relations benefited from the influence of newly created ‘councils for public contact’. These forums were intended to improve the transparency of military activities, raise the military’s prestige and win greater public support for the democratization, professionalization and transformation of the armed forces. The councils for public contact initially existed at all levels of the chain of command, including the MOD, and comprised representatives of political parties and movements, local administrations, religious groups, the mass media, military professional associations and others. The councils continue to function, but since the dissolution of the CSFR they no longer do so at the higher command levels.¹⁵

The influence of the media on defence issues has been mixed. While they have helped to identify some serious problems within the armed forces, in the period immediately after the Velvet Revolution they generally looked for sensational stories and frequently interfered with the execution of military functions. This happened less as the armed forces became more open and transparent in the years that followed.

Reflecting the attitudes and practices of the cold war era, the military’s attempts to communicate military developments and concerns to the general public were initially irregular in the wake of the Velvet Revolution. However, over time the MOD came to appreciate the need for greater transparency and good external communications. A systematic approach to the military’s public relations started to emerge after the Czech Republic joined NATO’s Partnership for Peace in March 1994. During the preparation of a concept document on the professionalization of the armed forces, in 2001,¹⁶ the MOD targeted information and communication activities at specific groups in order to increase public participation in the drafting process. Such activities have now become a regular feature of the work of the armed forces.¹⁷

¹⁵ Rašek, A., ‘Vytváření a realizace bezpečnostní politiky České republiky v devadesátých letech’ [The creation and implementation of the Czech Republic’s security policy in the 1990s], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 2 (1999), URL <http://www.army.cz/avis/vojenske_rozhledy/299.htm>, p. 20; and Rašek, A., Communication with the author, 21 Feb. 2006.

¹⁶ ‘Koncepce vřstavby profesionální Armády České republiky a mobilizace ozbrojenřch sil České republiky’ [Concept for the Development of a Professional Army of the Czech Republic and Mobilization of Armed Forces], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 3 (2002), URL <http://www.army.cz/avis/vojenske_rozhledy/2002_3/obsah3.htm>.

¹⁷ Nová, D., ‘Komunikace s veřejností: souřást civilního řízení ozbrojenřch sil’ [Communication with the public: part of the civilian direction of the armed forces], ed. Fumánek (note 4), pp. 132–35.

The future

Civil–military relations have greatly improved in the Czech Republic and continue to move in the right direction. However, in 2004 former armed forces chief of staff Karel Pezl warned that with the end of conscription and the establishment of a fully professional army at the beginning of 2005 (see chapter 4) there is a new risk that the military will again become isolated from civil society. He argues that to counter this Czech civil society needs to become more interested and engaged in military matters, which would simultaneously help to build a sense of shared responsibility for defence and security matters in Czech society.¹⁸

¹⁸ Pezl, K., ‘Společenské a operační důsledky přechodu k profesionální armádě a problém jejich použitelných záloh’ [Societal and operational consequences of the transformation to a professional army and the problem of its usable reserves], ed. Furmánek (note 4), p. 101.

3. Reform of the organization, equipment and staffing of the armed forces

The cold war heritage

The Czechoslovak People's Army was part of the first operational tier of the WTO, prepared for intensive warfare against NATO forces in Central Europe. This fact was reflected in the CSPA's size, equipment, organizational structure and deployment. According to the Czech Ministry of Defence, as of 31 December 1989 the CSPA's main combat force comprised 15 land divisions, 2 air force divisions, 2 air defence divisions, an artillery division and a number of surface-to-air missile units. The CSPA had at its disposal 16 permanent airfields and a large arsenal of heavy conventional weapons (see table A.1). Some 210 000 personnel were on active duty, of whom 148 595 were conscripts and 61 405 were military professionals—41 715 generals and other officers and 19 690 non-commissioned officers (NCOs). The CSPA also employed about 80 000 civilian staff.¹⁹

For military purposes, Czechoslovakia's territory was divided into the Western Military District, covering Bohemia, Moravia and a small part of Slovakia, and the Eastern Military District, covering the rest of Slovakia. Around 85 per cent of ground forces were under the command of the Western Military District, which bordered, among others, the Federal Republic of Germany and would become the Czechoslovak front in the event of war with NATO forces. In 1989 the main combat force in the Western Military District comprised the First and Fourth armies with a total of 10 divisions, the air force and air defence divisions. It could call on another six reserve divisions, giving it a full mobilization force of 270 000 troops. If the Czechoslovak front was brought under the command of the commander-in-chief of the WTO United Armed Forces, the Czechoslovak troops would be joined by the Central Group of Soviet forces stationed in Czechoslovakia—another army corps composed of five divisions, an air corps and various other units. All military schools and repair and logistic facilities, along with the remaining ground forces, were located in the Eastern Military District.²⁰

With the end of the cold war, the size, structure and equipment of the CSPA became largely obsolete. Elaboration of a new national defence doctrine started in 1990. This doctrine gave the main mission of the armed forces as the defence of Czechoslovak territory against a land or air attack by an unspecified aggressor coming from any quarter. Significantly, the armed forces were no longer seen as part of an allied force but were to defend the country independently. It also stated

¹⁹ Data on Czechoslovak forces are from Ministry of Defence (note 8), pp. 22–23 and fig. III/2.

²⁰ Vacek, M., *Generál studené války* [Cold war general] (ERIKA: Prague, 2004), pp. 58–59.

that Czechoslovakia should be prepared to contribute to UN operations and to assist in responding to natural disasters.²¹ A first round of far-reaching military reforms was initiated in 1990 that aimed to adapt the armed forces to the new mission, security environment, and political and economic conditions, while meeting the CSFR's international commitments under the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty)²² and the 1992 Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE-1A Agreement).²³

Another document approved by the government in November 1990, the Concept for the Development of the Czechoslovak Army by the End of 1993,²⁴ provided guidelines for the military reforms. The 1990 Concept had three basic themes: relocation, restructuring and reduction of the forces. Military bases, troops and equipment were to be more evenly distributed over the Czechoslovak territory. The number of airfields was to be reduced and an integrated national air defence system established. Battlefield command systems were to be simplified and the management systems for national defence and the armed forces command reorganized. Stress was laid on the adequate training of individual soldiers and on harmonizing the activities of units with requirements at battalion level.²⁵ Reduction in personnel numbers was planned in accordance with the CFE-1A Agreement ceilings. New legislation reduced the length of conscript duty from 24 to 18 months.²⁶

Czechoslovakia declared figures for its holdings of major conventional weapons upon signing the CFE Treaty in November 1990. In January 1992 Czechoslovakia's surplus weapons—enough to bring its holdings below the CFE Treaty ceiling in each treaty-limited category—were assembled for destruction at eight

²¹ *Vojenská doktrína České a Slovenské Federativní Republiky* [Military doctrine of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic], Declaration of the Federal Assembly of the CSFR, 1990, Declaration no. 366, 20 Mar. 1991, URL <http://www.psp.cz/eknih/1990fs/tisky/t0366_00.htm>.

²² The CFE Treaty was signed at Paris on 19 Nov. 1990 and entered into force on 9 Nov. 1992. The Czech Republic ratified the CFE Treaty on 19 July 1991. For a comprehensive treatment of the CFE process see the relevant chapters in editions of the SIPRI Yearbook since 1989, and for the treaty text see URL <<http://www.osce.org/item/13752.html?html=1>>.

²³ The Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe was signed by the parties to the CFE Treaty at Helsinki on 10 July 1992 and entered into force simultaneously with the CFE Treaty. The CFE-1A Agreement limits the personnel of the conventional land-based armed forces of the parties within the 'Atlantic-to-the-Urals' zone. The full text is available at URL <<http://www.osce.org/item/13753.html?html=1>>.

²⁴ *Koncepce vřstavby řeskoslovenské armády do konce roku 1993* [Concept for the Development of the Czechoslovak Army by the End of 1993]. Discussed (under the name 'Conception of the CSA build-up by the end of 1993') in Ministry of Defence (note 8), pp. 23–24.

²⁵ Details about the military reforms in the CSFR in this and the following paragraphs are from Ministry of Defence (note 8).

²⁶ *Nařzení vlády řeskoslovenské socialistické republiky o změně doby trvání základní služby* [Regulation of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on the change of the length of conscript duty], Regulation no. 17/1990, 23 Jan. 1990, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1990/sb004-90.pdf>>.

assembly sites. These included more than half of the CSFR's battle tanks and armoured combat vehicles and more than two-thirds of its artillery pieces. The destruction process took until 16 November 1995, by which time the ACR had destroyed a total of 4207 pieces of equipment at a cost of more than 105 million korunas (\$6.9 million).²⁷ Table A.1 shows the ceilings on armaments and personnel agreed for the CSFR and the Czech Republic under the CFE Treaty, and the numbers in each category declared by the CSFR and the Czech Republic from 1990 to 2005.

The Soviet withdrawal

Negotiating the withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces stationed in Czechoslovakia was one of the most urgent foreign policy challenges for the new Czechoslovak Government in 1990 and was essential for Czechoslovakia to regain full sovereignty. Increasing pressure for the removal of the Soviet forces came from the independent social movements, such as Charter 77. The Soviet troops' presence was also incompatible with the new Soviet and WTO policy of non-intervention.²⁸

The Czechoslovak and Soviet governments held talks on how and when the withdrawal would be carried out. The initial Soviet position was that withdrawals from the WTO members should be linked to the disarmament negotiations between NATO and the WTO in Vienna. The Czechoslovak prime minister, Marián Čalfa, and minister of foreign affairs, Jiří Dienstbier, convinced the Soviets that the withdrawals were strictly bilateral matters. On 26 February 1990 Dienstbier and his Soviet counterpart signed an agreement in Moscow on the complete removal of Soviet forces from Czechoslovak territory. The agreed schedule was largely followed, and by June 1991 all Soviet forces had left the CSFR.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the WTO members in Central and Eastern Europe was inevitable given the political developments of the time. However, without the talks between the Czechoslovak and Soviet governments, and similar talks between the Hungarian and Soviet governments, at the start of 1990, the process would probably have lasted much longer.²⁹

²⁷ Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, Arms Control Agency, Information provided to the author, 2005. All US dollar equivalents in this volume are calculated at constant 2005 prices.

²⁸ In Dec. 1989 the WTO leaders adopted a new non-intervention policy and officially denounced the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by WTO forces. 'December 1989', NATO Update, URL <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/1989/8912e.htm>>.

²⁹ Pecka, J., *Odsun sovětských vojsk z Československa 1989–1991* [The withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces from Czechoslovakia, 1989–1991] (Academy of Science of the Czech Republic, Institute for Contemporary History: Prague, 1996), pp. 10, 11, 14–16; and Šedivý J., 'Odchod sovětských vojsk z Československa' [The withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia], *Mezinárodní politika*, no. 3 (1993), p. 51.

The division of the federal armed forces

During preparations for the dissolution of the CSFR it was agreed that the movable assets and personnel of the federal armed forces would be shared between the Czech Republic and Slovakia according to a ratio of 2:1, roughly reflecting the relative populations and geographical sizes of the two republics. Czechoslovakia's CFE Treaty and CFE-1A Agreement ceilings were also shared according to this ratio (see table A.1). The transfers, organized by the federal general staff, started on 1 November 1992. The bulk of them were carried out within two months and the entire process was completed by 31 October 1993.³⁰ Military intelligence and counter-intelligence archives were later shared under a bilateral agreement on common access.³¹

The creation and development of the Army of the Czech Republic, 1993–1996

On 1 January 1993 the newly created ACR incorporated ground forces, air forces and air defence. Also included (and removed from the ACR structure by 31 December 1993 along with units detached for UN peacekeeping operations and some other small units) were civil protection rescue units, the Ministry of Transport's railway troops and guard units for special installations.³²

The first round of reforms of the ACR, from the second half of 1993 to 31 December 1995, was guided by the Concept for the Development of the Army of the Czech Republic by 1996, approved by the government and parliament in June 1993.³³ Like those that took place in the CSFR, the first round of military reforms in the independent Czech Republic aimed at improving military management and drastic reductions in manpower and equipment. The reforms were mainly geared towards the ACR's primary task of territorial defence, but the 1993 Concept

³⁰ For details of the transfers of equipment between the Czech Republic and Slovakia see Ministry of Defence (note 8), pp. 24–25.

³¹ Protokol mezi Ministerstvem obrany České republiky a Ministerstvem obrany Slovenské republiky o využívání části dokumentace vzniklé před zánikem České a Slovenské Federativní Republiky [Protocol between the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic and the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic on the use of the documentation amassed before the disintegration of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic], 21 Apr. 2002, URL <<http://www.podnikame.cz/smlouvy/index.php3?co=ss02051>>.

³² Ministry of Defence (note 8), p. 26.

³³ Usnesení vlády České republiky ze dne 9. června 1993 č. 297 k projednání koncepce vřstavby Armády České republiky do roku 1996 [Resolution of the Government of the Czech Republic of 9 June 1993 no. 297 on the negotiation of the Concept for the Development of the Army of the Czech Republic by 1996], 9 June 1993, URL <<http://racek.vlada.cz/usneseni>>; and 'Koncepce vřstavby Armády České republiky do roku 1996' [The Concept for the Development of the Army of the Czech Republic by 1996], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 7 (1993).

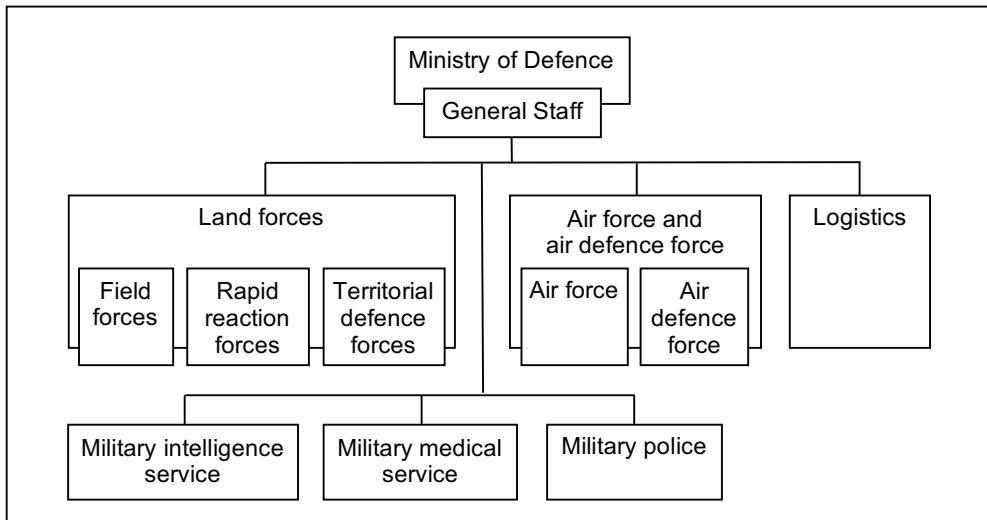


Figure 3.1. Organization of the Army of the Czech Republic, 1995

Source: Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, *White Paper on the Defence of the Czech Republic 1995* (Czech Ministry of Defence/Impuls: Prague, 1995), figure IV/4.

also took into account involvement in international military operations, preparations for possible membership of the EU and NATO, and assisting the Ministry of Interior in dealing with internal security problems. The main goals of transformation in the 1993 Concept included, among others: (a) a reduction in the number of command levels from the CSPA's four—strategic (the general staff), operational (military districts), operation tactical (corps and armies) and tactical (divisions and brigades with subordinated units)—to three—strategic (MOD), operational (corps) and tactical (brigades); (b) reduction in military personnel to 65 000 or fewer; (c) personnel changes in posts of critical importance; (d) adoption of an integrated logistics system; (e) adoption of a new planning, programming and budgeting system; (f) 'stabilization' of military bases after the relocations and reorganization necessitated by the split of the federation; and (g) gradual convergence with NATO aimed at achieving compatibility and interoperability in the most important fields.³⁴

By 1995 the number of formations, units and facilities had decreased substantially. The planned changeover at the tactical level from division to brigade structure was started, with the remodelling of one mechanized division and the creation of one rapid reaction brigade, five mechanized brigades and 13 territorial defence brigades in the ground forces and three electronic brigades in the air force and air defence; and a new system of training for conscripts was introduced after the period of military conscription service was further cut, from 18 to 12 months. By

³⁴ Ministry of Defence (note 8), p. 27.

1995 the ACR organizational structure consisted of the command organs, land forces, air force and air defence force, logistics, the military intelligence service, the military medical service and the military police (see figure 3.1).³⁵

Continuing reforms, 1996–2002

A military strategy for the Czech Republic was adopted at the end of 1995.³⁶ No new development concept was issued but, according to the MOD, the emphasis in ACR reform between 1996 and 2005 would be on ‘completing the changes in personnel structure of the ACR, and its professionalization and on qualitative changes in the preparation of commanders, staff, troops and reserves’. Command, management and logistics would be further improved and ‘the transition to NATO standards and the achievement of interoperability’ would be completed, with most of the work to prepare the ACR for NATO membership done by 2000.³⁷ The new personnel structure ‘based on the corps of career warrant officers’ was intended to ‘decisively influence the speed of changes in the quality of military forces’. Together with ‘new working methods for commanders and staff’, the work of the warrant officers would ‘contribute to a restriction of undesirable phenomena in the forces, better relations with the public and gaining prestige and a new spirit for the ACR’.³⁸ Conscription would continue, maintaining a peacetime personnel strength equivalent to 0.6 to 0.75 per cent of the population, with a mobilization potential three to four times larger.³⁹ The transformation would have as its main objective: ‘the qualitative development of semi-professional and non-party highly functional military forces, armed with conventional weapons, being ready for the defence of the Republic and capable of participating in joint operations of international peacekeeping forces.’⁴⁰

Close cooperation with NATO prior to membership increasingly came to define most military activity in the Czech Republic. Together with NATO the Czech Republic developed Target Force Goals intended to address NATO’s anticipated collective military requirements. Among the contributions expected from the Czech Republic on joining NATO military structures the goals emphasized air defence, command and control, training for anticipated missions, and preparedness

³⁵ Ministry of Defence (note 8), pp. 27–33.

³⁶ Usnesení vlády České republiky ze dne 21. prosince 1995 č. 732 k Vojenské strategii České republiky [Resolution of the Government of the Czech Republic of 21 Dec. 1995 no. 732 on the Military Strategy of the Czech Republic], 21 Dec. 1995, URL <<http://racek.vlada.cz/usneseni>>; and ‘Vojenská strategie České republiky’ [Military Strategy of the Czech Republic], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 2 (1996).

³⁷ Ministry of Defence (note 8), pp. 42–43.

³⁸ Ministry of Defence (note 8), p. 21.

³⁹ Ministry of Defence (note 8), p. 19.

⁴⁰ Ministry of Defence (note 8), p. 19.

to provide host-nation support for allied forces. These targets were expected to play a major role in guiding the Czech Republic's force modernization plans.

In March 1997 the new government approved the Concept for the Development of the Army of the Czech Republic until 2000 with an Outlook to 2005,⁴¹ which was superseded in June 1999 by the Concept for the Development of the Defence Establishment.⁴² The 1997 Concept was replaced because although it was adequate to prepare the ACR for NATO accession it did not properly account for the requirements of actual NATO membership.⁴³ It also did not harmonize with either the national military strategy or the national security strategy that were approved in 1999.⁴⁴ The 1999 Concept, covering the period until 2004 and looking ahead to 2009, was based more closely on the security and military strategies and on NATO requirements. It set targets for further reductions in staff and equipment and stated that by the end of 2002 the total personnel strength of the defence sector, including career soldiers, conscripts and civilian employees, should not exceed 62 000 in peacetime. For 31 December 2002, ACR equipment ceilings were set at 795 battle tanks, 1252 armoured combat vehicles, 657 artillery pieces of 100-mm calibre or more, 200 combat aircraft and 50 attack helicopters, matching the adjusted territorial ceilings agreed in March 1999 by the Czech Republic during negotiations on adaptation of the CFE Treaty.⁴⁵ (As table A.1 shows, in January 2003 the Czech Republic declared lower numbers in most of these categories.) The 72 L-159 light combat aircraft on order were to be gradually brought into the arsenal, along with up to 24 combat aircraft as soon as funding permitted.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Usnesení vlády České republiky ze dne 26. března 1997 č. 178 k záměru koncepce výstavby Armády České republiky do roku 2000 s výhledem do roku 2005 [Resolution of the Government of the Czech Republic of 26 Mar. 1997 no. 178 on the plan of the Concept for the Development of the Army of the Czech Republic until 2000 with an Outlook to 2005], 26 Mar. 1997, URL <<http://racek.vlada.cz/usneseni/>>; and 'Záměr koncepce výstavby Armády České republiky do roku 2000 s výhledem do roku 2005' [The plan of the Concept for the Development of the Army of the Czech Republic until 2000 with an Outlook to 2005], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 2 (1997).

⁴² 'Koncept výstavby rezortu obrany' [The Concept for the Development of the Defence Establishment], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 4 (1999), URL <http://www.army.cz/avis/vojenske_rozhledy/499.htm>, pp. 3–15.

⁴³ Lapáček, F. and Crhák, M., 'Komentář k nové koncepci výstavby AČR' [Commentary on the new Concept for the Development of the ACR], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 4 (1999), URL <http://www.army.cz/avis/vojenske_rozhledy/499.htm>, pp. 16–17.

⁴⁴ 'Vojenská strategie České republiky' [Military strategy of the Czech Republic], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 3, 1999, URL <http://www.army.cz/avis/vojenske_rozhledy/399.htm>; and 'Bezpečnostní strategie České republiky' [Security strategy of the Czech Republic], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 2 (1999), URL <http://www.army.cz/avis/vojenske_rozhledy/299.htm>.

⁴⁵ Lachowski, Z., 'Conventional arms control', *SIPRI Yearbook 1999: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1999), p. 622.

⁴⁶ In 2004, agreements were signed with Sweden to lease only 14 Gripen combat aircraft. Pejšek, J., 'Gripen—Agreements signed', Czech Ministry of Defence Press and Information Service, 15 June 2004, URL <<http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=5790>>.

Importantly, the 1999 Concept prescribed a gradual reduction in the number of conscripts as the ACR moved further towards professionalization. By 2009 the rapid reaction units should all be fully professional and there should be only around 22 000 conscripts on active duty. Overall, the proportions of conscripts and of civilian employees and reservists in the peacetime military were to fall by 2009.

The current status of the reforms

By 2001 the shortcomings of the ACR, including its slow progress towards meeting NATO requirements, had led to high-level debates in the government and the recognition that further radical reforms were needed. A review was carried out and a new development concept was adopted, the Concept for the Development of the Professional Army of the Czech Republic and the Mobilization of Armed Forces, covering a mid-term planning period of 2003–2008 and anticipating the full professionalization of the ACR by 2006.⁴⁷ However, cuts in the 2004 defence budget forced the MOD to adjust its plans once again. In November 2003 the government approved the Concept for the Development of the Professional Army of the Czech Republic and the Mobilization of Armed Forces Revised for the New Resource Framework.⁴⁸ The mid-term planning period was shifted to 2005–10, with 2004 treated as a transitional year and the deadline for full professionalization moved to the end of 2004. This document currently guides the development of the ACR.

In line with the 1999 Defence Act,⁴⁹ the 2003 Concept defines the main tasks of the ACR as defending the Czech Republic's territory, fulfilling international joint defence commitments, contributing to operations abroad, and assisting in responses to domestic non-military threats. In peacetime the ACR should be capable of meeting the various security needs without general mobilization or other extraordinary measures. It is planned that the target level of operational capability will be achieved between 2010 and 2012.

For NATO defence tasks, the 2003 Concept covers the following two scenarios for ACR action in the context of Article 5 of the 1949 North Atlantic Treaty.⁵⁰ In the case of a high-grade threat to the Czech Republic (the probability of which is

⁴⁷ 'Konceptce vřstavby profesionální Armády České republiky a mobilizace ozbrojenřch sil České republiky' (note 16).

⁴⁸ 'Konceptce vřstavby profesionální Armády České republiky a mobilizace ozbrojenřch sil České republiky řřpracovaná na zmřněnř zdrojovřrámec' [Concept for the Development of a Professional Army of the Czech Republic and Mobilization of the Czech Armed Forces Revised for the New Resource Framework], *A-Report*, no. 24 (2003), URL <<http://www.army.cz/avis/areport2003/ar24str.pdf>>.

⁴⁹ Zákonn o zajiřřování obrany České republiky [Act on the Provision of the Defence of the Czech Republic], Act no. 222/1999, 14 Sep. 1999, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1999/sb076-99.pdf>>.

⁵⁰ Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty commits NATO members to assist any other member that is attacked. The full text of the treaty is available at URL <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxtxt/treaty.htm>>.

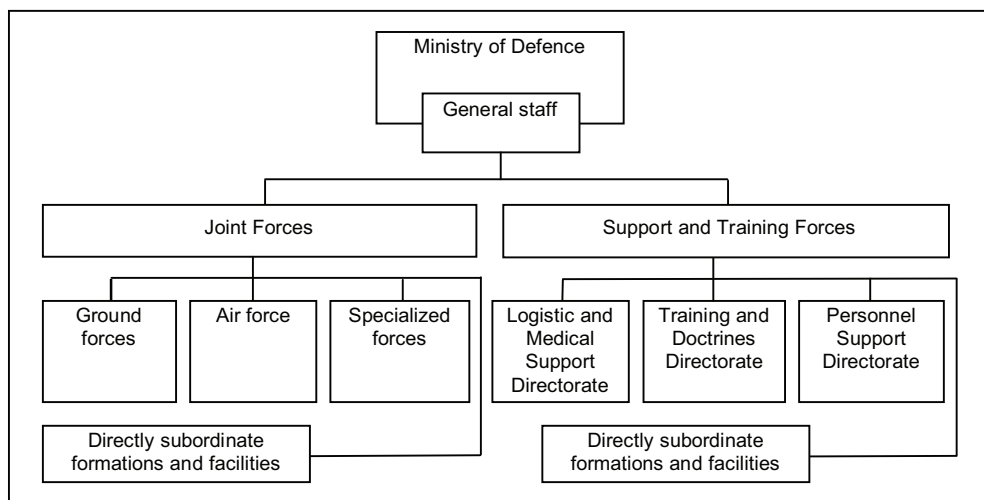


Figure 3.2. Organizational structure of the Army of the Czech Republic, December 2004

Source: Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, *Ročenka 2004* [Yearbook 2004] (Ministry of Defence: Prague, 2004), p. 81.

now seen as almost nil), the whole ACR will take action including all-out mobilization. The Concept assumes the assistance of NATO partners under this scenario. In low-intensity Article 5 operations, such as might happen on NATO territories not directly neighbouring the Czech Republic, the ACR will contribute resources equivalent to a mechanized brigade (without rotation). The 2003 Concept states that Czech air defence should be integrated into the NATO Integrated Extended Air Defence System (NATINEADS).

In peace-enforcement operations not covered by Article 5, the ACR can contribute a brigade or its equivalent of up to 3000 personnel (without rotation). Potential participation in two parallel operations is planned for, including about 1000 personnel in the first operation and up to 250 in the second. In a limited armed conflict outside the Czech Republic, a brigade—a battalion plus a specialized unit—could take part in a low-intensity operation for common defence. This brigade, which should be ready by 2007, could stay in place without rotation for up to six months. In peacekeeping operations, unit rotation is possible.⁵¹

In response to domestic non-military threats in peacetime, the ACR should be able to supply up to 1000 personnel to support the police for up to three months. Some 1200 troops could be provided for the Czech Integrated Rescue System, for one month.

⁵¹ On the process of NATO accession and the actual participation of Czech forces in NATO and other international operations see chapter 5 of this volume.

The 2003 Concept sets out an organizational structure including three command entities: the Ministry of Defence (integrated with the general staff) in Prague, the Joint Forces Command in Olomouc and the Support and Training Forces Command in Stará Boleslav. The Joint Forces include the ACR's ground, air and specialized forces, along with common support elements. The Support and Training Forces provide personnel, financial, logistical, medical, communications and other support to MOD organs and to allied forces on Czech territory within the framework of NATO host-nation support. The Joint Forces units have until between 2010 and 2012 to reach their target operational capabilities. The Support and Training Forces, on the other hand, should reach target capabilities by 2008.⁵² By the end of 2006, selected units must be ready for deployment in any part of the world and must attain the same levels in training and equipment as the professional units of more established NATO members such as Belgium and the Netherlands. The ACR organizational structure in 2004 is shown in figure 3.2.

A long-term vision of the ACR between 2020 and 2025 is currently being prepared by the MOD.⁵³ Before the June 2006 parliamentary elections the shadow minister of defence, Petr Nečas of the main opposition party, the Civic Democratic Party, repeatedly voiced reservations about the current direction of defence policy, including the aim of trying to maintain all-round combat capabilities and the ACR's stock of heavy conventional weapons (especially tanks). Whether the existing plans for development of the armed forces will be implemented according to the current timetables and targets may depend on the composition of the next government.

⁵² Danda, O., 'Kühnl chce diskutovat o rušení posádek' [Kühnl wants to discuss the closure of garrisons], *Právo*, 13 Aug. 2004, p. 2.

⁵³ Baroch, P., 'Pavel Štefka: "Nelze mít vojáky pro mír, a pro válku"' [Pavel Štefka: 'It is impossible to have soldiers for peace, and for war'], Interview with Pavel Štefka, chief of the general staff of the ACR, *Hospodářské noviny*, 12 Sep. 2005, URL <http://ihned.cz//2-16809660-002000_d-f8>, p. 4.

4. Personnel and social policy

Massive cuts in the numbers of military personnel have been necessary for diplomatic, economic, political and practical reasons in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic since the 1989 Velvet Revolution, and significant reduction in personnel on active duty has been a goal at every stage of military reform. However, factors other than personnel policy have often determined the actual patterns of departure and recruitment, especially among younger officers, and as a result the ACR has had great difficulties in achieving the structures and capabilities envisaged in the reforms. The reductions in personnel numbers after 1989 can be traced in tables A.1 and A.2.

Challenges for personnel and social policy, 1989–1999

At the time of the Velvet Revolution, the CSPA was a huge force consisting in large part of conscripts with little specialist training, many of whom were serving only reluctantly. Among the first pieces of legislation passed in the months after the Velvet Revolution were acts reducing the length of conscript duty from 24 to 18 months and allowing conscripts to choose civilian service if military service conflicted with their conscience.⁵⁴ In addition, any personnel who no longer wanted to serve in the forces under the new government were permitted to leave immediately. In the spring of 1990 a new oath of loyalty was introduced, providing another opportunity for dissatisfied personnel to leave the armed forces by refusing to sign. Along with the purges of the officer corps described above, this led to a sudden drop in personnel numbers that brought the CSFR close to its CFE-1 Agreement ceiling by the end of 1992.

With the end of the cold war, not only was the CSPA too large for its new tasks but it was also inadequately skilled, structured and equipped. A process of professionalization was initiated, partly linked to the democratization of the military and partly also to upgrade the military and its personnel. This professionalization process was to include development of ‘democratic civilian qualities’, patriotism and a self-perception as ‘defenders of human and civil rights’ among the career military; ‘transformation of commanders into competent social managers, who possess the skill to lead and motivate subordinates’; ‘a fundamental transition in the approach to military expertise, involving exploitation and use of a complex of

⁵⁴ Nařízení vlády Československé socialistické republiky o změně doby trvání základní služby [Regulation of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on the change of the length of conscript duty], Regulation no. 17/1990, 23 Jan. 1990, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1990/sb004-90.pdf>>; and Zákon o civilní službě [Act on Civilian Service], Act no. 73/1990, 14 Mar. 1990, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1990/sb017-90.pdf>>.

modern military, technological and social sciences'; and 'stabilization of servicemen as representatives of the state policy in the field of defence, as a guarantee of democratic order'.⁵⁵ Professionalization also entailed a gradual reduction in the proportion of conscripts in the armed forces.

The developments of the early 1990s made it particularly difficult for the MOD to implement personnel policy, including personnel cuts, in a way that left the armed forces well structured and fit for purpose. Restructuring aimed to pare down the senior ranks of the officer corps but, for various reasons, many qualified and skilled younger officers also left the forces, leaving vacancies in important posts. At the same time, tens of thousands of conscripts took advantage of the Civilian Service Act to avoid military service. This reduced the armed forces' combat readiness, damaged the moral of the military professionals and added to the difficulties involved in military planning and management.⁵⁶

During the relocation of units that took place in line with Czechoslovakia's new military doctrine, the social aspects of many professional soldiers' lives worsened dramatically. Many professional soldiers were obliged to leave well-established garrisons where accommodation for their families, good schools for their children and job opportunities for their spouses were available. The new garrisons were sometimes only partly established. Soldiers' spouses had problems finding jobs around garrisons in less developed parts of the country, at a time when family incomes were already in decline. The overall number of garrisons was also cut, making the remaining sites overcrowded. An acute shortage of apartments in Czechoslovakia at this time, and the fact that professional soldiers could no longer rely on having accommodation allocated to them by the local authorities, meant that most professional soldiers were obliged to live in temporary accommodation on weekdays and could only be with their families at weekends.⁵⁷ Table 4.1 shows the successive reduction in the number of garrisons in the CSFR and the Czech Republic between 1989 and 2003, and the targets for 2006.

Between 1990 and the end of 1993, some 25 000 military professionals (60 per cent of them officers) left the armed forces. A survey by the Military Institute of Social Research at that time reportedly found that 22 per cent of military professionals—including more than half of the youngest officers—were only waiting for good opportunities to resign.⁵⁸ Accommodation problems, deteriorating work conditions and interpersonal relations, and a lack of prospects in the armed forces were cited as the main reasons for wishing to leave.⁵⁹ Some measures were introduced

⁵⁵ Purkrábek, M., 'Social problems of the democratic transformation of the human potential in the Czechoslovak Army', *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, no. 2 (June 1993), p. 224.

⁵⁶ Rašek (note 15), p. 20.

⁵⁷ Ulrich (note 10), p. 116.

⁵⁸ Paducha, P. and Purkrábek, M., 'K předpokladům pro rozvoj vojáků-občanů budoucí České armády' [Presuppositions for the development of soldier-citizens of the future Czech army], *Vojenské rozhledy*, Special edition (1992), p. 22.

⁵⁹ Rašek (note 15), p. 22.

Table 4.1. Number of garrisons and outposts in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic, 1989–2003 and plans for 2006

Year	Number of garrisons and outposts ^a
1989	250
1993	200
2001	180
2003	132 (65 garrisons and 67 outposts)
2006	73 (27 garrisons and 46 outposts) ^b

^a The figure for 1989 includes all garrisons and outposts in the CSFR. All subsequent figures are for the Czech Republic only.

^b These are planned figures.

Source: ‘Koncepce výstavby profesionální Armády České republiky a mobilizace ozbrojených sil České republiky přepracovaná na změněný zdrojový rámec’ [Concept of development of a professional Army of the Czech Republic and mobilization of the Czech armed forces revised for the new resource framework], *A-Report*, no. 24 (2003), URL <<http://www.army.cz/avis/areport2003/ar24str.pdf>>, p. 36.

after the relocations to try to improve the lives of military personnel, including giving them additional free time and leave days, but these were not fully implemented. Young officers in particular, the 1992 survey found, were influenced by the poor perception of military service at the time—there was a widespread view that people who chose a military career did so because they had no other possibility of advancing themselves. The armed forces also remained unable to develop a more modern and participative leadership style that could have better engaged the interest of personnel and motivated subordinates to fulfil their duties.⁶⁰

The dissolution of the CSFR further complicated the situations of many military professionals. A large number refused to accept citizenship of the country in which they were based and had to move to garrisons that were in their preferred country but where their skills might not be needed. At the same time, standards of living had started to improve for civilians, making a military career even less attractive.

The decline of interest in studying at military academies reflected the prevailing dissatisfaction of military personnel and that of society at large with the role played by the ACR. It was no longer possible to count on military academy places being taken up by graduates from the military secondary schools in Prague, Moravská Třebová and Opava, because these institutions were being closed down in line with a new policy emphasizing specialist training over general military education. The school at Moravská Třebová closed in 1996 and a new MOD technical high school was opened shortly afterwards on the same site. In the early and mid-1990s, uni-

⁶⁰ Paducha and Purkrábek (note 58), p. 22.

versity-level military schools were able to attract only between a quarter and a half of the number of students needed to fulfil MOD plans.⁶¹

The absence of a legislative framework clearly determining the tasks, responsibilities and legal authority of the ACR as a whole or the rights and obligations of military personnel also had negative impacts on recruitment and retention. For most of the 1990s there was no precise definition of the activities of the different elements of the armed forces, even in the constitution, nor were there legal provisions for officials' and judicial persons' duties in national defence. Many spheres of ACR activity, including personnel matters, were governed only by internal directives, giving military personnel few guarantees of their rights.

With so many professional soldiers leaving the services, the MOD was concerned to help ease their reintegration into civilian society. After November 1989 the MOD started efforts to revitalize its virtually dormant programme of requalification courses for professional soldiers leaving the military. A new Institute of Education and Requalification was opened in 1992. The courses attracted a growing number of people. Recent research into how former professional soldiers fared in civilian society shows that most of those who took requalification courses were able to use their qualifications in their new careers and that the courses had helped significantly to raise the socio-economic status of former soldiers.⁶²

Preparations for NATO membership

Preparations for the responsibilities of NATO membership and participation in NATO activities played an important role in strengthening and stabilizing the MOD's management of personnel and social policy. Several important military laws were promulgated in 1999.⁶³ This heralded a systematic shift in the MOD's personnel policy and was an important step in the professionalization process. Specifically, the new legislation was designed to reform staff management to make it compatible with that of the Czech Republic's NATO allies. The Act on Professional Military Personnel brought fundamental changes in both the conception and the reality of military service. A standard career path was established for military professionals; NCOs could no longer become de facto professionals by extending their active service. The new regulations also supported the performance principle, whereby soldiers' pay was determined on the basis of clearly defined obliga-

⁶¹ Ulrich (note 10), p. 120.

⁶² Rašek, A., 'Socialně politické poznávání v armádě v polistopadovém období (2.část)' [Social and political studies in the forces after November 1989 (2nd part)], *Vojenské rozhledy*, no. 2 (2005), URL <http://www.army.cz/avis/vojenske_rozhledy/_2005/rozhledy2005-2.pdf>, pp. 121–22.

⁶³ The new laws included, among others, Zákon o ozbrojených silách České republiky [Act on the Armed Forces of the Czech Republic], Act no. 219/1999; Zákon o vojácích z povolání [Act on Professional Military Personnel], Act no. 221/1999, 14 Sep. 1999; and the Act on the Provision of the Defence of the Czech Republic (note 49)—all available at URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1999/sb076-99.pdf>>.

tions and rights (including taxable limits) and of a completely reorganized evaluation system. Tours of duty were henceforth fixed for defined periods of between 2 and 20 years. The period of service could be changed only with the written consent of the individual. Personnel were compensated for necessary restrictions on their political, economic and social rights by, among other things, benefits such as contributions to their accommodation expenses.

The full professionalization of the Army of the Czech Republic

From the mid-1990s a marked demographic decline in the Czech male population, the drop in the number of recruits fit for military service, a widespread reluctance to perform conscript military service and the growing need for highly trained military specialists to meet the requirements of NATO membership and international operations emphasized the need to minimize—and eventually eliminate—the reliance of the ACR on conscripts. The 2002 Concept for the Development of the Professional Army of the Czech Republic and the Mobilization of Armed Forces called for the phasing out of conscription by 2006 at the latest, but the revised Concept of November 2003 moved the deadline forward to the end of 2004.⁶⁴ The 2004 Military Act ended conscription and reformed the management of recruitment.⁶⁵ The last 1800 conscripts ended their tours on 22 December 2004.⁶⁶

In order to meet the increased need for preparation and training of military personnel in the professionalized armed forces, the military educational and training system was once again reorganized in 2004, separating academic military education from military training. As part of this a single military university, the Defence University, was created by a merger of three former military colleges: the Military University of the Ground Forces in Vyškov, the Military Medical Academy in Hradec Králové and the Brno Military Academy. To oversee training matters, the Training and Doctrine Directorate was created at Vyškov, under the authority of the Support and Training Forces Command in Stará Boleslav.

For the latest round of military reforms the MOD has intensified its recruitment campaign with some success. The new legislation and the improved social benefits for military personnel have helped to boost the social status, pride and self-confidence of professional soldiers. From the late 1990s the public also started to show greater appreciation of the ACR, mainly linked with its participation in international peacekeeping operations and in flood rescue operations in the Czech Republic in 1997 and 2002. The growing prestige of the ACR has been reflected

⁶⁴ For the development concepts see notes 16 and 48.

⁶⁵ Zákon o branné povinnosti a jejím zajišťování (Branný zákon) [Act on Military Duty and its Provision (the Military Act)], Act no. 585/2004, 4 Nov. 2004, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/2004/sb203-04.pdf>>.

⁶⁶ Cameron, R., 'Last conscripts leave Czech army', BBC News Online, 22 Dec. 2004, URL <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/4118461.stm>>.

not only in surveys of public opinion but also in improved recruitment. Interest in military careers and in all types of study at military educational institutions continues to rise.⁶⁷ In 2004 the number of applicants was twice the number sought and 2200 were recruited. By the second half of 2004, another 1100 posts in the planned structure of the ACR had been filled by formerly higher-ranking officers who accepted re-employment at a lower rank. Even the target for an increase in the representation of women in the ACR was fully achieved.⁶⁸ There is good reason for optimism that the planned manpower levels and structure for the ACR will be realized on schedule.

⁶⁷ Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, *Ročenka 1999* [Yearbook 1999] (Ministry of Defence, Military Information and Service Agency: Prague, 2000), pp. 92–93.

⁶⁸ Danda, O., 'Rekruti chtěli hlavně k prázkmníkům' [Recruits wanted mainly to join reconnaissance units], *Právo*, 23 Dec. 2004, p. 5.

5. International military cooperation

Participation in international operations

Participation in international operations, most notably under the auspices of the UN and, later, of the EU and NATO, has been a driving force for military reform in the Czech Republic. It has also helped to raise the prestige of the ACR both at home and internationally.

From 1989, the CEE countries started to join UN-led operations. The Czechoslovak leadership resolutely supported this as it brought a range of political, diplomatic and other benefits, but the armed forces were ill prepared, both organizationally and in the capacity of military personnel. Thus, the first Czechoslovak military observers joined the first UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I)⁶⁹ and the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) mission in Namibia in 1989⁷⁰ without sufficient specialist training. In order to address this problem a new institution was opened at Český Krumlov in the second half of 1990, the Training Centre for the Czechoslovak Armed Forces for UN Peacekeeping Operations, focusing on the training of units. From 1991 a three-week specialized training course for military observers was provided at the Military Education and Training Centre in Komorní Hrádek. The MOD also started to send officers on similar training courses abroad, including in Austria, Canada, Finland and Sweden.

From 1991 Czechoslovak armed forces units and personnel took part in a growing number of international operations. Czechoslovak specialists helped the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) in Iraq to seek and destroy chemical weapons.⁷¹ Contingents of Czechoslovak (and later Czech and Slovakian) soldiers served in the UN Guards Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI).⁷² Czechoslovak military observers

⁶⁹ The UNAVEM I mission (1988–91) was tasked with verifying the withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angolan territory. Czechoslovak (and then Slovakian) troops also participated in UNAVEM II (1991–95, tasked with ceasefire and election monitoring) and UNAVEM III (1995–97, tasked with peace monitoring and national reconciliation).

⁷⁰ The mandate of UNTAG (1989–90) included securing the independence of Namibia by conducting free and fair elections, providing legislative assistance and helping to ensure that hostilities ended, political prisoners were released, refugees were able to return, and law and order were impartially maintained.

⁷¹ UNSCOM (1991–99) was mandated to search out and eliminate non-nuclear weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 km, to ensure that acquisition and production of prohibited items was not resumed, and to assist the International Atomic Energy Agency in its activities in Iraq.

⁷² The UNGCI (1991–2003) provided security for UN humanitarian activities in Iraq. More than 300 Czech and Slovakian personnel participated.

were posted to the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I),⁷³ to the European Community Monitor Mission (ECMM)⁷⁴ and to various other missions led by the EU and the OSCE in the former Yugoslavia. In the first half of 1992 a 500-strong Czechoslovak battalion and several military observers were sent to join the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the UN's first preventive mission, also in the former Yugoslavia.⁷⁵ The involvement of a Czechoslovak anti-chemical warfare unit in the 1991 Gulf War (Operation Desert Storm) was the first instance of Czechoslovak participation in peace enforcement.

After the dissolution of the CSFR, the Czech Republic and Slovakia decided to maintain their involvement in operations in the former Yugoslavia. On the Czech Republic's side this was motivated by a desire to facilitate peaceful solution of the linked crises, by the geographical proximity of the conflict and the historically close and friendly relations with the Western Balkans region, and by a desire to build relations with NATO. The Czech battalion and military observers continued to participate in UNPROFOR. After the signing of the Dayton Agreement in December 1995,⁷⁶ the Czech Republic contributed to the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) and Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁷⁷ Outside the Western Balkans, the Czech contingent remained in the UNGCI and Czech military observers took part in UN operations and missions in Abkhazia (Georgia), Liberia and Mozambique, and in OSCE missions in Chechnya, Georgia, Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh and Tajikistan.

Since joining NATO, the Czech Republic has continued to participate in NATO-led missions, contributing both military units and military and civilian observers. To help in its bid to join the EU in 2004, the Czech Republic joined the EU Police

⁷³ UNOSOM I (1992–93) was established to monitor the ceasefire in Mogadishu, Somalia, and to escort deliveries of humanitarian supplies to distribution centres. For more information about international peace operations from 1992 see relevant sections of the SIPRI Yearbook from 1993 on.

⁷⁴ The ECMM (1991–present) monitors ceasefires and other military, political, humanitarian and economical developments in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. In 2000 it was redesignated as the European Union Monitoring Mission.

⁷⁵ UNPROFOR (1992–95) was initially established in Croatia for demilitarization of designated areas. The mandate was later extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina to support the delivery of humanitarian relief and to monitor no-fly zones and safe areas; and to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for preventive monitoring in border areas.

⁷⁶ General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Agreement), signed in Paris on 14 Dec. 1995 by Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The full text of the Dayton Agreement can be found at URL <<http://www.oscebih.org/overview/gfap/eng/>>.

⁷⁷ IFOR (1995–96) was a NATO-led multinational force in Bosnia and Herzegovina mandated to uphold the Dayton Agreement, taking over from UNPROFOR. SFOR (1996–2005) was the follow-on mission to IFOR.

Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina⁷⁸ and showed its support for US-led efforts against international terrorism by taking part in the multinational operations in Afghanistan (Operation Enduring Freedom and the International Security Assistance Force, ISAF).⁷⁹ Later the Czech Republic joined the European Force (EUFOR) in Operation ALTHEA, also in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸⁰ Following the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 the ACR sent military police instructors as part of the Multinational Force in Iraq (MNF-I) to train local police in southern Iraq and established a military field hospital near Basra. Czech military observers are participating in, or are available to participate in, further EU, OSCE and UN operations. Information about Czechoslovak and Czech military units' participation in international operations from 1990 to the present can be found in table A.3.

The Visegrád Group

Soon after the establishment of their new democratic regimes, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland recognized a need to maintain their close military and security cooperation. This was partly to facilitate phasing out the WTO and partly to help in achieving the new regimes' shared longer-term goal of a 'return to Europe' (full membership of the EU and NATO). Fears about the uncertain course of developments in the Soviet Union provided an extra motivation. In the first half of 1991, the three countries created the Visegrád Group, which was intended to promote stability and cooperation. The new group signed a number of security agreements but, after this promising start, cooperation effectively stalled for several years from 1993 owing to domestic politics, friction between the members, the greater stability of the Russian Federation and the successful dissolution of the WTO.

After 1997 cooperation in the Visegrád Group resumed in order to help the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, and later Slovakia, to achieve entry to NATO. Even after all the Visegrád Group members had joined the alliance, cooperation continued at the political and technical levels, primarily on arms acquisitions, military personnel reforms and the creation of joint force units. When the EU asked the Visegrád Group countries to declare their possible contributions to the Helsinki Force Catalogue at the first Capability Commitment Conference in November 2000 and the follow-up Capability Improvement Conference a year later, the group offered a broad range of specializations. These included mechan-

⁷⁸ Several Czech police have been seconded to EUPM (2003–present), which took over the mandate of the UN International Police Task Force to establish sustainable policing arrangements in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁷⁹ ISAF (2001–present) is a multinational force initially established to assist the Afghan government in maintaining security. In 2003 NATO was given command of ISAF. Detailed information on multilateral peace operations from 2000 is provided in the SIPRI Database on Multilateral Peace Operations, URL <<http://www.sipri.org/contents/conflict/>>.

⁸⁰ In Operation ALTHEA (2004–present), EUFOR took over the role of SFOR.

ized infantry (with one battalion from the Czech Republic); nuclear, biological and chemical weapon protection units (with one company from the Czech Republic); military medical units (with one field hospital or medical battalion from the Czech Republic); and several helicopter units and transport aircraft (from the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia). All these units were already fully professional, capable of deployment in less than 60 days, and sustainable in the field for six months (in the case of certain specialist forces) or one year. Most of them were also declared to NATO as part of NATO's Allied Rapid Reaction Corps and followed strict interoperability criteria that were often tested in deployments in real multinational operations. The Visegrád Group has not only made military contributions to EU security and defence but has also brought experience and human resources to the civilian component of EU crisis management operations, experts for conflict prevention, observers for ceasefire monitoring and local administrators for post-conflict reconstruction.⁸¹

Membership of the Visegrád Group benefited the Czech Republic and Slovakia, particularly in their efforts to join the EU and NATO, and strengthened regional security, but its influence should not be overstated. Probably more important for all the group's members was their individual cooperation with other NATO states.

International assistance and partnerships

Military cooperation with, and assistance from, NATO members in the early 1990s was an important tool for easing possible turbulence in the wake of the collapse of Communism and for speeding up the reform process in several post-Communist CEE countries. Much of this cooperation and assistance was linked to Czechoslovakia's and the Czech Republic's growing links with NATO.⁸² The NATO Partnership for Peace programme, launched in January 1994, aimed to help partner countries to strengthen civilian control of their militaries, improve national defence planning and budgeting practices, and promote military and security cooperation with NATO members. PFP partners not only assisted in training Czech troops and involved them in joint military exercises to prepare for NATO peace and humanitarian operations, but the PFP programme also offered tailored individual partnership programmes to prepare countries for membership. Under the terms of its indi-

⁸¹ Khol, R., 'Policies of the Visegrád countries towards CFSP/ESDP', Working paper no. 3/2003, Institute of International Relations, Prague, 2003, pp. 5, 7–9, 14–16.

⁸² For a discussion of the role of assistance programmes in preparing the post-Communist CEE countries for NATO entry see Caparini, M., 'Security sector reform and NATO and EU enlargement', *SIPRI Yearbook 2003: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2003), pp. 242–47.

vidual partnership programme the Czech Republic participated in 210 military exercises in 1994–98, of which 85 were conducted on Czech territory.⁸³

The PFP Planning and Review Process (PARP) gave participating states the chance to acquaint themselves with NATO defence planning mechanisms and set jointly agreed ‘interoperability objectives’ for the participating states to implement. The Czech Republic participated in two PARP cycles, the first in 1995, and after it became a NATO member it was able to pass on its experiences to countries still preparing within the PFP for prospective NATO membership.⁸⁴ After the Czech Republic’s NATO accession in 1999, the emphasis in training and exercises for the ACR shifted towards preparing troops and staff for their incorporation into NATO military structures. Priority was given to training troops selected for NATO rapid deployments.

Practical assistance and guidance from *the USA* in almost all areas of defence have been of the greatest importance to the Czech Republic. Several months after the 1989 Velvet Revolution Czechoslovakia joined the International Military Education and Training programme. The programme’s main objectives at that time were to introduce and promote democratization processes in the post-Communist militaries. Annual participation by personnel from Czechoslovakia grew from one officer in 1989 to 30–50 in subsequent years. Among the early participants were the then chief of general staff, Major General Jiří Šedivý; his deputy; the chief of staff of the air force; and the commander of land forces. Despite this high-level participation, the opportunities presented by the IMET programme were not always used to the best advantage. Foreign language skills and personal contacts rather than merit and structured personnel planning often determined the choice of participants. Also, several IMET graduates were assigned to irrelevant or low-grade posts, retired early or were benevolently permitted to leave the service. However, the IMET programme and several similar programmes made significant contributions in the early stages of democratization of the ACR. The opportunity for Czech officers to study at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, also contributed to the improvement of their skills.⁸⁵ Since 1993 the Czech Republic has sent 65 people annually to participate in the IMET programme.⁸⁶

The US European Command’s Joint Contact Team Program (JCTP) was created in 1992 to assist the newly democratic countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the southern Caucasus in developing democratic defence planning, military justice

⁸³ Svěrák, A., ‘Vnější a vnitřní aspekty začleňování resortu obrany ČR do NATO.’ [External and internal aspects of accession of the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic to NATO], *Mezinárodních vztahů*, no. 2 (1999), p. 14.

⁸⁴ Svěrák (note 83), p. 15.

⁸⁵ Ulrich (note 10), pp. 156–69, 170–79.

⁸⁶ Ulrich (note 10), p. 172; and Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, Press and Information Service, Communication with the author, June 2006.

systems and civil–military cooperation, among other areas. Although it was only intended to last for two years, the JCTP survived as a mainstay of security cooperation between these countries and the USA, adapting to the wider areas of cooperation opened up in the PFP since 1994. From 1995 to 1997, the main focus of assistance to the Czech Republic under the JCTP shifted from democratization to preparing the ACR for closer links with NATO. The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland ended participation in the JTCP with their accession to NATO.

Shortly after the Czech Republic joined NATO the USA assisted with the establishment of the Air Sovereignty Operation Center (ASOC), a command, control, communications, computers and intelligence (C⁴I) system that now links the Czech Republic into the NATO air surveillance systems. Subsequent assistance has covered English language proficiency, the modernization of radar technologies and development of surface-to-air missile complexes, among others.

Cooperation with *Belgium* during the 1990s was characterized by reciprocal visits of military delegations specializing in information and logistics, artillery, military medical care, and training for peacekeeping operations. After the Czech Republic's accession to NATO, emphasis was placed on training activities and on developing contacts between force units and individual experts.

With *Canada*, cooperation was focused mainly on training units for peacekeeping operations, English language courses and the exchange of experience in military legislation.

Czech military cooperation with *France* took place at all political levels, and the two countries' defence ministries still have regular working contacts. Perhaps the most interesting areas of military cooperation with France have been the exchange of experience on defence planning and structuring of the armed forces, the preparation of units for missions abroad, and personnel and social policy.

Military cooperation with *Germany* has included regular contacts between troop formations along the Czech–German border and assistance from Germany's armed forces with specific types of training for ACR personnel, especially NCOs. In earlier cooperative activities, attention was devoted to the training of units, the preparation and application of military budgets, and the possibility of cooperation in military procurement. Other areas of cooperation were the education of military experts, the maintenance of special contacts between military educational facilities, exchange of information on security policy, reorganization and development of the armed forces, and exchange of experience on NATO cooperation and the management of national missions in the alliance.

Military relations with *the Netherlands* have been of special significance for the Czech Republic because from 1993 the Netherlands was the country's unofficial bilateral partner during its preparations for NATO accession. Cooperation mainly concerned problems connected with the democratic control of security policy and the armed forces, but the Netherlands also provided legal, security and language courses, and assisted with training for troops.

Cooperation with *Spain* focused on military legislation, military communication technology, social security, military medicine, exchange courses for teachers and students of the countries' schools of aviation, and environmental protection. In the period of preparation for NATO entry, the Spanish embassy in Prague acted as the Czech Republic's contact embassy for NATO matters.

With *the United Kingdom*, cooperation in the 1990s focused on military technical and scientific matters, military education, the air forces, and military medical care. Exchange visits and training for specialists in rapid reaction forces proved useful and provided opportunities for specialized language studies in the UK for ACR personnel. Czech–British military cooperation deepened after a Czech contingent was attached to the brigade under British command in the IFOR operation. After the Czech Republic's accession to NATO, stress was laid on the cooperation of Czech rapid deployment units with the British armoured division in the NATO Allied Rapid Reaction Corps and on cooperation with helicopter bases.⁸⁷ The Czech Republic had less military cooperation with the remaining NATO countries.

As the new NATO members become better integrated, the nature of bilateral cooperation between members and partner countries has necessarily evolved in form, content and orientation. The countries originally offering the most assistance—Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and the USA—have continued to provide study opportunities to Czech military personnel but have gradually decreased their non-paid assistance over time. This was a logical step towards the Czech Republic being treated as an equal member of the alliance. The creation in 2000 of a base for the British Military Advisory and Training Team for Central and Eastern Europe (BMATT CEE) at the military academy in Vyškov, which helps in training NCOs of countries participating in PFP programmes, illustrates the Czech Republic's emerging role as a co-provider of assistance in the NATO framework.⁸⁸

The Czech Republic and the European Security and Defence Policy

Czech attitudes towards the EU have been deeply influenced by the country's post-cold war political and economic circumstances. Euro-sceptic politicians are usually found on the right of the Czech political spectrum, trying to gain support by appealing to the same values and principles (democratization, privatization, deregulation, state sovereignty and economic liberalism) that underlay the transitions of the 1990s and still have resonance with the public. President Václav Klaus, who was prime minister from 1993 to 1997, is one of the Czech Republic's most prominent Euro-sceptics. However, the growth and influence of Euro-scepticism in

⁸⁷ Svěrák (note 83), pp. 15–17.

⁸⁸ Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, *Ročenka 2000* [Yearbook 2000] (Ministry of Defence, Military Information and Service Agency: Prague, 2001), p. 47.

the Czech Republic have been limited by the persistent ideal of the 'return to Europe' and the public's awareness of the material and other benefits of EU membership.⁸⁹ As a NATO member, the Czech Republic's policy is towards building a positive relationship between the EU and NATO in order to prevent the EU's defence and security arrangements undermining NATO's cohesion and operational capabilities as the principal safeguard of European security and transatlantic ties. The Czech government advocates that there should be close continuity between the EU's European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and NATO's European Security and Defence Identity.⁹⁰ During the preparations for EU membership the Czechs generally viewed the newly developed ESDP positively, and an updated Czech security strategy approved in January 2001 already referred to development of the ESDP. Most Czech political parties accept that the ESDP is a natural next step in European integration and in the strengthening of the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Participation in combined military units

In the early 1990s the commanders of the Czechoslovak armed forces and then of the ACR were somewhat sceptical about participation in combined (multinational) military units. This probably had its origins in a lack of experience of this kind of cooperation, different approaches to operational planning and the limited proficiency in foreign languages, especially English, among commanding officers, rather than in problems of low military effectiveness, as was sometimes argued by the military command.⁹¹ However, attitudes gradually changed with the ACR's growing participation in UN peacekeeping operations, especially those under NATO command in the former Yugoslavia, where the Czech units involved gained the respect of their foreign partners.

The ACR's first participation in an initiative to create a regional combined unit came in 2001, when the Czech Republic and Slovakia agreed to create a joint battalion for KFOR. The battalion took up its operational stations in Kosovo in March 2002. This was also the first concrete project aiming to assist Slovakia to achieve NATO membership through permanent cooperation with NATO members. Another project aimed to build a 2500-strong Czech–Polish–Slovakian brigade as a permanent unit. Following an agreement signed between the three countries on

⁸⁹ Beneš, V., 'Why Václav Klaus isn't the only Czech', *Europe's World*, no. 1 (autumn 2005), URL <http://europesworld.link.be/PDFs/EW1_4.2_Czech.pdf>, pp. 167–69.

⁹⁰ Motkova, H., 'CFSP and the Czech Republic', Working paper no. 2/2003, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Prague, Dec. 2003, pp. 3, 7, 11. On the European Security and Defence Identity see chapter 4 of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), *NATO Handbook* (NATO Office of Information and Press: Brussels, 2001), URL <<http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/index.htm#CH4>>.

⁹¹ Khol, R., 'Mnohonárodní vojenská spolupráce a Česká republika' [Multinational military cooperation and the Czech Republic], *Bezpečnostní témata*, no. 2 (2002), p. 6.

20 September 2001, operational deployment of the brigade in EU and NATO peacekeeping missions was expected to begin in 2005. However, the main reason for forming the unit—to demonstrate Slovakia’s interoperability with NATO countries—disappeared with Slovakia’s accession to NATO in April 2004. In fact, the brigade’s proposed operational structure fitted neither with NATO’s needs at the time nor with the ESDP. Consequently the plan was dropped and the original agreement was abrogated on 31 September 2005.⁹²

The Czech Republic was the first lead nation of the new NATO Multinational Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Defence Battalion, during the battalion’s period of initial operational capability (December 2003–July 2004) and during its first rotation at full operation capability (July–December 2004).⁹³ The ACR continues to provide a chemical protection company to the battalion.⁹⁴

A Czech unit with 350 personnel is expected to join an ESDP battle group with Austrian and German forces in about 2011.⁹⁵ In November 2005 the Czech Republic and Slovakia agreed to create a joint 1500-strong battle group before the second half of 2009 comprising two-thirds Czech troops and one-third Slovakian.⁹⁶

⁹² Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, International Law Department, Information provided to the author, 25 Oct. 2005.

⁹³ NATO, ‘Launch of NATO Multinational CBRN Defence Battalion’, Press release, 26 Nov. 2003, URL <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2003/p031126e.htm>>; and Gajdoš, J., ‘NATO Multinational Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Defence Battalion’, Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, 11 Dec. 2003, URL <<http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=5746>>.

⁹⁴ Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, ‘Czech forces assigned to NATO’, 12 May 2006, URL <<http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=5780>>.

⁹⁵ Khol, R. et al., *Perspektivy středoevropské vojenské spolupráce* [Perspectives on Central European military cooperation] (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2003), pp. 106–107; Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, International Law Department (note 92); and BBC News, Czech Press Agency, ‘Slováci ve smíšené bojové jednotce EU’ [Slovaks in EU combined battle units], *Právo*, 24 May 2005, p. 10.

⁹⁶ ‘Češi a Slováci vytvoří bojovou skupinu’ [Czechs and Slovaks will create a battle group], *Hospodářské noviny*, 9 Nov. 2005, p. 5.

6. The defence economy

During the cold war Czechoslovakia built up a large defence industrial sector over a long period in which industry could rely on stable financial allocations from the state and from abroad. After the Velvet Revolution and the end of the cold war, industries in the defence sector had to make their way against the background of the transition to a market economy, a shortage of economic resources and a scarcity of suitably experienced people to plan and carry through the reform.⁹⁷

From the perspective of the Czech armed forces, its own transformation and restructuring depended to a degree on the ability of Czech industry to become a partner in the transition to NATO-compatible standards. Compared with most other European countries, Czech military expenditure (as a portion of gross domestic product) has never been small, and since the late 1990s the rate of growth in Czech military expenditure has been among the highest in Europe.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, at crucial times in the 1990s, reforms and re-equipment projects that were seen as essential by the military were held back due to funding constraints.

From the perspective of Czech industry, the radically altered economic environment of heightened uncertainty and insecurity as well as reduced resources forced manufacturers to adopt survival strategies tailored to short-term needs. Inconsistencies in the privatization of the arms industry added new complexities. Today the Czech arms industry is greatly reduced both in size and international significance compared to the Czechoslovak arms industry of the 1980s.

Economic management and reporting

Between 1961 and 1989 only one aggregate figure for ‘total spending on defence and security’—by the MOD, the Ministry of Interior and others—was published, in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic statistical yearbook⁹⁹ and in the published version of the state budget proposal.¹⁰⁰ Little information was available to the public about what criteria were used in budget allocation, exactly what funds were

⁹⁷ Štefec, J., Procházka, J. and Velčovský, V., ‘Ekonomické aspekty bezpečnosti’ [The economic aspects of security], ed. Furmánek (note 4), p. 183.

⁹⁸ Stålenheim, P., Omitoogun, W. and Perdomo, C., ‘Tables of military expenditure’, *SIPRI Yearbook 2005: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2005), table 8A.2, p. 354, table 8A.3, p. 360, and table 8A.4, p. 366.

⁹⁹ Federal Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, *Statistická ročenka Československé socialistické republiky* [Statistical yearbook of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic], editions for 1961 to 1989 (Státní Nakladatelství technické literatury: Prague).

¹⁰⁰ Fučík, J., ‘Budget spending on defence in Warsaw Pact countries 1955–1989’, ed. M. Krč, *Military Expenditures during and after the Cold War* (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2000), pp. 49–52, 58–59.

spent on or how efficiently they were used. In part this was because relatively autonomous top-level functionaries—the food supply officer, the quartermaster, the signals officer, and others—were given wide-ranging powers to plan and allocate budgetary resources, not bound by MOD priorities.¹⁰¹ Comprehensive data on military spending in Czechoslovakia were only declassified in 1989. In that year the country announced that it would start using the UN Standardized Instrument for Reporting Military Expenditures, and submitted its first report in 1990.¹⁰² Reform of military economic management at this time was helped greatly by cooperation with the NATO Economic Committee.¹⁰³

Following the dissolution of the CSFR, plans to establish an improved military economic management system, including budgeting, accounting, procurement and monitoring, were drawn up by the MOD and reflected in the 1993 armed forces development concept.¹⁰⁴ However, implementation of the plans was hampered by, among other things, the government's chaotic approach to defence matters. This approach was exemplified in the methods and procedures used to compile and report the military budget and military spending. In an initial set of changes the important indicator 'aggregate budgetary defence expenditures' (i.e. total defence-related spending) was dropped. Only a single figure, the MOD ('military') budget, was left in use, excluding defence-related by other ministries and departments. In addition, the categories used in the military budget made international comparisons and reporting difficult and hindered attempts to meet transparency requirements.¹⁰⁵

Gradual improvements in the way in which the budget reflected defence spending started in the mid-1990s, partly linked with preparations for NATO membership. Since 1995 the Czech MOD has used a double-entry accounting system, all armed forces assets have been given an up-to-date valuation and the published data now reflect objective realities. Nonetheless, weaknesses reportedly persist in Czech defence expenditure reporting—inter alia terms used are not clearly defined, data are not properly described and spending is presented in current prices only—creating problems for internal and external analysis.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Ochrana, F., 'The Warsaw Pact countries concept of military power', ed. Kráček (note 100), pp. 41, 45.

¹⁰² On the UN Standardized Instrument see Perdomo, C. and Blomstrom, Å., 'The reporting of military expenditure data', SIPRI Yearbook 2006: *Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2006), pp. 364–68.

¹⁰³ Fučík (note 100), pp. 70–71; the date of the declassification of military expenditure data has been corrected according to Fučík, J., 'Rozpočtové výdaje na obranu v zemích Varšavské smlouvy v letech 1955–1989', ed. M. Kráček *Vojenské výdaje v letech studené války a po jejím skončení* (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2000), p. 84.

¹⁰⁴ 'Koncepce výstavby Armády České republiky do roku 1996' (note 33).

¹⁰⁵ Dohnal, M. et al., 'Analysis of defence spending in CR in 1989–1997 and its projection to the year 2009', ed. Kráček (note 100), pp. 98–99.

¹⁰⁶ Fučík, J., 'Možnosti a limity využití dat o rozpočtových výdajích na obranu při analýze obranného potenciálu státu a ve strategickém plánování' [Possibilities of and limits on using data on

Defence spending and the military reforms

Finding a rational armaments policy that would support the needs of the armed forces, including the military modernization process, and at the same time was economically sustainable and met the political requirements of the new government after 1989, was a great challenge. One important factor was the constraints and uncertainties created by the ongoing economic reforms. The CSFR was among the first countries in Central Europe to define and implement a macroeconomic stabilization programme in 1990. Central elements in that programme were a cautious fiscal policy, including avoiding a state budget deficit, and a similarly cautious monetary policy in which the money supply was not expanded to meet spending needs. This economic strategy was implemented consistently across sectors, creating a restrictive framework into which defence spending and allocations for economic support to industry had to fit. The defence sector was granted none of the exemptions or privileges that it had enjoyed under the Communist regime.

In the first Czech national budget, in 1993, the Ministry of Defence was allocated only a small budget that did not provide for even the most essential tasks of the planned defence transformation. For some years afterwards the Klaus administration treated the defence budget as something of a budget reserve for the state, allocating to defence a share of whatever was left after the needs of other sectors had been met. The defence sector suffered at the hands of a series of ‘experimenting’ defence ministers who tried to remedy the desperate financial situation by streamlining and savings measures that lacked strategic coherence.¹⁰⁷ Between 1993 and 1997, military expenditure (not including military pensions) in the Czech Republic fell by 17.7 per cent in real terms, going from 2.3 per cent of gross domestic product (not including military pensions) down to 1.6 per cent (including military pensions), despite the military reform plans and the approaching accession to NATO.¹⁰⁸ Only a very small share of the MOD budget was allocated to procurement in this period, and procurement constraints were aggravated by a growing dependence on foreign suppliers.¹⁰⁹ As a result, procurement planning did not emphasize major new equipment projects, and successive defence ministers initially sought off-budget resources for very expensive programmes.

Despite this, in the mid-1990s relatively large sums were committed to procurement of equipment and services without proper analysis of the true needs of Czech security and of the ACR’s development, nor of the financial capacity of the state and the MOD. Three expensive projects initiated in this period were a programme

budgetary expenditure on defence in analysis of the defence capability of the state and in strategic planning], ed. Furfánek (note 4), pp. 220–22.

¹⁰⁷ Dohnal et al. (note 105), pp. 95–98.

¹⁰⁸ Stålenheim, P. et al., ‘Tables of military expenditure’, *SIPRI Yearbook 2003* (note 82), table 10A.3, p. 349, and table 10A.4, p. 355.

¹⁰⁹ Dohnal et al. (note 105), pp. 95–98.

to modernize roughly 100–300 Soviet-designed T-72 tanks to NATO standards, expected in 1997 to cost around 14 billion korunas (\$784 million); a deal worth approximately 23 billion korunas (\$1.3 billion) for the purchase of 72 Czech-manufactured L-159 light combat/advanced trainer aircraft for the air force; and the planned purchase of supersonic fighter aircraft. All these projects ran into difficulties and their appropriateness to the ACR's needs was widely questioned.¹¹⁰

Over time the predictability of military budget allocations improved. In its programme statement for 1996, the government declared that external security was a top priority and promised to give defence all necessary resources.¹¹¹ At the end of the year the government announced that it would increase military spending by 0.1 per cent of gross domestic product annually, to reach a target of 2 per cent of gross domestic product in 2000.¹¹² It was understood that the new resources would be used to promote NATO interoperability and further the objective of NATO membership. Thus, medium-term procurement plans focused on C⁴I systems integration; upgrading of air defence systems; and preparing Czech facilities and infrastructure for host-nation support.

In September 2004 the government approved a much-needed national armaments strategy, which sets out guidelines for key areas of armaments policy, based on conceptual documents on defence.¹¹³ Among other things, it covers cooperation at national and international levels, the defence planning system, strategic partnership between public and private sectors, and effectiveness in procurement—which in turn is linked to logistical support, the arms industrial base and the MOD's programme to optimize internal processes and organizational structures.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Štefec et al. (note 97), p. 185; and Šedivý (note 6). Following a spending review by Defence Minister Jaroslav Tvrdík in 2001 a new contract was drawn up for modernization of only 30 tanks. GlobalSecurity.org, 'T-72 M3/M4 CZ main battle tank', URL <<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/t-72cz.htm>>; Sköns, E. et al. 'Military expenditure and arms production', *SIPRI Yearbook 1998: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1998), p. 211. Shortly after the last of the 72 L-159s was delivered in 2003, the MOD decided that 47 should be sold. Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, 'Modernisation projects', URL <<http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=6687>>. Plans to purchase c. 50 new and modernized US F-16 fighters were later abandoned due to budget constraints and in 2004 an agreement was signed to lease 14 Swedish JAS-39 Gripen fighters. Pejšek (note 46).

¹¹¹ Programové prohlášení vlády České republiky [Programme statement of the Government of the Czech Republic], 23 July 1996, URL <<http://wtd.vlada.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=501>>.

¹¹² Dohnal et al. (note 105), p. 102.

¹¹³ Národní strategie vyzbrojování [National armaments strategy], URL <<http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=5260>>. An official English translation is also available, at URL <<http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=5894>>.

¹¹⁴ Šmidrkal, P., 'Efektivní akvizice jako součást strategie vyzbrojování' [Effective acquisition as part of armaments strategy], *Obrana a strategie*, no. 2 (2004), URL <http://www.army.cz/mo/obrana_a_strategie/2-2004cz/smidrkal.pdf>, p. 129.

Adjustment in the Czech arms industry

Czechoslovakia was one of the major arms producers of the WTO. It gradually became the world's largest exporter of jet trainer aircraft and one of the top producers of tanks, armoured vehicles and a number of other military products. Between 1984 and 1988 Czechoslovakia was the seventh-largest arms exporter in the world. The majority of arms produced in Czechoslovakia were exported, mostly to other WTO countries, principally the Soviet Union.¹¹⁵ At the end of the 1980s, Czechoslovak arms exports ran into difficulties. Czechoslovakia's WTO partners were experiencing serious financial problems and disarmament talks in the CSCE were approaching in 1988–89. As a result several agreed arms purchases fell through. The disintegration of the Soviet Union that followed soon afterwards accelerated the collapse of Czechoslovakia's main arms export markets. From 1990, the new security strategy and military development concept, coupled with cuts in the military procurement budget, heralded a major drop also in domestic demand for Czechoslovak military products.

By 1990 the stage was set for major reductions in the Czechoslovak arms industry. Plans were drawn up, including by arms producers, for conversion of arms production capacity to civil production,¹¹⁶ but their implementation was hindered by a lack of state financing—due to the prevailing economic strategy—and a lack of help to access export markets for civilian goods. Another problem for the Czechoslovak arms industry was the fact that it had developed within an integrated system of cooperation and division of labour that collapsed together with the military structures of the WTO and the economic cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).

The difficulties that the arms industry experienced in adjusting to the new situation were compounded by the process of privatization, conflict between economic and foreign policy interests, and a failure to secure new markets for Czech products. Rather than try to help find new markets, the government advanced ethical arguments against arms sales. Partly as a result of decisions not to sell to certain kinds of recipient, the country's arms industry lost former markets in developing countries (Czechoslovakia's main arms export markets outside the WTO up to that point).¹¹⁷ Between 1987 and 1992 the value of Czechoslovakia's arms exports fell

¹¹⁵ Lukas, Z., 'Češi a Slováci: hospodářské a sociální diskrepance' [Czechs and Slovaks: economic and social discrepancies], ed. K. Vodička, *Dělení Československa: Deset let poté . . .* [Division of Czechoslovakia: Ten years later . . .] (Volvox Globator: Prague, 2003), pp. 42–43; and Kiss, Y., SIPRI, *The Defence Industry in East-Central Europe: Restructuring and Conversion* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1997), p. 14.

¹¹⁶ Kiss (note 115), pp. 20–26.

¹¹⁷ Šefčík, V., *Ekonomika a obrana státu* [Economy and state defence] (Czech Ministry of Defence, Military Information and Service Agency: Prague, 1999), pp. 42–43; and Kiss (note 115), pp. 14, 18–19.

Table 6.1. Exports and imports of military equipment by Czechoslovakia in 1987–1992 and by the Czech Republic in 1993–2002Values are in million euros.^a

Year	Exports	Imports	Year	Exports	Imports
<i>Czechoslovakia</i>			<i>Czech Republic</i>		
1987	602.0	..	1993	148.0 ^b	37.0
1988	496.0	..	1994	172.0 ^b	39.0
1989	443.0	356.0	1995	136.0	44.0
1990	239.0	208.0	1996	103.0	30.5
1991	177.0	111.0	1997	161.0	29.3
1992	133.0	44.0	1998	92.0	38.8
			2001	60.5	113.3
			2000	86.7	150.5
			2001	60.5	113.3
			2002	77.0	92.0
			2003	82.9	120.4

.. = Data not available.

^a All euro values are at constant 2003 prices, conversions by Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.^b Czech arms exports in 1993–94 were of higher value than those of Czechoslovakia in 1992, mainly owing to sales of hand weapons and jet trainers.

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, *Export Controls in the Czech Republic in 2003: Controls of Transfers of Military Equipment, Production, Export and Import of Small Arms and Light Weapons* (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2004), pp. 43–44; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, *Communication with the author*, Aug. 2006; and Kiss, Y., SIPRI, *The Defence Industry in East–Central Europe: Restructuring and Conversion* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1997), p. 46.

from €602 million to €133 million, and by 1999 the Czech Republic had gone from being a net exporter to a net importer of military materials (see table 6.1).

Options for the defence industry were further limited by national attempts to protect domestic arms industries. For example, efforts towards joint procurement or joint modernization of military technologies in the Visegrád Group at the beginning of the 1990s largely failed because of competition between the members. Typically, although all of the members planned to modernize T-72 tanks to NATO standards, they chose to do so separately rather than cooperatively.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ In May 2002, in a period of renewed cooperation in the Visegrád Group, an agreed common project to modernize Mi-24 helicopters to achieve full compatibility in EU and NATO operations met a similar fate owing to the participating countries' different views on the scope of the necessary modernization. Khol (note 91), p. 6.

The manner in which privatization was carried out after 1989 contributed to the arms industry's problems. The economic restructuring programme established in the CSFR included privatization of businesses as quickly as possible and without state-financed bail-out packages. The privatization programme was implemented up to 1994 without widespread consultation or discussion, so that opponents of the programme would not have time to block its implementation.¹¹⁹ State organizations assumed a majority stake in most of the defence enterprises that were privatized at this stage, with the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Defence, the National Property Fund or state-owned banks as the most important shareholders. A minority of shares were divided among citizens holding privatization vouchers, most of whom entrusted their vouchers to major investment funds.¹²⁰ However, some enterprises remained directly controlled by the state under the supervision of the Ministry of Trade and Industry because of their strategic importance. The criteria for privatization were unclear. For example, many military repair enterprises with unique technologies or production lines of strategic importance for national defence were sold.

In Czechoslovakia the majority of production, primarily of Soviet-designed heavy conventional weapons produced under licence, was concentrated in Slovakia while the more sophisticated production (aircraft, radar and other radio technologies) was in the Czech Republic.¹²¹ Around two-thirds of arms manufacturers in Czechoslovakia were located in Slovakia. About 35 000 people in the arms industry in Slovakia had lost their jobs by 1992.¹²² Steps to address these problems came too late to make much difference. The perceived failure of federal policy makers to take into account Slovakia's position became an important factor in Slovakia's calls for separation from the Czech Republic.

After January 1993 the Czech Republic had no factories producing heavy conventional land-based arms and depended on supplying materials, sub-systems and components of various kinds to partners in Slovakia. Czech producers also lost access to development and testing facilities, which were concentrated in Slovakia.

The priorities for alignment with NATO emphasized projects carried out in cooperation with partners located in NATO member countries since these had the best understanding of interoperability requirements and might also be willing to contribute financially to joint projects against the prospect of future sales. These priorities were also reflected in longer-term planning for force modernization. For example, the development of the L-159 aircraft depended on cooperation with the US aircraft manufacturer Boeing to integrate avionics into an airframe built by the

¹¹⁹ Klaus, V., 'The economic transformation of the Czech Republic: challenges faced and lessons learned', *Cato Institute Economic Development Bulletin*, no. 6 (2006), URL <<http://www.cato.org/pubs/edb/edb6.pdf>>.

¹²⁰ Kiss (note 115), p. 37.

¹²¹ Kiss (note 115), pp. 16, 36–37.

¹²² Šefčík (note 117), p. 96.

Czech manufacturer Aero Vodochody. Similarly, modernization of the T-72 tank depended on companies in France, Israel, the UK and the USA to provide engines, transmissions and electronics.

The story of the troubled development of the L-159 is illustrative of the state's ill-conceived policies regarding the arms industry. Aero Vodochody has an exceptional and dominant position in the Czech aerospace sector. In 1998 Boeing was selected as a strategic partner for the company in development of the L-159. Boeing purchased a 35.3 per cent stake in Aero Vodochody and agreed to market the L-159 abroad, while the Czech Government committed itself to purchasing 72 L-159s. After six years Boeing had failed to secure any foreign orders and Aero Vodochody faced grave financial difficulties. In February 2004 both sides agreed to end the partnership and at the end of the year Boeing's stake in the company was returned to the Czech state for a symbolic 2 korunas.¹²³ Aero Vodochody's accumulated debts became a major burden on the state treasury.

The Czech arms industry responded to the uncertainty of the mid-1990s by creating an industrial association to represent its interests in negotiations with the MOD, parliament, government, and foreign organizations and institutions. The process started in 1994 and Asociace obranného průmyslu České republiky (AOP, the Association of the Defence Industry of the Czech Republic) was established in 1997. Manufacturers and traders of aircraft, small arms and ammunition are represented by their own associations, the Association of Aircraft Producers and the Associations of the Producers and Traders of Arms and Ammunition, which cooperate with and support the AOP.¹²⁴ Outside the Czech Republic the AOP gradually started representing the Czech Republic in the NATO Industrial Advisory Group, the European Federation of Defence Technology Associations and the European Defence Industries Group. At the same time, the diversity of the Czech industrial sector and the special influence of certain corporations on the ACR's purchasing process and on the MOD's procurement policy set some de facto limits on the AOP's influence.¹²⁵

One of the functions of the National Armaments Office, whose organizational core was created in 2000, was to improve the government's cooperation with the arms industry. Unfortunately, the Principles of the Cooperation of the State with the Defence Industry,¹²⁶ approved in 2000, do little to remove important uncertain-

¹²³ Zavadilová, T., 'Boeing po debaklu opouští Aero' [Boeing after debacle abandons Aero], *Lidové noviny*, 7 Oct. 2004, p. 13; and Kominek, J., 'Czech government to buy back Vodochody shares', *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 25 Feb. 2004, pp. 15–16.

¹²⁴ Pisklák, J., 'What is the Association of the Defence Industry?', *NATO's Nations and Partners for Peace*, Special issue, 2000, p. 56.

¹²⁵ Štefec et al. (note 97), p. 167.

¹²⁶ Usnesení vlády České republiky ze dne 15. března 2000 č. 259 k principům spolupráce státu s obranným průmyslem v České republice [Resolution of the Government of the Czech Republic of 15 Mar. 2000 no. 259 on principles of the cooperation of the state with the defence industry in the Czech Republic], 15 Mar. 2000, URL <<http://racek.vlada.cz/usneseni>>.

ties in the government's relationship with the arms industry. For example, it is not clear which corporations are covered or which may be eligible for limited financial support; terms such as 'strategic producers' are not defined; and there is no clear vision of the scope of the state's cooperation with the industry. The most recent 'Security Strategy of the Czech Republic' does have as one of its aims supporting the development of the defence industry and the role of industry in meeting the needs of the armed forces. However, this is listed as an aim, rather than an obligation of the state. The maintenance and systematic support of the national arms industry remains a crucial gap in the Czech Republic's defence policy.

The arms procurement system

After 1989 a new transparent and coherent public procurement system was needed, but replacing the established system and its associated mindset was a slow process and fraught with problems, particularly in the defence sector. The practice of managing public procurement through competitive tender was first institutionalized and regulated through the 1994 Public Procurement Act.¹²⁷ There were many complaints about the lack of transparency in the procedures established by the act. The exceptions afforded to defence procurement were particularly controversial and amendments in 1996 did not pacify the critics, who included the European Commission.¹²⁸ The 2004 Act on Public Contracts was intended to fully harmonize Czech public procurement legislation with EU norms, but a report by Transparency International highlighted continuing weaknesses in the procurement system—particularly a lack of checks and transparency—in the reformed system.¹²⁹ The Transparency International report also argued that the fact that both the sale of redundant military materiel from Czech military warehouses and arms acquisitions for military use are outside the new act's jurisdiction constrain attempts to prevent corruption. The 2004 act allows various types of transactions dealing with the production, procurement or maintenance of arms to be made without government approval and exempts them from the supervision of the Office for the Protection of Economic

¹²⁷ Zákon o zadávání veřejných zakázek [Act on Public Procurement], Act no. 199/1994, 28 Sep. 1994, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1994/sb62-94.pdf>>.

¹²⁸ Zákon, kterým se mění a doplňuje zákon č. 199/1994 Sb., o zadávání veřejných zakázek [Act, whereby is amended and supplemented Act no. 199/1994 on Public Procurement], Act no. 148/1996, 25 Apr. 1996, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1996/sb43-96.pdf>>; and European Commission, 'Comprehensive monitoring report on the Czech Republic's preparations for membership', COM(2003) 675 final, URL <<http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/staging/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52003SC1200:EN:HTML>>.

¹²⁹ Zákon o veřejných zakázkách [Act on Public Contracts], Act no. 40/2004, 17 Dec. 2003, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/2004/sb012-04.pdf>>; and Pospíšil, F., *Corruption in Arms Trade* (Transparency International Czech Republic: Prague, 2004), URL <http://www.transparency.cz/pdf/zbrane_eng_w.pdf>.

Competition, the Czech Republic's anti-monopoly authority.¹³⁰ The absence of sufficient subsidiary legislation, poor information flows and low general awareness of public procurement laws continue to hinder their implementation. Furthermore, some 90 per cent of public military contracts are kept secret, and the MOD resists publicizing details of the conditions of tenders and the evaluative criteria used.¹³¹

The 2000 initiative to create the National Armaments Office quickly led to a review of the existing MOD procurement system, resulting in a series of measures during 2000 that were intended to completely overhaul the system between 2001 and 2004. These included harmonizing the system with NATO standards, the creation of databases for annual and mid-term armament planning, and the creation of a Military Office of Research, Development and Defence Technologies. However, personnel changes at the top of the MOD in 2000 stalled further progress, and when the National Armaments Office started to function at full strength it was only as an administrative organ of the general staff and the ACR, without any authority to oversee resource management.¹³²

As a member of the European Union the Czech Republic has participated in establishing the new European Defence Equipment Market (EDEM).¹³³ This voluntary inter-governmental regime will be based on the 2005 EU Code of Conduct on Defence Procurement and supported by the 2006 EU Code of Best Practice in the Supply Chain.¹³⁴ Despite its lack of legal force, the EDEM regime should improve transparency in public military contracts in the Czech Republic, as it commits signatories to publicize tenders and allow competitive bidding from other subscribing member states. All in all, there is reason to hope that the EDEM and the European Defence Agency will bring new business opportunities to the attention of Czech industry and in this way help to strengthen the country's arms technological and industrial base.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Pospíšil (note 129), pp. 9–11, 23. EU norms exclude some defence-related procurement from normal public procurement requirements.

¹³¹ Štefec et al. (note 97), pp. 182, 199.

¹³² Štefec et al. (note 97), pp. 188–94.

¹³³ On the European Defence Equipment Market see European Defence Agency, 'Intergovernmental regime to encourage competition in the European Defence Equipment Market', URL <<http://www.eda.europa.eu/edemregime/edemregime.htm>>.

¹³⁴ The Code of Conduct on Defence Procurement of the EU Member States Participating in the European Defence Agency was adopted on 21 Nov. 2005. The full text is available at URL <<http://www.eda.europa.eu/reference/eda/EDA - Code of Conduct - European Defence Equipment Market.pdf>>. The EU Code of Best Practice in the Supply Chain was approved by the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association on 27 Apr. 2006 and agreed by the states participating in the European Defence Agency. The full text is available at URL <<http://www.eda.europa.eu/reference/eda/EDA - Code of Best Practice in the Supply Chain - European Defence Equipment Market.pdf>>.

¹³⁵ The European Defence Agency was established in July 2004 "to support the (EU) Member States and the Council in their effort to improve European defence capabilities in the field of crisis management and to sustain the European Security and Defence Policy as it stands now and develops in the future". European Defence Agency, 'Background', URL <<http://www.eda.europa.eu/background.htm>>.

Arms trade controls

During the cold war, Czechoslovakia's arms trading was subject to strict official control and was carried out through Omnipol, the state foreign trading monopoly. After the fall of the Communist regime and its economic structures, there was for a time a favourable environment for illegal (i.e. not state-approved) weapons trading. One factor allowing the black market to flourish was the complete unpreparedness of the national security authorities to stem the rapid growth in all forms of transnational crime that was happening in Czechoslovakia at the time.¹³⁶ This was compounded by the problematic privatization of the arms industry, the absence of effective legislative measures to control corruption in the state administration and the maintenance of personal contacts with pre-Velvet Revolution buyers of Czechoslovak weapons. The Czech Republic's geographic position also meant that many of the weapons being illegally trafficked in Central and Eastern Europe went through Czech territory.

There were considerable problems with the trafficking of small arms and light weapons (SALW). Czechoslovakia was a major producer of SALW and production remained unchanged in the period just after the dissolution of the CSFR. Some Czech products were considered to be among the best in the world—for example, the Skorpion machine pistol and the CZ series of pistols—and were in high demand on the black market. The Czech Republic also became a prominent transit point for illegal transfers of SALW between neighbouring countries.

The Czech Republic was among the first Central European countries to create a law-based national control system for the international trade in military equipment. The 1994 Act on Foreign Trade in Military Equipment and the 1994 Ministry of Trade and Industry regulation that implements some of the provisions of the act remain central pillars of the Czech export control system.¹³⁷ Companies are required first to obtain a permit to engage in foreign trade in military equipment. These permits are issued by the Licensing Authority under the Ministry of Industry and Trade after consultations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the MOD and the Ministry of the Interior. Once a company has obtained a permit, it may market its products, enter into contracts with foreign partners and apply to the Licensing Authority for licences for individual transactions. The MFA's opinion on the for-

¹³⁶ Nožina, M., 'Nové hrozby: boj s mezinárodní organizovanou kriminalitou' [New threats: the fight against international organized criminality], eds O. Pick et al., *Zahraniční politika České republiky 1993–2004* [Foreign policy of the Czech Republic 1993–2004] (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2004), p. 45.

¹³⁷ Zákon o zahraničním obchodu s vojenským materiálem [Act on Foreign Trade in Military Equipment], Act no. 38/1994, 21 Mar. 1994, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1994/sb13-94.pdf>>; and Vyhláška Ministerstva průmyslu a obchodu, kterou se provádějí některá ustanovení zákona č. 38/1994 Sb. o zahraničním obchodu s vojenským materiálem [Regulation of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, implementing some provisions of Act no. 38/1994 on Foreign Trade in Military Equipment], Regulation no. 89, 12 Apr. 1994, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1994/sb30-94.pdf>>.

eign policy implications of the transaction must be sought. If the intended transfer is of significant military equipment, the Licensing Authority also asks the MOD to examine the impact of the transaction on defence capabilities.¹³⁸ After 1994 foreign trade by the MOD had to take place through an authorized private-sector dealer. Exemptions from this requirement were allowed in 2004.¹³⁹

From the latter half of the 1990s national, regional and international efforts intensified to improve the control of arms transactions and in particular to eliminate the illegal trade in SALW. In August 1998 the Czech Republic and several other non-EU European countries committed themselves to abide by the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports (a voluntary, politically binding code).¹⁴⁰ In 2000 the OSCE (of which the Czech Republic is a participating state) adopted the Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons, which elaborates examples of best practice in export controls,¹⁴¹ and in 2001 the UN held its first Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, creating a Programme of Action.¹⁴² Guided by these and earlier arms control documents, the Czech Republic has adopted several new measures to strengthen and increase the efficiency of the national control system and to improve transparency in arms transactions.

These steps notwithstanding, the Transparency International report cited above claims that deficiencies remain in the legal framework for external trade in military equipment, such as a lack of sufficient control over sales of surplus equipment abroad.¹⁴³ In addition, it has been claimed that the Czech Republic's arms trading has not always been in line with the spirit, or sometimes even the letter, of the EU

¹³⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, *Export Controls in the Czech Republic in 2003: Controls of Transfers of Military Equipment, Production, Export and Import of Small Arms and Light Weapons* (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2004), p. 12.

¹³⁹ Zákon, kterým se mění zákon č. 38/1994 Sb., o zahraničním obchodu s vojenským materiálem [Act, whereby is amended Act no. 38/1994, on Foreign Trade in Military Equipment], Act no. 57/2004, 22 May 2004, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/2004/sb117-04.pdf>>.

¹⁴⁰ The Code of Conduct on Arms Exports was adopted by the EU member states on 8 June 1998. The full text of the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports is available at URL <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/08675r2en8.pdf>>. See also 'Non-EU states support Code', *Arms Trade News*, Aug./Sep. 1998, URL <<http://www.clw.org/archive/atop/atn/atn0998.html>>, p. 3; and Bauer, S. and Bromley, M., *The European Union Code of Conduct on Arms Exports: Improving the Annual Report*, SIPRI Policy Paper no. 8 (SIPRI: Stockholm, Nov. 2004), URL <<http://editors.sipri.org>>.

¹⁴¹ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, OSCE Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons, FSC DOC/100, URL <http://www.osce.org/documents/fsc/2000/11/1873_en.pdf>. The OSCE Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons was endorsed by the Vienna Ministerial Meeting held on 27–28 Oct. 2000. For a discussion of OSCE efforts to limit the spread of SALW see Lachowski, Z., 'Conventional arms control', *SIPRI Yearbook 2001: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2001), pp. 561–62.

¹⁴² The UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects took place in New York on 9–20 July 2001. A report of the conference is available at URL <<http://disarmament.un.org/cab/smallarms/>>.

¹⁴³ Pospíšil (note 129), pp. 10, 20.

Code of Conduct before the country joined the EU. Czech arms exports to Angola (1999), Zimbabwe (2000), Sri Lanka (2000–2001) and Yemen (2000 and 2001) all breached the spirit of the code and declared Czech government policy, because these countries were involved in conflicts or posed other risks.¹⁴⁴ At times there has also been insufficient coordination between the relevant state organs, reflecting the sometimes divergent interests of foreign policy and commerce. This has resulted in some costly mistakes. In 2004, for example, a permit was granted for the export of the Vřra passive air surveillance system to China, a licence that was subsequently withdrawn after strong US pressure.¹⁴⁵

Some important legislative changes were made in 2003 as part of a programme to strengthen the national control system and, more importantly, in connection with international anti-terrorism efforts. These changes mainly covered controls of the production and export of military materials and the licensing of firearms. During the past few years there has also been an improvement in transparency in the Czech arms trade. From 2000 the MFA began publishing an annual report on SALW exports and imports and in 2004 published its first report covering all military materials.¹⁴⁶ The Ministry of Industry and Trade now provides deputies and senators with information on request, but the Czech Parliament has no formal role in arms export control.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Pospřil, F., 'Česká republika a Kodex chování EU pro vřvoz zbraní' [The Czech Republic and the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports], *Mezinárodní politika*, no. 6 (2003), pp. 16–17; and Pospřil (note 129), p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ Pospřil (note 129), p. 22.

¹⁴⁶ These annual reports are available at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, URL <<http://www.mzv.cz>>. For a discussion of the Czech Republic's reporting on arms exports see Bauer and Bromley (note 140).

¹⁴⁷ Pospřil (note 129); and Křepela, V., Officer of the Licensing Authority of the Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Czech Republic, Communication with the author, 30 Aug. 2005.

7. The armed forces and environmental protection

Under Czechoslovakia's Communist government, the armed forces command showed little concern about the environmental impacts of military activities. A few mitigation measures were taken, mainly at the end of 1980s, but they were not part of a systematic approach. This reflected the lack of environmental awareness in society as a whole. However, after the Velvet Revolution, environmental activism grew in Czechoslovakia. In 1990 the government approved a concept document to guide state environmental policy.¹⁴⁸ There was increasing debate about pollution caused by the armed forces, particularly at training areas (see below). The armed forces command responded with a series of measures designed to raise environmental awareness among the armed forces and to build environmental protection into military activities. An Ecological Unit was created in the MOD in December 1990.¹⁴⁹ In 1992, two important new environmental laws—the Act on the Environment and the Act on Czech Evaluation of Efforts on the Environment¹⁵⁰—were incorporated into military regulations and manuals. More stress was put on environmental awareness education and related training.¹⁵¹

In 1993 a new post of military ecologist was built into the ACR structure, with one ecologist assigned to each division. During restructuring of the MOD in mid-1993, an environmental management system was created for the entire defence sector, overseen by the MOD Environment Unit under the authority of the first deputy minister of defence. These initiatives notwithstanding, reducing environmental impacts did not become a priority for the armed forces. In the early 1990s, the military was still causing serious pollution, even though the number of large-scale exercises and unit transfers had decreased substantially; among others, air

¹⁴⁸ *Koncepce státní ekologické politiky* [Concept of National Environmental Policy], Decree no. 511/1990, 26 July 1990.

¹⁴⁹ This unit went through several changes of name and status and was eventually abolished in 2000, when its functions were taken over by the Department for the Management of Organizations of the MOD's Assets Administration Division. In 2001 these functions were given to the Logistics Division of the general staff. Komár, A., former director of the Ministry of Defence Department of Environment, Communication with the author, 21 June 2006.

¹⁵⁰ *Zákon o životním prostředí* [Act on the Environment], Act no. 17/1992, 16 Jan. 1992, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1992/sb004-92.pdf>>; and *Zákon České národní rady o posuzování vlivů na životní prostředí* [Act on Czech Evaluation of Efforts on the Environment], Act no. 244/1992, 29 May 1992, URL <<http://www.mvcr.cz/sbirka/1992/sb049-92.pdf>>.

¹⁵¹ Ministry of Defence (note 8), pp. 40–41.

pollution continued, waste water disposal was mishandled, and soil pollution and other problems were caused by the careless dumping of oil sediments.¹⁵²

However, the armed forces gradually started to take environmental issues more seriously, inter alia initiating environmental clean-up and protection programmes on military properties (see below). Steps were taken to implement several international conventions on environmental protection in peace and wartime, such as the Enmod Convention.¹⁵³ The armed forces command also strove to improve their preparedness to deal with environmental threats.¹⁵⁴

International cooperation also benefited the MOD's environmental programme. From 1993 the MOD Department of Environment began a range of activities including scientific–technical projects and regular cooperation with the NATO Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, and both participated in and hosted international environmental meetings. The MOD established good contacts for this purpose with the NATO (SHAPE) School in Oberammergau, Germany. However, the cooperation was somewhat constrained by problems in the ACR related to information technology, particularly compatibility with the systems of other CCMS members and PFP partners.¹⁵⁵

The increased environmental protection requirements arising from close cooperation with NATO and from the growing number of international exercises held at Czech military training areas, among other things, led to the publication in March 1999 of the Guidelines for Ensuring Environmental Protection during Agreed Exercises on the Territory of the Czech Republic.¹⁵⁶ These guidelines, which were based on NATO principles, have become a pillar of the environmental programme. They set out the organizational basis for environmental protection, covering inter alia the activity of territorial ecologists, regulation of the activities of environmental commissions, and the scope of environmental education in the MOD.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Komár, A., 'Ekologie v armádě popelkou' [Ecology in the ACR plays the role of Cinderella], *Vojenský profesionál*, no. 11 (1993), p. 2; and Mika, O., 'Ochrana životního prostředí v AČR' [Protection of the environment in the ACR], *Vojenský profesionál*, no. 6 (1994), pp. 20–21.

¹⁵³ The Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (Enmod Convention), opened for signature on 18 May 1977, entered into force on 5 Oct. 1978. The full text is available at URL <<http://www.opcw.org/html/db/cwc/more/enmod.html>>.

¹⁵⁴ Ministry of Defence (note 8), p. 39; and Interview with Col. A. Komár, director of the MOD Department of Environment, *Výběr statí pro profesní přípravu a rekvalifikaci*, Nov. 1996.

¹⁵⁵ 'Interview with Col. A. Komár' (note 154).

¹⁵⁶ Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, Personnel and Social Policy Division, 'Metodické pokyny k zabezpečení ochrany životního prostředí při smluvních cvičeních na území České republiky' [Guidelines for Ensuring Environmental Protection during Agreed Exercises on the Territory of the Czech Republic], Document no. 347/3-1999/3/1874, 8 Mar. 1999.

¹⁵⁷ Komár, A., 'Standardizace ochrany životního prostředí' [The standardization of environmental security], *Vojenský profesionál*, nos 7, 8 and 9 (2000), pp. 118–19.

The clean-up of military bases and training areas

The serious pollution problems at many military bases in Czechoslovakia were recognized as early as the mid-1980s, prompting the CSPA to introduce some measures in 1986 and 1987 aimed at the protection of soil and water in army training areas. However, these were not part of any systematic framework of environmental protection policy.¹⁵⁸

Some of the most urgent pollution problems were found at sites that had been used by Soviet forces after 1968. These included some 73 military installations of various sizes on Czech territory, particularly the training areas at Libavá, Mladá and Ralsko. Exploratory surveys of the sites used by the Soviet forces, carried out in 1990–91, found acute environmental damage at around 60 of the 73 sites, above all pollution of soil and groundwater. In all, an estimated 1.24 million cubic metres of soil was found to be polluted. The former military airfield at Hradčany in the Ralsko military training area in northern Bohemia was one of the most contaminated sites.

A new unit, the Office for the Solution of the Consequences of the Soviet Army Units' Stay on the Territory of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, was created in September 1991, three months after the withdrawal of Soviet Troops from Czechoslovak territory was completed. Once it became clear that seeking assistance or compensation from the Soviet Union would be complicated and time consuming, the Office the Solution of the Consequences of the Soviet Army Units' Stay agreed not to make any such claims. All clean-up work related to the Soviet forces' activities on Czech territory was organized and paid for by Czechoslovakia, and later by the independent Czech Republic. Clean-up of the most polluted sites was carried out in stages from 1991. The process has now been completed in most of the polluted areas used by the Soviet forces. By 2004, these efforts had cost a total of 1.2 billion korunas (\$52.2 million), and the entire process is expected to cost an additional approximately 280 million korunas (\$11.6 million) by its planned completion in 2012.¹⁵⁹

After the dissolution of the CSFR, the tasks of the Office for the Solution of the Consequences of the Soviet Army Units' Stay were taken over by the Czech Ministry of Environment, closely cooperating with the MOD, the Ministry of Interior, and regional, municipal and urban administrations. The Ministry of Environment was also responsible for clean-up of other military sites.

¹⁵⁸ Komár, A., 'Ochrana životního prostředí v předpisech ČSA' [Environmental protection in the regulations of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces], *Výběr statí pro profesní přípravu a rekvalifikaci*, Feb. 1992, p. 27 (in Slovak).

¹⁵⁹ Ministry of Environment of the Czech Republic, Environmental Damage Department, 'Odstraňování starých ekologických zátěží zp sobených Sovětskou armádou' [Removal of the old ecological burdens caused by the Soviet Army], URL <[http://www.env.cz/AIS/web-pub.nsf/\\$pid/MZPJGFCGJEOP](http://www.env.cz/AIS/web-pub.nsf/$pid/MZPJGFCGJEOP)>. All dollar equivalents are at constant 2005 prices.

A decision was taken in 1991 to close three of the eight military training areas on Czech territory—Dobra Voda, Mladá and Ralsko—and return them to civil use.¹⁶⁰ These training areas had been in continuous use since before 1918. A decontamination, partial pyrotechnic remediation (removal of explosives and their residues) and replanting programme was started in 1992. The MOD provided expert supervision in water purification and hydrogeological decontamination of soil polluted by petroleum residues (mainly in areas surrounding airfields).

Clean-up at Mladá was completed on 30 September 2000. A total of 1313 sites, covering 5154 hectares and representing more than 94 per cent of all the land at the Mladá training area, were rehabilitated. Some 185 853 pieces of ammunition were found, of which 80 per cent had been left by German units during the German occupation. Decontamination and replanting at the site by the MOD had cost more than 160 million korunas (\$7.6 million) by 2000.¹⁶¹

The decontamination of the Ralsko facility, covering about 9200 hectares, was completed at the end of March 2004. Approximately 128 820 pieces of unexploded ordnance of various kinds, mainly from ground force activities, were found.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ NATO Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society, 'Reusing former military lands', Minutes of CCMS pilot study meeting, 22–24 May 1996, URL <<http://www.nato.int/ccms/pilot-studies/pilot021/phase1/960520/minutes.htm>>.

¹⁶¹ Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, *Zpráva o ukončení částečné pyrotechnické asanace bývalého vojenského újezdu MLADÁ se zhodnocením dosaženého stupně bezpečnosti a pyrotechnické zátěže* [Report on the completion of the partial pyrotechnic remediation of the former military training area Mladá with an evaluation of the achieved grade of safety and pyrotechnical load] (Ministry of Defence, General Staff, Department of Pyrotechnic Remediation Management: Prague, 30 Apr. 2001).

¹⁶² Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, General Staff, Department of Pyrotechnic Remediation Management, Information provided to the author, 23 Nov. 2005.

8. Conclusions

Dealing with the legacy of the cold war presented complicated challenges for the Czech Republic. The first step that needed to be taken was to calm the mutual fear and suspicion between the new political elite and the armed forces. Then came the difficult tasks of transforming the defence sector for the new strategic and political environment—including drastically cutting down and modernizing the armed forces—and introducing the concepts of transparency, loyalty to the democratic state and civilian control of the military. Fortunately, the military command rallied behind the new political leaders. By taking a neutral position during the Velvet Revolution and then assisting the state's new political leaders and policies, the armed forces not only helped to stabilize internal developments but also helped the Czech Republic to attain eventual membership of the EU and NATO. This relationship between the military and the state reinforced, and was reinforced by, the ongoing integration of the military into democratic society.

Although it cooperated with the new democratic regime, the military command only gradually accepted civil control and management of the armed forces—not least because of the lack of interest in defence and military affairs among the first governments of the democratic Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic. In the coming years care must be taken that the end of conscription and the establishment of a fully professional army does not reverse the progress made in opening up the military to civilian oversight.

The absence of a clear long-term vision of the future strength and organizational structure of the armed forces was probably the biggest weakness in the conceptualization of defence policy in the 1990s. Failures of coordination and communication between the responsible institutions led to a loss of logic and sequence among the various concepts that were approved, so that, for example, a defence concept could be approved before the nation's overarching security and military strategies were defined. In addition, adequate financial and material resources were not made available for the intended reforms. The lack of a clear armaments strategy for many years led to uneconomical use of resources, reflected in, for example, the approval of some irrational and wasteful procurement projects.

Although Czechoslovakia's armed forces needed to reduce personnel numbers drastically from their 1989 levels, the mass resignations of professional soldiers that continued through the 1990s were driven less by the armed forces' strategic needs than by factors such as the low prestige of the military, problems in the personal lives of many soldiers caused by relocations and the loss of many benefits enjoyed during the cold war, and the growing gaps between living standards, salaries and opportunities available in the professional military and those available for talented young people in the civilian sphere. The armed forces lost many well-qualified and capable younger officers who were hard to replace. Requalification

programmes that were stepped up for departing officers proved effective in easing their re-entry to civilian life.

From the late 1990s, the requirements of NATO membership provided an incentive for comprehensive improvements in many aspects of defence, including budgeting, management, procurement, and personnel and social policy. The process of transformation in the ACR was given new direction and purpose. However, gaps in some areas of competence remain to be filled in order to realize plans for the ACR's organizational structure. Deficiencies in military education are being tackled through a further reorganization of education and training that began in 2004 with the creation of the single Defence University at Brno. These efforts have now started to bear fruit; the current recruitment campaign has easily surpassed its targets and has attracted high-quality candidates. Today, the ACR is a small, fully professional armed force integrated into the European and NATO defence and security structures. The current round of military reforms aims to develop the ACR into an armed forces with all-round combat capabilities (*vševojskový charakter armády*) specialized in passive electronic surveillance and protection against weapons of mass destruction, two areas in which the Czech Republic has proved its abilities in international operations.

International cooperation and assistance have proved invaluable in the transformation of the Czech Republic's defence sector. Important frameworks were provided by NATO's PFP programme, the USA's JCTP and IMET programme, and opportunities for study at the Marshall Center. Cooperation in the Visegrád Group also helped to strengthen regional security. International cooperation and assistance also helped to introduce new skills, technologies, standards and thinking, to build the Czech Republic's relationships with NATO allies, and to avert possible turbulence during the political, economic and social upheavals of the 1990s. It also facilitated the Czech Republic's early accession to NATO in 1999, better integration of Czech troops into NATO's common military units, and participation in the European security and defence structures. Participation in international military operations, especially peace operations, has not only raised the prestige of the armed forces internationally and at home but also acted as a spur to military reform.

Problems in the Czech Republic's defence economy, including serious constraints on military expenditure, have been both symptom and cause of many of the problems in the defence sector. Anomalies in defence budget planning and reporting have hampered strategic planning and public oversight. A lack of transparency that continued long after the end of Communist rule also allowed corruption and other illegal activity to persist in, among other things, sales and procurement of arms. The once flourishing Czechoslovak arms industry has shrunk to a fraction of its former size due mainly to the loss of former markets and the rigours of the transition to a market economy, bringing unemployment, business failures and burdens on the state. To restore the health of the defence economy overall, procurement policy needs to be complemented with steps to support the Czech Republic's

defence industry so that it can meet the country's defence needs. More generally, the procurement system, related elements of armed forces management and government policy on the arms industry should interlock more effectively. A rational armaments policy for the ACR should maximize the use of domestic research and development and production capacities, provide for efficient international cooperation and secure the necessary purchases of weapon systems from abroad.¹⁶³

Lessons from the Czech Republic's experience

Caution is always needed when trying to apply the lessons of one country to another. However, several aspects of the defence transformation in the Czech Republic are worth considering for other countries in transition, whether they are NATO applicants or countries that are newly independent, newly democratic or turning their attention to new military and non-military threats.

The first lesson is the necessity of *strengthening democratic control over the armed forces* and institutionalizing the participation of political representatives in managing military affairs. In the case of the Czech Republic, this helped to establish the stability of the new democratic state, ensuring that the military functioned for the defence of the country and not as an autonomous power. It was also a requirement for membership of the EU and NATO. However, the Czech experience also shows that democratic control should be exercised with respect for military expertise. As long as the loyalty of the armed forces to the democratic regime is assured, people with sound professional military experience at senior officer level should be given responsibility for military matters.

Another lesson is the usefulness of *bilateral and multilateral assistance* in accelerating the process of defence transformation. Assistance from Canada, the USA and several West European countries, such as France and the Netherlands, was invaluable in helping the ACR to develop a new post-cold war mindset, embrace new operating procedures and move towards NATO interoperability. Training was provided for the upper echelons in new methods and standards in military planning, law, budgeting and other areas. Bilateral assistance also created opportunities for individual personnel to broaden their experience and improve their linguistic and technical skills.

A third lesson is the benefit of adopting a clear *long-term vision for the armed forces' target strength and structure* that reflects the current security situation. During the 1990s, military reform and modernization efforts in the Czech Republic were hampered by the lack of such a vision. This led, among other things, to

¹⁶³ Fučík, J., 'Průmyslová základna obrany ČR, její současný potenciál pro vyzbrojování vlastních sil, vývoz a účast v mezinárodní zbrojní kooperaci' [The defence industrial base of the Czech Republic, its current potential for supplying arms to the national armed forces, export and participation in international arms cooperation], ed. Furmánek (note 4), p. 215; and Štefec et al. (note 97), p. 197.

expensive mistakes in the area of procurement and to the issuing of a series of defence concepts, strategies and similar documents that were incoherent and even contradictory.

The final important lesson is the benefit of *participation in international peace operations and in EU and NATO programmes*. Through frequent participation, ACR personnel were exposed to new working methods and new technologies. This participation also helped to create a new tradition for the armed forces in the Czech Republic and increased the prestige and authority of the military in society.

Appendix

Table A.1. Selected data on the implementation of obligations under the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe by Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic, 1990–2005

Figures for ceilings are the maximum permitted under the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. Other figures are actual holdings declared at the give date.

	Battle tanks	Armoured combat vehicles	Artillery ^a	Attack helicopters	Combat aircraft	Personnel
<i>Czechoslovakia</i>						
31 December 1989 ^b	4 500	4 900	3 400	..	687	210 000
Ceilings	1 435	2 050	1 150	75	345	140 000
19 November 1990	3 315	4 593 ^c	3 485	56	446	..
17 July 1992	3 208	4 487	3 404	56	440	159 152 ^d
1 January 1993	3 058	4 407	3 224	55	435	147 327 ^e
<i>Czech Republic</i>						
Ceilings^f	957	1 367	767	50	230	93 333
17 July 1992 ^f	2 135	2 989	2 262	37	294	106 101
1 March 1993	1 949	2 788	2 035	36	285	105 994
1 January 1994	1 433	1 841	1 418	36	251	92 893
1 January 1995	1 011	1 451	893	36	215	67 702
1 January 1996	953	1 363	767	36	187	62 773
1 January 1997	952	1 367	767	36	143	61 647
1 January 1998	948	1 238	767	36	122	58 343
1 January 1999	938	1 219	754	34	114	58 193
Territorial ceilings^g	795	1 252	657			
1 January 2000	792	1 211	740	34	110	57 735
1 January 2001	652	1 211	648	34	97	53 636
1 January 2002	622	1 241	585	34	112	49 491
1 January 2003	541	1 235	528	34	125	57 062
1 January 2004	303	756	397	33	108	48 734
1 January 2005	298	747	362	32	103	41 865

^a Artillery covers pieces of 100-mm calibre or more.

^b Figures for 31 Dec. 1989 are from *White Paper on Defence of the Czech Republic* (Czech Ministry of Defence/Impuls: Prague, 1995), pp. 22–23, figures III/1 and III/2. They are included for comparison only. No figure for attack helicopters is provided in the source.

^c According to the Arms Control Agency of the Czech Ministry of Defence, 90 of the armoured combat vehicles declared in 1990 were OT-65s, OT-65RLs and OT-64s that were

deployed with the Czechoslovak battalion in the UN Protection Force in Croatia in 1992. They were thus exempt from limitation under the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty) by the next declaration in July 1992.

^dThis figure includes 637 personnel participating in operations under UN command and therefore not limited under the 1992 Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE-1A Agreement).

^eThis figure includes 556 personnel participating in operations under UN command and therefore not under CFE-1A limitation

^fThe ceilings for the Czech Republic, and the back-dated figures for 17 July 1992, were agreed by the governments of the Czech Republic and Slovakia on 12 Jan. 1993, based on a 2 : 1 split of Czechoslovakia's ceilings, arms and troops. Materiel scheduled for liquidation was divided according to this ratio but left at the original assembly sites for destruction.

^gThese figures are adjusted territorial ceilings for land-based weapons adopted by the Czech Republic in 1999, to be reached by no later than the end of 2002.

Sources: Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, Arms Control Agency, Apr. 2006, based on data from the CFE Treaty Joint Consultative Group, Group on Treaty Operation and Implementation, Joint Consultative Group documents JCG.TOI/30/04/Rev.2, 23 Dec. 2004, p. 31, and JCG.TOI/56/05, 29 Nov. 2005, pp. 2–28; Decision of the Joint Consultative Group on CFE Treaty Adaptation, Joint Consultative Group document JCG.DD/4/99, 30 Mar. 1999, chart 2; and Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, *White Paper on Defence of the Czech Republic 1995* (Czech Ministry of Defence/Impuls: Prague, 1995), pp. 22–23, figures III/1 and III/2.

Table A.2. Personnel numbers of the Army of the Czech Republic, 1993–2005

Actual declared numbers as of 1 January of the given year.

Year	Generals and other officers	Warrant officers and NCOs	Conscripts	Total on active duty	Civilian employees	Total
1993	27 316	10 733	68 630	106 679	25 280	131 959
1994	23 631	9 651	54 326	87 608	23 634	111 242
1995	21 229	9 184	43 178	73 591	27 726	101 317
1996	18 990	8 664	36 797	64 451	26 456	90 907
1997	17 342	8 996	32 174	58 512	27 038	85 550
1998	15 360	8 399	32 942	56 701	20 664	77 365
1999	14 694	8 272	33 281	56 247	21 671	77 918
2000	14 239	9 480	31 798	55 517	21 301	76 818
2001	11 978	10 015	22 314	44 307	18 560	62 867
2002	10 017	10 236	21 112	41 365	21 285	62 650
2003	9 818	11 429	17 363	38 610	22 706	61 316
2004	7 994	10 867	6 359	25 220	18 459	43 679
2005	7 611	15 098	0	22 709	17 288	39 997

NCOs = Non-commissioned officers.

Sources: Annual exchange of information on defence planning, submitted on 1 Jan. 1997 by the Czech Republic in accordance with Article 15 of the Vienna Document 1994; and Annual exchange of information on defence planning, submitted on 1 Mar. 2005 by the Czech Republic in accordance with Chapter 2 of the Vienna Document 1999. These documents were provided by the Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, Arms Control Agency.

Table A.3. Participation in units in international military and humanitarian operations by the Czechoslovak Armed Forces and the Army of the Czech Republic, 1990–2006

Operation	Country	Lead nation or organization	Years	Personnel numbers	Unit ^a
Desert Shield/Desert Storm	Kuwait and Saudi Arabia	USA	1990–1991	200	Chemical unit
UNGCI	Iraq	UN	1991–2003	320	Guards contingent
UNPROFOR	Croatia (Krajina)	UN	1992–1995	2 250	Battalion
UNCRO	Croatia (Krajina)	UN	1995–1996	750	Battalion
UNTAES	Croatian Eastern Slavonia	UN	1996–1998	100	Field Surgical Team
IFOR, SFOR	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia	NATO	1996–2001	6 300	Mechanized battalions
AFOR	Albania, Turkey	NATO	1999	100	Field Hospital
KFOR	Kosovo	NATO	1999–2002	980	Mechanized battalion
Essential Harvest	FYROM	NATO	1998–2001	120	Field Hospital
KFOR	Kosovo	NATO	2002–present	2 400	Czech-Slovakian battalion
Enduring Freedom	Kuwait, Iraq	NATO	2002–2003	612	CBRN Protection Battalion, Field Hospital
ISAF	Afghanistan	NATO	2002–2003	269	Field Hospital
ISAF	Afghanistan	NATO	2003	11	Field Surgical Team
MNF-I	Iraq	UK	2003	526	Field Hospital
MNF-I	Iraq	UK	2003–present	478 + 6 x 4 ^b	Military police instructors, NSE, CIMIC, Field Surgical Team
Enduring Freedom	Afghanistan	USA	2004	112	Special Forces contingent
ISAF	Afghanistan	NATO	2004–present	31	Explosive Ordnance Detachment, METEO team

Operation	Country	Lead nation or organization	Years	Personnel numbers	Unit ^a
ALTHEA (EUFOR)	Bosnia and Herzegovina	UN/EU	2004–present	280	Guards contingent (inc. joint Czech-Austrian guards unit), Helicopter unit
Winter Race	Pakistan	NATO	2005–2006	30	Medical team

AFOR = Assistance Force; CBRN = Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear; CIMIC = Civil–Military Cooperation; EUFOR = European Force; IFOR = Implementation Force; ISAF = International Security Assistance Force; KFOR = Kosovo Force; MNF = Multinational Force; NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organizations; NSE = National security element; UN = United Nations; UNCRO = United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation; UNGCI = United Nations Guards Contingent in Iraq; UNPROFOR = United Nations Protection Force; UNTAES = United Nations Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium.

^a Military observers and monitors are not included in the table.

^b Six personnel rotate in the Field Surgical Team.

Sources: Figures from Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic website, foreign operations section, URL <<http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=5807>>; checked and supplemented from Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, *Ročenka* [Yearbook], 1994–2005 (Ministry of Defence, Military Information and Service Agency: Prague, 1994–2005).

About the author

Colonel (retd) Dr Miroslav Tůma (Czech Republic) served in the Czech and Czechoslovak military for more than 30 years. He graduated from the Military Communications School, Nove Mesto n. Váhom, and later from the Faculty of Law of Charles University, Prague, and served in a variety of command and staff posts. In 1989 and 1990 he participated in the first UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I) and in 1991 he joined the UN humanitarian operation in Iraq as part of the UN Guards Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI). After ending his military career in December 1992, he was assigned to the Security Policy Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. From 1994, during the Czech Republic's membership of the UN Security Council, he worked for more than a year at the Czech permanent mission in New York. After his return to the Czech Republic he worked at the UN Department in the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs until his retirement in 2001. He is the author of *Nešíření zbraní hromadného ničení, kontrola zbrojení, odzbrojení a Česká republika* [The non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, arms control, disarmament and the Czech Republic] (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2002) and *Nešíření zbraní hromadného ničení v kontextu aktuálních otázek mezinárodní bezpečnosti a boje proti terorismu* [The non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the context of actual international security matters and the fight against terrorism] (Institute for Strategic Studies of the Defence University: Brno, 2004). He co-authored a chapter on the international legal ramifications of the development of US ballistic missile defence in *Protiraketová obrana: Americký projekt a jeho mezinárodní souvislosti* [Ballistic missile defence: the US project and its international consequences] (Institute of International Relations: Prague, 2004). He contributes to various periodicals published by the Institute for Strategic Studies and by the Institute of International Relations, and lectures on arms control and disarmament at the Faculty of Law of Charles University.