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THE PLACE AND ROLE OF TERRITORIAL DEFENCE IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

Summary:

Creating a new territorial defence system is caused primarily by a change in the essence of war and the content of the armed struggle. Modern war is not an armed confrontation anymore. The events of recent years clearly show us examples of the so-called war without rules, when the prime targets of defeat are not even the armed forces and their personnel, equipment and weapons, but the infrastructure of the state, human resources ensuring its smooth functioning. The modern warfare is importantly featured by widely used terrorist methods of struggle, identical scenario of unleashing of armed conflict, overthrow of the state governments, and implementation of coups in the territories of different countries of the world. The article describes some theoretical propositions about the nature of the territorial defence of Ukraine.

Keywords:

territorial defence, national security of Ukraine, modern war, Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Formulation of the problem

The events in the south and east of Ukraine give rise in the society to issues of revaluation of views of the effectiveness of a political course taken in the beginning of the century in respect of building a national army, when key priorities for reforming the Armed Forces of Ukraine considered to be the creation of a small, professional and mobile army composed of Advanced Defence Forces, Major Defence Forces and Strategic Reserves. The level of threats to national security is one of the main factors influencing the format of the regular army. So in peacetime, combat effectiveness of the armed forces is reduced, usually by reducing their numbers, the relevance of territorial defence should be increased significantly and strengthened. It must be noted that maintenance of defence capabilities is the rational combination of these interrelated compo-

nents of the defence of the state, the implementation of which is based on the national historical and socio-economic opportunities. Of course, the core of the defence of Ukraine was and will be the Armed Forces. But the more the army becomes more highly estimated in terms of budget, that is high-tech, mobile and professional (contract), but as a result of significant cost – small in number, the stronger the state policy in the field of territorial defence must be.

The relevance of this topic is due to the place and role of territorial defence in the national security of our country and the need to develop scientific issues mentioned in order to eliminate the existing shortcomings and identify ways of further development of this direction of activities in the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Presentation of the main material

The term of territorial defence has come into use and become widespread in specialized literature relatively recently – in the late 70s of the last century, but some issues related to territorial defence, raised much earlier in the domestic and foreign literature.

History of Ukraine, like any state, shows that throughout its existence, inherent attributes of power were bodies of state security, internal affairs, courts, penal institutions, other law enforcement agencies, which did in time of war and do now actively assist to the armed forces of Ukraine, which clearly and convincingly evidence of the nature of the origin and contents of the tasks and functions of territorial defence.

The system of territorial defence is the perfect personification of the constitutional provision that defines the people as the sole source of state authority and sovereignty carrier¹. In this case, people trust the government of the country, and the government by handing out weapons to the people relies on their reliability in the protection of Ukraine. There can be no place for any domestic political ambitions and social stratification, since this conglomerate is a key to the invincibility of the state in any confrontation.

Most countries along with regular armies have wartime troops in territorial composition. Examples are Austria, Belgium, Britain, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Finland, France, Sweden and many countries. Citizens of these countries are traditionally proud of their belonging to these troops, and participation in the planning of combat training is seen as honourable right and duty. In most states, territorial troops are assigned tasks covering mobilization deployment of the armed forces, protection of strategic objects and elements of the military and civilian infrastructure, proper maintenance of territorial defence.

¹ *Konstytutsiia Ukrainy*, Rada.gov.ua, <<http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/main/254%D0%BA/96-%D0%B2%D1%80>> (09.09.2016).

The current military-political situation in the conditions of Russian aggression has lasted about three years, the nature of potential military threats and dangers require further strengthening of the national security of Ukraine. As one of the ways to resolve the problem, the senior leaders of our country consider the possibility to create an integrated system of territorial defence. The experience of an international armed conflict speaks in favour of the establishment and functioning of territorial defence, showing that an increasing percentage of the civilian population directly involved in the fighting increases the scale of humanitarian disasters, increasing difficulties in maintaining a special legal regime, as well as addressing social and legal problems, and that a massive informational impact is made on troops and civilians of the opposing sides.

Territorial defence is part of the national defence and military activities, and includes a set of measures coordinated and interconnected by purpose, place, time and method of implementation, for the protection and defence of important facilities and communications, protection of people, and installation and maintenance of a regime of martial law or emergency situation in the country, regional commands or administrative units².

Creating and purposeful training and further use of units of territorial defence groups will allow during the war to free the army from the protection of logistics facilities, communication nodes and bridges, providing operational activities during the period of martial law and emergency situation, curing of effects from using the weapons and modern destruction means by the enemy, etc. Staff of the territorial defence units may also involve the construction of defensive lines and repair works, and perform tasks on the protection of the State border (with neutral and friendly nations); protection and defence of important objects; combating sabotage and reconnaissance groups; engineering activities in preparing to defend settlements; rescue and recovery works; implementation of other measures in the interest of the armed defence of the state; better allocation of forces and means in view of possible scenarios of military-political situation in strategic areas, with a view to ensuring the localization of military threat to Ukraine.

In the middle of the last century military theorists predicted that new methods of warfare would significantly transform and represent nothing but a "rebellion war". It was identified as a new type of war by E. E. Messner. In "*Mutiny - the name of the third world war*", he predicted future non-classical form of confrontation, *Many things in the world are incomprehensible when viewed through the prism of outdated notions about the war, but the view from a new perspective - rebellion war - explains much. Then we stop calling strategic actions criminal cases within the rebellion war. We must stop calling unrest that is operational and tactical episodes of the rebellion war...*³. There is no

² Law of Ukraine "On the Defence of Ukraine" of 06.12.1991, revised as of 28.07.2016.

³ E. E. Messner, *Global rebellion war*, Kuchkovo Pole, 2008, p. 512.

single front line, capabilities and means are highly dispersed, while there is coverage of large areas.

There is no enemy there, but it is everywhere, it is able to demonstrate a unique sophistication in the application of selective attacks on vital centres. The most important feature of modern warfare is also widely used terrorist methods of struggle. Sometimes a terror is called as a weapon of the weak. However, according to scientists, for example the American philosopher, professor at MIT M. Homsy, a terror is a weapon of the strong that is described in detail in his book "*Hegemony or struggle for survival: the USA desire to dominate the world*"⁴.

Martin van Creveld in his work *The Transformation of War* suggests that future war will be led not by the army, but by the group, the members of which we call terrorists today. Accordingly, the only way to revive the country's ability to conduct war may be the dissolution of the existing forces. Armies will be replaced by special police forces, on the one hand, and gangs of thugs – on the other⁵.

In a brutal aggression in respect of our country, Ukraine revives its armed forces, which are able to meet the challenges of national defence from hostile attacks from outside comprehensively, efficiently and professionally. In the national security system an important role is assigned to the territorial defence. P.A. Poroshenko said that *systematic training of local troops will serve as a good tool for the further development of military capabilities of the state, strengthen the importance of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which must play a key role in ensuring the security of our country*⁶. It is territorial defence that realizes in practice that obvious provision that the army wins battles and the war is won only by people.

Article 65 of the Constitution of Ukraine affirms the provision: *Defence of the Motherland, independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, respect for its state symbols are the duties of citizens of Ukraine. Citizens perform military service in accordance with the law*⁷. The National Security Strategy of Ukraine for the first time considers the balance of the individual, society and state, indispensable participation of citizens in the security of the Ukrainian state. National Security Strategy of Ukraine stipulates that citizens participate in ensuring national security through the implementation of their rights and obligations, including fulfilment of a sacred duty to protect the territorial integrity of Ukraine. These provisions fully comply with regulations governing the organization of territorial defence, the most important of which are the Decree of the

⁴ N. Khomsy, *Hegemony or struggle for survival: the USA striving for global domination*, Kyiv 2007, p. 464.

⁵ M. van Creveld, *Transformation of war*, New York 2005, p. 343.

⁶ *Decree of the President of Ukraine of September 2nd 2013, No. 471/2013 "On the approval of the Regulation on the territorial defence of Ukraine"*.

⁷ *Konstyutsiia Ukrainy*.

President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko: *On the decision of the National Security Council, On National Security Strategy of Ukraine*⁸.

Ensuring of Ukraine's national security is that the main threat may come not only from regular armies, but from every criminal, terrorist and other extremist organization, whose members are united in some kind of network structures. Recently are called Segmented, Polycentric, Ideologically integrated Network – SPIN. In conditions of such threats, the emphasis is laid on non-military actions in the ordinary sense of the word – the operation (Operation Other Than War)⁹. No one announces the outbreak of war, since the beginning of hostilities in essence is the latest stage of unleashed aggression, which is the information-psychological expansion of the consciousness of the population - the object of attack. Using modern technology, techniques and ways to manage the masses, an allegation of fair aims of the war is imposed on the society, a code in which the aggressor acts as a liberator is introduced day after day, where authorities are unable to protect their people, and only outside help can lead the country to a brighter future. In these circumstances, the transition from peace to war is almost imperceptible. Awareness of disaster comes only when homes start exploding and burning, when people die, transport is stopped, when there is no water, electricity and heat, there are issues of food and medicine, when “liberators” cynically and systematically destroy all the property, buildings, homes of citizens, enterprises where they work. It is natural that the welfare of every citizen depends on his/her skill, ability and willingness to protect his/her family, home, town, without which full life is indispensable. Protection of these objects as the main means of welfare in the first part is included in the scope of the priority interests of local communities. Territorial defence is a form of implementation of their interests and personal involvement in the protection of the object - a guarantee of successful execution of tasks of the territorial defence¹⁰.

In academic life of military analysts, the so-called concept of total defence is widely distributed, which in the beginning of hostilities provides not only for the capabilities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the available forces and means, but also the capacity of the civilian population, including the management bodies and units of territorial defence. The combat power of armies of foreign countries is to some extent enhanced by the involvement of reserve forces trained in advance. Formation of territorial defence in foreign countries

⁸ Decree of the President of Ukraine of May 25th 2015, No. 287/2015 “On the decision of the National Defence Council of Ukraine” of 05.05.2015 “On the national defence strategy of Ukraine”.

⁹ M. Sungurovsky, *Territorial defence is the most effective form of combating in the hybrid war*, <<http://razumkov.gov.ua/ukr/article/php>> (30.09.2016).

¹⁰ I. Yakubets, *Territorial defence issues in Ukraine*, <<http://cacds.org.ua/ru/comments/339>> (23.09.2016).

is closely interlinked with the regular armed forces and problems solved by them¹¹.

At present, there are many national models of territorial defence, which vary in purpose, scope and functions and the nature of tasks, the degree of interaction with the Armed Forces, military units of the country; the method of recruitment, organizational structure and management of forces, order of deployment capabilities.

Conventionally, according to the level of combat readiness and tasks, a set of models of territorial defence can be grouped into three categories: the first - territorial formation modelled on the regular army, capable of performing combat missions along with regular troops and, in some cases, apply outside the territory of their country. These include offices in the USA, Germany and the UK; second - territorial formations of small European states, whose main task is the protection and defence of different objects and ensuring the mobilization and operational deployment of groups and ensuring their smooth manoeuvre. Their structure usually differs from that of regular troops. These include units in Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands; third - territorial formations of neutral states, performing a wide range of tasks, including the conduct of guerrilla warfare in the occupied territory. Therefore, their formations have different structures, including some kind of regular army. These include units in Finland, Sweden and Switzerland¹².

Territorial defence is an important part of the activities carried out in accordance with the National Security Strategy of Ukraine. Its objectives are: to provide national defence to the state; to increase the capacity of the military organization of the state to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine; to create conditions for sustainable functioning of state bodies and organizations, economy, infrastructure and life of the population of Ukraine in case of threat of war and in wartime.

The major problems of the territorial defence are: security and defence of facilities; fulfilment of certain military tasks in connection with associations and military units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in repelling an act of armed aggression; to combat sabotage and reconnaissance groups and illegal armed groups; to conduct armed warfare on the territory temporarily occupied by the aggressor; to participate in the strengthening of the state border of Ukraine; to participate in the elimination of effects from the use of arms by the aggressor;

¹¹ *Structure of territorial defence troops of the Armed Forces of Ukraine*, <<http://www.unian.net>> (23.09.2016).

¹² V.C. Cheban, *Military science and new threats to the military security*, "Voennaia mysl", No. 2/2009, pp. 60-65.

to participate in measures to ensure the maintenance of the regime of martial law and other measures for the defence of Ukraine¹³.

The general management of the territorial defence is carried out by the President of Ukraine – Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. In the management of the territorial defence, the key role is played by the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The General Staff organizes territorial defence and coordinates the activities of state bodies and other organizations, as well as the Armed Forces of Ukraine, military formations on the tasks of territorial defence in peacetime and in wartime¹⁴.

Preparation and maintenance of territorial defence is based on principles: territorial and zonal construction of territorial defence; unity of the state, military and local government; administrative-territorial preparation and conduct of territorial defence; maintaining constant readiness of the management system, territorial defence forces before the formation of local troops and territorial defence deployment; close cooperation between state bodies and military administration, local executive and administrative bodies and organizations in the preparation and conduct of territorial defence; combination of centralized and decentralized management; autonomy of actions of territorial defence forces in administrative-territorial boundaries. Territorial defence is built according to the administrative-territorial principle. Direct management of the territorial defence in areas and districts are carried out by heads of local executive and administrative bodies through headquarters and relevant members of local defence councils.

Today in our part of the world, there is only one organization that provides defence – it is NATO. This is a collective defence system, which provides guarantees of territorial integrity and sovereignty to its members. Other organizations – such as the EU or the OSCE – just declare the quality of issues in the field of security, but do not ensure the territorial integrity and sovereignty. Based on this, and knowing the position of most European countries, as well as knowing the situation inside Ukraine, we can predict what there will be huge opposition to Ukraine becoming a NATO member in the near future. But with the understanding that Ukraine will not be nowadays admitted to the NATO inside and outside – there still needs to be a fundamental change in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the system of defence, which would have included building a completely new army¹⁵. A professional army would have to be about 100

¹³ S. Stetsenko, *There is no territorial defence in Ukraine for military tasks in case of war*, <<http://intvua.com/news/politics/1462882006-v-ukrayini-vidsutnya-teritorialna-oborona-dlya-boyovih-zavdan.html>> (24.09.2016).

¹⁴ S. Cherniavskyi, *Information management of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine*, <<http://rada.gov.ua/news/Novyny/114192.htm>> (24.09.2016).

¹⁵ V. Horbulin, *Hybrid war is just a beginning*, <<http://novynarnia.com/2016/03/26/mudriy-gorbulin-gibridna-viyna-lishe-pochinayetsya>> (26.08.2016).

thousand military people to participate in more mobilized operations of response to changes in the situation in Ukraine or in the world. There should be a fundamental reform completely from scratch. Because by the time we just had a piece of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, which was left to Ukraine. In 1991, Ukraine received 700 thousand, and now there are less than 200 thousand service persons – there was a reduction. One might say that reforms according to the NATO standards are being undertaken in Ukraine, but all the reform was that it was redirected to the unit of the General Staff of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine. Quality standards were introduced in the documentation, but in reality, if we speak about the organization of defence, this was a complete crisis of understanding of what we needed. To reform the military structure under threat or even from a position that if we are a neutral country, then we need to provide for the perimeter defence. That is the Armed Forces of Ukraine should actually be ready to respond to any threat from any direction at any moment¹⁶.

Each region is a zone of territorial defence. A territorial defence headquarters is created, which is defined by quantitative and qualitative staff composition. In particular, in the Kharkiv region, its staff, as well as provisions on territorial defence was defined by the Head of the Kharkiv Regional Administration. The structure of the zone of territorial defence, in addition to professional law enforcement units that are territorial defence units subordinated to the district military commissar, their mission is to perform tasks they face in the territory of a region. What are the tasks of territorial defence? They are safety and protection of the state border, providing conditions for the reliable operation of local authorities, protection and defence of important facilities and communications, combating sabotage and reconnaissance groups and illegal armed formations, maintaining martial law conditions. In order to meet these objectives regularly command and staff trainings of different levels are held in Slobozhanshchyna under the guidance of the General Staff of Ukraine, to which the territorial defence headquarters of the Kharkiv region is subject.

Given that Kharkiv patriots, civil organizations that are actively involved in improving the quality of territorial defence and conduct extensive informational campaign submitted appropriate offers, it was decided to establish a co-ordination group at a meeting of staff of territorial defence. For its activities, regulations outlining the responsibilities of the group were developed. Speaking of defence units, which are units of the security forces, theoretical and practical sessions are held with their staff. Classes are held in several stages. At the first stage, they prepare those military people who do not have proper military training and have not served in the Armed Forces. They are introduced to the basics of military affairs, tactics etc.; at the second stage, there are sessions with

¹⁶ *Territorial defence*, <<http://novynarnia.com/2016/03/28/teritorialna-oborona-yak-gromadski-aktivisti-roblyat-robotu-zamist-viyskkomativ/>> (30.08.2016).

trained personnel of the territorial defence; and at the third stage – training of trainers¹⁷.

Theoretical and practical training is held with the heads of territorial defence units. For this, training facilities of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in the Kharkiv region are used, as well as the facilities of the National Police of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine and the National Guard of Ukraine. Demonstration sessions were held at the National University of Internal Affairs, one element of which was the territorial defence. The troops of territorial defence are completed with military people, while in the context of resolving this issue, the staffing level and the necessary equipment to perform the tasks assigned to them were developed and approved. Citizens completed military service, including demobilized members of the antiterrorist operation are appointed as unit commanders. All classes, regardless of where they are based, are held by experienced instructors with experience in fighting. Studies are conducted in shooting, throwing grenades, primary health care in the pre-hospital phase, mine and subversive affairs and tactical training. It should be noted that the leadership of the Kharkiv Regional State Administration attaches great importance to the territorial defence. The importance of territorial defence in Ukraine is underlined by the fact that there is an introduced post of the District Military Commissar of Territorial Defence in the rank of Major, positions are filled, and preference is given to those troops or reserve officers who were demobilized.

It should be noted that the leadership of the Kharkiv Regional State Administration attaches great importance to the territorial defence. The importance of territorial defence in Ukraine is underlined by the fact that there is an introduced post of the District Military Commissar of Territorial Defence in the rank of Major, positions are filled, and preference is given to those military people or reserve officers who were demobilized, took part in the ATO, or who now serving in combat units of not only the Army, but the Air and Naval Forces of Ukraine¹⁸.

However, there are problems related not only to Kharkiv and the region, but throughout Ukraine. Let's start with arms and equipment to be on staff in the unit of territorial defence. This is not sufficient for the tasks facing the troops of territorial defence. Changes to the regulations on territorial defence units to provide military personnel with uniform were made. In the absence of uniforms, there should be yellow and blue armbands with the words "defence squad". A chevron territorial defence was also developed in Kharkiv. Currently, the defence units are equipped with small arms and ammunition under staffing.

¹⁷ I. Rainin, *On the approval of the security program complex in the Kharkiv region*, <<http://old.kharkivoda.gov.ua/uk/news/view/id/24032>> (30.08.2016).

¹⁸ *Program for combating terrorist activities in the Kharkiv region for 2016*, <<http://old.kharkivoda.gov.ua/uk/news/view/id/24032>> (30.08.2016).

But vehicles, which are provided for transportation of personnel, do not always meet the requirements¹⁹.

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine is preparing a Law on territorial defence. And in case of its adoption the regulatory framework will be more perfect. The General Staff of the Defence Ministry of Ukraine will take certain decisions on legal enforcement of this issue. An example of when classes with military people included in the management are held, they are held free of charge in their free time. They involve patriotic people, who come by their personal transport in their free time to get trained. In addition, the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine tasked the General Staff on improving approaches to staffing of the territorial defence units and their training. As part of the regional program of territorial defence in 2016-2017, UAH 5.7 mln were allocated, of which more than UAH 3.5 mln have already been allocated this year. This money is used for repairs and maintenance of equipment, construction of military engineering structures in the border zone, near the bridges, overpasses, fuel is purchased, uniforms and food for the soldiers are purchased, grounds for training are repaired²⁰.

Conclusions and prospects of further research

The further development of territorial defence and its preparation must be completely subordinated to the main issue – security of individuals, society and the state at any time and in any environment. Among the priorities for the further construction and development of the system, we should highlight that the most important task for managers at all levels is to improve the patriotic, spiritual and moral education of the population, based on instilling a sense of personal responsibility to protect Ukraine. This problem should be treated under the head angle in the organization of ideological work with all categories of citizens, dominate in the educational process in schools, enterprises of the country. It is necessary to form the general public understanding that territorial defence is the imperative of time and its elements must be present in the national security of Ukraine. However, the development of conceptual principles of preparation and conduct of territorial defence in Ukraine requires careful study and analysis of international experience of international statesmen in organization and practice in this important area.

¹⁹ *Program for territorial defence in the Kharkiv region for 2016-2017*, <<http://old.kharkivoda.gov.ua/uk/news/view/id/80210>> (30.08.2016).

²⁰ *Program for public security and order in the Kharkiv region for 2016-2017*, <<http://old.kharkivoda.gov.ua/uk/news/view/id/24032>> (30.08.2016).

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