

Michael H. Clemmesen, MA (hist), Brigadier General (DA A, ret.)
 JULY 2013

Selective¹ list of publications and contributions 1981²-2013

Own Research and Study Based Publications, Independent Contributions to Anthologies, etc. and key articles for the Press		
Year & Place of Publication	Title	Remarks
1981 Copenhagen	" <i>Debat om dansk forsvar</i> "	" <i>Debate about Danish Defence</i> " with Commander (N) Svend Albrechtsen i FOV series: "Defence in Society"
1982 Copenhagen	" <i>Jyllands Landforsvar fra 1901 til 1940</i> ".	" <i>The Land Defence of Jutland 1901-1940</i> " was rewarded with the St. Germain Medal (Silver) of the Military Science Society
1982 Herning	" <i>Regional De-Nuclearization and Conventional Force Postures</i> ", in the Tokai University Symposium on Non-Nuclearization and Security in Scandinavia and Japan,	
1984 Copenhagen	" <i>Problemet i dansk forsvarsopolitik</i> " in <i>Sikkerhed og Nedrustning</i> 1	" <i>The Problem of Danish Defence Politics</i> " by the Danish Commission of Security and Disarmament Affairs.
1985 Copenhagen	" <i>Forsvarsforliget af 1984: Tilblivelse og konsekvenser</i> " in <i>Dansk Udenrigspolitisk Årbog 1984</i> ,	" <i>The Defence Agreement of 1984: How it was reached and the consequen-ses</i> " with Nikolaj Petersen
1986	" <i>Dansk forsvar fra omkring 1890 til 1918 – en</i>	" <i>Danish Defence</i>

¹ Does not normally include articles to newspapers and weeklies, book reviews or articles to service branch journals (like the Combat Troop Magazine "Kentaur"). Other contributions may have been forgotten.

² Published after the MA (hist.) exam at Copenhagen University, summer 1981

Stockholm	<i>skitse med fynsk perspektiv</i> in <i>Militärhistorisk Tidskrift</i> 1985,	<i>from about 1890 to 1918 – a sketch with the perspective of the island of Funen</i> a contribution to the XIX. Nordic Congress of Historians in Odense
1986 Aarhus	" <i>Værnskulturerne og Forsvars politikken</i> " in <i>Politica</i>	" <i>The Service Cultures and Defence Politics</i> "
1986 Copenhagen	" <i>Om defensivt forsvar</i> "	" <i>On Defensive Defence</i> " by the Danish Commission of Security and Disarmament Affairs
1986 Copenhagen	" <i>Clausewitz – Liv og Person</i> "	" <i>Clausewitz – Life and Person</i> " the biographical article for Nils Berg's translation of <i>Carl von Clausewitz: Von Kriege</i>
1987 Stockholm	" <i>Udviklingen i Danmarks forsvarsdoktrin fra 1945 til 1969</i> " i <i>Militärhistorisk Tidskrift</i> 1987	" <i>The Development of Denmark's Defence Doctrine from 1945 to 1969</i> ". A contribution to the XX. Nordic Congress of Historians in Reykjavik
1988 Copenhagen	" <i>Styrkeforholdet mellem Øst og Vest</i> "	" <i>The East-West Force Balance</i> " by the Danish Commission of Security and Disarmament Affairs
1989 Copenhagen	" <i>Sun-tzu blandt krigsteoretikerne</i> "	" <i>Sun-tzu among the Theorists of War</i> ". The theoretical introduction article to Jens Østergård

		Petersen's translation of <i>Sun-tsu: The Art of War</i>
1991 Copenhagen	"Den massive gengælselses lille ekko. De taktiske atomvåbens rolle i dansk forsvarsplanlægning i 1950'ern." in Carsten Due-Nielsen, Johan Peter Noack og Nikolaj Petersen: <i>Danmark, Norden og NATO 1948-1962</i>	"The Small Echo of the Massive Retaliation: The Role of Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Danish Defence Planning during the 1950s"
1992 Copenhagen	"Efterkoldkrigstidens danske forsvarspolitik" i <i>Dansk Udenrigspolitisk Årbog 1992</i>	"Danish Post Cold War Defence Policy"
1992 Aarhus	"Geopolitik og grænser" in Frederik Stjernfelt og Anders Troelsen: <i>Grænser</i>	"Geopolitics and Borders"
1994 Copenhagen	"Tatarstan, Basjkortostan, Udmurtien"	With Ib Faurby and Märta-Lisa Magnusson, by the Danish Commission of Security and Disarmament Affairs
1995 Lund	"Denmark in the shadow of German Military Might. The Hostage of its Geographical Position in Times of International Turbulence and Rapid Technological Change, 1864-1945" i Göran Rystad, Klaus-R Böhme and Wilhelm M Carlgren: <i>In Quest of Trade and Security: The Baltic in Power Politics, 1500-1990, II: 1890-1990</i>	
1995 Copenhagen	"The Politics of Danish Defence 1967-1993" in Carsten Due-Nielsen og Nikolaj Petersen: <i>Adaptation and Activism. The Foreign Policy of Denmark 1967-1993</i>	
1996 Copenhagen	"Krigsvidenkabeligheden. Risikoer for det indlysende. Tidens sandheder i kritisk perspektiv" in <i>Det krigsvidenkabelige Selskab – 125 år.</i>	"The Science of War. The Risks of the Self-evident. The Truths of the Time in Critical Perspective". Was rewarded by the Military Science Society's title "Best Writer 1996"
1996 Baden-Baden	"National Perspective: Denmark" in Axel Krohn: <i>The Baltic Sea Region</i>	
1997 Carlisle	"Present and Future Command Structure: A Danish View" in Thomas-Durell Young:	Published by the U.S. Army War

Barracks (Pennsylvania)	Command in <i>NATO after the Cold War: Alliance, National, and Multinational Considerations</i>	College
1998 Aldershot	"Foreign Military Assistance" in Hans Mouritzen: <i>Bordering Russia. Theory and Prospects for Europe's Baltic Rim</i>	
1999 Lancaster	"Integration of New Alliance Members: The Intellectual-Cultural Dimension" in <i>NATO at Fifty, Defense Analysis, Vol 15, No 3,</i>	
2001 Oslo	"Danmark i skyggen av Tysklands militære magt" in <i>Krigskunst og statssystem. Krig og maktpolitik i industrialismens tidsalder 1860-1918</i>	"Denmark in the Shadow of German Military Might". Published by the Norwegian Defence Museum.
2004 Copenhagen	"The Danish Straits in the Post Second World War Period" in <i>Revue Internationale D'Histoire Militaire, Edition Danoise, No 84</i>	
2005 Copenhagen	"Koldkrigsudredningen og Danmark I Den Kolde Krig" i <i>Forum for Forsvarsstudier, December 2005</i>	"The Cold War Report of the Danish Institute for International Studies – and Denmark in the Cold War" Published by the Royal Danish Defence College
2005 Copenhagen	"Fremtidens officerer – uddannelse og udvikling" i <i>Festskrift. Forsvaretsakademiet 175. årsdag</i>	"The Officer of the Future – Education and Development" in the Publication published on the occasion of the 175th Anniversary of the Royal Danish Defence College
2005 Copenhagen	"Den kolde krig i radikal optik"	"The Cold War from the viewpoint of the Social Liberal Party" in <i>Berlingske Tidende 13-09-2005</i>
2006 Nykøbing Mors	"Mors i det jyske forsvar under 1. Verdenskrig" i <i>Jul på Mors 2006</i>	"The Limfjord Island of Mors in the First World War Defence of Jutland"

2007 Copenhagen	<i>"Den klare tanke og brutal konsekvente handling. Et essay om rødderne til den russiske sejr i Den store Fædrelandskrig" i Rusland før og nu. Essays tilegnet generalmajor Karsten J. Møller</i>	"The clear insight and the brutally logical action. An essay about the roots of the Russian victory in the Great Patriotic War"
2007 Copenhagen	<i>"Nedslidningen. Udvalgte kildekilte om danskerne og deres neutralitetsforsvar under 1. Verdenskrig" (editor)</i>	"Attrition. Selected cuttings from sources about the Danish and their defence of neutrality during the First World War"
2007 Copenhagen	<i>'Vilnakommandoet' 1920-21. Vort første kontingent til en international fredsbevarende styrke – fra start til abort en lille måned før fødsel'</i>	"Vilna Force 1920-21. The first Danish contribution to an international peace keeping force – from the start to the abortion a short month before birth"
2008 Copenhagen	<i>'The Danish Armed Forces 1909-1918. Between Politicians and Strategic Reality'</i>	
2008 Stockholm	<i>'Det modne demokrati og krigen. Fra 1. Verdenskrig til Afghanistan.' In 'The Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences Proceedings and Journal'</i>	"The mature Democracy and War. From World War 1 to Afghanistan"
2008 Copenhagen	<i>Chapters '1872-1905. Kampen om magten over forsvars politikken', '1905-1923. Under krise, den store krig og truslen fra revolution', '1918-1939. Fra inddragelsen af fredsdividenden til den næste store krig' and '1940-1945 i 2. Verdenskrig'. In 'Danmarks krigshistorie. 2. 1814-2008'</i>	The four chapters covering 1872-1945 in "Denmark's War History".
2009 Copenhagen	<i>'Kejserens nye klæder'. In 'Helt forsvarligt?'. Danmarks militære udfordringer i en usikker fremtid.'</i>	'The Emperor's new Clothes' about the damage to the Danish Defence Forces done by 'New Public Management'- ideas
2009	<i>'Bornholms forsvar 1893 til 1943 –</i>	'The defence of

Rønne	<i>københavnske ideer og bornholmsk realitet'. In 'Bornholmske Samlinger', IV. Række- 3. Bind.</i>	Bornholm 1893 to 1943 – the doctrines of the capital and the reality on the island'
2009 Copenhagen	<i>'Mod fornyelsen af Københavns forsvar 1915-18' together with Anders Osvald Thorkilsen</i>	<i>'Moving towards an update of the defence of Copenhagen 1915-1918' (two parts: the first analysing the creation of the first air defence of the capital, the second (with Thorkildsen) describes the failure to acquire new counter-battery artillery)</i>
2010 Odense	<i>'Den lange vej mod 9. april. Historien om de fyrrø år før den tyske operation mod Norge og Danmark.'</i>	<i>'The long cruise towards 9th April. The history of the forty years before the German operation against Norway and Denmark.'</i>
2012 Copenhagen	<i>Københavns Befæstning. Til Fædrelandets Forsvar.</i>	<i>'The New Copenhagen Fortress. For the Defence of the Fatherland'. The parts of book presenting the doctrine, concepts and war planning that nourished the development.</i>
2012 Odense	<i>Det lille land før den store krig. De danske farvande, stormagtsstrategier, efterretninger og forsvarsforberedelser omkring kriserne 1911-13.</i>	<i>'The little country before the Great War. Danish Waters, Great Power Strategies, Intelligence and Defence Preparations during the 1911-1913 International Crises.'</i>

2013 Leiden	<i>The Armoured Commerce Raider: The Concept that Guided German Naval Lobbying for Control of Norway.</i>	In Michael H. Clemmesen and Marcus S. Faulkner (eds.): ' <i>Northern European Overture to War, 1939-1941. From Memel to Barbarossa.</i> '
----------------	---	---

Articles in *Militært Tidsskrift (MT)*³, *Udenrigs (UR)*⁴ and *Baltic Defence Review (BDR)*

Where and When	Title	Remarks
MT July/August/ September 1981	" <i>Planlægningen af landforsvaret af Jylland i perioden op til april 1940</i> "	" <i>The planning of the land defence of Jutland up to April 1940</i> "
MT July/August/ September 1982	" <i>Om den lille professionelle hærs utilstrækkelighed</i> "	" <i>On the limitations of a small professional army</i> "
MT October 1982	" <i>Planlægningen af landforsvaret af Jylland i perioden op til april 1940</i> "	" <i>The planning of the land defence of Jutland up to April 1940</i> " (continued)
MT July/August/ September 1983	" <i>Jyllands landforsvar i slutningen af 1930erne. En indsigt fulgt op. Oberstløjtnant E. Götke. Om Jyllands landforsvar i slutningen af 1930erne og kaptajnløjtnant E. Götke-Hansens studier</i> "	" <i>The planning of the land defence of Jutland up to April 1940</i> " (part of the continued debate)
MT July/August/ September 1984	" <i>Om principperne for krigsføring og vort forsvar</i> "	" <i>On the principles of war-fighting and our Defence</i> "
MT March 1985	" <i>Om en af vores seriøse beskæftigelser: Operativ planlægning til bunds eller bureaukratiske korthuse med frasefyld</i> "	" <i>On one of our serious occupations: Operational Planning in-Depth or Bureaucratic Houses of Cards filled with Phrases</i> "
MT April 1986	" <i>Om hærrens mobiliseringsberedskab</i> "	" <i>On the Combat and Mobilisation Readiness of the Army</i> "
MT February 1987	" <i>Anvendelsen af historien i Hærrens officersuddannelse</i> "	" <i>Use of History in the Education of Army Officers</i> "
MT July/August/ September 1987	" <i>Kampene ved Maleme i maj 1941 – og nogle tanker på grundlag af deres forløb</i> "	" <i>The Fighting near Maleme in May 1941 – and some thoughts based on the sequence of events</i> ". A

³ "Military Journal", the periodical of the Danish Military Science Society. Now a Quarterly. The contributions are nearly all critical, analytical comments to the current affairs.

⁴ The title means "From outside Denmark". The Quarterly of the Danish Foreign Policy Society. The comments area nearly all in the forms of short essay commentaries.

		comparison of the effectiveness of the German "Auftragstaktik" and the British combat management.
MT October 1987	<i>"Egne forhold"</i>	<i>"Own Situation"</i> . A critique of basing education, training and exercises on the assumption that own forces are always fully equipped, manned and trained.
MT May/June 1988	<i>"Krigsrisko, varsel og forsvarsberedskab"</i>	<i>"Risk of War, Warning and Defence Readiness"</i> .
MT March 1989	<i>"Hvis freden bryder ud"</i>	<i>"If the Peace Breaks Out."</i>
MT May/June 1989	<i>"Krigsføringsniveauer"</i>	<i>"On the levels of conduct of war"</i> . A discussion of the operation level of war.
MT April 1990	<i>"Vi kunne være draget afsted med kejserens nye klæder"</i>	<i>"We might have deployed in 'the Emperor's New Clothes'"</i> . An analysis of the Cold War combat readiness.
MT May/June 1990	<i>"Forsvaret af Danmark i det nye Europa og grænsen for nedbygning – præmisserne og krigsstrukturen"</i>	<i>"The Defence of Denmark in the New Europe and the Limits of Reductions – Premises and War Structure"</i> . Defining the basis for the Post Cold War Defence Forces.

<i>MT</i> <i>July 1994</i>	<i>"Situationen i Estlands og Letlands væbnede styrker: På vej fra bunden i andet og første gear "</i>	<i>"The Situation in the Armed Forces of Estonia and Latvia: On the Way from the Bottom in Second and First Gear".</i>
<i>MT</i> <i>August 1998</i>	<i>"BALTDEFCOL – det baltiske forsvarsakademi"</i>	<i>"BALTDEFCOL – the Baltic Defence College"</i>
<i>MT</i> <i>3/2002</i>	<i>"Baltikum på vej ind i NATO – observationer fra Tartu"</i>	<i>"The Baltics on the Way into NATO – observations from Tartu."</i>
<i>MT</i> <i>2/2003</i>	<i>"De danske væbnede styrker i fremtiden – en skitse fra sidelinjen"</i>	<i>"The Danish Armed Forces of the Future – a Sketch from the Side Line." Defining the need for a Total Transformation of the Armed Forces for Expeditionary Warfare Contributions."</i>
<i>MT</i> <i>1/2004</i>	<i>"En kommentar til Venstre i Viborg Amts Udenrigs- og Sikkerhedspolitiske Udvalgs Oplæg til nyt forsvarsforlig: Et forslag til hæren, der ikke skal kunne kæmpe"</i>	<i>An article about the roles of the Armed Forces in Homeland Security.</i>
<i>UR</i> <i>2/1988</i>	<i>"NATO – sikkerhedspolitikkens folkekirke"</i>	<i>"NATO – the 'Consensus Church' of Danish National Security."</i>
<i>UR</i> <i>4/1989</i>	<i>"Borgere i alle lande: Befri Jer!"</i>	<i>"Citizens of All Countries: Free Yourselves."</i>
<i>UR</i> <i>4/1991</i>	<i>"Baltisk sikkerhed"</i>	<i>"Baltic Security."</i>
<i>UR</i> <i>4/1992</i>	<i>"Den nye verden og danskerne"</i>	<i>"The New World and the Danes."</i>
<i>UR</i> <i>1/1999</i>	<i>"Baltisk forsvarsakademi"</i>	<i>"A Baltic Defence College."</i>
<i>UR</i> <i>3/2003</i>	<i>"Reform af dansk forsvar"</i>	<i>"Reforming Danish Defence."</i>
<i>BDR</i> <i>1/1999</i>	<i>"NATO interoperability and the Baltic Defence College"</i>	
<i>BDR</i> <i>2/1999</i>	<i>"Before implementation of the Membership Action Plan: Baltic State's Defence development until the present"</i>	
<i>BDR</i> <i>3/2000</i>	<i>"Territorial Defence in Baltic Defence College"</i>	
<i>BDR</i>	<i>"The Development of Regular Army Officers"</i>	<i>Later reprinted with</i>

3/2000		<i>the same title in the Dutch 'Militaire Spectator' 6-2001</i>
BDR 4/2000	"Baltic States and different territorial defence models – a discussion"	
BDR 5/2001	"Debate: NATO Enlargement – with or Without a Baltic Dimension"	With Ole Kværnø
BDR 5/2001	"Maritime and Territorial Defence – Some Early Thoughts"	
BDR 6/2001	"After 11 th September – perspectives for the Baltic States"	
BDR 8/2002	"The Path of Transition: from Past towards Efficient Armed Forces"	Later reprinted with minor adjustments as "The Baltic States – Transition towards Efficient Armed Forces" in the Dutch 'Militaire Spectator' 11-2003
BDR 9/2003	"Tartu in the 1941 Summer War"	With Riho Rõngelep
BDR 10/2003	"The New NATO and the Security of the Alliance Periphery States"	
BDR 11/2004	"The Background and Development of the Baltic Defence College Higher Command Studies Course 'Leadership of Transformation' "	
MT 3/2005	"Som set gennem tunnelen fra 1983"	"As viewed through the tunnel from 1983"
MT 2/2008	"Det modne demokrati under langvarige, begrænsede fjernkrige"	"The mature democracy in extended limited wars far from home"
MT 3/2008	"Storm fra havet. At gøre det umulige muligt: USMC og angrebet på velforsvarede småøer."	"Storm from the sea. To make the impossible feasible: The USMC and the assault against well defended islets."
MT 1/2009	"Om at glemme eller skamme sig over at være militær"	"To forget or be ashamed of being military"