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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

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### ***THEORY OF NATIONAL SECURITY***

Lieutenant Colonel Simon, László

- THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL SECURITY  
RISK ANALYSIS IN ARMED CONFLICTS** 4

### ***HISTORY OF NATIONAL SECURITY***

Layko, Dániel

- CAUSES OF THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION'S FAILURE:  
ISSUES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE OPERATION'S  
PREPARATORY PHASE** 24

### ***SECURITY POLICY***

Simingh, Fruzsina

- INCREASING CHINESE PARTICIPATION IN UN  
PEACEKEEPING: ITS PLACE AND STRATEGIC  
IMPLICATIONS IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY** 42

Colonel Háy, Szabolcs – Novák, András

- CENTRIFUGAL AND CENTRIPETAL FORCES IN  
MACEDONIA** 63

### ***MILITARY MEDICAL ISSUES***

Professor Sandra, Sándor – Professor Mocsai, Lajos –

Dr. Sticz, László PH.D. –Rivasz, Gábor –Vásárhelyi Nagy, Ildikó –

Dr. Oláh, Csaba –Tihanyi, Krisztina

- COMPLICATIONS OF PHYSICAL STRAIN AMONG  
SERVICEMEN IN SPECIAL DEPLOYMENT: PREVENTION  
AND THERAPY** 94

LIEUTENANT COLONEL SIMON, LÁSZLÓ

**THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL SECURITY RISK ANALYSIS IN ARMED CONFLICTS**

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**Abstract**

On the basis of the author's different approaches (policy, law and information theory) the information of military intelligence and counterintelligence plays a key role in understanding, preventing, resolving and normalizing of armed conflicts. It was – and still is - the responsibility of the Military National Security Service and its predecessors to handle and share protected data. Sharing secrets, while managing crises occurring in the multipolar world gives the base of credible informing of citizens. The modern-day interpretation of security is going to revalue the system of the national security risk analysis in armed conflicts.

**Keywords:** military intelligence and counterintelligence, national security risk analysis, armed conflicts

We have endured several crises in the first few years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the course of the international and Hungarian settlement of these conflicts, the defensive organizations had to take up an active – and on several occasions, a proactive – role. If a life-threatening, large-scale catastrophe or armed conflict occurs, these organizations have to be present on the scene, acting in possess of a legal authorization. The reconnaissance of their designated areas is not only a security issue for the executive personnel of the army, the police and other defensive services. There are still some people living in Europe – including Hungary – who have participated in World War II, several of them have experienced armed violence. We still vividly remember World War I, the Great Depression of 1933 or the threat of a nuclear attack during the Cold War, which could have annihilated every living being on Earth. It is the personal reminiscences of the aggression of those times that primarily influence our historical memories.

In the time of information societies, we receive real-time information on conflicts that do not immediately affect us. The presentation of violent, economically or socially extreme acts conducted in far-away lands has become an everyday occurrence. Each IT and technological innovation of globalization has turned into an instrument of unpredictable and unimaginable violence. When achieving their political or other, violent goals, the terrorists, the adherents of global liberty, those who unreasonably oppose every idea as well as certain hacker groups

use these tools to assert their will. They have quickly utilized different global networks and the media as well in their armed struggle. The information environment of modern societies has become a theatre of endless possibilities for increasing their power and wealth, and also for raising fear beyond the borders. The acts of activists and criminals have complex and harmful economic, social and political effects on both individual and state levels. Instead of the promised welfare, the development of technological networks – a process sped up by globalization – has given rise to a system that threatens the states' security and is not entirely controllable yet.

This structure has created a scale-free<sup>1</sup> social space. Mathematics (graph theory) uses the term scale-free networks for those systems whose elements have preferential connection. (From the aspect of the network's connections and its elements, this differs greatly from systems with a hierarchical structure. In this case, the liquidation and connection of further elements do not affect the overall existence of the system. The social networks – not to mention the internet-based ones – show such characteristics.) For this reason, the previous patterns of peaceful coexistence among individuals and communities, as well as the traditional, pyramid-like structure of the states' legal systems are not valid anymore, while the new regulations on realistic foundations are not in force yet. Within the new-old segments of our personal defence, currently we are unable to guarantee complete security. Traditionally, military crisis management can be one of the solutions to the management, prevention and deterrence of the violent threats that affect our fears. This idea proves true even if the armed, military intervention is justified and legal only during the escalation period of crises and conflicts.

### **The environment of armed conflicts**

The national security risk analysis of the 21<sup>st</sup> century armed conflicts and the correlations between the military and non-military operations during crises makes it necessary to elaborate a united, network- and information-centric reconnaissance system's theoretical model. Based on the current methods of military crisis management – and considering the support provided for it by military national security sources –, in order to create such a system, three theoretical directions of inquiry can be designated. Due to the modern perception of the term secrecy<sup>2</sup>, aside from the social and legal theoretical, the technical and activity-related aspects of the secret services' information tasks<sup>3</sup> also come into the limelight. During crisis management, both of our reactions and operations are determined by the information

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<sup>1</sup> BARABÁSI 2006: A hálózatok tudománya: a társadalomtól a webig. (The science of networks: from society to the web.)

<sup>2</sup> SIMON 2016: A titok speciális értelmezése az elmúlt 25 év kihívásainak, kockázatainak és fenyegetéseinek tükrében. (The special understanding of secrecy in the light of the challenges, risks and threats of the past 25 years.)

<sup>3</sup> SZABÓ 2016

environment. The presence of asymmetric forces – which is characteristic of the “modern” armed conflicts – has fundamental influence over the success of the interventions.<sup>4</sup>

Globalization and its information environment have become essential, decisive parts of the security of the states and its citizens. The different virtual spaces (networks comprising digital codes and programmes) have adversary effect on our sense of security against our will. Due to the deficiencies of the security systems, the occurrences and actions conducted in the cyber space have become the instruments of personal aggression or transnational threats. The prevention, hindering and liquidation of the negative effects of different programmes, as well as the restoration of the damages also increase the necessity of state intervention. Preserving communal and personal security-related values of great importance is one of the most significant interests of the society. However, the perception of defensive functions in a united, large-scale or even unlimited virtual space is not unambiguous. The creation of a new, universal system of regulations is not expected to be granted uniform approval. Paradoxes surface owing to the free use of sovereign networks, basic human nature, and also to the inevitable differences among certain personal or communal interests. Emphasizing discord and refusing to obey the rules might lead to aggression not only in extreme cases.

At the beginning of the information era, we lived in an easily controllable natural, technical and societal environment. However, as a result of modernization, this environment has gone through considerable, necessary changes. The primary reason for this is that digital technology has become global, and the new achievements can be freely accessed by user levels. The economic priority of new developments, and the unlimited connection of information and info-communication networks have strengthened the democratic systems. In the postmodern, pluralized societies, globalization held out the promise of world peace and universal freedom. The virtual space that had been created served as a good security basis for this. If needed, we could access life-related information in real time. However, following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in the USA (the events known as 9/11), we were able to perceive that such a complex information environment had arisen that brought the era of fear to Europe as well.<sup>5</sup>

### **Crises and the right of violence**

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the bipolar world order was followed by a unipolar momentum. Despite its leading role, the USA propagated a self-moderated a multinational world based on the network of democratic societies.

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<sup>4</sup> RESPERGER 2017: A new approach to national and international crisis management.

<sup>5</sup> orig. HANKISS 2002: 2001. szeptember 11.: fordulópont? (Is 9/11 turning point?)

The events of 9/11 were still able to strengthen the idea of Pax Americana;<sup>6</sup> however, the political and military steps taken after the series of attacks and the operations conducted within the fight against terrorism had almost opposite results. The criminalization of the acts of terrorism and the media coverage has multiplied the number of offenders supported from the virtual space. The traditional/new adversaries of armed struggle, the separatists, insurgents, guerrillas and terrorists have appeared in the global network as well. After 1991, international power relations have significantly changed. Interstate wars have been replaced by the complex, long-dragging conflicts of local and regional groups. The armed clashes<sup>7</sup> have taken the shape of “small wars”. The opposing parties can use every means to express their strength and achieve their political goals. By making use of the previously mentioned, globally used technological system of equipment, they have learned to take full advantage of the information environment. This not only serves to establish their superiority in the information field, but – aside from the physical and logical (information) segments – also creates the primacy of the cognitive<sup>8</sup> (personal) part.<sup>9</sup>

According to the previous legal theoretical practice of armed clashes, if the conflicts and disputes cannot be resolved peacefully, the parties and the countries have the right to start a war (*ius ad bellum*). Armed struggle and wars had to be conducted in accordance with the laws of warfare (*ius in bello*). Traditionally, war has been the conflict of states, fought by their armed forces. The opposing belligerents wore uniforms and distinctive military labels,<sup>10</sup> which – instead of regulating state violence and the use of force – served only the normative legal regulation and the acknowledgement of the soldiers’ regular characteristics. By contrast, the current conflicts cannot be categorized as immediate interstate armed struggle and classical warfare. For this reason, the notional features of war and the action-related traits of the attacks must be presented differently, using an interpretation that is less interlaced with legal theory.

The computer network has given rise to different sources of aggression that affects us. My scientific research so far has proved that the indirect threats to

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<sup>6</sup> Steven Simon and Jonathan Stevenson wrote: „Obama administration has clearly pulled back from the United States’ recent interventionism in the Middle East, notwithstanding the rise of the Islamic State (also known as ISIS) and the U.S.-led air war against it. orig. SIMON–STEVENSON 2015

<sup>7</sup> RESPERGER–KISS–SOMKUTI 2013: Aszimmetrikus hadviselés a modern korban – Kis háborúk nagy hatással. (Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age - Small Wars Have a Great Impact.)

<sup>8</sup> HAIG–HAJDÚ 2017: : *New ways in the cognitive dimension of information operations*. [http://www.armyacademy.ro/reviste/rev2\\_2017/HAIG\\_HAJDU.pdf](http://www.armyacademy.ro/reviste/rev2_2017/HAIG_HAJDU.pdf) Accessed on 15 January 2018.

<sup>9</sup> SIMON–MAGYAR 2017: A terrorizmus és indirekt hatása a kiberterében. (Terrorism and its indirect impact in Cyberspace.)

<sup>10</sup> BARTHA 2009: A háború fogalma. (The notion of war.)

individuals primarily affect the cognitive sphere. This can be managed, prevented or even hindered by conscious communication. At the same time, we must acknowledge the fact that defensive communication cannot put an end neither to the unlimited, adversary influence over the masses, nor its physical consequences. For example, the effect of the aggression in virtual space – combined with actual, direct violence and the use of weapons – increases to a great extent on the individuals. This remains true even if no direct connection can be detected among the perpetrators.<sup>11</sup> The inquiry of the fight against terrorism following 9/11 showed that in some cases, the individual, communal or allied responses themselves<sup>12</sup> triggered the acts of terrorism. Despite the different legal and ethical prohibitions, the messages of aggression reached their audience through the communication of the global media. As a result, on the lowest level of the individual, gentleness might have been replaced by communication as the counterpole of violence.

However, when examining community levels higher than that of the individual, the specialized usage and application of communication must be reckoned with. In this environment – where news and pieces of information are artificially distorted –, we must identify the acts and phenomena that directly influence the interlinked social networks and infrastructures. The aim is to reconnoitre, prevent and counter the attacks, or simply maintain or restore the sufficient operability of the essential systems. However, it is a significant difference that the crimes and attacks are increasingly being used to establish information superiority. The criminal acts carried out in such ways – independently of their aims, but as a result of their effect on the whole society – must be judged distinctively. If the violent acts of the perpetrators are of a predominantly political or military nature, they must be contrasted with fundamental social and state-related aims of national security. For this reason, the context of armed interstate conflicts is a good starting point in order to understand the right for aggression linked to the networks and to conduct further analysis.

In the field of military science, the transformation of the bipolar world order has further strengthened this concept. The system of challenges, risks and threats affecting us has increasingly often become the subject of inquiries. New theories about inter-civilization conflicts, local and “small wars”, as well as international crisis management have appeared, and their related trainings and operations have been outlined.<sup>13</sup> Kőszegvári has talked about aggression instead of armed struggle

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<sup>11</sup> BBC News 2015: *Charlie Hebdo attack: Three days of terror.*

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30708237> Accessed on 15 January 2018.

<sup>12</sup> BOLGÁR–SZTERNÁK–SZTERNÁK 2005: A terrorizmussal kapcsolatos kutatások legújabb eredményei. (Recent results of research on counter-terrorism.)

<sup>13</sup> Deák János 2005: *A katonai műveletek hadászati jellemzői napjainkban.* (The military features of military operations are nowadays.)



already in 1994.<sup>14</sup> The belligerents used weapons to occupy territories (totally or regionally) or to mutually destabilize the relationship of ethnicities or nationalities. As Resperger has put it in 2013<sup>15</sup>, military danger most commonly manifests itself in aggressive intent.<sup>16</sup> In this sense, the right to participate in armed clashes is not restricted to countries anymore, and the phrases ‘self-defence’ and ‘national defence’ cannot be linked to the earlier, 20<sup>th</sup> century notions.

It also verifies this idea that the terrorist organization led by Osama bin Laden attacked the world’s strongest political and military power. The series of attacks were conducted by an organized terrorist group, using hijacked civilian aircraft. The USA and NATO’s allied states assessed it as an armed attack instead of a criminal act.<sup>17</sup> Even though according to the legal definitions, it is obvious that terrorist and criminal acts have happened, considering its consequences, they have become not only domestic, but also international political events. The aggressor was not a particular state. According to the aims that were proclaimed later, the fight was conducted against the operation of a state, and the clearly identified, symbolic targets were some of that state’s critical institutions. The attacks could not be assessed merely as criminal offences. Despite the fact that there were innocent victims, the strikes had primarily a political aim. It rendered the interpretation of the event even more difficult that instead of conducting an armed intervention in the traditional sense, the terrorists used the passenger aircraft as a weapon. The perpetrators have attacked not only the American community, but indirectly launched an offensive against the democratic communities and the alliance system of NATO. Thus, considering the equipment used for the synchronized attacks, they cannot be considered exclusively as operations conducted by regular forces or soldiers, despite their military and political targets. According to the military interpretation of the events, the former legal dimensions of defence can only preserve the illusion of further security. This idea manifested itself in NATO’s response as well, as the organization – instead of the criminal identification of the terrorist acts themselves and the global threat they pose –, declared that a fight must be started and a counterattack ought to be launched. Within the framework of the Alliance’s fight against terrorism, it was obvious that the national security and military forces of its member states had to take responsibility.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> KÖSZEGVÁRI 1994: A válságkezelés aktuális problémái. (The current problems of crisis management.)

<sup>15</sup> Resperger analyzed effects of small wars. The violent conflicts like as asymmetric warfare and the armed struggle is not progressed by states. orig. RESPERGER–KISS–SOMKUTI 2013: Aszimmetrikus hadviselés a modern korban – Kis háborúk nagy hatással. (Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age - Small Wars Have a Great Impact.)

<sup>16</sup> RESPERGER–KISS–SOMKUTI 2013: Aszimmetrikus hadviselés a modern korban – Kis háborúk nagy hatással. (Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age - Small Wars Have a Great Impact.)

<sup>17</sup> BUCKLEY 2006

<sup>18</sup> NELSON 2004

Even before the events of 9/11, the theory of the “clash of civilizations” has predicted that the armed conflicts will exceed the scope of “traditional” interstate wars. The armed clashes of the bipolar world order (such as the Gulf War or the Soviet Union’s armed penetration into Afghanistan) could be perceived as temporary wars. Huntington believes that every armed conflict began with the assault of a state; however, with time, they were transformed into fights among civilizations.<sup>19</sup> Huntington described the armed conflicts exceeding the scope of states as fault line wars. Such wars might be fought among states, independent groups, and among states and independent groups as well. The fault line conflicts within the states can affect groups living in geographically distant territories; in those cases, the groups deprived of governing power usually consider reaching partial or full independence to be their most important aim.<sup>20</sup>

According to Creveld, in modern societies, armed aggression will not emerge between particular states.<sup>21</sup> In the course of the armed clashes and small wars,<sup>22</sup> the groups confronting states and alliances might engage in legally regulated clashes with the regular forces in the aforementioned fashion. In the course of the long-dragging, politically motivated fights against superior forces, the adversary – aside from the traditional weapons and irregular methods – can resort to any kind of equipment or fighting method. However, during the fights against armed groups that are significantly smaller size-wise, – in spite of the fact that more “modern” forces could be employed –, the use of increasingly “self-restraining” methods might be preferred. In the absence of “self-restraint”, the necessary support provided by the indirectly present civilian population – which is affected by direct armed struggle, and involved in securing resources – might decrease during crisis management. The participating forces are asymmetric<sup>23</sup> even as compared to the limited sources accumulated by the communities and citizens of the given states. Due to their indirect and global effects, the asymmetric armed aggression in the local and regional spaces – of which Creveld talked about –, exceed the structure of the former, bipolar world order of the states.

Rostoványi<sup>24</sup> has stated about the antinomies of the current international world order that even though in order to understand certain conflicts following 9/11, it is necessary to consider civilization as a factor; due to the diverse and complex

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<sup>19</sup> HUNTINGTON 1996, 246-265.

<sup>20</sup> HUNTINGTON 1996, 246-265.

<sup>21</sup> CREVELD 2005; 2006

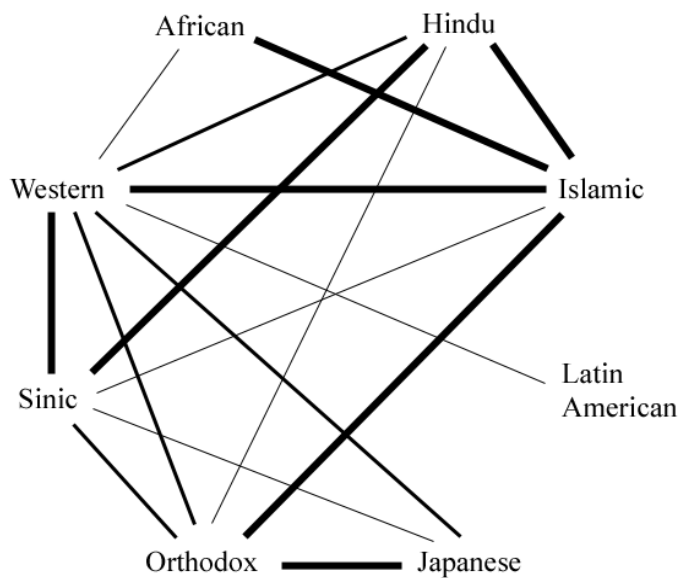
<sup>22</sup> cp. DAASE 2016: Kleine Kriege – Große Wirkung. Wie unkonventionelle Kriegsführung die internationale Politik verändert. (Small Wars - Big Impact. How unconventional warfare changes international politics); MÜNKLER 2004: Die neuen Kriege. (The new wars.)

<sup>23</sup> RESPERGER-KISS-SOMKUTI 2013: Aszimmetrikus hadviselés a modern korban – Kis háborúk nagy hatással. (Asymmetric Warfare in the Modern Age - Small Wars Have a Great Impact.)

<sup>24</sup> Hungarian Islamic-expert, professor, former rector of the Corvinus University of Budapest.

relations between Huntington’s civilizations (Figure 1.), the Western-type concept of civilizations used by him has created some paradoxes.<sup>25</sup> Already in 2002, he warned us that Huntington’s ideas cannot be the road to solution. In fact, in the case of 9/11, it can even prove to be quite dangerous. It can lead to a series of steps whose large-scale consequences might bring about the deepening and expansion of the conflicts among civilizations.<sup>26</sup> The rightful and rational expectations of the citizens – who constitute the centre of modernization –, which could lead to the liquidation of hostile armed activity have become the new starting points of violence. Thus, in case of crises, the right to violence emerging within the current border areas of globalization and modernization (such as the cyber space, the spread of artificial intelligence, the conquering of the outer space surrounding our Earth, the exploitation and sharing of the international waters and our lakes, nanotechnology or the usage of genetic medical procedures) can lead in the future to a self-inducing spiral of terrorism.

“Emerging alignments” of civilizations, per Samuel Huntington’s theory in *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996).



Greater line thickness represents more conflict in the civilizational relationship.

Figure 1. Emerging alignments of civilizations.  
(orig.: [www.globalresearch.ca](http://www.globalresearch.ca))

<sup>25</sup> ROSTOVÁNYI 2002: *Civilizációk a civilizációk ellen? A Hidegháború utáni nemzetközi rendszer antinómiái.*  
(Civilizations against civilizations? Antinomies of the post-Cold War international system.)  
<sup>26</sup> Ibid

The armed clashes and certain elements of their related operations will exceed the limitations of the traditional dimension of force, space, time and information. During his studies on crisis areas, when assessing the threats affecting the population, Resperger has complemented the ‘soft power’ and ‘hard power’ methods that have been in use so far. The independent category – which he calls ‘medium force’ reinforces the approach that is distinct from the paradoxes of civilizations and other “isms” –, is based on the idea of decreasing the number of victims and the realistic assessment of the situation.<sup>27</sup>

### **The realistic possibility of managing crises**

*The fight against terrorism is the key to solution*

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the crises and the armed clashes have become inseparable phenomena due to the increasing terror levels.<sup>28</sup> In my opinion, the successful fight against terrorism, the analysis of the military culture of guerrilla warfare and the direct as well as the indirect assessment of terrorist acts ensure the realistic possibility of crisis management. Even though I believe that – based on the above – the complex political and legal theoretical approaches do not facilitate the creation of a system that would uniformly manage all crises (which would be a universal crisis management method), we can establish an operational level support system that would help to decrease the number of innocent victims, hinder the identification of targets that must be protected and serve the security of the individual and the state as well. In 2013, Resperger has laid down the foundations of this theory by – following military theorist Clausewitz<sup>29</sup> – elaborating a concept that is usable in counter-terrorism operations as well. Terrorism is a violent action conducted by terrorists (individuals or groups) – especially against the civilian population – in order to achieve their political goals and to impose their will on the adversary.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> orig. Resperger 2016: Nomen est omen, nevében a végzet(e)? – A hibrid fenyegetésekre adható válaszok, a kontrahibrid műveletek. (Nomen est omen, on behalf of destiny? - Responses to hybrid threat, counter-hybrid operations.); orig. Resperger 2017: A new approach to national and international crisis management.

<sup>28</sup> SIMON 2015: A fokozódó terrorizmus Európában és annak hatása a katonai tömegrendezvények biztosítására. (Growing terror threat in Europe and its impact on ensuring security during military mass events.)

<sup>29</sup> According to Clausewitz the enemy's first object is to throw his adversary, and thus to render him incapable of further resistance. op. CLAUSEWITZ 2013, 39.

<sup>30</sup> RESPERGER 2013: Biztonsági kihívások, kockázatok, fenyegetések és ezek hatása Magyarországra 2030-ig.

(The impacts of security challenges, risks and threats to Hungary until 2030.)

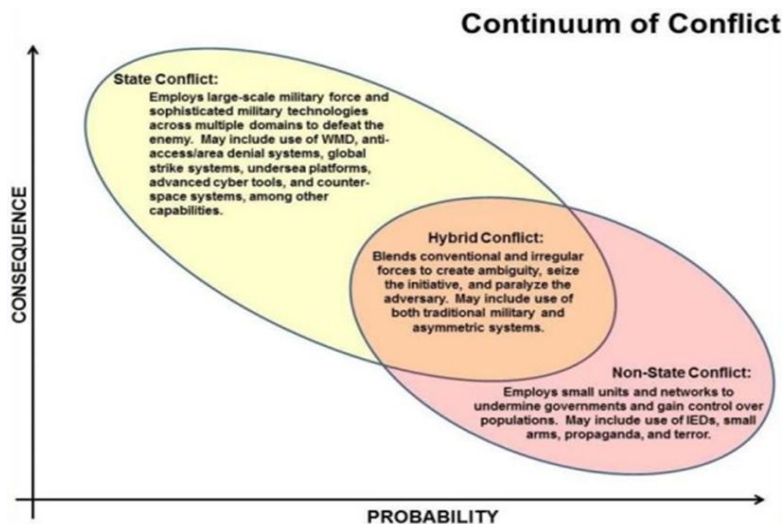


Figure 2. Continuum of conflict  
(orig.: <http://jcs.mil>)

Thus, using violence is not the privilege of states exclusively holding political power. Other actors might resort to violence as well (Figure 2.) Following 9/11, we have to face more opponents inside our countries, and once we pass the borders, we have to deal with an increasing number of enemies as well. Globalization has transformed interstate relationships and those between individuals in such a way that the international system itself has become “socialized”, and tried its utmost to peculiarly “culturalize” with the development of the information environment. This postmodern social approach has created wider possibilities for information societies. The acceptance of the common social interests of certain groups – which can be described by online relations – and the modern values of asserting individual interests is an undisputable success. By now, this system of values has become a quasi-virtual identity that can be easily attacked by terrorists. The information communication devices and “smart” applications have turned into destroyable, physical targets of real enemies. One of the best examples of this was the Syrian crisis and its management between 2015 and 2017. The opposing participants of the armed clashes – and those supporting them – were not divided into two power centres, but a complex system comprising several groups (based on religious, social, ethnic, cultural etc. identities).<sup>31</sup> (Figure 3.) In relation to the settlement of the Syrian crisis, which serves as an example – among others, in the course of the armed fight<sup>32</sup> against the terrorist organization called as the Islamic State (Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham, ISIS for short), the criticism of the current, modern social- and legal theoretical thinking was perceivable.<sup>33</sup> No balance of powers has emerged between

<sup>31</sup> Conflicts of Syria. orig. BROWN–PECK 2014

<sup>32</sup> KIS-BENEDEK 2017

<sup>33</sup> GAZDIK 2016

the affected sides; instead, the state-level interventions – opposed by a huge part of the population – meant the real breakthrough. Besides the Russian military support, state leader vs. “dictator” Bashar al-Assad – who does not enjoy the uniform support of the Syrian population – and his followers could take up a significant operational role in the liquidation of the terrorist acts<sup>34</sup>.

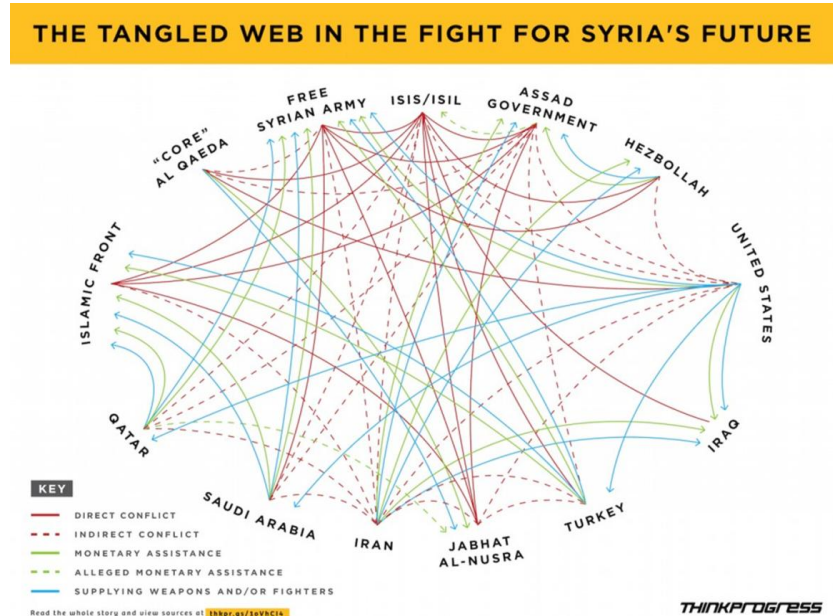


Figure 3. The tangled web in the fight for Syria’s future in 2014.  
(orig: Thinkprogress)

### The targets of the aggression and the indicators of national security risk analysis

The targets of the aggression and the attacks – whether directly or indirectly –, are ourselves. Even though on individual levels, we do not have pervasive political aims, those forces that attempt to impose their will on us are regularly appearing.

Based on the above, the fight against terrorism can serve as a pattern for other crisis management. The example proves that the liquidation and prevention of aggression need such a strategic thinking that prioritizes the standpoint (social, religious, cultural and other customs) of the affected local population. In order to carry out the complex operations during conflicts – before crisis management and military intervention –, aside from ensuring the essential equipment, methods, indicators and sensors, also the legal environment in which the operations are

<sup>34</sup> POTAPOV–Matsarskij 2013

conducted has to be determined. Due to the ever-changing aims and destroyable targets of terrorism, even during armed clashes, we cannot be in a situation to make punctual analyses.

In my interpretation, for counter-terrorism operations, the below characteristics can be identified that promote the creation of a uniform model of evaluation and assessment:

- Terrorism attacks the whole structure of the European society.
- Terrorist groups, and even lone perpetrators simultaneously make use of the real and the virtual space;
- The terrorists combine the direct and indirect consequences of aggression by making use of the entire spectrum of info-communication technologies. By doing so, they pose not only local threat, but are also able to influence international politics. Through assaulting certain symbols of freedom and statehood of the institutions, as well as the cultural and other networks of democratic states, the terrorists are attacking the bases of our modern world, and our individual and social existence as well.
- Aside from the strategic and tactical application of the “soft and hard” methods traditionally used by terrorist organizations, also higher-level, unified methods have been used.<sup>35</sup>

Based on these specific characteristics, it is easy to realize that gentleness and persuasion cannot be seen as the key antidote to violence (aggression and terror) emerging within the current social and info-communication networks. In regards to the rules regulating the coexistence of certain states and continents – due to, among others, their differing cultural perception – more and more people agree with the conclusion that Oliver has drawn from his psychological inquiries conducted among children: the polar opposite of aggression is not gentleness, but communication.<sup>36</sup> In a psychological sense, the opposing opinions related to existence – in a philosophical sense – and the differences on individual levels can be resolved through controlled dialogue. The gentleness of the stronger party can be perceived as weakness even if the opposing parties are the asymmetrical forces of societies and groups having different levels of development. The Charter of the United Nations (UN) was signed in 1946 with the aim of easing the interstate conflicts and tension, and – in order to avoid further wars – to legally forbid the use of violence. Previously, the participants of the Briand-Kellogg Pact in 1928 had renounced of using war as an instrument of politics. The Pact also declared the unconditional ban

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<sup>35</sup> RESPERGER 2016: Nomen est omen, nevében a végzet(e)? – A hibrid fenyegetésekre adható válaszok, a kontrahibrid műveletek. (Nomen est omen, on behalf of destiny? - Responses to hybrid threat, counter-hybrid operations.)

<sup>36</sup> OLIVIER 1999: Les Parents face à la violence de l'enfant. (Parents face the violence of the child.)

on aggressive and violent armed conflicts.<sup>37</sup> This legal prohibition was probably stemming from the experiences gained on the former war theatres of Europe and the entire world. However, in our current life and within the new networks – that appeared due to the appearance of new technological developments –, we had to experience that destruction – by no means a new phenomenon – and such an aggression have arisen which “do not know” borders. This means that in the future, despite our social expectations and legal regulations, we still cannot exclude the possibility that the opposing parties will let off the steam caused by individual or communal frustration, as well as religious or any other kind of extremism by resorting to the use of weapons and killing each other. On the level of the individual, the efforts taken so far to ease the current crises and stop the process of radicalization have been ineffective so far. The decreasing state role, the spread of criminal offences resulting in pointless deaths and the anti-state activity of extremist groups have only further fed the spiral of aggression.

By studying the cyber space, we can indirectly present the aforementioned aggression based on 21<sup>st</sup> century networks. Between 2007<sup>38</sup> and 2017, we could witness activities with complex power-related, military and legal consequences.<sup>39</sup> In case of attacks conducted by programmes generated in information systems, as well as occurrences that are the results of written codes, the “victims” (individuals, companies, regional or global economic, or community actors) could turn to the affected country’s defensive institutions for help. The management of computer-related incidents, the liquidation of the damages, and even legal remedies have posed considerable challenges to the operators of the systems. Despite all this, the acts – let’s call them attacks –, due to the material damages they caused and their negative effects – that have massive, societal consequences – indirectly have harmful influence in an extensive circle. State role in handling cyber attacks is defined by strategic and lower level regulations. For example, considering some particular elements of the cyber space, it is obvious that the designated state organizations have to defend their critical and info-communication infrastructures. Before wording the related laws and directives, discourses have begun both between state and non-state actors, as well as among the public. The regularity of cyber attacks and the damage inflicted by ransomwares, computer worms and phishing programmes have become key topics of discussion.<sup>40</sup> For example, the malwares “Petya” and “WannaCry” – which appeared in 2017 – have hindered the operation

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<sup>37</sup> WALT, Stephen M. 2017: There’s Still No Reason to Think the Kellogg-Briand Pact Accomplished Anything

<sup>38</sup> „And it still needed the incidents in Estonia in summer 2007 to finally draw full political attention to this growing source of threats to public safety and state stability. A three-week wave of massive cyber-attacks showed that NATO member’s societies were also exceedingly vulnerable on the cyber-front.” cp. THEILER 2011

<sup>39</sup> The history of cyber attacks - a timeline. NATO Review 2013

<sup>40</sup> For example „Blackout: Tomorrow Will Be Too Late” by Marc ELSBERG in Germany in 2012.



of economic and other - such as state – infrastructure on a regional level. The devastation of the programmes comprising digital codes was activated by the offended parties themselves, among others through pieces of deceptive personal information.<sup>41</sup> From the aspect of their consequences, these interventions can be considered as attacks conducted with information weapons<sup>42</sup> instead of simply causing damage with programming. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the targets might have included soldiers and military organizations, and thus, actually a military operation has happened. Even though the real aim of the programme’s creators and operators was to make a profit of the texts shown by the malwares, both non-professionals and experts could agree that the large-scale appearance of such programmes could have hindered the functioning of entire countries. If such a disturbance occurs that has an impact on the operation of a state, it can already be interpreted as direct aggression towards countries.

The faults within the usual activities of the state and non-state actors and the services provided by them render vulnerable our networks and us as well. If the challenges related to the aggression in cyber space are accompanied by direct armed attacks of a military nature, they can pose such a threat that has the risk of further crises and the inoperability of some states. This means that from the aspect of crises and terrorism, the cyber space holds the most extensive and accessible targets. Cyber attacks are means of direct and indirect aggression, hence they do not only influence the management and liquidation of the crises - as well as the operations aimed at settling them –, but they are also effective methods of generating them.

The results of my scientific research point out the fact that during crisis management, the traditional political and other (for example, military and law enforcement) methods cannot undo the contradictions of the aggression and fear affecting us. It is getting more and more difficult to be secure and assert our civil liberties at the same time, due to the increasing number of – not only moral – issues. As Castells has predicted it,<sup>43</sup> the measures accepted on strategic levels have resulted in contradicting efforts as well. In the time of the modern and global societies, the significance of information operations, as well as the role of the networks and their operation has increased.<sup>44</sup> According to my proposition, in case of regular threats, the defence of critical points can be planned and organized with the help of the usual physical dimensions by proportionally increasing them. In justified cases (an attack or any vis maior), this may ensure appropriate defense. In traditional dimensions (such as in political, natural, geographical, legal areas), the strengthening of the

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<sup>41</sup> ITMA Hungary 2017: WannaCry zsarolóvírus. (WannaCry ransomware); GÁLFFY 2017: Nem is zsarolóvírus a 2017-es Petya. (Petya (2017) isn't a ransomware.)

<sup>42</sup> SIMON 2016a: Információ mint fegyver? (Is information a deadly weapon?)

<sup>43</sup> CASTELLS 2009

<sup>44</sup> HAIG 2015: Információ, Társadalom, Biztonság. (Information, Society, Safety.)

three segments of force, space and time<sup>45</sup> have served the successful management of the events that occurred and the neutralization of its negative effects.

By adding the element of information dimension to the inquiry of the solution's effects, a considerable deviation has appeared in the system of 21<sup>st</sup> century reactions, the security regulations and even in the field of obeying regulations. With the increasing space, and amount of time spent on liquidating the harmful events and phenomena, – even though they may have differing indirect effects depending on the networks –, our actions have counter-productive results. The more hardware systems we use for our operations in cyber space, the less effective our efforts will be. If we consider the length of time from the aspect of the sense of security, the more time we spend on the intervention, the users' intensity and conscious behaviour will decrease accordingly. Sustaining secure operation, and the assertion of the related individual and community interests within the communities and relationship systems of certain countries constitute a classical state interest. Through its static institutions, the states have to be – or become – able to manage every new or dynamically changing area as well.

### **Military national security support**

The scientific research conducted in the national security field is significantly restricted by the procedures, regulations and principles related to secret information that needs to be protected. One of the possible locations of secondary scientific research in Hungary is the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security. With the proper permit for scientific research, we can gain access to documents which used to be classified, but nowadays can be processed, and – typically based on open source analysis and assessment – were written during the Cold War. The documents relating to crisis management that we can utilize include the analyses about the “operative situation”, disinformation operations, as well as papers, studies and the educational material of secret services on certain regions, crisis areas, and transnational terrorism. Aside from searching for the specialized literature on the subject, a comparative method based on the national security analysis and assessment – using the already available, related facts and data that are historically accurate – provides an opportunity to outline a model for a uniform system. The specialized doctrines of NATO countries can be valuable sources. Based on the above, further research ought to be conducted on the foundations of assessment methods<sup>46</sup> used in the operational environment of intelligence activity.

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<sup>45</sup> RESPERGER 2012: A „Diadal” és egyéb módszerek alkalmazása a nemzeti válságkezelési feladatok megoldásánál. (Use "DIADAL" and other methods to solve in national crisis management tasks.)

<sup>46</sup> Joint Publication 2-01.3: Joint Intelligence Preparation of the Operational Environment

As long as we can verify the applicability of information indicators and sensors – which are originating from the era of secret services, and distinct from the subject<sup>47</sup> – in the course of the current military procedures by conducting empiric experiments, then the national security risk analysis of armed conflicts will be discernible. Through information acquired by observation, we can receive answers to the following questions:

- Which specialized legal and technical requirements must be considered during the operation of a reconnaissance system?
- How can we integrate the sensors as well as the indicators from open and national security sources into reconnaissance activity with the aim of supporting decision-making?
- What advantages and disadvantages does the operation of the current reconnaissance systems have?

In Hungary, based on legal regulation, the Military National Security Service participates in the preparation and support of the decisions made by the Parliament and the government during national and international crisis management. The goal of the military research on national security-related information would be learning about such models and methods – applicable both in Hungary and outside of the country – that could be used to unite dynamic assessment systems and static databases relating to the two independent military branches of reconnaissance (intelligence and counter-intelligence). The risk management of specialized military services is open to research. Thus, we can rely on scientifically significant, therefore publicly available experiences. The base of our inquiries are the theoretical questions of military combat reconnaissance, and also the counter-intelligence and intelligence activity, that is, military science and the related interdisciplinary studies.

### **Conclusion**

Within the process of answering the information requests of the key operations aimed at managing national and international crises, military and national security assessment have gained more importance. Indirect and direct aggression, as well as destructive terrorism can be experienced even within the EU, which is geographically far from the current armed crises. Following the “exportation” of the so far preferred democratic state models (Pax Americana) and the ceasing of armed clashes, the establishment of new functioning states regularly poses challenges – and in some cases, even threats of aggression – to the personnel serving in a military mission there, with the aim of settling the situation in the region. The civil and military institutions and organizations participating in these missions must have the knowledge of such models and systems theories that they can use efficiently in the direct and indirect networks of aggression in the country of the mission and in their

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<sup>47</sup> VIDA 2017

home bases as well. In the dynamically changing application environment of the new technologies and innovations, they can rely on static information- and databases. Due to the info-communication networks of the information societies, this means such a huge amount of real and misrepresented data that cannot be easily processed.

Specialized systems are available to the intelligence and reconnaissance, as well as the related counter-intelligence services, traditionally engaged in information gathering, processing, data-managing and informing activity, as well as conducting the current operations. In the current national and international crisis management – via specialized information operations, the definition of military pieces of information and with their planned analysis – such a research program could be used that would be able to provide information support and methods – that are valuable sources – to any political or administrative process and information management. In addition, such a program would also render possible the designation of essential indicators and sensors.

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DÁNIEL LAYKÓ

**CAUSES OF THE BAY OF PIGS INVASION'S FAILURE: ISSUES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE OPERATION'S PREPARATORY PHASE**

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**Abstract**

While the failure of the 1961 Bay of Pigs Invasion is generally attributed to the errors of the Central Intelligence Agency, the analysis of the operation suggests that the decisions of President John F. Kennedy and his Cabinet were also responsible for the defeat. The aim of the paper is to present a detailed picture of the causes of the mission's breakdown through the study of various reports and other documents. Focusing on the organizational failures of both the Kennedy Administration and the Central Intelligence Agency during the preparatory phase of the invasion, the text argues that even though the Central Intelligence Agency was culpable for various errors, the assault was likewise hindered by the Cabinet's hesitant decision making process and political restrictions.

**Keywords:** Bay of Pigs, United States-Cuba Relations, Central Intelligence Agency, John F. Kennedy, Fidel Castro, Cold War

**Introduction**

The Bay of Pigs Invasion of April 1961 is one of the seminal moments of Cold War history. The United States' attack on the Cuban Castro regime was a complete failure and became synonymous with the incompetence of the Central Intelligence Agency in popular discourse. While the initial reports were positive regarding the outlook of the operation, the invasion of the Cuban Expeditionary Force only lasted from April 17 to April 19 and has been marred by difficulties from the outset. The errors of the Central Intelligence Agency, in addition to the hesitancy and political restrictions imposed by the Kennedy Administration collectively created a situation in which the invasion was imperiled before the troops landed on the island. The failure of the Bay of Pigs Invasion was not only a spectacular defeat, it was also a diplomatic disaster that completely excluded the swift resolution of the situation in Cuba and strengthened the Soviet Union's foothold in the Western Hemisphere, serving as a precursor to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

The United States Government and the Central Intelligence Agency immediately ordered the review of the invasion, and several reports have been created with varying conclusions. While popular opinion on the Bay of Pigs invasion claims gross ineptitude on the part of the Central Intelligence Agency, the



study of different documents suggests a more intricate solution. Based predominantly on primary sources and reports, most importantly the memoranda of the Cuban Study Group, composed by General Maxwell Taylor's Presidential Commission, and Central Intelligence Agency historian Jack B. Pfeiffer's critique of the Cuban Study Group's assessment, the Taylor Committee Investigation of the Bay of Pigs, the article will compile and examine the findings of several documents, attempting to reconstruct the central issues during the preparatory phase with a focus on the organizational failures of both the Kennedy Administration and the Central Intelligence Agency.

### Overview of the Events

In 1959, the Castro-lead Cuban Revolution managed to overthrow the United States-friendly president and dictator, Fulgencio Batista, and established a socialist state in Cuba. Fearing the growing presence of the Soviet Union and Communism, on March 17, 1960, President Dwight D. Eisenhower authorized the Central Intelligence Agency to initiate a covert anti-Castro operation.<sup>1</sup> By the summer of 1960, a growing dissatisfaction emerged regarding the original plan, which concentrated on small guerrilla groups consisting of two or three men infiltrating Cuba, and by the fall of the same year, a radical switch occurred in the concept, shifting focus onto paramilitary operations.<sup>2</sup> President Eisenhower approved the continuation of the plan's development; however, he decided to leave the final decision on the operation to his successor.

President-elect John F. Kennedy was first briefed on the anti-Castro project of the Central Intelligence Agency on November 18, 1960.<sup>3</sup> After his inauguration, the Agency presented the developments to Kennedy and other high ranking civilian officials on January 28, 1961, where the President voiced his approval for the project's further development.<sup>4</sup> Later in the process, on March 11, 1961, due to political considerations, alternatives to the original Trinidad Plan were ordered from the Central Intelligence Agency.<sup>5</sup> During the period of March 13 to 15, the Agency

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<sup>1</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Evolution of the CIA's Anti-Castro Policies, 1959 – January 1961*.

Langley: Central Intelligence Agency Library, Dec. 1979. p. 57.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/bop-vol3.pdf>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>2</sup>. Ibid. p. 143.

<sup>3</sup>. Ibid. p. 148.

<sup>4</sup>. BUNDY, McGeorge. *Memorandum of Discussion on Cuba*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 30.

Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 28 Jan. 1961. par. 1-3.

<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d30>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>5</sup>. HAWKINS, Jack. *Record of Paramilitary Action Against the Castro Government of Cuba 17 March 1960 - May 1961*. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, 5 May 1961. p. 19.

[http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/latin\\_america/cuba/hawkins/](http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/latin_america/cuba/hawkins/). 15 Jan. 2018.

developed three preliminary concepts, including the Zapata Plan, which was ultimately approved.<sup>6</sup>

After two delays, the operation commenced on D-2, April 15, 1961. The three air strikes planned against Cuban air fields were executed, however, the scheduled diversionary forces failed to land in Cuba.<sup>7</sup> On the night before D-Day, without prior warning, President Kennedy ordered the cancelation of the D-Day air strikes against the Cuban military air fields and other targets. Undeterred by the Central Intelligence Agency's request to reconsider his stance, the President's decision remained unchanged.<sup>8</sup> Soon after the landing started, as predicted by the Agency in their appeal, the Rio Escondido and the Houston freighters were lost to the Castro air force, resulting in the destruction of a significant amount of supplies.<sup>9</sup> Following the difficulties encountered due to the loss of the freighters and the failure to isolate the beachhead, the operation rapidly collapsed, concluding by D+2, April 19, leading to painful questions that the United States had to answer in regards to the defeat of the invasion.

### **Issues during the Preparatory Phase**

A common assessment of all reports was that the Executive branch of the United States Government was not organizationally prepared to conduct a paramilitary operation of such magnitude. All involved agencies should have considered the mission's success their main objective, however, there was ostensibly a disconnection between the various organizations. The bodies responsible for the paramilitary and military aspects of the plan were routinely restricted by the political considerations of the Cabinet, and without a concrete framework to follow, the oftentimes fluctuating circumstances severely hindered the preparatory process. President Kennedy and his staff should have created a clear policy outline to ensure coherent preparation or alternatively canceled the entire operation. Both Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Inspector General of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Jack B. Pfeiffer agreed that the direct involvement of the Department of Defense during the mission proper would have presented a more favorable situation, yet this did not materialize due to President Kennedy not requesting it. The Cuban Study Group claimed that a paramilitary operation of the magnitude of the Zapata Plan could not be prepared and conducted with the premise of plausible deniability, it did not fit the scope of the agencies involved, and the Central Intelligence Agency should have recognized and reviewed the situation, limiting themselves to efforts to attain covertness and delegating the amphibious landing to the Department of Defense.

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<sup>6</sup>. Ibid. p. 20.

<sup>7</sup>. Ibid. pp. 32-33.

<sup>8</sup>. Ibid. p. 34.

<sup>9</sup>. Ibid. pp. 35-36.

Without committing to these changes, the project should have been abandoned.<sup>10</sup> The report also assessed that the operational restrictions and the requirement of covertness should have been accepted only if they did not impair the chance of success, and clear ground rules should have been established to avoid the uncertainty in planning.<sup>11</sup> The operational restrictions, especially the oft-recurring issue of the air strikes and the prohibition of the involvement of experienced United States personnel, severely impeded the project.

During the Eisenhower Administration, the Department of Defense had a more central role in the mission, as the President and the Cabinet approved the use of Department of Defense personnel and equipment, although it was specified that United States military personnel would not be allowed to participate in combat.<sup>12</sup> This decision shows that while the element of plausible deniability was already a high priority during the time of the Eisenhower administration, the Department of Defense and consequently the United States Armed Forces were heavily involved during the early stages of the process, having an integral role in the anti-Castro mission, yet President Eisenhower was similarly hesitant to fully commit to the ouster of the Cuban Communist government in the form of an overt military intervention. The deeper involvement of the Department of Defense was also considered under the Kennedy Administration, as the Joint Chiefs of Staff did discuss possibilities that would have included the United States military.<sup>13</sup> The document deliberating this possibility was penned in January 1961, in which the Joint Chiefs of Staff expressed the need for an overall plan to overthrow of the Castro regime, pending approval by the President to ensure the coherence of the plans prepared by the various agencies. The document which detailed this recommendation, JCSM-44-61, reached the Secretary of Defense, however, the Cuban Study Group claims that it was lost during the activities entailed by the

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<sup>10</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 3 From the Cuban Study Group to President Kennedy – Conclusions of the Cuban Study Group*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 233. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 13 June 1961. par. 1a. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d233>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>11</sup>. *Ibid.* para. 1b.

<sup>12</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1 From the Cuban Study Group to President Kennedy – Narrative of the Anti-Castro Cuban Operation Zapata*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 231. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 13 June 1961. par. 4. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d231>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>13</sup>. Joint Chiefs of Staff. *JCSM-44-61, Memorandum From the Joint Chiefs of Staff to Secretary of Defense McNamara – U.S. Plan of Action in Cuba*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 28. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 27 Jan. 1961. app. 5-7. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d28>. 15 Jan. 2018.

change in administration.<sup>14</sup> The lack of authority short of the President that would have been able to make operational decisions and coordinate the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the United States Information Agency was an additional issue. Moreover, the procedural method of the high level meetings was also reportedly problematic during the planning phase, as these sessions were overwhelmingly ad hoc discussions without written documents and without recording the conclusions and decisions of the participants.<sup>15</sup> These factors had a considerable negative effect on the outcome of the invasion, as several faulty decisions can be attributed to miscommunication and the lack of a common understanding and directive among the various organizations involved in the mission.

The transition from the Trinidad Plan to the Zapata Plan perfectly illustrates the difficulties brought on by the continuous uncertainty, as the overhaul of the plans also proved to be a significant setback in the mission. John F. Kennedy was first informed about the existence of an anti-Castro plan on 18 November 1960 as President-elect by Allen Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence, and Richard Bissell, Deputy Director responsible for Plans.<sup>16</sup> After his inauguration as President, he was first briefed on January 28, 1961, at a meeting where several high ranking officials were present. Following a lengthy discussion of the topic, the President authorized three directives, including the continuation and accentuation of current activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, the analysis of the Agency's plan by the Department of Defense, and a call for a proposal of action from the Department of State to cooperate with Latin American countries to isolate the Castro regime<sup>17</sup>. As a response to this request from Kennedy, the Joint Chiefs of Staff evaluated the Trinidad Plan, and approved and forwarded the JCSM-57-61 document titled "Military Evaluation of the CIA Paramilitary Plan – Cuba" to the Secretary of Defense.<sup>18</sup> The report summarized that while further evaluation was needed, the outlook of the plan was favorable, and despite its shortcomings, it had a fair chance of ultimate success, and even if it did not immediately achieve the removal of Castro, it could contribute to his eventual ouster.<sup>19</sup> Due to the lack of direct

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<sup>14</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 15.

<sup>15</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 2 From the Cuban Study Group to President Kennedy – Immediate Causes of Failure of the Operation Zapata*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 232. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 13 June 1961. par. 11. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d232>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>16</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 16.

<sup>17</sup>. BUNDY, McGeorge. *Memorandum of Discussion on Cuba*. par. 1-3.

<sup>18</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 17.

<sup>19</sup>. Joint Chiefs of Staff. *JCSM-57-61, Memorandum From the Joint Chiefs of Staff to Secretary of Defense McNamara – Military Evaluation of the Cuban Plan*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 35. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 3 Feb. 1961. par. 1p-1q. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d35>. 15 Jan. 2018.

knowledge, the Joint Chiefs of Staff sent three officers to receive first hand reports from Nicaragua and Guatemala, and reported that because of the visibility of the activities at the training facilities, the odds against a surprise attack being achieved was approximately 85 to 15, furthermore it was highlighted that a single Castro aircraft could sink all or most of the forces approaching the Cuban coast, yet still supported the Trinidad Plan as having a fair chance of success.<sup>20</sup> The Joint Chiefs of Staff, while presenting a generally favorable view, highlighted several difficulties that could be encountered, suggesting that the operation's positive outcome could be jeopardized even by a slight error, needing a full commitment to the execution of the plan. In retrospect, with the eventual decision to transition to the less advantageous Zapata Plan and cancel various elements of the assault, the failure of the invasion was not an unforeseeable outcome.

The main premise of the operation was that it had to retain its covert character. The plausible deniability of United States involvement was of utmost importance, and in all scenarios, the actions must have had the appearance of a plan carried out by Cuban forces. This also meant that no United States military personnel could take part in combat operations, and that a Cuban airstrip had to be seized in order to support continuous air strikes throughout the invasion.<sup>21</sup> These were significant obstacles in the planning process, and presented an issue that was nigh insurmountable: concealing the involvement of the United States in an operation that was already underway and reportedly noticed by several states. The President and his advisors were aware of the problems this presented, and therefore were cautious in regards to the plan. The Department of State voiced the strongest objection, fearing adverse effects in the Latin American region and the United Nations. They indicated that their opposition was mainly directed towards the air operation.<sup>22</sup> While the plan was eventually scrapped in favor of a less high profile mission, heavy air strikes were still scheduled throughout the invasion. This reluctance expressed by the Department of State signaled and foreshadowed the eventual cancelation of the brunt of the air strikes, which imperiled if not outright doomed the operation.

As an additional issue, a decision had to be made in regards to the Cuban Expeditionary Force stationed in Guatemala. The Cabinet was informed that the contingent must leave the country within a limited time, and was also warned that it is unlikely that the troop could be held together if moved to the United States. Furthermore, the disbandment of the group could have been interpreted as a renunciation of the attempts to remove the Castro regime from Cuba. Facing two unattractive alternatives and still being uncomfortable with the original Trinidad Plan, President Kennedy ordered the Central Intelligence Agency to develop new

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<sup>20</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 18-19.

<sup>21</sup>. *Ibid.* par. 19.

<sup>22</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 20.

proposals for the use of the Cuban Brigade.<sup>23</sup> As there were time constraints for the Agency to formulate these plans and for the Cabinet to choose and approve a relatively new course, the revised plan was bound to be less developed and calculated than the original Trinidad concept.

On March 11, the President and the National Security Council held a meeting to discuss and consider various options. Deputy Director Bissell prepared a document summarizing the events to date and proposed four options to the officials.<sup>24</sup> Bissell voiced his support for a plan involving an amphibious and airborne assault in force, including concurrent tactical air support, with a prior diversionary landing. Furthermore, the establishment of a provisional government in the area would have allowed the United States Government to recognize and support an anti-Castro actor, giving a legal basis for further actions against the Cuban regime.<sup>25</sup> The proposed landing would have also employed a so-called shock and awe or rapid dominance technique, as the scale of the operation, the display of professional competence, and the determination of the assault brigade was expected to demoralize the Castro militia, causing defections, impairing the Castro regime's control, and inducing rebellions on the island.<sup>26</sup> The thought behind this iteration of the plan, while slightly altered to cater to the Cabinet's wishes, still remained the same, as a successful assault was thought to have required a relatively large contingent and full commitment to the cause.

President Kennedy supported the overall plan, however, he refused to endorse such a spectacular operation as the one described in the Trinidad Plan, expressing his wishes for a more quiet method, therefore the rapid dominance concept had to be dismissed.<sup>27</sup> As a response to the administration's appeals, the paramilitary department of the Central Intelligence Agency developed new alternatives according to the President's wishes between March 13 and March 15. The new concept offered three landing options: in the Preston area on the north coast of Oriente Province; the southern coast of Las Villas between Trinidad and Cienfuegos; and the eastern Zapata area near Cochinos Bay, also known as the Bay of Pigs or Bahía de Cochinos.<sup>28</sup> In the document submitted to the Secretary of Defense, containing the assessment of the alternatives, the Joint Chiefs of Staff came to the conclusion that the landing in the Zapata area, near the Bay of Pigs, was the most feasible concept that was the most likely to accomplish the set objectives, however, they noted that

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<sup>23</sup>. Ibid. par. 21.

<sup>24</sup>. BISSELL, Richard M. *Proposed Operation Against Cuba*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 58. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 11 Mar. 1961. par. 3-7. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d58>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>25</sup>. BISSELL, Richard M. *Proposed Operation Against Cuba*. par. 5.

<sup>26</sup>. Ibid. par. 5a-5c.

<sup>27</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 24.

<sup>28</sup>. Ibid. par. 25.

none of the three options were as favorable as the original Trinidad Plan.<sup>29</sup> This opinion, however, never reached the senior civilian officers, as Secretary of Defense McNamara, who was responsible for the communication of the plans' evaluation to the President, ignored, lost, or misplaced critically important documents prepared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff discussing the issue.<sup>30</sup>

While the Joint Chiefs of Staff eventually approved the Zapata Plan, Pfeiffer claims that contrary to what is suggested by the Cuban Study Group, stating that the they were satisfied with the plan after participating in active discussion in regards to the plan, the alternative concept was approved under the assumption that a major air strike would still be initiated on D-Day.<sup>31</sup> Pfeiffer deems the assertion of the Cuban Study Group that a D-2 air strike was settled on as a compromise solution a novel thesis, as it is not supported by any available documents, and there are no implications that the D-2 attacks would have enabled the restriction of the D-Day attacks; in fact, the D-2 air strikes were only developed to guarantee the complete grounding of the Castro aircrafts on D-Day.<sup>32</sup> The Joint Chiefs of Staff feared that a limited D-2 air strike would not only be indecisive but also raise alert to an impending assault, and Deputy Director Bissell also expressed the Central Intelligence Agency's preference for an all-out D-Day air strike, however, due to the apparent political advantages, the D-2 defection strikes remained in the operation's plans.<sup>33</sup> The critical importance of the air operations was established as early as January, 1961, as a memorandum indicated the following: "The Cuban Air Force and naval vessels capable of opposing our landing must be knocked out or neutralized [...] If this is not done, we will be courting disaster."<sup>34</sup> From these various sources, it is evident that the Cabinet was well-informed of the nature and gravity of the air strikes, especially the significance of the decisive D-Day air

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<sup>29</sup>. Joint Chiefs of Staff. *JCSM-166-61, Memorandum From the Joint Chiefs of Staff to Secretary of Defense McNamara – Evaluation of the Military Aspects of Alternate Concepts, CIA Para-Military Plan, Cuba (S)*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 62. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 15 Mar. 1961. par. 3d-3e.  
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d62>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>30</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *The Taylor Committee Investigation of the Bay of Pigs*. Langley: Central Intelligence Agency Library, 9 Nov. 1984. pp. 216-217.  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/bop-vol4.pdf>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>31</sup>. *Ibid.* p. 190.

<sup>32</sup>. *Ibid.* p. 191.

<sup>33</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 30.

<sup>34</sup>. HAWKINS, Jack. *Memorandum From the Chief of WH/4/PM, Central Intelligence Agency (Hawkins) to the Chief of WH/4 of the Directorate for Plans (Esterline) - Policy Decisions Required for Conduct of Strike Operations Against Government of Cuba*. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 9. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 4 Jan. 1961. par. 4c.  
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d9>. 15 Jan. 2018.

mission to destroy the Castro Air Force, yet ultimately decided to cancel it against better judgment.

An additional instance of miscommunication during the change from the Trinidad Plan to the Zapata Plan materialized in regards to the availability of the guerilla option in case the invasion failed. The Cuban Study Group asserted that the approval of the President and senior officials was greatly influenced by the thought that a transition to guerilla warfare was possible, feeling that the operation was protected by this option, rendering a sudden or disastrous defeat improbable.<sup>35</sup> In their evaluation of the Trinidad Plan, the Joint Chiefs of Staff stated that even if it does not fully succeed, it could contribute to the eventual overthrow of the Castro regime.<sup>36</sup> This evaluation referred chiefly to the availability of the guerilla option; however, the Zapata area was not suitable for such activities. While in the early stages of the invasion's planning, the 200-300 strong infantry force's main proposed goal was to supplement the already planned guerilla actions on the island, the new policy directives of what was to become the Trinidad Plan called for the increase of the Cuban force and the reorientation of the training towards their use as an assault force. From this point onwards the emphasis was placed on the amphibious and airborne assault mission, and there was no evidence for the continuation of the guerilla preparation. Furthermore, the men involved in the operation became deeply imbued with the superiority of the landing operation, leading to a situation where it would have been difficult to repurpose the force for guerilla activities.<sup>37</sup> Due to this shift, the probability of a successful transition to guerilla warfare was already fairly low before the adoption of the eventual Zapata Plan.

After the Cuban Revolution's success, no government agency studied the developments in the Zapata area, including the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense. Such investigations would have concluded that Castro had taken great interest in the development in the area, and consequently won strong support from the inhabitants.<sup>38</sup> David Ormsby-Gore, British Ambassador to the United States, recounted that British intelligence analysis, which was made available to the Central Intelligence Agency but was apparently ignored, also indicated that the Cuban populace overwhelmingly supported the Castro regime, and mass defections or insurrections were considered highly unlikely.<sup>39</sup> Testimonies during the Cuban Study Group's interviews claimed that the guerilla option was only realistic in terms of the Trinidad Plan, where the proximity of the Escambray Mountains would have allowed the forces to take refuge in the range. Pfeiffer claims that even a cursory examination of the map of Cuba should

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<sup>35</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 3*. par. 1f.

<sup>36</sup>. Joint Chiefs of Staff. *JCSM-57-61*. par. 1q.

<sup>37</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 7.

<sup>38</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Taylor Committee Investigation*. pp. 213-214.

<sup>39</sup>. SCHLESINGER, Arthur M. Jr. *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1965. p. 264.



have made it obvious to any military planner and White House officials that the journey of 50-70 miles from Zapata to the Escambrays through a hostile area was highly unrealistic.<sup>40</sup> The final conclusion of the Cuban Study Group was that “the guerrilla alternative as it had been described was not in fact available to this force in the situation which developed,” which Pfeiffer would have modified to state that “the guerrilla alternative from the Zapata area was not in fact available to this force.”<sup>41</sup> According to Task Force Commander Jacob Esterline, this reality was also recognized by the leaders of the Cuban Brigade:

In summation it must be stated that little interest or enthusiasm was displayed by the Brigade personnel concerned for any aspect of the plan that involved retreat and defeat, to include this contingency for guerrilla operations plan. It was generally recognized and openly stated by the key officers that any military force involved in an airborne/amphibious landing and subsequent field operations against an enemy defending his homeland would have an extremely difficult time assuming a guerrilla role in any substantive force subsequent to defeat in the field.<sup>42</sup>

As the dismissal of the Trinidad Plan and the selection of the Zapata Plan was solely the preference of the Kennedy administration, the Central Intelligence Agency’s culpability primarily lies in other areas. The Agency was criticized for not voicing their opinions with sufficient clarity or force, and this issue is worthy of consideration. It is possible that the Agency should have dedicated more effort to pursuing the approval of the Trinidad Plan with the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, albeit, at that time, general consensus was that the scheduled air strikes would occur, therefore the Zapata Plan was still considered to be viable. However, there were indeed some reported problems with the Central Intelligence Agency’s communication in the preparatory phases of the operation. Both Jacob Esterline and Colonel Jack Hawkins lamented that it was unfortunate that Director Dulles did not defer more frequently to people more knowledgeable about the plan during meetings.<sup>43</sup> In a later interview, Esterline implied that rank had too many privileges, claiming that more decorated officers rarely accommodated lower ranking personnel.<sup>44</sup> Dulles’ insistence to have a leading role during these meetings might have hindered other agencies’ understanding of the plan, however, it is doubtful that they were significantly misinformed at any time during the operation.

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<sup>40</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Taylor Committee Investigation*. p. 214.

<sup>41</sup>. *Ibid.* p. 215.

<sup>42</sup>. *What briefing, if any, was given the Brigade or the Brigade's staff on going guerrilla.*

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume X, Cuba, January 1961–September 1962, Document 226. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, 31 May 1961. par. 7. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v10/d226>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>43</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Taylor Committee Investigation*. pp. 181-182.

<sup>44</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Interview with Jacob D. Esterline*. St. Croix, U.S., Virgin Islands. 10-11 Nov. 1975. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive. p. 98. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/bayofpigs/esterlineinterv.pdf>. 15 Jan. 2018.

Throughout the process, experts from both the Central Intelligence Agency and the Joint Chiefs of Staff responsible for the mission were involved in meetings and discussions, therefore the Kennedy administration was not misinformed in regards to the details of the operation, although the Agency failed to provide a clearly outlined scenario in case the operation failed. The previously discussed lack of up-to-date intelligence regarding the Zapata area can also be attributed to the Central Intelligence Agency, however, the blame for this oversight is shared with the Department of State and Department of Defense. Considering the aforementioned facts, the Central Intelligence Agency's communication was not impeccable, although it must be indicated that these shortcomings were not directly responsible for the operation's failure.

A recurring theme during the operation was the substandard performance of several troops of the Cuban Brigade, exemplified by the failed D-2 diversionary landing mission, the Fifth Battalion's refusal to join the fight after the Houston freighter ran aground, and the desertion of the Caribe and the Atlantico freighters on D+1, revealing serious issues in regards to the selection and training of the participants. The initial recruitment was carried out by Cuban exile organizations under the guidance of the Central Intelligence Agency, and there were various issues with the procedure. The Agency targeted 300 men for recruitment as guerrillas who were to be trained covertly outside the United States.<sup>45</sup> Despite the aim to conduct the recruitment and training process covertly, the Central Intelligence Agency was unable to adequately mask its involvement, as the overly visible recruitment efforts, the inability of various Cuban groups' leaders to retain confidentiality, and the media coverage of the activities revealed the involvement of the Agency.<sup>46</sup> An additional mistake, as Lyman B. Kirkpatrick suggests, was the misuse and neglect of the Cuban exiles' knowledge that could have helped the operation. The mission was unable to capitalize on its sources with valuable inside knowledge and relegated these individuals to mere tools or figureheads.<sup>47</sup> The Cuban exile leaders that participated in the operation were supposedly familiar with the strengths and weaknesses of the Castro regime while also possessing valuable knowledge about the operational areas' geographic attributes. The failure to take advantage of such information severely hindered the project's chances of success. Kirkpatrick also concluded that the Agency lacked the required agent nets and Spanish-speakers to effectively cooperate with the Cuban exiles, underlining his opinion of the mission not being staffed with top quality people.<sup>48</sup> The faulty recruitment process and the failure to leverage all available resources signals poor management attributable to the Central Intelligence Agency, and illustrates that at the time it was unable to

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<sup>45</sup>. Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 4.

<sup>46</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Taylor Committee Investigation*. p. 5.

<sup>47</sup>. KIRKPATRICK, Lyman B. *Inspector General's Survey of the Cuban Operation*. Washington, D.C.: National Security Archive, Oct. 1961. p. 143.

<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB341/IGrpt1.pdf>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>48</sup>. *Ibid.* p. 144.

administer such large scale operations, yet also indicates that the United States Government was similarly at fault for failing to adequately assess the capabilities of the Agency to thoroughly oversee this critical operation.

It is also worth examining if the Central Intelligence Agency should have proposed the cancelation of the operation. In a letter, Jack Hawkins suggested that the Agency's largest fault might have been their refusal to do so, although the content of his remarks were intended to criticize the Government's continuous and increasingly severe political restrictions.<sup>49</sup> While there were key events when the Agency could have plausibly suggested such action, including the selection of the Zapata Plan over the Trinidad Plan, until the cancelation of the D-Day strikes there was no reason to believe that the operation would undoubtedly fail, and by the time Kennedy's decision was made, the mission has practically already commenced. Hawkins claimed that if the cancelation was communicated a few hours earlier, he would have strongly urged the withdrawal of the shipping, however, by that time the vessels were already approaching the beaches.<sup>50</sup> Based on Lyman B. Kirkpatrick's appraisal that the Central Intelligence Agency should have understood that the mission exceeded its capacities and capabilities when the original concept transitioned from a guerrilla action to a relatively large scale paramilitary action, it can be argued that the Agency should have proposed the operation's cancelation; however, the Kennedy Administration's refusal to utilize United States forces in an overt military action left no other competent body that could plausibly execute a similar project.

The Government's policy of non-attribution was a clear directive that was consistently non-negotiable; however, it is debatable if plausible deniability was attainable at all. The existence of a United States backed force and its training in Guatemala and Nicaragua was well-known throughout Latin America,<sup>51</sup> and the Cuban government was presumably aware of the situation as well. As the United States' involvement became abundantly clear, the Cabinet should have considered the option of overt military action. While risking the intervention of the Soviet Union and repercussions in the United Nations, the ability to use the United States Armed Forces would have essentially guaranteed the success of the operation and the removal of the Castro regime. The Kennedy Administration's stance on this issue was resolute, yet it can be contended that if the Castro threat was viewed urgently important, the only assured course of action would have been an overt military intervention before the Soviet Union established a strong presence in Cuba.

After his election, President Kennedy was presented with a plan that had been in development for a significant amount of time and with a brigade of Cuban dissidents that created a situation which needed to be addressed sooner rather than

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<sup>49</sup> PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Taylor Committee Investigation*. pp. 247-248.

<sup>50</sup> HAWKINS, Jack. *Record of Paramilitary Action Against the Castro Government of Cuba*. p. 34.

<sup>51</sup> Cuban Study Group. *Memorandum No. 1*. par. 12.

later. The increasing presence of the Soviet Union in Cuba also added to the gravity of the events. In his report, Pfeiffer emphasized the peculiarity of the political climate at the time of Kennedy's election, mentioning that the young and untested President was tasked with coordinating a varied group of Cabinet members and advisors, including Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Arthur Schlesinger, and most importantly Robert Kennedy who "crossed all lines as the President's alter ego."<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, despite a Democratic majority in both chambers of Congress, he added that Kennedy's relations with the House of Representatives was problematic, and while it was closer with the Senate, the President was tasked with catering to political demands and special interests, "massaging" egos, and "mending post-election fences," along with critical international issues when he inherited the plan from the Eisenhower Administration.<sup>53</sup> President Dwight D. Eisenhower's interest in the mission could be described as uneven, decreasing before the election, and then resurging after the election of Kennedy. He expedited the process, establishing several fundamental elements, including the preference for the use of Cuban exiles; however, he deferred the final decision to the incoming administration.

President Kennedy inherited a paramilitary contingent with the heaviest firepower in the Caribbean and possibly Latin America. After his inauguration, he was forced to make a decision sooner rather than later, as he was facing pressure from the Agency and the governments of Guatemala and Nicaragua.<sup>54</sup> The President was presented with a task that he was not committed to, evidenced by his reluctance to fully support and formally approve a plan for an extended period time, and the compromise solution materialized in a half-measure that not only failed to accomplish the task, but also had grave repercussions against the United States. According to Arthur Schlesinger, an advisor of Kennedy, the President believed that the cost of failure was reduced to an acceptable level with the final plan, as "if [they] have to get rid of the 800 men, it is much better to dump [the Brigade] in Cuba than in the United States, especially if that is where they want to go."<sup>55</sup> Based on this statement, it can be deduced that the President's apparent carelessness and wavering on the plan can be partially attributed to his belief that a failure would not have caused serious harm to the United States.

Through the numerous errors committed by his Cabinet, it can be established that President Kennedy was not prepared to coordinate such a huge task this early in his presidency. He inherited a project from the Eisenhower Administration that was not his own concept and was unable to perfectly manage the situation as a young and inexperienced President in the political climate of the time. After his

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<sup>52</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Taylor Committee Investigation*. pp. 1-2.

<sup>53</sup>. *Ibid.* p. 2.

<sup>54</sup>. PFEIFFER, Jack B. *Taylor Committee Investigation*. p. 6.

<sup>55</sup>. SCHLESINGER, Arthur M. Jr. *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*. pp. 257-258.

inauguration, Kennedy was immediately pressured by the Central Intelligence Agency and the governments of Guatemala and Nicaragua to reach a decision with regards to the Cuban Brigade, while also having to consider the political ramifications that eventually forced him to continue a project that he seemingly did not want to pursue or did not attach such high importance to. While the situation was challenging, it does not exonerate President Kennedy from failing to voice his opinion explicitly. With the change of administration, the operation was in flux, and the situation required either the project's cancellation or the statement of a clear policy, yet neither option was chosen, causing disagreements and confusion between the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense. Richard Bissell's reflections reinforce the claim in regards to the President's indecision; he recalled "think[ing] that, as [Kennedy] got further into the Bay of Pigs operation and closer to D day or D hour, he had growing doubts," adding that he presumed that these qualms were not based on the assessment of the chances of success but rather on political considerations.<sup>56</sup>

The behavior of the Cabinet can be conceivably explained by the psychological notion of "groupthink." Groupthink is a concept coined by social psychologist Irving Janis, referring to a phenomenon of group dynamics in which a group makes faulty decisions due to group pressures inhibiting "mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgment," showing tendencies of ignoring alternatives and making irrational conclusions due to pressures to reach unanimity.<sup>57</sup> Groupthink is prevalent among members of high-prestige, tightly knit policy-making groups, and can excessively reach levels where group members value the group and the group's harmonious functioning higher than any other consideration.<sup>58</sup> According to Arthur Schlesinger, who was involved in the decision making process, the "meetings were taking place in a curious atmosphere of assumed consensus, [and] not one spoke against it."<sup>59</sup> There are several elements suggesting that this dynamic was present in the Cabinet with regards to the Bay of Pigs operation. The repeated preferences of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Joint Chiefs of Staff were ignored, including their insistence that none of the three alternatives to the Trinidad Plan were as likely to succeed as the original, furthermore, the Cabinet also failed to understand the consequences of the cancellation of the D-Day air strike despite numerous warnings about the dangers of the Cuban air force. Apparently Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara also lost, misplaced, or ignored two Joint Chiefs of Staff documents containing crucial information regarding the operation, which might have

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<sup>56</sup>. BISSELL, Richard M. *Reflections of a Cold Warrior: From Yalta to the Bay of Pigs*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. pp. 186-187.

<sup>57</sup>. JANIS, Irving L. *Victims of Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1972. p. 9.

<sup>58</sup>. HART, Paul't. "Irving L. Janis' Victims of Groupthink." *Political Psychology* 12.2 (June 1991): 247-278. p. 247. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3791464>. 15 Jan. 2018.

<sup>59</sup>. HANSEN, Morten T. "How John F. Kennedy Changed Decision Making for Us All." *Harvard Business Review*. 22 Nov. 2013. <https://hbr.org/2013/11/how-john-f-kennedy-changed-decision-making>. 15 Jan. 2018.

contributed to the President's alleged lack of knowledge and misconceptions. President Kennedy himself admitted that "[he] wasn't aware of any great opposition" from within the Cabinet against the operation, indicating that the administration was not familiar with all the potential pitfalls of the mission.<sup>60</sup> Kennedy displayed hesitancy during the process, and the lack of a clear policy and the refusal to fully commit to the mission created unsure circumstances for the operation. Based on the information describing the dynamics of the Cabinet, it can be reasonably stated that President Kennedy's awareness and understanding of the operation was hindered by the groupthink phenomenon, enabling him and his administration to reach questionable decisions without critique from the inside.

### **Conclusion**

Although in the public eye and popular interpretation of the invasion, the Central Intelligence Agency has borne the brunt of the criticism for the debacle, the study of the situation presents a more detailed account, in which the Cabinet's political decisions and hesitancy were just as responsible for the ultimate defeat. The mission would have been better suited for an overt military action, however, the Kennedy Administration's insistence on plausible deniability ruled out this possibility, forcing the Central Intelligence Agency into organizing a paramilitary operation that exceeded the scope of their capabilities. The Agency committed several errors during the preparatory phase, most notably in regards to the selection, recruitment, and training of the Cuban Brigade, however, these errors were not directly responsible for the invasion's failure. While inexcusable, the lack of proper intelligence gathering in the Zapata area due the hasty development of the new concept can only be partially attributed to the Agency, as the Department of State and the Department of Defense also failed to properly investigate the area. As for the Cabinet's missteps, the operation suffered from the lack of a clear policy statement after the change of administration from President Eisenhower, and no one short of President Kennedy had the authority to coordinate the various participating agencies. The uncertain situation created by the administration's indecision exposed various issues in the planning process and interagency communication, imperiling the whole operation. President Kennedy and his Cabinet were presented with an urgent situation that the inexperienced administration mismanaged, and ostensibly allowed their decisions to be influenced by the groupthink phenomenon.

As one of the most infamous moments of United States and Cold War history, the Bay of Pigs invasion carried numerous implications, as the overall failure of the Cabinet and the Central Intelligence Agency played an important role in the reevaluation and reshaping of the whole United States apparatus. The lessons learned from the operation aided a more experienced Kennedy to competently solve

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<sup>60</sup>. SIDEY, Hugh. "The Lesson John Kennedy Learned From the Bay of Pigs." *Time Magazine* 16 Apr. 2001. <http://content.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,106537,00.html>. 15 Jan. 2018.

the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, and the conclusions also contributed to the improved military and intelligence capacities of the United States that helped them to emerge victorious after a half-century long conflict with the Soviet Union. The study of the mission provides an insight into the inner workings of the United States in the early stages of the Cold War, highlighting the fallibility of not only the Central Intelligence Agency, but also the Kennedy Administration, reflecting on the human factor in the political decision-making process.

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FRUZSINA SIMINGH

**INCREASING CHINESE PARTICIPATION IN UN PEACEKEEPING: ITS PLACE AND STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY**

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**Abstract**

Just as peacekeeping is teetering on the edge of either making robust mandates or peace-enforcement the new norm, with newfound dedication China has also joined the United Nations peacekeeping operations. Beijing's attitude had gone through some major changes throughout the years, from rejection to careful participation, diplomatic mediation and contribution of engineer and medical staff; and as a change, in 2013 China sent – on the first occasion – troops to Mali, then to South Sudan; and in 2015 at the 70<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly President Xi Jinping pledged a generous offer to extend the range of their personnel and financial contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations. There are multiple reasons behind this new activity in the field of peacekeeping: increased participation helps building a China's image as a responsible great power; helps gaining a respectable position in the international community; and granting the People's Liberation Army a mutually beneficial means to gain field experiences.

**Keywords:** China, Peacekeeping operations, UNMISS, MINUSMA, UN,

**Introduction**

With its continuously growing economy, China has become an essential international actor when it comes to global peace and security. It is now facing such new types of non-traditional security challenges that make it necessary for the country to protect its expanded overseas (often African) interests, investments in infrastructure, oil or other raw materials, its companies and their workers in civil war-torn environment, with the added risks of terrorist attacks. With this, China came to face the dilemma and the task of how to reconcile its traditional values of non-intervention – it has stubbornly followed for decades in its foreign policy – with the new international challenges. Participation in UN peacekeeping operations seems to be an appropriately effective way for facing and solving such a task, without giving up its traditional values. The principles of traditional peacekeeping, the need for consent of the parties involved in the conflict in which the peacekeeping operation (PKO) takes place, the impartiality of the mission, and the non-use of force – except in self-defence and defence of the mandate – perfectly coincide with the principles of Chinese foreign policy, namely the respect for sovereignty and

territorial integrity and the rejection of intervention in a state's internal affairs by any external forces. The mandate from the Security Council – and through that the UN and the international community as a whole – can ensure for China to steer around this limitation of non-intervention principle, and at the same time, to successfully appear as a reliable and responsible great power that is concerned with the woes of the developing world, and thus to portray itself as a valid alternative to Western great power influence.

This article aims first to briefly explain the changes that have taken place both in peacekeeping and the Chinese attitude towards it, and then continues to illustrate this shift through the short case studies of Chinese participation in the Mali and South Sudan peacekeeping operations. Lastly, the article shows the purpose of this pragmatic change in attitude and the role of peacekeeping in the greater Chinese foreign policy strategy as whole.

### ***The changing nature of peacekeeping***

Before we can evaluate the possible implications of Chinese participation, we should first take a look at the changes peacekeeping has gone through since the first deployed mission to the Middle East in 1948. In the post-world war environment, the peacekeeping – that was not in fact established by the UN Charter, but was rather shaped on an *ad hoc* basis, as the principles laid out in the Charter were applied to reality<sup>1</sup> – has proven to be the most effective tools available for the UN to support war-torn countries' transition from conflict to peace. The missions traditionally are guided by the three main principles of impartiality, acquiring the consent of all parties involved in the conflict, and the non-use of force except in cases of self-defence and defence of the mandate.<sup>2</sup> Initially, the tasks of peacekeepers included ensuring compliance with ceasefire agreements, local stabilisation, prevention of new border-wars etc. Furthermore, during the cold war peacekeeping also ensured that the superpowers kept their distance from local conflicts and thus avoided direct confrontation with each other as well.<sup>3</sup> Peacekeeping was so successful in this era that in 1988 it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

However, after the cold war, despite the generally more cooperative international atmosphere that also marked the growing willingness of states to contribute to the budget of peacekeeping, the nature of conflicts and wars have also changed. Interstate conflicts were replaced by civil and ethnic wars; terrorist groups

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<sup>1</sup> BLAHÓ András–PRANDLER Árpád: *International organizations and institutions*, (in Hungarian) Aula kiadó, Budapest, 2011. pp. 185–192. p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> UN website, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml> (accessed 26 March 2017.)

<sup>3</sup> BLOOMFIELD, Lincoln P.: Peacekeeping and Peacemaking. IN: *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 44. No. 4 pp. 671–682. p. 676.

have emerged, and with failing or failed states the authority of the governments has become questionable, which also brought up the question of whose consent was acquired in order for the peacekeeping mission to be deployed? The ever greater demand for PKOs is visible in numbers as well: from the 71 deployed peacekeeping missions 58 have been deployed after 1988 (20 of them between 1989 and 1994), and the number of serving peacekeepers has also grown from 11,000 to 75,000.<sup>4</sup>

After the failure in Somalia, Rwanda and Srebrenica, it has become obvious that the tasks of peacekeepers have drastically changed: the extremely complex and demanding new array of tasks now included state-building, supervising elections, providing humanitarian aid, and most recently protecting civilians with the possibility of the use of armed force that could call the neutrality of peacekeeping into question. This realization has caused a wide international debate about the future of peacekeeping. Some scholars argue that realities have undoubtedly and irrevocably shifted towards the era of peace-enforcement<sup>5</sup>, as the missions aim to enforce political solutions through the support of the government's position. Peacekeepers participate in state building, and with the growing frequency of robust mandates they are now more regularly enabled to use force in offensive operations too. Others argue that the new generation of peacekeeping represents mainly the robust mandates.<sup>6</sup> While yet another possible option seems to be for the UN to take a step back, to acknowledge that it is now unable to gather the necessary financial and personnel contribution from the member states. Such a situation can especially occur when it comes to the discrepancies among those who pen the mandates, and grant financial support and those who deploy the troops on the ground. In this case, the UN delegates the tasks – that would require the use of force – to the competent regional organizations, and returns to the traditional style of peacekeeping of the cold-war era.<sup>7</sup>

Whichever will eventually become the reality of future peacekeeping, it is seriously dependent on great power support. Primarily the United Kingdom and

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<sup>4</sup> UN Peacekeeping website, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/surge.shtml> (accessed 26 March 2017)

<sup>5</sup> Mateja PETER: Between Doctrine and Practice: The UN Peacekeeping Dilemma. IN: *Global Governance*, 2015 Vol. 21, pp. 351–370. p. 353. Han DORUSSEN: Peacekeeping Works, or Does It? IN: *Peace Economics Peace Science Public Policy*, 2014 Vol. 20. No.4, pp. 527-537. p.528.

<sup>6</sup> Peacekeeping with robust mandates should not be confused with peace-enforcement as the latter uses force under chapter VII of the UN Charter and on a strategic level, while robust peacekeeping only uses armed force on a tactical and operational level with clear time and territorial limits against defined threats of peace. John KARLSRUD: The UN at War: Examining the Consequences of Peace-Enforcement Mandates for the UN Peacekeeping Operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali. IN: *Third World Quarterly* 2015. Vol. 36. No. 1, pp. 40–54. p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> BLAHÓ-PRANDLER 2011 *International organizations and institutions*.

France (along with the majority of the African countries) support the acceptance of robust mandates and complex peacekeeping to become the new norm; while Russia regularly gives voice to its opposition to the idea and the possible shift towards peace-enforcement; and the new American administration's stance leaves some important questions to be answered as well, especially when it comes to the threatened cut on its financial contribution to the biggest missions.<sup>8</sup> Another question is how China's attitude will change in hindsight of recent events, because as it is shown in the next part, it has already adopted a certain sense of flexibility when it comes to the changing nature of peacekeeping.

### *China's general attitude towards peacekeeping*

Chinese attitude towards peacekeeping has gone from absolute refusal and distrust to careful participation and mediation – to the point where Beijing, in a form of directly getting involved in the internal affairs of another state, had applied diplomatic pressure on Sudan so that Khartoum would allow the deployment of the UN and African Union's hybrid peacekeeping mission to Darfur (UNAMID) – and now we witness a change that up till very recently would have been unimaginable. In 2015, China has sent its first infantry battalion to participate in the UN mission in South Sudan, although officially it has previously already sent troops to Mali that were also enabled to use force if necessary in defence of Chinese and foreign peacekeepers alike. On top of that China has already become the biggest contributor of peacekeeping personnel among the permanent members of the Security Council, and in financial contribution it is the second to the United States.<sup>9</sup> Among active

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<sup>8</sup> The new Trump-administration might take a full turn on the constructive aspirations of the Obama-administration (as it was President Obama who held a Leaders' Summit in 2015 on peacekeeping and encouraged world leaders to pledge more financial support, troops and equipment to the operations; more on this see: Leaders' Summit 2015. UN Peacekeeping, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/leaderssummit.html> (accessed 25 March 2017)). Trump threatens to drastically cut back its financial support to peacekeeping starting with the mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which is also the biggest UNPKO today. Such threats are even of more concern, as the USA is the greatest financial supporter of the peacekeeping budget. The New York Times, [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/24/world/united-nations-peacekeeping-trump-administration.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/24/world/united-nations-peacekeeping-trump-administration.html?_r=0) (accessed 27 March 2017).

<sup>9</sup> In 2017 February China has contributed with 2567 troops to peacekeeping operations (and ranked 12th overall after Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Rwanda only to name the top 5), while France contributed 995 troops, the United Kingdom 401, Russia 99 and the United States only 68 troops. Source: Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations. 28 February 2017. UN website, [http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2017/feb17\\_2.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2017/feb17_2.pdf) (accessed 27 March 2017). Financially, on the other hand the United States contributes 28,57% of the peacekeeping budget in 2017, China 10.29%, Japan 9.68%, Germany 6.39%, and France 6.31% to list the top five biggest contributors. Source: Financing Peacekeeping. 2017. UN

internal debate on how and in exactly which direction Chinese foreign policy should depart from Deng Xiaoping's advice of adamantly keeping a low profile<sup>10</sup>, instead of demonstrating a growing confidence on the global stage. As a result, in 2015 China's president Xi Jinping pledged 8,000 troops to the UN peacekeeping standby force, 100 million USD support to the development of the African Union's crisis forces, and also the establishment of a China–UN Peace and Development Fund to help finance UN operations.<sup>11</sup>

The Chinese participation in peacekeeping operations can be divided into three phases: first the initial phase of rejection of the participation in PKOs, which was due partially to the fact that the People's Republic of China wasn't even a member of the UN, and it saw peacekeeping as a means for superpowers to intervene in third world countries. It was followed by a phase of slow transition and distant observation. Second, after the cold war started a period of limited participation in the traditional peacekeeping starting with China's first bigger contribution to the PKO in Cambodia. Then the third phase that lasts still to the present-day is the phase of increasing activity that aligns with China's foreign policy aims of being viewed as a responsible great power that measures up to the size and the scale of its economic and military might.<sup>12</sup>

While Xi Jinping's 2015 pledge was meant to prove that China has indeed become a responsible great power that has both the necessary capacities and the initiative to be considered on the same level as the other great powers, especially the United States, it also meant to serve in defence against Western criticism that accuses China of being a "free rider" of the international system. The main goal of

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Peacekeeping. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml> (accessed 27 March 2017)

<sup>10</sup> For more on this debate see WANG Jisi: China's Search for a Grand Strategy. IN: *Foreign Affairs*, 2011, Vol. 90. No. 2., pp. 68–79. p. 73–77.

<sup>11</sup> Xi Jinping's speech at the UN General Assembly, [https://gadebate.un.org/sites/default/files/gastatements/70/70\\_ZH\\_en.pdf](https://gadebate.un.org/sites/default/files/gastatements/70/70_ZH_en.pdf) (accessed: 21 February 2017).

<sup>12</sup> This three-part division was drawn up by Jordán (2011), however others, such as Fung (2015) writes about five periods of Chinese peacekeeping. According to Fung a second period started where Jordán only speaks about a transitional section after 1981, because during votes on peacekeeping at the Security Council China abstained (instead of using its veto) so that it wouldn't be viewed as an antagonist to global peace and security, but still stayed far away from participating in PKOs. Then the third phase started in 1992 with the support of the mission in Cambodia, a fourth in 1999 as China voted in support of the deployment in the mission to East Timor; and then the fifth period started in 2012 as China sent its first – yet unofficial – military troops to South Sudan, and to Mali in 2013. JORDÁN Gyula: China's role in the UN peacekeeping activity, (in Hungarian) IN: *Nemzet és biztonság*, 2011, pp. 49–63.; Courtney J. FUNG: What Explains China's Deployment to UN Peacekeeping Operations? Princeton University, 3 December 2015. <https://cwp.princeton.edu/news/what-explains-china%E2%80%99s-deployment-un-peacekeeping-operations-cwp-alumni-courtney-fung> (accessed: 19 February 2017)

Beijing remains to protect its core interests and reassert itself as a responsible, benevolent international great power. In order to do that, it needs to find appropriate means that could also suit the main principle of Chinese foreign policy that is the rejection of intervention in internal affairs. On the other hand, it also raises the question of how far this Chinese initiative might reach. Would be dangerous this new assertive China that has developed economic relations on a global scale, gotten into conflicts on the South and East China Seas, and also started such gigantic doubtful projects as the One Belt, One Road, or could it threaten the current world order as many Western critics fear?<sup>13</sup>

UN peacekeeping is in the growing need to find a new source of legitimacy as PKOs with robust mandate can easily call the neutrality of the mission into question. A positive contribution for the latter would be an increased support to the Security Council permanent members – as it had been suggested by the 2015 Report on peacekeeping operations.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, on this account, stemming from this global proactivity in Chinese foreign policy, the significant growth in support – both financially and with the added troops – can increase the legitimacy and efficiency of peacekeeping, because as a non-Western great power that also puts emphasis on its developing country identity, China could help assure that the peacekeeping mission is impartial and aimed only at restoring stability in the war-torn countries.

### **China's participation in the Mali and South Sudan peacekeeping operations**

It is a generally accepted concept that China only participates in peacekeeping so that it could protect its economic interests. While its interest in the peaceful and effective settlement of the Darfur issue might justify this notion,<sup>15</sup> its participation in Mali, a country where China's direct economic interests are nothing compared to its interests in Sudan, could prove that the above concept may be not true, even though there are infrastructural investments to be protected.<sup>16</sup> For the first time in the

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<sup>13</sup> For example, the 2016 Munich Security Report names China as a potential threat to the liberal international order due to the establishment of the so-called „shadow institutions“, first of all the One Belt One Road initiative. Munich Security Conference, [https://www.securityconference.de/fileadmin/MunichSecurityReport/MunichSecurityReport\\_2016.pdf](https://www.securityconference.de/fileadmin/MunichSecurityReport/MunichSecurityReport_2016.pdf) (accessed 23 March 2017) p.6.

<sup>14</sup> Report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations on Uniting our Strengths for Peace: Politics, Partnership and People. 2015, UN Peacekeeping [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/95](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/95) (accessed 26 March 2017)

<sup>15</sup> This is widely and in depth contested by Fung 2015.

<sup>16</sup> China is interested in the stability of the country so that the uranium-trade with the neighbouring Niger would not be disrupted, and also, so to protect the investments of the China Railway Construction Corporation and the China Railway Engineering Corporation that would build a railway connecting Mali to Guinea's Conakry port, and would also renovate the Bamako-Dakar line would be protected. (The Diplomat, <http://thediplomat.com/2015/12/china-mali-relations-after-the-bamako-attacks/> (accessed: 29

history of the PLA, in 2013, a 200-strong infantry company was sent to Northern Mali not only for the defence of Chinese nationals, assets or economic interests, but for defending other countries' troops as well.<sup>17</sup>

In 2012, various separatist and terrorist groups took control of Northern Mali, and even after a *coup d'état* the military and later the interim government failed to re-establish control over those territories which threatened to further destabilize the entire Sahel-region. However, due to the initial hesitation of the UN to set up a peacekeeping mission, the task of first reaction fell to the African Union who set up AFISMA (African-Led International Support Mission in Mali) at the end of 2012, and in January 2013 France set up its own military intervention operation called Operation Serval.<sup>18</sup>

Initially China only neutrally acknowledged the French intervention without voicing any kind of official support to its actions, which in turn, spurred the criticism that China was merely to act yet again as a "security free rider" and would simply follow the actions of the Western powers. Later, however, as it has become clear that the regional countries supported France, and it was also obvious that the long-term goal was to set up a UN mission in Mali, China changed the tone of its rhetoric as well.<sup>19</sup> MINUSMA (United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali) was set up April 25, 2013 to replace AFISMA. It was given the mandate to help stabilize and re-establish the sovereignty of the government on the northern territories, protect civilians and carry out various other humanitarian and state-building activities; and in order to fulfil such tasks peacekeepers were authorized to use "all means necessary".<sup>20</sup> China, in order to

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March 2017); Frans Paul VAN DER PUTTEN: China's evolving role in Peacekeeping and African Security. The deployment of Chinese troops for UN force protection in Mali. IN: *Clindendael Report, Netherlands Institute of International Relations*, 2015, pp. 8–24. p. 19–20.) In case these projects do get carried out it could help diversify Mali's economy and attract further investment, although their ambition could be questioned as we might get closer to the end of the era of the massive flow of Chinese foreign investment. Centre for Chinese Studies, [http://www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/CCS\\_Commentary\\_Mali\\_China\\_Railway\\_NT\\_2014\\_02.pdf](http://www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/CCS_Commentary_Mali_China_Railway_NT_2014_02.pdf) (accessed: 29 March 2017)

<sup>17</sup> Mathieu DUCHÂTEL–Richard GOWAN–Manuel Lafont RAPNOUIL: Into Africa: China's Global Security Shift. European Council on Foreign Relations, 2016. [http://www.ecfr.eu/publications/summary/into\\_africa\\_chinas\\_global\\_security\\_shift](http://www.ecfr.eu/publications/summary/into_africa_chinas_global_security_shift) (accessed: 19 February 2017) p.11.

<sup>18</sup> Karine BANNELIER–Theodore CHRISTAKIS: Under the UN Security Council's Watchful Eyes: Military Intervention by Invitation in the Malian Conflict. IN: *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 2013, Vol. 26, pp. 855–874. p. 856–857.

<sup>19</sup> DUCHÂTEL–GOWAN–RAPNOUIL: Into Africa, p.9.

<sup>20</sup> As we are talking about the changing nature of peacekeeping missions it is important to point out that since the MINUSMA was set up after the intervention brigade was authorized in the DRC, UN member states, such as Russia, China, Venezuela, New Zealand and Uruguay



prove itself as a reliable great power that feels responsible for the peace and security of the African continent joined the mission and sent 70 medical staff, 155-strong engineer unit and 170-strong troops, which may not seem much in comparison to the rest of the mission's staff, but its significance lies in the fact that this was the first official deployment of the PLA (People's Liberation Army) abroad, aside from the anti-piracy missions the PLA Navy has been conducting since 2009.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, China has long been invested in Sudan. Duchâtel *et al.* and Bräutigam had called Sudan and South Sudan as "China's laboratories in Africa", as it is these territories where China can search for its possibilities of how effectively can deviate from its traditional and strict non-intervention policy. This has been visible through the diplomatic pressure on Khartoum to give its consent to the deployment of UNAMID, as well as during the mediating role China has taken between Sudan and South Sudan. (In this regard we can see "how much China values the principle of territorial integrity in international relations", and its acceptance of the secession is incredible on its own.) Beijing has also sent a 700-strong infantry battalion in UNMISS (United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan), which has now become its greatest contribution to a peacekeeping operation to date.<sup>22</sup> Such active participation is partly due to the fact that China has important economic interests to protect in South Sudan – after the secession of the country, 75% of oil reserves remained in the South, and by then CNPC (China National Petroleum Corporation) already had a 60% interest in the daily 490 thousand barrel oil production. In the meantime, China tries connecting its above interests with the pressure to protect its image as a responsible great power and gaining international confidence and experience to "cross the river by feeling the stones" – much like how China has set about any kinds of changes since its own reform and opening up.<sup>23</sup>

Two years after the secession in December 2013, a civil war broke out after President Salva Kiir accused his vice-president Riek Machar of having planned a coup against him, and then the conflict quickly took on an ethnic layer and became a

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found it crucial to point out that such intervention was not to be taken as the new precedent in peacekeeping. And thus, for MINUSMA too, proactive action, or participation in counter-terrorism activities was only permitted to peacekeepers if news of the impending attack were credible and with reliable proof. Christine GRAY: The 2015 Report on Uniting Our Strength for Peace: a New Framework for UN Peacekeeping? IN: *Chinese Journal on International Law* Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 193-213. p.204.; What's In Blue, <http://www.whatsinblue.org/2016/06/renewal-of-minusmas-mandate.php> (accessed 29 March 2017)

<sup>21</sup> VAN DER PUTTEN: China's evolving role in Peacekeeping and African Security... p.10.

<sup>22</sup> DUCHÂTEL–GOWAN–RAPNOUIL: Into Africa, p.5. Shannon TIEZZI: China's Changing Approach to Africa. *The Diplomat*. <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/chinas-changing-approach-to-africa/> (accessed: 3 March 2017)

<sup>23</sup> TIEZZI: China's Changing Approach to Africa.

civil war, which resulted in the death of about 50,000 people, and 16 million were forced to leave their homes.<sup>24</sup>

From the beginning, China has supported a political settlement of the conflict, and Chinese special envoy to the AU Zhong Jianhua and then Xie Xiaoyan both, with the contribution of AU member states', US, Norwegian, and British diplomats strived to find a political solution to the conflict.<sup>25</sup> In January 2015 during his African tour, Foreign Minister Wang Yi had met with the representatives of the Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD) in Khartoum, where he held "the Special Consultation in Support of the IGAD-led South Sudan Peace Process".<sup>26</sup> The communication of this meeting suggests that China plays a crucial role in the settlement of the conflict, while the primary responsibility lies with the IGAD, and thus China definitely does not intervene in the internal affairs of another sovereign state.<sup>27</sup>

Another means for influence without direct intervention was to join the UN peacekeeping mission, the UNMISS that was originally set up in 2011 with the appointed tasks of state building and economic development,<sup>28</sup> but as the security environment has drastically changed throughout the years, it has also gone through some significant changes that mirror the usual problems of the current generation of PKOs. In 2014, the mandate of the mission was refocused from state-building to the protection of civilians with "all means necessary".<sup>29</sup> Despite the rather robust nature of the mission, the troops China has sent to South Sudan acted in a far more proactive fashion than those serving in Mali: they engaged in interaction with the locals, and patrolled regularly and professionally, and generally seemed more

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<sup>24</sup> The Economist, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2016/10/economist-explains-0> (accessed: 28 March 2017); Council on Foreign Relations, <http://www.cfr.org/global/global-conflict-tracker/p32137#!/conflict/civil-war-in-south-sudan> (accessed: 28 March 2017)

<sup>25</sup> 网易新闻 (NetEase News) <http://war.163.com/14/0108/09/912DFB3C000140MD.html> (accessed: 28 March 2017); *Bloomberg*, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-09-29/china-halts-weapons-sales-to-south-sudan-after-norinco-shipment> (accessed: 28 March 2017)

<sup>26</sup> Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China, [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/xwfw\\_665399/s2510\\_665401/2511\\_665403/t1227486.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/2511_665403/t1227486.shtml) (accessed: 28 March 2017)

<sup>27</sup> Shannon TIEZZI: "China in South Sudan: Practical Responsibility." *The Diplomat*. 2015. <http://thediplomat.com/2015/01/china-in-south-sudan-practical-responsibility/> (accessed: 28 March 2017)

<sup>28</sup> UN website, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/mandate.shtml> (accessed: 26 March 2017)

<sup>29</sup> UN website, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmiss/mandate.shtml> (accessed: 26 March 2017); Council on Foreign Relations, <http://www.cfr.org/global/global-conflict-tracker/p32137#!/conflict/civil-war-in-south-sudan> (accessed: 28 March 2017)

willing to take risks on the mission, which all contributed to the overall positive international opinion of Chinese peacekeepers that Beijing so proudly asserts time and time again.<sup>30</sup>

In spite of this newfound willingness, China's enthusiasm to participate with troops in peacekeeping operations has been shadowed by new losses. Three Chinese nationals died during the 2015 attack of the Radisson Blu hotel in Bamako, after which President Xi announced that China would "strengthen cooperation with the international community, resolutely crack down on violent terrorist operations that devastate innocent lives and safeguard world peace and security."<sup>31</sup> However, this resolution became increasingly complicated to keep, as on 31 May 2016 four Chinese peacekeepers were injured and one died in a terrorist attack in Mali. While Foreign Ministry spokesperson Hua Chunying reassured the international community that Beijing would continue supporting African peace and security and would not back out of peacekeeping<sup>32</sup>, other news of loss from South Sudan brought up new questions about its promised relentless support.

In July 2016, riots started in Juba, the capitol of South Sudan, near one of the camps that were set up to protect civilians. As the compound was attacked, many peacekeepers, Chinese included, left their posts and retreated.<sup>33</sup> Later, a rocket-propelled grenade injured six Chinese peacekeepers, two of whom had died. After these losses they further retreated to the UN House, which base they refused to leave – along with other Ethiopian peacekeepers – when they were called on to help as the Terrain hotel was attacked.<sup>34</sup> The Chinese rejected the call to move out as a rapid deployable force because they claimed they did not have the necessary sources for that. In addition, it is also worth noting that the Center for Civilians in Conflict – that wrote the report on the human rights abuses during the South Sudan conflict – also highlighted that the Chinese peacekeepers can be criticized only by keeping in mind their suffered losses, and their demoralizing effect,<sup>35</sup> while the spokesman of the Chinese Defence Ministry refuted criticism of its troops retreating during the initial attack on the UN camp. He called it a "groundless and malicious hype", and any such "criticism of the peacekeeping mission and peacekeepers themselves is

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<sup>30</sup> DUCHÂTEL–GOWAN–RAPNOUIL: *Into Africa*, p.7.

<sup>31</sup> Reuters, <http://www.reuters.com/article/mali-attackschina-idUSL3N13G04E20151121> (accessed: 15 March 2017); DUCHÂTEL–GOWAN–RAPNOUIL: *Into Africa*, p.4.

<sup>32</sup> Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China, [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/xwfw\\_665399/s2510\\_665401/t1368602.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xwfw_665399/s2510_665401/t1368602.shtml) (accessed: 27 March 2017)

<sup>33</sup> Under Fire. The July 2016 Violence in Juba and UN Response. 2016, *Center for Civilians in Conflict*. I-V, 1-84. p.39.

<sup>34</sup> Under Fire. p. 6, 56.

<sup>35</sup> Under Fire. p. 42.

irresponsible”, before the results of the UN investigation into the performance of the peacekeeping force in South Sudan are published.<sup>36</sup>

Although these weren’t the first cases where Chinese peacekeepers have suffered such losses, with the increase in contribution Beijing needs to weigh carefully whether its dedication to peacekeeping and through it to its international image is more important than to curb the negative opinion the death of PLA soldiers on foreign soil could cause within the Chinese public at large. The possibility arises that, much like American peacekeeping practice after the failure of Somalia, China would also pull back and rather focus on drawing up mandates and limit its contributions mostly to finances. However, such a step back couldn’t come at a worse time from the point of view of peacekeeping in general: there is greater demand for peacekeepers than ever, yet the pool is continuously shrinking. China, due to its position as a UNSC permanent member might have the influence to change the trend of SC member countries’ lack of troops-contribution to the missions as per request of the 2015 Report.<sup>37</sup> Whichever decision Beijing will arrive to, it should be prepared to face intense criticism either from the international community or from its own nationals who do not support the idea of their soldiers dying on foreign land.

#### **Strategic implications of the changes in China’s attitude towards PKO participation**

Lastly, in order to understand what lies behind these changes in Chinese attitude towards peacekeeping, this article is going to present five closely connected reasons and features why sending actual troops into missions and stepping up the financial contribution to peacekeeping. These five points are 1) to protect Chinese overseas interests; 2) to fight the so-called China-threat theory and invalidate the fears and worries it causes; 3) to gain military and operational experience on the ground and to gather intelligence on foreign troops; 4) to protect the positive image China hopes to convey of itself to the international community; and 5) through building a positive image, to affirm China’s dedication to the current international system and its institutions.

#### **Protection of overseas economic interests**

In nowadays’ globalized and highly interdependent world, the objective to guarantee the security of international trade routes and the free flow of energy imports that is vital to the country’s economic development, represents a core interest in national foreign policy. The protection of these routes is strongly

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<sup>36</sup> People’s Daily Online, <http://en.people.cn/n3/2016/1011/c90000-9125421.html> (accessed: 27 March 2017)

<sup>37</sup> *The Global Observatory*. <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2016/10/china-peacekeeping-dpko-south-sudan-mali/> (accessed: 27 March 2017)

connected to military force projection and the stability of the source regions of these imports, not to mention the export markets. For a long while it has only meant that China had to make sure its trade routes were safe and undisturbed in East Asia. However, in recent years, its geopolitical reach has widened significantly and now encompasses other continents too, such as Africa or Latin-America.<sup>38</sup> Between 2000 and 2015 Chinese trade with African countries has grown ten times in volume, while on a bilateral basis there are billions of dollars' worth of Chinese investment in infrastructure, oil and the extraction of various other resources, not to mention that with the presence of Chinese companies, there has been a growing pressure on Beijing to also ensure the safety of their overseas workers. While it is impossible via direct military intervention as it obviously violates not just the Chinese foreign policy principles that strictly reject the idea of interfering in another state's internal affairs, but the international law and norms as well. China has found that under the UN banner and authorization a peacekeeping mission and participation in peacebuilding could be a viable route to go around such controversies.<sup>39</sup> It is also important however, to point out that the deployment of Chinese peacekeepers is not strongly and directly connected with the physical protection of Chinese nationals, as it has been illustrated in the case of South Sudan, where the request had been made, but rejected, although the peacekeeping contingent was still deployed<sup>40</sup>. It is not directly connected either with protecting the Chinese assets and economic interests, which was demonstrated in Mali, where China has little economic interests.<sup>41</sup>

Jordán<sup>42</sup> and other scholars also emphasize the point that, while ensuring the access to natural resources is important from the perspective of sustainable economic growth, China finds it far more important to cultivate and protect the established – and hopefully also improved – image of China as a responsible great power and trustworthy trading partner, and thus continuous investments and participation in peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding operations can send an appropriate message about these intents.

### **To dispel worries caused by the “China-threat” theory**

According to Realism theory of international relations, every state aims to maximise its national interests and they are also willing to use military force in order to defend such interests. Mearsheimer also adds that on top of that, every great

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<sup>38</sup> Charles E. ZIEGLER: The Energy Factor in China's Foreign Policy. IN: *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Vol. 11. No. 1. 2006, pp.1-23. p.1.

<sup>39</sup> DUCHÂTEL–GOWAN–RAPNOUIL: Into Africa, p.11.

<sup>40</sup> DUCHÂTEL–GOWAN–RAPNOUIL: Into Africa, p.10.

<sup>41</sup> Fung (2015) also points out that from a statistical regression analysis' perspective there is only a rather weak connection between China's goal to protect economic interests and its participation in peacekeeping operations. FUNG: What Explains China's Deployment to UN Peacekeeping Operations? 2015.

<sup>42</sup> JORDÁN: China's role in the UN peacekeeping activity, p.59.

power strives to become regional hegemon, and when that position is reached and secured, they also do their best to bar any other great power from doing the same in other regions, since this is the most ideal way to minimize international security threats.<sup>43</sup> Such ideas have been a part of the United States State Department's thinking from the 1990s<sup>44</sup>, along with the assumption that with China's economic development its military expenditures were also set to rise, and thus pose a direct threat to American interests in East Asia, which, according to Mearsheimer, based on the analogy of the Cold War, unavoidably leads to military confrontation between the US and China, which will also cause the end of the current international system.

In recent years, the growth of China's military expenditures, and its influence in the South and East China Sea, the establishment of the so-called "shadow institutions", the expansion of economic interests in Africa and the building of a logistics base in Djibouti only seemed to further increase the worries born of this China-threat theory. Beijing is aware of this and to answer and hopefully dispel these fears, in 2002 it established the theory of China's peaceful development,<sup>45</sup> which still applies today, even though China has made an additional step away from the traditional foreign policy of keeping a low profile. This had led to a more active way to prove not only that China is not a free rider of the international system, but is also a great power that can pursue its development without armed confrontation. It also puts great emphasis on the notion that China has never and will never pursue hegemonic goals<sup>46</sup>, and the expansion and modernisation of its military only serve for defensive rather than offensive goals. Due to its nature, the peacekeeping can be a good way to prove China's commitment to pursuing conflict settlement via peaceful and non-violent means. Before Mali and South Sudan Beijing had only sent engineers, medical and logistics units and provided only financial aid to UNPKOs, which had been a "relatively low-cost way to demonstrate reasonableness in its handling foreign policy issues".<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, the PKOs deployed in Africa can provide an ideal forum for Chinese and foreign troops and various other assisting units to work together in a cooperative atmosphere, where all parties strive for the same end goals – namely peace and stabilisation of the war-torn region. This could be made easier as there are

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<sup>43</sup> John MEARSHEIMER: Why China's Rise Will Not Be Peaceful. John J. Mearsheimer, <http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0034b.pdf> (accessed: 24 March 2017) p. 1–5.

<sup>44</sup> „Defense Planning Guidance, FY 1994-1999.” 1992.

<sup>45</sup> ZHENG Bijian: China's »Peaceful Rise« to Great-Power Status. IN: *Foreign Affairs*, 2005, Vol. 84. No. 5, pp.18–24.

<sup>46</sup> ZHANG Qingmin: *Contemporary China's Diplomacy*. Beijing, China Intercontinental Press, 2014.

<sup>47</sup> CHEN Jing: Explaining the Change in China's Attitude Toward Peacekeeping: a Norm Change Perspective. IN: *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2009, Vol. 18. No. 58, pp. 157–173. pp. 165–166.

not only shared interests – such as international peace and security, to defend the freedom of navigation and the freedom of international trade routes or the stability of global financial markets etc. – but also shared values, such as regional stability, good-governance,<sup>48</sup> development and economic growth, which provides a new platform, where China and Western powers can work together in a constructive way.

### **To gain operational experience and build a positive image for the PLA**

As it has been suggested in the previous section, the modernization of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) plays directly into fears caused by the China-threat theory: between 2008 and 2016 the absolute volume of military expenses has grown from 59 to 146 billion USD – which latter has meant a 7.6% annual growth compared to 2015, based on data published by the Chinese government.<sup>49</sup> Although it is also worth pointing out that the share of military expenses from the GDP shows a rather stagnant trend. Even then, aware of the threat such military modernisation seems to pose, Beijing takes extra care to try and effectively communicate that the PLA primarily takes on defensive tasks by participating in “new historical missions” and in “military operations other than war” – and peacekeeping would also fall into this category. This peaceful tone is equally important towards the international community and the Chinese population as well, as popular opinion of the PLA has soured after its actions at the Tiananmen square in 1989. Through the new activities such as disaster-relief, counter-terrorism and other defensive tasks, Beijing hopes to restore the public's trust in the PLA.<sup>50</sup>

Through its participation in peacekeeping operations – now with the mandate for Chinese peacekeepers to use force if necessary –, and with the anti-piracy operations in order to ensure the security of sea-trade routes along the shores of Somalia, Beijing also hopes to convey towards the international community that it is dedicated to the protection of the international system and its norms in a cooperative fashion. In addition to that, it also pays special attention to communicate these activities in a way that would not suggest that they were trying to expand influence and position in the South China Sea.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> WANG Jianwei–ZOU Jing: China Goes to Africa: a Strategic Move? IN: *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2014, Vol. 23. No. 90, pp. 1113–1132, p. 1127.

<sup>49</sup> China Power, Center for Strategic and International Studies, <http://chinapower.csis.org/military-spending/> (accessed: 17 March 2017.)

<sup>50</sup> Philippe D. ROGERS: China and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Africa. IN: *Naval War College Review* 2007, Vol. 60. No. 2, pp. 73–93.; Rosemary FOOT: ‘Doing Some Things’ in the Xi Jinping Era: the United Nations as China’s Venue of Choice. IN: *International Affairs*, 2014 Vol. 90. No. 4, pp. 1085–1100. p.1093

<sup>51</sup> Marc LANTEIGNE: Fire over Water: China’s Strategic Engagement of Somalia and the Gulf of Aden Crisis. IN: *The Pacific Review*, 2013, Vol. 26. No. 3, pp. 289–312.; WU Zhengyu– Ian TAYLOR: From refusal to engagement: Chinese contributions to peacekeeping in Africa. IN: *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 2011, Vol. 29. No. 2, pp. 137–154. p. 150. China’s building of its new naval logistics facility in Djibouti would also serve as a

Furthermore, the PLA's last ground operation had been in Vietnam in 1979, and thus participating in peacekeeping grants them to obtain much needed operational experience, while it also helps portray the army as a "force for peace".<sup>52</sup> The deployment of peacekeepers to Mali and South Sudan ensured that they got gradually eased into serving in a dangerous and hostile environment, while they could also gather intelligence on foreign troops. China is hardly alone to use peacekeeping as a cover for such work; furthermore, it would be also an insufficient explanation for its growing commitment for UNPKOs, especially in places like Mali or South Sudan.<sup>53</sup>

### **To protect China's positive international image**

It has been an asset for various great and middle powers, such as for Japan, India and Nigeria to argue that since they have been active participants in UN peacekeeping operations, they have proven their commitment to international peace and security and so they are worthy to finally become permanent members of the Security Council.<sup>54</sup> While it is also important for China to maintain its prestigious role in the UNSC and thus to actively participate in upholding international peace and security, to protect overseas interests and to fuel its economic development, there are also normative considerations behind its increased participation in peacekeeping. Chen Jing explains that the connection between peacekeeping and cultivating a positive international image "lies in the fact that the norm of respecting human rights has come to be highly regarded in the international community so that participating in peacekeeping operations and helping protect human rights contribute to good reputation," thus if China wants to appear as a responsible great power, it should play its part in such operations.<sup>55</sup>

There are two reference groups China would want to appeal to and be accepted by as a responsible great power. First there are the Western powers of the permanent

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means to protect Chinese overseas interests, but at the same time causes serious anxiety for Western powers that worry that China will begin to build overseas military bases, following the American pattern of military power projection. Chinese officials put great emphasis on that the facility is not going to become China's first overseas military base, but rather a logistics support facility for peacekeeping operations, a hub for evacuation missions and to aid the PLA in its anti-piracy missions in the Gulf of Aden. For further reading on the topic of the logistics facility in Djibouti see: European Council on Foreign Relations, [http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary\\_chinas\\_imminent\\_issue\\_djibouti\\_and\\_overseas\\_interests4069](http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_chinas_imminent_issue_djibouti_and_overseas_interests4069) (accessed: 14 February 2017)

<sup>52</sup> DUCHÂTEL-GOWAN-RAPNOUIL: Into Africa, p.10.

<sup>53</sup> The Global Observatory, <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2016/10/china-peacekeeping-dpko-south-sudan-mali/> (accessed: 27 March 2017); DUCHÂTEL-GOWAN-RAPNOUIL: Into Africa, p.9.

<sup>54</sup> FUNG: What Explains China's Deployment to UN Peacekeeping Operations? 2015.

<sup>55</sup> CHEN: Explaining the Change in China's Attitude...pp. 157-173.



members of the Security Council (P5), the United States, the United Kingdom and France. In the other group, there are the developing countries and regional organizations such as the African Union, the ASEAN or ECOWAS. The latter ones would highlight China's identity as a still developing state, who is sympathetic to the Global South's struggles and wants to be their representative and *de facto* leader on the global stage, while on the other hand it wants to make sure that by aligning itself more closely, or at least in a more compromise-ready way with the norms and expectations of these great powers, China would be treated as their, especially that of the USA's equal.<sup>56</sup>

This wish to be accepted on these two fronts that stems from China's dual identity as both a great power and a developing state, is something that both the West and the developing world's countries could use for their own advantage to try and, within a sensible limit that does not touch upon Chinese core national interests, shape Chinese international actions as it has been proven possible when it came to the deployment of the UNAMID. In that particular case, it was the first example where China was willing to overcome its direct interests of keeping the good relations with Sudan, applied diplomatic pressure on Sudan's president so that al-Bashir would consent to the deployment of the UN-AU hybrid peacekeeping mission. China was willing to be pushed out of its comfort zone, due to international expectations and its intent to act accordingly to the two reference groups' position.<sup>57</sup>

However, while the Chinese peacekeeping activity does allow some possibility for the West to try and affect the Chinese foreign policy decision-making process and bring their positions closer, it also makes it possible for China to pose as an alternative to the US and Western powers as a global security provider, and to broaden its international possibilities and diplomatic leeway vis-à-vis the USA. Whether that bears real success or not is not sure, but it is certain that China's contributions to post-conflict reconstruction works through aid workers or engineer and other logistics units will help Beijing to gain positive public opinion in Africa. Even though it is often criticized for not sending enough troops, equipment or financial aid, especially compared to the size of Chinese GDP, however, on a GDP per capita basis, its contribution is far more compelling, as China is the second largest contributor for the peacekeeping budget after the USA. Furthermore, the aids provided by China complement the aids sent by the West. While the latter usually focus more on the establishment of democratic political institutions or economic liberalisations, Chinese aid and units are more centred on local and physical needs such as building infrastructure, hospitals, schools, and its medical teams have

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<sup>56</sup> FOOT: 'Doing Some Things' in the Xi Jinping Era... p.1088; DUCHÂTEL-GOWAN-RAPNOUIL: Into Africa, p.9.

<sup>57</sup> FUNG: What Explains China's Deployment to UN Peacekeeping Operations? 2015.

already gained experience in treating the SARS epidemic for example.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, it is telling of Chinese dedication that even among the deteriorating security environment, it aims to maintain its flow of investment both in hopes of conflict prevention and later during the reconstruction works. Through all this, China aims to be represented as a reliable and benevolent partner to developing states, which image is also reinforced by the proof of China's own development, and by its policy to undertake also sacrifices, unlike the utopian Western development models.<sup>59</sup>

### **To affirm China's commitment to the international system and its institutions**

With the growing influence of Chinese foreign policy and the building of the so-called "shadow institutions" for years now, the West started to worry that China has set in motion a plan that would topple the current international order. This is a rather radical read of these anxieties, but nevertheless the notion is present when it comes to viewing the new Chinese-led institutions like the AIIB and the initiatives like the One Belt One Road. However, the western criticism ignores to note that both the AIIB and OBOR are economic initiatives in nature that could compliment the operation of the current international institutions so that – while undoubtedly with the simultaneous expansion of Chinese interests and influence – they could help fill the significant gap in financial aid and investment in the field of infrastructure and logistics, which in the long run would contribute to the maintenance of free trade and economic interdependencies that are also the foundation of the current international order.

As it has been pointed out several times, it is for this international order and its institutions (among others) that have created for China an encouraging environment for its rapid development. Beijing is more than aware of this fact as it has long claimed that China cannot effectively develop in isolation from the rest of the world, but through its own development it also greatly contributes to the increase of international prosperity and global security.<sup>60</sup> "China has a strong sense of belonging to this order," said Fu Ying, chairwoman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National People's Congress of China, at the 52<sup>nd</sup> Munich Security Conference in 2016, "as China is one of its founders and is a beneficiary, a

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<sup>58</sup> Deborah BRÄUTIGAM–TANG Xiaoyang: Economic Statecraft in China's New Overseas Special Economic Zones: Soft Power, Business or Resource Security? IN: *International Affairs*, 2012, Vol. 88. No. 4, pp. 799–816. TIEZZI 2015: China's Changing Approach to Africa.

<sup>59</sup> WANG–ZOU: China Goes to Africa... p.1122.

<sup>60</sup> LI Wang– Paul DOTTIN: Behind China's Peacekeeping Missions in Africa: Interpreting Beijing's Strategic Considerations. IN: *Security Strategic Journal*, 2008, Vol. 7. No. 14, pp. 1–16. p.14–15

contributor, as well as a part of its reform efforts.”<sup>61</sup> Therefore it would be foolish and irresponsible to topple such a favourable system, especially since the United Nations at its head, due to its long-standing prestige is an ideal stage for China to maintain its dual identity both as a great power among the permanent members of the Security Council, and one of the developing countries in the General Assembly, where the Chinese foreign policy principle of multi-polarism, and sovereign equality is also fulfilled.<sup>62</sup>

By participation in peacekeeping, China supports also the position of the UN. Supposedly, peacekeeping conveys the message that the entire international community is dedicated to the settlement of conflicts via peaceful means, multilateral political dialogue and the use of force would be allowed only when all previous attempts at settlement have failed. This, however would require that a coordinated stance and cooperation should exist among the permanent members of the Security Council – that are responsible for elaborating the mandate –, the developed states – which are the leading financial contributors of peacekeeping –, and the other developed or regionally concerned states – that generally contribute the needed personnel to the missions. Although as it has been mentioned earlier, there is a great disparity in the international community, and even the 2015 Report on peacekeeping has called on developed states and especially the P5 to contribute more personnel to the PKOs to show a greater commitment to the missions.<sup>63</sup> Xi Jinping’s announced offer of establishing an 8,000-strong standby force at the 2015 UN General Assembly is in line with this call. Due to its basic foreign policy principles, China’s increased contribution to peacekeeping as a reluctant intervener has served as a proof of the neutrality of the mission, and has emphasised the UN’s commitment to settle the conflict by political means – which was another key point of the suggestions of the 2015 Report.<sup>64</sup>

However, it is also worth noting that the mere presence and growing contribution of China do not ensure a full-proof guarantee that political dialogue or economic development would be enough to prevent the outbreak or escalation of a conflict. Primarily Beijing emphasises the importance of diplomatic measures and development in conflict-prevention, however, as Zhang and Kemple-hardy point out, when the measures fail, China does not have either an efficient early warning

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<sup>61</sup> Munich Security Conference, <https://www.securityconference.de/en/activities/munich-security-conference/msc-2016/speeches/speech-by-fu-ying/> (accessed 25 March 2017)

<sup>62</sup> FOOT: ‘Doing Some Things’ in the Xi Jinping Era... p.1098.

<sup>63</sup> *Uniting our Strengths for Peace: Politics, Partnership and People*. 2015

<sup>64</sup> The Global Observatory, <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2016/10/china-peacekeeping-dpko-south-sudan-mali/> (accessed: 27 March 2017)

mechanism or a comprehensive strategy of how to deal with an escalated conflict as it was proven in South Sudan for example.<sup>65</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This article has shown that nowadays' peacekeeping missions have to fulfil far more complex and demanding tasks to such a point where their neutrality in a conflict can be questioned. Also this is the time when China decided to join peacekeeping more actively, in accordance with the expansion of its economic interests and influence, and also with the growth of its military budget. Yet, despite the troops sent to Mali and South Sudan, the mediating role seems to be more of an exception rather than a new trend in Chinese foreign policy and peacekeeping practice. It still maintains that political and diplomatic solutions are the primary goals for China, although by now, it no longer refrains from sending troops to conflict zones, as they help to convey the message of China's responsibility, to build a positive image for the PLA, while its soldiers also gain some important field experiences.

In 2015 Xi Jinping's offer singlehandedly surpassed all other contribution announcements and seemed to prove that China is indeed dedicated to the effective operation of peacekeeping. However, even with the promised troops' training coming closer and closer to an end, it is also important to note that they could only be deployed if Beijing agrees to that as well.<sup>66</sup> This however, is not yet guaranteed as China is still rather sceptical and reluctant with the possible looming shift of peacekeeping practice towards peace enforcement, or humanitarian intervention. No matter how flexible its attitude seems to become towards intervention, Beijing still remains hyper-sensitive towards the notion of sovereignty. Since in case the Western powers could intervene on the territory of a sovereign state without its consent, just because its government restricts human and political rights of its citizens, then does that also mean that this country has less legitimacy in international affairs to protect their sovereign rights than the other democratic countries?<sup>67</sup> If this Western read on peace-enforcement were to become a new precedent, it would seriously put China's own position as a great power in danger, because in this case, only based on human rights situation, there would forever loom the threat of Western intervention over China as long as it maintains its own political and socio-economic system, and thus would never be treated as equal to the USA, which would be unacceptable for Beijing.

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<sup>65</sup> Shanghai Institute for International Studies. 2015. <http://www.siiis.org.cn/Research/Info/451> (accessed 29 March 2017)

<sup>66</sup> DUCHÂTEL–GOWAN–RAPNOUIL: Into Africa, p.8.

<sup>67</sup> VAN DER PUTTEN: China's evolving role in Peacekeeping and African Security... p.15.

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**CENTRIFUGAL AND CENTRIPETAL FORCES FORCES IN MACEDONIA**

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**Abstract**

Macedonia seceded peacefully from Yugoslavia in 1991, but the country had to face a domestic ethnic conflict between its Macedonian majority and Albanian minority. Besides domestic instability, Macedonia has contentious issues with all of its neighbours, among them the questioning its identity is the most serious issue. Applying Richard Hartshorne's model of centrifugal and centripetal forces, the study determines which factors work against the stability of the state (centrifugal forces), and which ones bind together Macedonia as a political unit (centripetal forces). As a conclusion, it is suggested to promote the country's Euro-Atlantic integration process as a centripetal force in order to balance the overweight of centrifugal forces.

**Key words:** Macedonia, ethnic conflict, identity, state idea, concept of nation, integration

**Introduction**

Macedonia – as an exception in the beginning of the disintegration of Yugoslavia – seceded peacefully. However, the country could not deal with the ethnic tensions between its majority Macedonian population and the Albanian minority. The main issues brought up by the Albanians were the use of Albanian as official language, higher education in the mother tongue, the use of national symbols, and the status of Albanians as a constituent nation, not as a minority. These tensions led to an armed conflict in 2001 that ended with a negotiated settlement, to the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) mediated by the USA and the EU. The OFA preserved the country's unitary character, but extended the rights of the Albanian minority, and guaranteed equitable representation in the army, in the police and in the state administration for the ethnic communities. Despite the agreement, the ethnic tensions have not been resolved; the society is still divided alongside ethnic lines.

Besides domestic instability, Macedonia has contentious issues with all of its neighbors: With Albania and Kosovo, The situation of the Albanian minority in Macedonia, particularly the Albanian uprising in 2001, which was openly supported by Kosovar Albanians, affected negatively the bilateral relations with Albania and Kosovo. Bulgaria does not recognize the Macedonian identity and language (considers them Bulgarian), while Serbia does not recognize the autocephaly of the Macedonian orthodox church; but regarding Macedonian identity, the most serious

conflict is with Greece: the southern neighbour does not recognize the constitutional name (Republic of Macedonia) of the country, thus questioning the Macedonian identity. Negotiations to resolve the name dispute have been going on for more than 20 years but no resolution in sight, despite the fact that practically this is the only obstacle to NATO membership of Macedonia, and the start of its EU accession negotiations. This situation is irrational because the Euro-Atlantic integration of Macedonia is in the interest of both countries and both organizations (NATO, EU), since it would improve the stability of the ethnically divided country and the Western Balkan region as well, and it would promote economic development.

The purpose of this paper is to determine centrifugal and centripetal forces affecting the state area of Macedonia according to Richard Hartshorne's theory<sup>1</sup>, and to make proposal to increase the centripetal forces binding the country together. The fact that Macedonia lies on one of the transit routes of current migration, makes the study on stability of Macedonia even more relevant.

### **The Hartshorne-model**

Hartshorne published his work on the functional examination of states in 1950; nonetheless, most of the elements of his theory are still valid today regarding state viability. According to Hartshorne, a state "attempts to establish complete and exclusive control over internal political relations." In a state, there are possibly regions that separate each other by physical and human barriers, regions that diverge with outside states and regions that differ in character of population, economic interests and political attitudes. Centrifugal forces, which work against the viability of a state, are directly related to the extent of the above mentioned differences. Likewise, homogeneity among the regions behaves as a centripetal force binding together a state as a political unit.<sup>2</sup>

Hartshorne points out that the most significant centrifugal force is the "diversity of character of the population." This character could not only be language or religion but also education, standard of living, economic attitudes or political philosophy. Ethnic and religious diversity played an important role in the collapse of Yugoslavia and the armed conflict in Macedonia as well, proving the recent validity of Hartshorne's model.

Hartshorne also claims that a state must have a "reason for existing" (*raison d'être*) or a state idea, which is the basic centripetal force. It is similarly important to have a "concept of the nation", which means "a feeling of kinship, of belonging together", which could also be called national identity. If the state idea and the

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<sup>1</sup> HARTSHORNE, Richard: The Functional Approach in Political Geography.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p.104.



concept of the nation are not shared by a large part of the population, it is difficult to keep a state together.

Hartshorne's theory is further developed by Norbert Pap, a Hungarian scholar. According to Pap, supranational integration processes, and long-lasting, undisputed borders can also be interpreted as centripetal forces, and, in contrast, the economic or political isolation and disputed borders are centrifugal forces.<sup>3</sup>

The centripetal effect of international organizations, which was not considered in Hartshorne's age yet, can be divided into stabilizing and integrating role. Before 1990 only the UN played stabilizing role, but after the end of Cold War other organizations, like NATO, EU, OSCE have carried out such missions aiming, unlike UN peacekeeping and observer missions, not only to fix the status quo, but to extend their activity to conflict resolution and nation or state building.

International organizations played an important role in state building processes on the territory of former Yugoslavia during the last 25 years. The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) contributed to the temporary sustainment of quasi-state structures of Serbian Krajina on the territory of Croatia, fixing the military situation created in 1991, but couldn't prevent the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. First the UNPROFOR, and later the UNPREDEP played a constructive (centripetal) role with its presence in Macedonia till 1999: it succeeded to prevent the spillover of conflict from Kosovo. The NATO and the EU have been actively taking part in conflict resolution in the Balkans as well. The fragile constitutional arrangement defined in the Dayton Peace Accord in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been guaranteed by NATO, and, since 2004, by EU military force, respectively. The NATO and EU launched stabilization operations after the armed conflict in 2001 in Macedonia as well.

The NATO and the EU step up in the Western Balkan region as integrating forces to involve the countries into the Euro-Atlantic, and European security, political and economic structures. This perspective coincides with the strategic goals of these countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Albania and Montenegro are already NATO-members, and other countries of the region would like to join, except Serbia. In case of EU integration, Slovenia and Croatia are already members, and all others would like to join. Integration into these structures increases regional security, promotes security, political and economic cooperation between the countries of the region, therefore behaves as a centripetal force in the particular states.

In this study Hartshorne's original theory is tested against the case of Macedonia in order to find evidence for its instability in terms of ethnically diverse regions and non-shared state idea. In addition to the original aspects of the Hartshorne-model, regarding contentious issues, particularly diverging perceptions on what Macedonian nation and state means, mostly centrifugal effects of

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<sup>3</sup> PAP Norbert: Törésvonalak Dél-Európában.

neighbouring countries are examined in separate chapter. Additionally, the above described centripetal effects of international organizations (stabilization and integration) are evaluated in case of Macedonia. As a conclusion, this study proposes to promote Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic integration process as a centripetal force in order to balance the overweight of centrifugal forces.

### **Effect of regions of diverse identities on the state area: Albanian population in Macedonia**

Macedonia belonged to the buffer zone of different empires and states during its history. This fact contributed to the migration and amalgamation of the different ethnicities and the formation of the today's mixed ethnic composition of the country.<sup>4</sup>

Besides numerous other nationalities, the largest one is that of Albanians, concentrated in Macedonia's north-western region. This is an almost homogenous ethnic environment, which is, on the one hand, located close to the centre of the country, and, on the other, is regarded as the Albanian ethnic "protuberance" of Kosovo. Because this population has nearly twice as high reproduction rate, the ethnic composition of the country could change significantly during a century, with Albanians possibly becoming the majority in Macedonia by the end of the 21st century.<sup>5</sup>

Within the area of present-time Macedonian state, the demographic growth of Albanians has been quite strong in recent decades, making them the largest ethnic minority, a serious influential political factor. The proportion of people with Albanian nationality has continuously been increasing, except in the 1950s. At that time, many Albanians declared themselves Turks to take advantage of the opportunity to immigrate to Turkey as a result of the emigration agreement between Turkey and Yugoslavia regarding the Turkish minority living in the latter.<sup>6</sup> The reasons are high birth rate and natural reproduction, and immigration of Albanians from Kosovo. High birth rate is typical among Albanians not only in Macedonia but also in north Albania, Kosovo and South-Serbia, resulting in a relatively fast and radical transformation of the ethnic structure of the entire region. This has already led to a number of conflicts eg. in 1999: Kosovo, in 2000: South-Serbia and in 2001: Macedonia.

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<sup>4</sup> NIKODINOVSKI, Boris: Osnovi na voena geografija na Republika Makedonija. p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan – STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: Malcinstvata na Balkanot (XX vek). p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> BRUNNBAUER, Ulf: Fertility, Families and Ethnic Conflict: Macedonians and Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia, 1944-2002. p. 568.

Based on data from the most recent census in 2002, 64.18% of the population is Macedonian, and the largest minority is that of Albanians with 25.17% of the total population (the proportion of all other ethnic minorities – Turk, Gypsy, Serb, Bosnian, Vlach and some others – make up 10.65% altogether, see Table 1).

Contradicting the official results of the most recent census, Albanians believe that they represent 35-40% of the population. This is probably an exaggerated figure; nevertheless, it is a fact that the census included only people residing legally in the country. Therefore, it is possible that the proportion of Albanians exceeds 25%.<sup>7</sup>

Because of the debated ratio of the Albanian minority, a census is not only a statistical but also a political issue in Macedonia. The census, due to be conducted in the beginning of 2011, was delayed because of the early elections in June. The next due date was October, 2011 but it was postponed again because the State Census Commission resigned, in protest about counting irregularities. It has not been organised till this date (December 2017). Albanian members of the commission demanded that citizens living abroad, but visiting the country at least once a year should be counted, while the Macedonian members refused this.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 1**  
**Nationalities in Macedonia 1953-2002**

Year		Macedonian	Albanian	Vlach	Roma	Turkish	Bosniak	Serbian	Other	Total
1953		860,699	<b>162,524</b>	8,668	20,462	203,938	-	35,112	13,111	1,304,514
	%	66.01	<b>12.46</b>	0.66	1.57	15.63	-	2.69	1.00	100.00
1961		1,000,854	<b>183,108</b>	8,046	20606	131,484	-	42,728	19,177	1,406,003
	%	71.19	<b>13.02</b>	0.57	1.47	9.35	-	3.04	1.36	100.00
1971		1,142,375	<b>279,871</b>	7,190	24505	108,552	-	46,465	38,350	1,647,308
	%	69.34	<b>16.99</b>	0.44	1.49	6.59	-	2.82	2.33	100.00
1981		1,279,323	<b>377,208</b>	6,384	43125	86,591	-	44,468	72,037	1,909,136
	%	67.01	<b>19.76</b>	0.33	2.26	4.54	-	2.33	3.77	100.00
1991		1,328,187	<b>441,987</b>	7,764	52103	77,080	-	42,775	84,068	2,033,964
	%	65.31	<b>21.73</b>	0.38	2.56	3.79	-	2.10	4.13	100.00
1994		1,295,964	<b>441,104</b>	8,601	43707	78,019	6,829	40,228	31,480	1,945,932
	%	66.60	<b>22.67</b>	0.44	2.25	4.00	0.35	2.07	1.62	100.00
2002		1,297,981	<b>509,083</b>	9,695	53879	77,959	17,018	35,939	20,993	2,022,547
	%	64.18	<b>25.17</b>	0.48	2.66	3.85	0.84	1.78	1.04	100.00

*Source: Statistichki Godishnik na Republika Makedonija 2017*

According to the public administration division established in 2004, Albanians are in the majority in 16 of Macedonia's 84 municipalities. In seven of these public administration units, the rate of Albanians exceeds 90%, in two it is between 75-90%, and in another seven their proportion is between 50-75%. The Albanians in Macedonia are concentrated in the northern and north-western part of the country bordering Kosovo, and in the western part adjacent to Albania (see Figure 1 below).

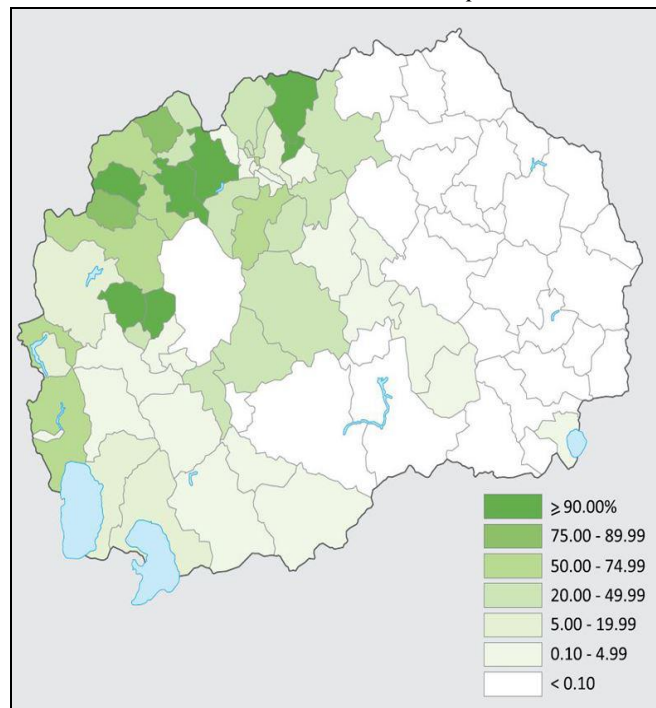
<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 567.

<sup>8</sup> Macedonia Country Report, November 2011. p. 9.

The territory populated mostly by Albanians is contested historically. Albanians claim that they have been living in the area since ancient times. However, Macedonians argue that the Albanians came to this area in large numbers from the present territory of Albania in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, and settled down in the towns and villages abandoned by the Slavic population, as a result of the defeated uprising against the Ottoman Empire led by Karpos and supported by the Habsburg-monarchy in 1689. The Turks encouraged the settlement of Sunni Muslim Albanians instead of the escaped Christian population, because they were loyal to the empire.<sup>9</sup>

In the Constitution of 1991 approved after Macedonia had become independent, the rights of ethnic minorities were precisely defined. Besides the provision of minority rights, the Constitution redefined Macedonia as a “nation-state of the Macedonian people;” therefore, Albanians considered their status even degraded compared with the situation in Yugoslavia.<sup>10</sup>

*Figure 1:*  
*Albanian population in Macedonia by public administration units (municipalities)*  
*Source: Statistichki Godishnik Na Republika Makedonija 2017*



<sup>9</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan – STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: *Malcinstvata na Balkanot (XX vek)*. p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> KOINOVA, Maria: *Why do Ethnonational Conflicts Reach Different Degrees of Violence? Insights from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Bulgaria during the 1990s*. p. 92.

The Albanian minority first expressed its concerns against the Macedonian state through a boycott of the referendum on independence on September 8, 1991. As a minority, Albanians could not pursue their interests and demand of being a “constituent nation” during the constitution-building process; therefore, also boycotted the vote on the new constitution, which finally declared the country as a “nation-state” of the Macedonian people, making Macedonian the official language. Furthermore, the Albanians demanded the right to use the Albanian flag, which was banned because it was seen as a symbol of a foreign country (Albania). The demand to make Albanian as an official language alongside Macedonian was also refused; nevertheless, Albanian was allowed to be used in public administration in the areas where Albanians were in majority and in the primary and secondary levels of education.<sup>11</sup>

In January 1992, an unofficial referendum was organized in Western Macedonia, supported by the Albanian parties, on the declaration of the so called Autonomous Republic of Ilirida,<sup>12</sup> as a unit of the territorial autonomy of Albanians. For this referendum, 276.921 Albanians took part, and 74% of them voted for autonomy. Macedonian authorities declared the referendum illegal.<sup>13</sup>

In 1997, Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA) raised the Albanian flag on the city halls of Tetovo and Gostivar, cities inhabited mostly by Albanians. This action was declared to be illegal by the Macedonian authorities. In subsequent clashes with the police three people were killed, and 200 were injured.<sup>14</sup>

In 1998, the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Albania published a study with the title of “The Resolution of the Albanian National Issue in the Balkans.” According to the Macedonians (and Serbs), the Albanian intelligentsia in this document expressed its commitment to create a “Greater Albania,” which, besides Albania and Kosovo, included the areas of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Greece populated by Albanians. Macedonians considered this memorandum a direct threat to their territorial integrity, taking into account that the areas around the towns of Skopje, Tetovo, Gostivar, Kicevo and Kumanovo appeared as southern Kosovo.<sup>15</sup>

Besides the above described grievances of the Albanian minority, the most important factor that led to the outbreak of the armed insurgency in 2001 was the emergence of Albanian paramilitary organizations, the Kosovo Liberation Army

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<sup>11</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan – STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: *Malcinstvata na Balkanot* (XX vek). p. 100.

<sup>12</sup> Ancient name of the areas populated by Albanians

<sup>13</sup> STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: *Istorija na Makedonija*. p. 340.

<sup>14</sup> KOINOVA, Maria: *Why do Ethnonational Conflicts Reach Different Degrees of Violence? Insights from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Bulgaria during the 1990s*. p. 96.

<sup>15</sup> ARSOVSKI, Mitre et al: *Vojnata vo Makedonija vo 2001 godina*. p. 28-29.

(KLA, with Albanian abbreviation: UCK) in Kosovo in 1998-99, and the Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac (UCPMB) in the Albanian populated areas of south Serbia in 2000. KLA declared in 1998 that it extended its activity to Macedonia. In 1998-99, together with the refugees escaping from Serbian oppression, many KLA-fighters arrived in Macedonia. Macedonia feared that the refugees would not return, thus changing the ethnic structure of the country. The guerrilla organization of the Albanians in Macedonia, the National Liberation Army (NLA, with Albanian abbreviation UCK)<sup>16</sup> formed in 2000 was motivated by the successful armed insurgency of the KLA, and learned that “violence gets results.”<sup>17</sup>

The Macedonians, referring to the sporadic attacks and the infiltration of fighters and weapons from Kosovo, claimed that the war was an aggression from Kosovo against the territorial integrity of their country. The declared goal of the NLA was equal rights and autonomy for the Albanians; however, Macedonians feared that their hidden agenda would be the secession of the western part of the country.<sup>18</sup>

Before the conflict affecting the northern and western areas of the country could broaden to turn into an all-out civil war, the opposed parties, through mediation by the USA and the EU, put an end to fighting with the so-called Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) on August 13, 2001. This agreement states that Macedonia is a multiethnic, democratic, but unitary state. Also, the document prescribes the mandatory disarmament and demobilization of the Albanian armed groups. Several amendments to the Constitution and a number of new laws were put forward in the OFA, by which the rights of minorities were further widened.<sup>19</sup> When dealing with minorities, the new constitution talks about “people” and ethnic communities rather than nationalities. This is a significant shift from the earlier Macedonian monopoly of the state; nevertheless, a sentence on the Macedonian superiority is still maintained in the text: “The citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, *the Macedonian people*, as well as citizens living within its borders who are part of the Albanian people, the Turkish people, the Vlach people, the Serbian people, the Roma people, the Bosniak people and others..”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Both KLA and NLA have the same abbreviation in Albanian: Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves means Kosovo Liberation Army, and Ushtria Clirimtare Kombetare means National Liberation Army

<sup>17</sup> Ethnic Tensions in Macedonia. p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> ARSOVSKI, Mitre et al: Vojnata vo Makedonija vo 2001 godina. p. 170.

<sup>19</sup> Ramkoven dogovor 13.08.2001,

[http://siofa.gov.mk/mk/dokumente/Ramkoven\\_dogovor.pdf](http://siofa.gov.mk/mk/dokumente/Ramkoven_dogovor.pdf) (accessed December 12, 2011)

<sup>20</sup> REKA, Armend: The Ohrid Agreement: The Travails of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia. p. 59.

The OFA guaranteed equitable representation for the minorities at all levels of the public administration. Language use rights have also been broadened by the new constitution. Macedonian language continues to be the official one in international affairs, but Article 7 of the Constitution states that all languages in the country spoken by at least 20% of the population are considered to be official languages.<sup>21</sup>

With Macedonia's new public administration division introduced in 2005, new public administrative units were organized, with much greater competence. As a result of doing this, a continuous area in the west and north-west of the country, alongside the Albanian and the Kosovo border, was formed, that is made up of districts with an Albanian majority.<sup>22</sup>

As put forward in the OFA, minority rights should be ensured over a wide scale in education as well. According to the agreement, education at primary and secondary levels must be provided for everyone in their mother tongue, whereas higher education in the mother tongue of the minority is provided when at least 20% of the total population share a language. In accordance with this principle, the Tetovo State University, training almost exclusively Albanian students, was founded in 2004.<sup>23</sup>

Based on the officially disbanded NLA, Ali Ahmeti, the political leader of the NLA created a political party called the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI), which shortly has become the most popular Albanian party in Macedonia. The declared goals of the DUI do not threaten the territorial integrity of Macedonia, however, according to Macedonians; the DUI still has a hidden agenda to secede the western part of the country, and to create a "Greater Kosovo" or a "Greater Albania". Macedonians often refer to DUI's rhetoric and use of symbols. According to them, the word "integration" in the party's name means unification of all Albanians in one state. The six stars in the flag of DUI symbolize the territories where Albanians live: Albania, Kosovo, Western Macedonia, and Southern Serbia (Albanians call it Eastern Kosovo), Eastern Montenegro and North-Western Greece (Chemeria). The seventh star in the circle symbolizes the "Greater Albania" itself.<sup>24</sup>

DUI's participation in Macedonian governments since 2002 is one of the guarantees of relatively peaceful coexistence after the 2001 armed conflicts. Relativity must be emphasized here, because Albanian extremist armed groups

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<sup>21</sup> Ramkoven dogovor 13.08.2001,  
[http://siofa.gov.mk/mk/dokumente/Ramkoven\\_dogovor.pdf](http://siofa.gov.mk/mk/dokumente/Ramkoven_dogovor.pdf) (accessed December 12, 2011)

<sup>22</sup> REKA, Armend: *The Ohrid Agreement: The Travails of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia*. p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> CZAPLIŃSKI, Marcin: *Conflict Prevention and the Issue of Higher Education in the Mother Tongue: The Case of the Republic of Macedonia*. p. 270.

<sup>24</sup> Authors' interview with multiple sources in Macedonia

appeared several times in the Kosovo-Macedonia border areas, and provoked armed incidents. The latest one happened in May 2015 when a well-armed extremist group fought two-day battle against the Macedonian security forces.

Applying Hartshorne's theory, the concentration of the Albanian minority on the northern and north-western part of the country bordering Kosovo and Albania, which has a different language, religion (Sunni Muslim, while the majority of Macedonians are Orthodox Christians) and traditions could be interpreted as an outstanding centrifugal force weakening the country.

### **Effect of Macedonian national identity and state idea on the state area**

The beginning date of Macedonian national-ethnic identity, moreover, its existence is debated. According to some scholars<sup>25</sup> Macedonian national identity emerged in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, others<sup>26</sup> claim that we cannot speak about Macedonian national identity before 1944. General viewpoint in Greece and Bulgaria is that Macedonian national and ethnic identity has artificially been created in Tito's Yugoslavia in order to make a difference between Macedonians and Bulgarians.<sup>27</sup> Others say that social, political and economic development of people living on the territory of Bulgaria and Macedonia had practically been the same till 1878, and later a distinct Macedonian identity has gradually been emerged.<sup>28</sup>

A Macedonian historian, Stojan Kiselinski splits the history of Macedonian statehood into three eras. The first one lasts from the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August, 1944 to the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, 1991, which is the era of Macedonia as a republic of socialist Yugoslavia, the so called „ASNOM“<sup>29</sup> Macedonia (officially Socialist Republic of Macedonia, SRM). The second one lasts from the declaration of independence (8<sup>th</sup> of September, 1991) to the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (13<sup>th</sup> of August, 2001) closing the armed conflict in 2001; this one called the era of „independent“ Macedonia. The era since then has been called „Ohrid“ Macedonia by the historian.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> SHEA, John: Makedonija i Grcija, Bitkata za definiranje nova balkanska nacija. p. 168-177. and STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: Istorija na Makedonija. p. 164-170.

<sup>26</sup> BRUNNBAUER, Ulf: Fertility, Families and Ethnic Conflict: Macedonians and Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia, 1944-2002. p. 566.

<sup>27</sup> KOFOS, Evangelos: The current Macedonian Issue between Athens and Skopje: Is there an Option for a Breakthrough? p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: Istorija na Makedonija. p. 164.

<sup>29</sup> Antifashistichko sobranie na narodno osloboduvanje na Makedonija (Anti-fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Macedonia) refers to the foundation of Macedonia as a republic of socialist Yugoslavia

<sup>30</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan: Istorija na Makedonija (kratka istorija). p. 73.



For the first time in the history „ASNOM” Macedonia provided a framework of statehood,<sup>31</sup> in which socialist modernization and nation building have been carried out simultaneously. In the republic Macedonian was the only constituent nation, other ethnic groups enjoyed minority status. The Constitution of 1974 even specifies Albanian and Turkish nationalities.<sup>32</sup> However, despite these declared rights, Albanians in Macedonia were economically and socially marginalized during the Macedonian nation-building and socialist modernization.<sup>33</sup> National and cultural institutions have been founded like University of St. Cyril and Method, Macedonian Academy of Science and Art, National Institute of History, Macedonian Language Institute, etc. Macedonian literary language, which is close to the dialect spoken in the Prilep-Bitola region, was codified in 1945. Thus, as a republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia developed its language and identity distinguishing their country from Bulgaria.

Following the breakup of Yugoslavia Macedonia declared its independence in 1991. Besides the provision of minority rights, the new Constitution redefined Macedonia as a “nation-state of the Macedonian people;” therefore, Albanians considered their status even degraded compared with the situation in Yugoslavia.<sup>34</sup> Thus the Macedonian national concept had become the state idea of the independent Macedonia. As a result, Albanians have not felt the state as theirs, since the independence of Macedonia; putting into other words, they did not share the state and nation idea of Macedonians. Their reluctance to accept the Macedonian state can be considered as a centrifugal force according to the Hartshorne-theory. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Albanian insurgency in 2001, which was closed by the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA), manifested this centrifugal force.

The OFA ended the armed conflict, and addressed Albanian demands regarding “reform of the constitution, greater representation of Albanians in the civil sector, provision of university education in the Albanian language, and the decentralization of state power.”<sup>35</sup> However, Albanians were not satisfied with the implementation of the OFA. On the other hand, many Macedonians consider OFA a threat to the statehood. The OFA created “political dualism,” sharing the power

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<sup>31</sup> If we do not count the so-called Krusevo Republic, which existed 10 days in August, 1903, as a result of a quickly defeated uprising against the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>32</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan – STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: *Malcinstvata na Balkanot* (XX vek). p. 236.

<sup>33</sup> BRUNNBAUER, Ulf: *Fertility, Families and Ethnic Conflict: Macedonians and Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia, 1944-2002*. p. 566-567.

<sup>34</sup> KOINOVA, Maria: *Why do Ethnonational Conflicts Reach Different Degrees of Violence? Insights from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Bulgaria during the 1990s*. p. 92.

<sup>35</sup> REKA, Armend: *The Ohrid Agreement: The Travails of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia*. p. 61.

between Macedonians and Albanians that have different national and political interests, thus “the state is paralyzed and does not function normally.”<sup>36</sup>

The Macedonians and Albanians have contending narratives about the situation in the country after signing the OFA. Macedonians consider the OFA as part of the process of losing their national identity. According to them, the NLA was a purely terrorist organization, and their leaders, despite signing the OFA, never gave up their secessionist intentions. Their disarmament was unsuccessful; therefore, the armed conflict can reignite at any time again. They often claim that the OFA is not enough for the Albanians. The reason for the Albanians to want to create municipalities with the majority of Albanian population comprising an almost continuous area along the border with Albania and Kosovo, and to transfer a part of the state authorities to the municipalities was because they would like to federalize the country, and later they would like to secede these territories. Their right to have higher education in mother tongue fosters their segregation from the majority society, because they do not have intentions or motivations to learn the Macedonian language. They have further aspirations to make Albanian language a second official language equal with the Macedonian all over the country, which would break the principle of the unitary character of the state.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, Albanians claim that, although Macedonians signed the OFA, they are reluctant to implement all of the provisions prescribed in it, or at least they have slowed down the process. Although more Albanians work in public administration compared with the period before the armed conflict, they have not reached the equitable representation by far. There is a perception that ethnic Macedonians are not willing to give them positions of authority. The Albanian language has no equal status with Macedonian, and, despite the language law, Albanians have difficulties to use their language in those municipalities where they are in the minority with a ratio over 20%, and the mayor is Macedonian. Regarding education, Albanians argue that if it is compulsory for them to study the Macedonian language, Macedonian students should also study the Albanian language. The transfer of the competences from the state level to the municipalities, especially the financial decentralization, is also slow.<sup>38</sup>

As a consequence, the idea of a unitary but multiethnic state is shared by neither the majority of Macedonians nor the Albanians. Macedonians would like to see their country more unitary, while the Albanians would like to move to the direction of a binational, bilingual state in which they are equal with their Macedonian counterparts in all aspects. These contradictory ideas about the state

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<sup>36</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan: *Istorija na Makedonija (kratka istorija)*. p. 92.

<sup>37</sup> ARSOVSKI, Mitre et al: *Vojnata vo Makedonija vo 2001 godina*. p. 381-393.

<sup>38</sup> *Macedonia: Ten Years after the Conflict*. p. 15-17.

behave as a centrifugal force according to the Hartshorne-theory, and the state idea determined by the OFA cannot be a centripetal force.

### **Effect of neighbouring countries on the state area of Macedonia**

#### ***Greece***

The most serious bilateral issue is the dispute over the official name of Macedonia, which is the main obstacle to the country's Euro-Atlantic integration. According to Greece, the name "Macedonia" can exclusively be used only for the northern province of Greece. Today's Macedonians, who are the descendants of the Slav tribes that settled down in the Balkan peninsula in the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century, have been identifying themselves as Macedonians since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to distinguish themselves from Bulgarians. They have no genetic link to the ancient (Hellenic) Macedonian nation but, living in the same geographic area, consider the ancient Macedonian symbols (for example, the 16-pointed star of Vergina, an emblem of Alexander the Great, which was featured on the first flag of the independent Macedonia) as their cultural heritage. What makes the dispute more complicated is that Macedonians lived in large numbers in northern Greece (Aegean Macedonia), but most of them were expelled or killed between the two World Wars and during the Greek Civil War between 1946 and 1949. For that reason, when Macedonia declared its independence in 1991, Greece feared that the new country would have territorial claims against Greece or at least it would try to promote the rights of the descendants of the Macedonian refugees expelled from Greece in the 1940's and to protect the Macedonian minority in Greece who are declared as either non-existent or, in the best case, as Slav-speaking Greeks by the latter.<sup>39</sup>

In the beginning of the 1990s Greece successfully lobbied against the recognition of Macedonia by the EU and its UN-membership. As a compromise, the UN finally recognized the country under the name of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) in 1992. Despite this, Greece did not establish diplomatic relations; moreover, it imposed a trade blockade against Macedonia in 1995, and denied the use of the Thessalonica port. This step – together with the simultaneous UN-embargo against Yugoslavia – seriously hit the Macedonian economy, because most of its foreign trade, including the entire oil import, flowed through this port.<sup>40</sup>

Further escalation of the conflict was prevented by the UN-mediated Interim Accord signed by the two countries in 1995. According to this accord, they pledged to recognize each other's territorial integrity, sovereignty and to establish diplomatic relations. Greece lifted the trade blockade and pledged that it would not block Macedonia from joining international organizations under the name of FYROM. In exchange, Macedonia revised parts of its constitution and changed its flag depicting

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<sup>39</sup> STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: *Istorija na Makedonija*. p. 364.

<sup>40</sup> Macedonia Country Profile 2008. p. 14.

the Vergina-star. They agreed to continue the negotiations on the name dispute under the auspices of the UN.<sup>41</sup>

The Interim Accord meant a breakthrough in the Greek-Macedonian relations. Since establishing diplomatic relations, economic, science and cultural relations have been gradually developed. For example, by 2000 Greece had become the largest foreign investor in Macedonia.<sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, negotiations on the name issue have made practically no progress so far. The standpoints of the parties are diametrically opposed: Macedonia would give up its constitutional name (Republic of Macedonia) only for use in bilateral relations with Greece, while Greece demands at least to add geographical qualifier before "Macedonia", such as "Northern" or "Upper".<sup>43</sup> Macedonia refuses this, given that 135 countries have already recognized its constitutional name. However, Greece still fears that this name could imply future territorial claims on northern Greece.

Greece applies pressure on Macedonia by blocking its NATO and EU integration in order to solve the name issue. As a result, in 2008, only Croatia and Albania were invited to NATO out of the three candidates. Macedonia did not because Greece reached that its invitation was suspended until the resolution of the name dispute.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Greece has prevented the beginning of the accession talks with the EU, although Macedonia has had candidate status since December 2005.<sup>45</sup>

In November 2008, Macedonia brought the case of the blocking its NATO-membership to International Court of Justice (ICJ), arguing that Greece breached the 1995 Interim Accord with this step. On the other side, Greek argued that it did not veto membership, the decision was made by NATO, whose internal decision-making procedure the ICJ has no authority to judge. According to the ICJ judgment delivered on December 5, 2011, Greece breached its obligation prescribed in the Interim Accord by objecting to the admission of Macedonia to NATO.<sup>46</sup>

The inability to solve the name dispute, which questions the Macedonian identity, can be interpreted as a centrifugal force that weakens the country. As it is

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<sup>41</sup> Interim Accord Macedonia-Greece, 1995.:

<http://balkan.fabianvendrig.eu/macedonia/foreign-relations/interim-accord-macedonia-greece-1995/>, (accessed March 30, 2012)

<sup>42</sup> STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: Istorija na Makedonija. p. 365.

<sup>43</sup> KOFOS, Evangelos: The current Macedonian Issue between Athens and Skopje: Is there an Option for a Breakthrough? p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Bucharest Summit Declaration (2008) –

[http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_8443.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm) (accessed November 29, 2013)

<sup>45</sup> The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Report, European Commission, 2015. p. 75.

<sup>46</sup> Application of the Interim Accord of 13 September 1995 (The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia v. Greece)

described above, the unsolved name dispute is the main obstacle to the Euro-Atlantic integration of Macedonia; therefore it prevents the manifestation of the centripetal (strengthening) effect of membership in supranational organizations. Another negative consequence (centrifugal force) is that this unsolved issue further exacerbates tensions between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians in the country in two ways: First, many Albanians feel that they have to sacrifice their NATO and EU integration because of this irreconcilable dispute; second, they complain that the dispute is used to strengthen the populist nationalism by the Macedonian politicians, which can also be turned against the Albanian minority in the country.<sup>47</sup>

### ***Bulgaria***

Relations between Macedonia and Bulgaria are burdened with historical, cultural and ethnic debates. Bulgaria does not recognize the existence of an independent Macedonian nation, identity and language. Bulgaria claims that Macedonians are actually Bulgarians, their language is a western Bulgarian dialect, and their identity was created in Tito's Yugoslavia.<sup>48</sup> As a consequence, Bulgaria does not recognize the existence of the Macedonian minority on its territory, in the region which is called Pirin Macedonia.

Historically, Bulgaria tried to occupy the whole territory of Macedonia during the 1912-13 Balkan wars, but was defeated by Greece and Serbia, thus could gain only 12% of Macedonia (Pirin Macedonia), 50% (Aegean Macedonia) became Greek, 38% (Vardar Macedonia, practically today's territory of the country) Serb territory. Bulgaria, as an ally of the Nazi Germany, occupied the eastern half of Macedonia during World War II.<sup>49</sup>

Despite these disputes and historically hostile relations, Bulgaria recognized the independent Macedonian state among the first countries, and provided alternative trade routes for Macedonia during the trade blockade imposed by Greece in 1994-95.<sup>50</sup> An obstacle to the further development of trade and economic relations is that there are only three border crossing points on the common border, and there are no major highway and railway links between the two countries.<sup>51</sup>

Another debated issue was that, after Bulgaria joined the EU, it issued citizenship and passports to Macedonians who identified themselves as Bulgarians.

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<sup>47</sup> Macedonia: Ten Years after the Conflict. p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> ARSOVSKI, Mitre et al: Vojnata vo Makedonija vo 2001 godina. p. 33. and ROUDOMETOF, Victor: Collective Memory, National Identity, and Ethnic Conflict: Greece, Bulgaria, and the Macedonian Question. p. 282.

<sup>49</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan: Istorija na Makedonija (kratka istorija). p. 26.

<sup>50</sup> STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: Istorija na Makedonija. p. 357.

<sup>51</sup> Tehnichka podrshka na Ministerstvoto za transport i vrski vo podgotovka na nacrt Nacionalna transportna strategija za patniot sektor.

According to Macedonia, they took advantage of this opportunity not because of their Bulgarian identity, but due to easier visa-free travel.

Although the above disputes have not deteriorated the bilateral political relations, the questioning of Macedonian identity can be considered as a centrifugal force according to the Hartshorne-theory, because the identity is the core element of the concept of the nation.

### *Serbia*

Negative and positive historical reminiscences influence relations between Macedonia and Serbia. As a result of the 1912-13 Balkan wars, Serbia gained Vardar Macedonia, and ruled it under the name of South-Serbia. Between the two world wars, 25.000 Serb settlers were sent to Macedonia in order to change its ethnic structure and to “serbianize” the population.<sup>52</sup>

Macedonia joined Tito’s partisan army with 110,000 fighters during World War II. As a result, Macedonia enjoyed a member-state status in the Yugoslav Federation, which enabled the development of distinct Macedonian identity, language and culture. In 1991 Macedonia declared its independence, and, as an exception in the beginning of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, seceded peacefully from the federation.<sup>53</sup> The reasons for the peaceful retreat of the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) in 1992 have not been examined yet in the scholarly literature. Probably, Serbia did not want to open one more front besides Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the then already unstable Kosovo. Another reason could be that Serbia assumed that a militarily weak Macedonia surrounded by hostile countries would turn to Serbia for assistance or join the federation again. However, this scenario has not happened.

Nonetheless, relations were tense at the beginning of the 1990’s; Serbia did not recognize Macedonia and regularly provoked incidents along the non-demarcated border.<sup>54</sup> Finally, after the Greek-Macedonian Interim Accord in 1995, Serbia recognized Macedonia, and diplomatic relations were established. The relations have further improved since October 2000, when Slobodan Milosevic was ousted from power in Serbia. The agreement<sup>55</sup> about the border between the two countries was signed in February 2001, and the demarcation was carried out by 2003, except the section with Kosovo, which “de facto” was under international administration but “de jure” still belonged to Serbia at that time.

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<sup>52</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan: Istorija na Makedonija (kratka istorija). p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: Istorija na Makedonija. p. 292.

<sup>54</sup> The borders between the member-states of Yugoslavia had not been demarcated. ARSOVSKI, Mitre et al: Vojnata vo Makedonija vo 2001 godina. p. 34.

<sup>55</sup> Zakon za ratifikacija na dogovorot megju Republika Makedonija i Sojuzna Republika Jugoslavija za proteganje i opis na drzhavnata granica.

Serious bilateral issue is that the Serbian Orthodox Church does not recognize the autocephaly of the Macedonian Orthodox Church but considers it as a part of the former.<sup>56</sup> However, this issue has not affected other aspects of bilateral relations; for example, Serbia had become Macedonia's leading export market by 2007.<sup>57</sup>

In October 2008 Macedonia recognized the independence of Kosovo. However, this step negatively influenced the bilateral relation with Serbia only in short term.

The disputed and unmarked border between the two countries that existed until 2003 could be considered as a centrifugal force according to the Pap's supplement to the Hartshorne's theory, which weakened the country. The non-recognition of the autocephaly of the Macedonian Orthodox Church can also be considered as a centrifugal force even today because the church and religion constitute a part of the identity of the Macedonian nation.

### ***Kosovo***

The most important factor which influences the bilateral relations between Macedonia and Kosovo is that the Albanian minority in Macedonia and the population in Kosovo are tied together through ethnic, clan and economic links. The majority of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia are concentrated in the north-western region of the country, alongside the border with Kosovo and Serbia. This region can be considered as the Albanian ethnic "protuberance" of Kosovo.<sup>58</sup>

After NATO's war against Yugoslavia in 1999, Macedonia did not support the idea of the independence of Kosovo. Its argument was that an independent Kosovo would promote the creation of a Greater Albania (unification of all Albanian populated territories) or a Greater Kosovo (unification of Albanian populated regions in the former Yugoslavia, i. e. Kosovo, South-Serbia, and North-Western Macedonia) and this, because of the above described ethnic composition, would threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Macedonia. This position was further strengthened in 2001 when the Albanian insurgency in Macedonia was perceived as an aggression from Kosovo by many ethnic Macedonians, since many of the Albanian fighters of the NLA came from Kosovo where they had previously fought against the Serbs in the KLA.<sup>59</sup>

After the negotiated settlement of the armed conflict in Macedonia in August 2001, this position has changed, and Macedonia has "stated that it will support any

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<sup>56</sup> ARSOVSKI, Mitre et al: *Vojnata vo Makedonija vo 2001 godina*. p. 31.

<sup>57</sup> Macedonia Country Profile 2008. p. 15.

<sup>58</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan – STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: *Malcinstvata na Balkanot (XX vek)*. p. 96.

<sup>59</sup> ARSOVSKI, Mitre et al: *Vojnata vo Makedonija vo 2001 godina*. p. 32.

agreement on Kosovo's status that is acceptable to both Kosovo and Serbia", if it does not threaten territorial integrity of Macedonia.<sup>60</sup>

One of Macedonia's ways to assure its territorial integrity was its intention to have internationally recognized, demarked borders. As it is already mentioned above, Serbia and Macedonia signed an agreement on their common border in February 2001. This agreement was also valid for the border between Macedonia and Kosovo, because, according to the UNSC Resolution 1244, the latter legally remained a part of Serbia despite international administration. However, the agreement, officially, for the sake of easier demarcation, slightly modified the border line between Kosovo and Macedonia, which caused approx. 13 km<sup>2</sup> net loss of territory for Kosovo, including the strategic height of Kodra Fura, and the cultivated lands near the village of Debelde.<sup>61</sup>

In 2006, Martti Ahtisaari, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General for status settlement of Kosovo, seeing that it was hopeless to reconcile the Serb and Kosovar standpoints, elaborated his own proposal for the status settlement, which suggested independence for the province.<sup>62</sup> The main Albanian political forces accepted the proposal, while Serbia refused it. The UNSG submitted the proposal to the UNSC but, because of the sure Russian and Chinese veto, the UNSC did not bring a resolution on the issue.<sup>63</sup>

The Ahtisaari-proposal was favourable for Macedonia, because it obliged Kosovo to accept the 2001 agreement on the border between Macedonia and Serbia (including Kosovo). Therefore, the Macedonian standpoint on the status of Kosovo had changed: Macedonia claimed that it accepts any decision which is supported by the UNSC. Territorial integrity of Kosovo is also an interest of Macedonia: Eventual secession of Serb populated areas of northern Kosovo could reignite the ethnic Albanian separatist intentions in Macedonia.

Since the UNSC was unable to make a resolution in order to break the stalemate, Kosovo unilaterally declared its independence on February 17, 2008 and has been recognized by 110 countries, among them the US and most of the European countries, but not recognized by Serbia, Russia, China and few European countries with significant minorities (Spain, Romania, Slovakia, Greece, Cyprus) on their territory. A precondition for recognition by Macedonia was the demarcation of the

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<sup>60</sup> Macedonia Country Profile 2008. p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> Zakon za ratifikacija na dogovorot megju Republika Makedonija i Sojuzna Republika Jugoslavija za proteganje i opis na drzhavnata granica.

<sup>62</sup> AHTISAARI, Martti: Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement.

<sup>63</sup> AHTISAARI, Martti: Report of the Special Envoy of the Secretary General on Kosovo's future status.



border according to the 2001 agreement.<sup>64</sup> Kosovo accepted this condition, and the demarcation was finished by October 2008, and Macedonia recognized Kosovo as an independent country on October 9, 2008. Bilateral relations have developed since then, but it must be taken into consideration that grievances and demands of Albanians in Macedonia are always supported and echoed in Kosovo.

Applying Pap's supplement to the Hartshorne's theory, the disputed and unmarked border between Kosovo and Macedonia could be considered as a centrifugal force, which weakened the country until 2008. However this does not mean that Kosovo cannot exert centrifugal force on Macedonia: given the close links between Albanians in Macedonia and Kosovo, the security situation of the two countries is interrelated. External support, especially weapons and manpower from Kosovo, contributed to the Albanians adopting violent means to address their grievances during the 2001 insurgency. If the security situation deteriorates, and ethnic tensions turn violent again in any of the two countries, it could have a negative effect on the security situation in the other. For example, eventual partition of Kosovo could reignite Albanian separatism in Macedonia.

### *Albania*

Relations with Albania have also been controversial since the independence of Macedonia. Albania recognized the independent Macedonia only in 1993, and then did it under the FYROM name, which was created as a result of the above described dispute with Greece. Moreover, Albania blocked Macedonia's membership in the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) until 1995. Nonetheless, it was economically crucial for Macedonia that Albania allowed it to use its roads and the Durres port during the Greek trade blockade and the UN-embargo against Yugoslavia. Thus Macedonia, with the help of Albania and Bulgaria, could avoid a complete economic isolation.<sup>65</sup>

Bilateral relations have been influenced by minority issues. Albania did not officially support the intentions for the secession of the Albanian populated areas of Macedonia; however, it covertly supported radical groups, whose aim was to federalize the country along ethnic lines. Besides that, despite Macedonian demands, only the Orthodox Macedonians enjoy minority status in Albania, the Muslim Macedonians are excluded from that right, and they do not have mother tongue primary education. On the other hand, Albania supported the creation of the illegal Albanian university in Tetovo, Macedonia in 1994.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Macedonia Country Profile 2008. p. 15.

<sup>65</sup> STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: Istorija na Makedonija. p. 359.

<sup>66</sup> KISELINOVSKI, Stojan – STAWOWY-KAVKA, Irena: Malcinstvata na Balkanot (XX vek). p. 217.

In 1997, riots broke out following the collapse of pyramid schemes in Albania. The country lapsed practically into anarchy, and the weapon depots of the armed forces were looted. Italian-led peacekeeping forces ended the internal conflicts. The majority of the missing weaponry found its way into the hands of Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and southern Serbia, laying the foundations of the armed conflicts between 1998 and 2001. According to Macedonian scholars, this was a deliberate act to supply weapons for Albanians living in the neighboring countries.<sup>67</sup>

In 1998, the Albanian Academy of Sciences (AAS) published a “Platform on the Resolution of the Albanian National Question.” The platform claims that the Albanians have a right to live in one state, and half of the territory of Macedonia (Skopje, Kumanovo, Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar and Struga regions) historically belongs to Kosovo. Therefore, the platform has been perceived as a threat to the territorial integrity of Macedonia. As a response, the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts refused the territorial claims, and appealed for the abandonment of “greater state projects.”<sup>68</sup>

Relations improved when in 1999 both countries became candidate members of NATO and began Membership Action Plan (MAP) implementation. Albania valued the fact that Macedonia played an important role in managing the humanitarian crisis during the 1999 air war of NATO against Yugoslavia by receiving refugees from Kosovo. Security and defense links have been further strengthened since then, at the initiative of the USA, Macedonia, Albania and Croatia have established stronger cooperation in security policy and defence within the framework of the Adriatic Charter signed in May 2003, as part of their preparation for joining the NATO.<sup>69</sup>

The ideological support for the Albanian secessionist intentions in Macedonia, especially the above mentioned platform of the AAS which, based on historic and ethnic justification, claimed territories in Macedonia, can be interpreted as a centrifugal force according to the Hartshorne-theory, because it threatens the “reason for existing” (raison d’etre) of the state, and promotes the belief that the Albanian population in Macedonia does not share the idea of common state with Macedonians. This centrifugal force was manifested in external support, even if it was not official, namely the weapons from the looted depots of the Albanian Army during the 1997 riots, which contributed to the fact that the Albanians adopted violent means to address their grievances during the 2001 insurgency in Macedonia.

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<sup>67</sup> ARSOVSKI, Mitre et al: Vojnata vo Makedonija vo 2001 godina. p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> BACOVSKA, Jasna - VANGELOV, Ognen: The Republic of Macedonia in the National and Strategic Programs of the Neighboring Countries. p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> Meanwhile Albania and Croatia joined NATO in 2009  
NATO’s relations with Albania. [http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_48891.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_48891.htm)  
(accessed April 11, 2015)

More recent appearance of this centrifugal force is that Albanian parties' leaders of Macedonia consulted with the Albanian prime minister after the parliamentary elections in Macedonia in December 2016. As a result, the Albanian parties declared the so called "Albanian Platform" as a precondition for the Albanian participation in any coalition government, in which they demanded to recognize Albanian as official language all over the territory of Macedonia. Nevertheless, this centrifugal force is partly balanced by the centripetal force of the cooperation between the two countries in supranational framework.

### **Effect of international organizations on the state are of Macedonia**

#### ***UN***

Macedonia became a member of the United Nations in May 1992 under the name "The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" because of its already mentioned dispute with Greece.<sup>70</sup>

Due to the fear that the ongoing conflict in the former Yugoslav republics could spill over to Macedonia leading to a regional war involving its neighboring countries, the UN, formally upon the request of the host country, decided to launch a UN operation in Macedonia. As a result, after the UNSC decision on December 11, 1992, the UN added a Macedonian Command (MC) to the already existing UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) which was stationing in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>71</sup> This was the first preventive deployment of an international force prior to an outbreak of hostilities. The mission of the UNPROFOR-MC was to monitor the border areas with Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FYR); to strengthen by its presence, the country's security and stability; and report any developments that could threaten the country. The 700 UNPROFOR military, 35 military observers and 26 police monitors were deployed. In June 1993, the mission was reinforced by 300 U.S. troops, and half a year later its mandate was extended to deal with internal tensions as well, recognizing that the internal situation posed also a threat to the country's security.<sup>72</sup> In 1995, when the UN operation in the former Yugoslavia was reorganized, the mission became independent and was renamed as the UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP). However, the mission had to pull out at the worst moment, when "the Kosovo crisis was heating up", because China vetoed against its extension beyond February 1999 with the justification that

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<sup>70</sup> KIM, Julie: Macedonia: Conflict Spillover Prevention. p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 795 (1992) – [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/795%281992%29](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/795%281992%29) (accessed December 6, 2014)

<sup>72</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 908 (1994) – <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N94/161/07/PDF/N9416107.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed December 30, 2014)

it had achieved its goals.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, the real reason could be that Macedonia established diplomatic relations with Taiwan, expecting economic benefits.<sup>74</sup>

Proving the validity of eventual centripetal effect of international organizations, the mission contributed to the prevention of conflict spillover into Macedonia, and had a stabilizing effect (centripetal force) during its deployment. However, its retreat obviously had destabilizing effect (centrifugal force) because the lack of international presence on the borders made the infiltration of weapons and armed groups from Kosovo easier; therefore, it implicitly contributed to the outbreak of the 2001 armed conflict in Macedonia.

### *NATO*

The cooperation between Macedonia and NATO aimed at integration began in 1995, when the country joined the NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program.<sup>75</sup> In 1999 it became a candidate member and began Membership Action Plan (MAP) implementation.<sup>76</sup>

Regarding security cooperation, Macedonia played an important part in managing the humanitarian crisis during the 1999 air war of NATO against Yugoslavia by receiving refugees from Kosovo. Following the war, the country facilitated the transit of KFOR forces and equipment stationed in Kosovo. Following the internal armed conflict of 2001, NATO played a key part in stabilising the security situation: in September 2001, it assumed the task in collecting the weapons of Albanian insurgents in the framework of Operation 'Essential Harvest'; then until March 2003, in the framework of Operation 'Amber Fox', it provided support to the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement which ended the conflict. In 2003 a NATO HQ in Skope was established, which carried out logistical tasks supporting KFOR (these tasks were gradually taken over by the Macedonian Army by 2007), and assisted the reform of the military with advice. The NATO HQ was reorganized into a NATO Liaison Office in 2012, and it has only advisory role.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> GRILLOT, Suzette R.: Preventing Deadly Conflict: Learning from the UN Experience in Macedonia. p. 132.

<sup>74</sup> STAMNES, Eli: Critical Security Studies and the United Nations Preventive Deployment in Macedonia. p. 167.

<sup>75</sup> Ministerstvo za odbrana, Republika Makedonija, Makedonija Vo Programata Partnerstvo Za Mir - Zajaknato i Pooperativno Partnerstvo.

[http://www.morm.gov.mk/portal/?page\\_id=5083](http://www.morm.gov.mk/portal/?page_id=5083). (accessed March 28, 2012)

<sup>76</sup> Ministerstvo za odbrana, Republika Makedonija. Makedonija Na Vashingtonskiot Samit Stana Kandidat Za Polnopravno Chlenstvo Vo NATO.

[http://www.morm.gov.mk/portal/?page\\_id=5084](http://www.morm.gov.mk/portal/?page_id=5084). (accessed March 28, 2012)

<sup>77</sup> NATO's relations with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

[http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_48830.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_48830.htm). (accessed December 30, 2014)

Macedonia expresses its commitment to NATO with its participation in international operations: Macedonia deployed troops to International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan from 2002 to the end of the mission in 2014, and takes part in the following Resolute Support mission aimed at training and advising armed forces of Afghanistan. Macedonia does not take part in KFOR directly; however, the Host Nation Support Coordination Center (HNSCC) was created in 2006, which had gradually taken over logistic tasks of NATO HQ, supporting KFOR by 2007.<sup>78</sup>

Contrary to prior expectations, Macedonia did not receive an invitation to the alliance at its Bucharest summit in April 2008; it was obstructed by Greece, since the name dispute had still not been successfully settled. At the summit, member states recognised its achievements in preparing for membership and in contributing to alliance operations, and proclaimed that the country will receive an invitation following the settlement of the dispute in a mutually acceptable manner.

NATO has played a stabilizing role (centripetal force), gradually integrating Macedonia into its security structures, developing Macedonia's defense capabilities and providing secure environment after the 2001 armed conflict. The idea of joining the NATO is popular among both the Macedonian and Albanian populations of the country: Macedonians consider NATO as a guarantee for the territorial integrity of the country, while Albanians see the organization as a protector of their rights gained after the 2001 armed conflict.

### *EU*

In the beginning of the 1990s, Greece successfully blocked the recognition of Macedonia by the EU. This happened in 1995, after Macedonia and Greece signed the Interim Accord. After its recognition, Macedonia became eligible for the funds of the PHARE-program. The signing of the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) in 2001 was a milestone in the integration process, which provided a legal framework of the relations between the EU and Macedonia. In 2005, the EU granted candidate status to Macedonia. However, it was only a political gesture which recognized the development of the institutions since the end of the 2001 armed conflict, as accession talks had not been started yet. In 2009, the EU granted visa liberalization to Macedonia.<sup>79</sup>

One of the foreign policy priorities of Macedonia is the start of accession negotiations with the EU. The EU Commission first recommended the opening of accession negotiations in 2009, but it has been blocked by Greece since then. In absence of negotiations, the main forum of the accession process is the High Level

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> European Commission. EU - the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Relations. [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidatecountries/the\\_former\\_yugoslav\\_republic\\_of\\_macedonia/relation/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidatecountries/the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia/relation/index_en.htm). (accessed March 28, 2012)

Accession Dialogue (HLAD), which concentrates on protecting the freedom of expression, strengthening the rule of law and human rights, pursuing the reform of public administration, holding elections and developing market economy.<sup>80</sup>

The EU has been granting financial assistance through different programs (PHARE, CARDS, IPA). After the 2001 armed conflict, EU-assistance concentrated on the reconstruction of infrastructure and the reform of the police. From 2002 to 2006, the EU has put an emphasis on the development of democratic institutions, the rule of law and the environment protection. Since 2007, Macedonia has received financial aid under the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA). The main target areas are: further strengthening of judiciary, integrated border management, democracy and fundamental rights and the harmonization with the EU body of law (acquis communautaire), especially in the area of environmental management.<sup>81</sup>

The EU contributed to the settlement of political crisis in Macedonia in 2015. The crisis broke out with the publication of intercepted communication of politicians, which referred to serious breach of fundamental rights, judicial independence, freedom of expression and election, and corruption. As a response, experts of the European Commission revealed the legal and administrative shortcomings that led to the crisis, and made a proposal to address them in the document titled Urgent Reform Priorities. The proposal included the de-politicizing of the appointment and promotion of judges, the functioning of judicial and parliamentary oversight of interception of communications, the independent regulatory, supervisory and oversight bodies, the anti-corruption policies and the electoral reform among others.<sup>82</sup>

It is an important factor in the security and defence cooperation with the EU that Macedonia was the scene of the first military mission of the EU, called Concordia in 2003 which, replacing the previous NATO-mission, provided a safe and secure environment for the stabilization after the 2001 armed conflict. The mandate of Concordia ended in December 2003, and then the EU Proxima police mission advised the police reform to 2005.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Report, European Commission, 2015. p. 75.

<sup>81</sup> European Commission. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia - Financial Assistance. [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries/the\\_former\\_yugoslav\\_republic\\_of\\_macedonia/financial-assistance/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries/the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia/financial-assistance/index_en.htm). (accessed March 28, 2012)

<sup>82</sup> Urgent Reform Priorities (2015), European Commission, Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations, [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/news\\_corner/news/news-files/20150619\\_urgent\\_reform\\_priorities.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/news_corner/news/news-files/20150619_urgent_reform_priorities.pdf) (accessed May 12, 2016)

<sup>83</sup> ESDP Missions Around the World. EU Focus 2008. <http://www.eurunion.org/News/eunewsletters/EUFocus/2008/EUFocus-Peacekeeping-Nov08.pdf>. (accessed March 28, 2012)

Macedonia expressed its commitment to the security and defense policy of the EU with the deployment of two transport helicopters in EU Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 2006 to 2008. In December 2006 a medical squad was also deployed at the Sarajevo EUFOR base. The medical station provided health care for the troops stationed at the base as well as for the soldiers in NATO HQ in Sarajevo.<sup>84</sup>

The EU has played a stabilizing role (centripetal force) by promoting the integration of the country into the European economic and political structures and the development of democratic institutions, especially after the 2001 armed conflict. Recent manifestation of its centripetal effect is the EU's contribution to resolve the political crisis in 2015, and after the elections in 2016, which threatened with the collapse of the democratic institutional system. However, one of the barriers to the start of accession negotiations is the unsolved name dispute with Greece.

### **Conclusion**

Hartshorne's theory of centrifugal and centripetal forces has proven to be applicable and valid in the case of Macedonia. This study points out that the concentration of the Albanian minority – which has a different language, religion and tradition from the Macedonian majority – on the northern and north-western part of the country, represents a centrifugal force weakening the country.

According to the Hartshorne-theory, it is also a centrifugal force that the concept of the nation is not shared by a large part of the population. The Albanian minority has not accepted the idea of the Macedonian nation-state, since the independence of the country, thus this was one of the factors that led to the armed conflict in 2001. Although the OFA, which closed the armed conflict, broadened the rights of the Albanians; the popular support to the state idea has not improved. Neither the majority of Macedonians nor the majority of Albanians accept the idea of a unitary but multiethnic state.

The contentious issues with neighboring countries, namely the non-recognition of the constitutional name by Greece, the distinct Macedonian language and culture by Bulgaria, and the autocephaly of the Macedonian Orthodox Church by Serbia can also be considered as centrifugal forces. The unmarked and disputed borders with Serbia and Kosovo had also represented centrifugal forces until their demarcation in 2003 and 2008, respectively. In relation to Kosovo and Albania, centrifugal forces of external support can also be revealed: the weapons smuggled from Albania contributed to the outbreak of an armed revolt, and the support (if not the initiative)

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<sup>84</sup> Ministerstvo za odbrana, Republika Makedonija. Pridonesot Na Republika Makedonija Kon Voenata Operacija Na EU Na Krizen Menadzment Vo BiH ALTHEA. [http://www.morm.gov.mk/portal/?page\\_id=701&lang=mk](http://www.morm.gov.mk/portal/?page_id=701&lang=mk). (accessed February 11, 2015.)

from Kosovo played an important role in the decision of the Albanians to take up arms against the state in 2001.

On the other hand, this study describes the stabilizing role of international organizations which can be interpreted as a centripetal force. The deployment of the UN mission in the 1990s successfully contributed to the prevention of conflict spill-over until it ceased in 1999. Likewise, NATO, and subsequent EU military and police missions provided a safe and secure environment after the 2001 armed conflict. The EU also contributed to the development of democratic institutions to a large extent. The necessity of the Euro-Atlantic integration of the country is one of the rare issues on which the Macedonian majority and the Albanian minority agree. Therefore, this study considers this integration as a centripetal force, balancing the overweight of the above mentioned centrifugal forces, and this is why the blocking of Macedonia's integration by Greece is interpreted as a centrifugal force.

Sustainment of Macedonia's present state area is one of the conditions for regional stability: eventual partition of Macedonia could lead to the secession of Northern Kosovo (which is mostly populated by Serbs), and could have an impact on the Albanian minorities in Southern Serbia, not to mention the fragile constitutional order of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Further partition of these countries would not contribute to regional stability; moreover, this could even lead to a new regional war. Therefore, it is an international interest to increase the centripetal forces binding the country together. Obvious solution could be the integration of the country into NATO and the EU, which is supported by both ethnicities. This could guarantee the territorial integrity of the country and the protection of the Albanian minority at the same time. As already pointed out, the main obstacle to the country's Euro-Atlantic integration is the unresolved name issue with Greece. The debate between the two countries has been going on for more than 20 years, and it cannot be expected that Greece would ever accept the constitutional name of Macedonia (Republic of Macedonia) or that Macedonia would give it up. 'Macedonia' as the name of a geographic area is part of the identity of both nations, therefore, it is probably impossible to find mutually acceptable solution to the name issue.

In this situation, we advise to separate the name issue from the integration of Macedonia into NATO and EU. This could be legally supported by the Interim Accord which stipulates that Greece should not block Macedonia from joining international organizations under the name of FYROM, and could be reinforced by the judgment of International Court of Justice in 2011. As a result, NATO should invite Macedonia, and the European Council should make a decision – taking into consideration the European Commission's multiple positive proposals since 2009 – to commence the accession negotiations with the country under the name of FYROM.



If Greece were to give up the 'erga omnes' principle (one name for all relations), then another alternative solution would be the so called 'double formula'. This means that Greece should accept that Macedonia uses its constitutional name in relations with other countries and international organizations. However, Macedonia should accept using FYROM or a name with the geographic qualifier acceptable for Greece in the bilateral relations with Greece and other countries (e.g. Cyprus), which explicitly refuses Macedonia's constitutional name. In the case of international organizations, Macedonia should be invited and called by its constitutional name, with a footnote reference in official documents indicating that Greece recognizes the country as FYROM or e.g. Northern Macedonia.<sup>85</sup> Through this solution Macedonia could keep its constitutional name, which is an important part of Macedonians' identity, and Greece does not have to accept this name in bilateral relations with its northern neighbor.

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<sup>85</sup> This footnote solution is not unknown: If Macedonia's reference name FYROM appears in an official NATO-document, a footnote always indicates that Turkey recognizes the country only on its constitutional name, i.e. Republic of Macedonia

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**COMPLICATIONS OF PHYSICAL STRAIN AMONG SERVICEMEN IN  
SPECIAL DEPLOYMENT PREVENTION AND THERAPY**

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*“Wars must be fought with weapons, but they are won by men.”<sup>1</sup>*

**Abstract**

Complaints related to musculoskeletal disorders among servicemen in special deployment are often triggered by excessive physical strain. These servicemen are exposed to intense physical strain both during their training and deployment. The strain is often asymmetrical when they use weapons and equipment, since while they hold their weapon on the target with one hand, the other hand is in a static position. Since these individuals perform important duties, special attention must be paid to prevention and health protection during the course of their training and preparation process. The BOSU® (Both Sides Up – or Utilized) Trainer (device) provides an excellent opportunity for strengthening body awareness during movement and body shaping. This product is a unique tool for balance, core stability and proprioception (own-body perception) development.

**Keywords:** physical strain, musculoskeletal problems, asymmetrical strain, health protection, BOSU®, training programmes, core stability.

During the history of several thousand years of human civilisation, there have been over 15 thousand wars and armed conflicts with a death toll amounting to one billion, and this process still has not come to an end up to this day. At present, one third of the countries in the world is waging war or lives in war-like circumstances. In the 1990s, over 100 wars were waged in the world, in which 90 countries were involved, and this number is much higher than that of the countries, which were engaged in warfare during World War II.<sup>2</sup> According to some historians, there has been no a single day without certain types of military conflict in some countries in the world, following the peace treaties after World War II.

Armed aggression, in other words war has always been the most brutal conflict resolution technique during the history of mankind. As Carl von Clausewitz, one of

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<sup>1</sup> George SMITH PATTON

<sup>2</sup> DEÁK, János: Napjaink és a jövő háborúja (Our Days and War in the Future)

the most renowned military theoreticians said: “War therefore is an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will”.<sup>3</sup> Politicians often use war for settling disputed issues even today *as* “War is nothing but a continuation of politics with the admixture of other means”.<sup>4</sup>

The changes that have taken place in political, social and economic areas during the past few decades have had a globalising effect also on international relations. From a military perspective, perhaps the most important feature of technology development during the past one and a half decades has been *the condensation of space and time in such a rate* as a result of which remote acts have local effects and vice versa<sup>5</sup>. The events on 11 September 2001 rocked the foundations of the international security system, and highlighted a new type of security threat that has become “universal” today. Today not only state players, but also non-state players, that are extremist groups, paramilitary organisations, international criminals, etc. may also pose a threat to us. The armed forces that waged wars and armed conflicts in the past will be incapable of performing duties in warfare and armed conflicts in the future. The current armed forces are faced with significant new challenges also at present, since armed combat has become much more complex. Conflict management has emerged as a new element, and, within this, other elements are peace enforcement, peacekeeping and peace building, and, naturally, military operations are still performed against insurgents.

There are military science studies focussing on the nature of combat techniques that are suitable for performing armed peace enforcement and peacekeeping operations, as well as on the methods of preparing combatants for the accomplishment of such operations.<sup>6</sup> The different security environment and the new types of security challenges require efficient responses at alliance, national and individual level as well, which imposes a heavy burden on each element of national defence forces and law enforcement organisations in Hungary. The lack of or insufficient training has an immediate effect both on military operations and activities in disaster situations.

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<sup>3</sup> Carl von CLAUSEWITZ: A háborúról. (On War) (Edited by) Zrínyi Kiadó, 2013, p.39

<sup>4</sup> Carl von CLAUSEWITZ: A háborúról. (On War) (Edited by) Zrínyi Kiadó, 2013, p.46

<sup>5</sup> SZENES, Zoltán: Katonai kihívások a 21. század elején (Military Challenges at the Beginning of the 21st Century) [http://www.zmne.hu/kulso/mhtt/hadtudomany/2005/4/2005\\_4\\_5.html](http://www.zmne.hu/kulso/mhtt/hadtudomany/2005/4/2005_4_5.html)

<sup>6</sup> KOÓS, Gábor –SZTERNÁK, György: A korszerű katonai műveletek technikai végrehajtásának technikai háttere. (Technical Background for Technical Performance of Modern Military Operations) in: *Hadtudományi Szemle (Military Science Journal)* 2016.IX. évf. (vol.) 2. szám.(issue) p.59.

*“Soldiers are not there to stab, but to prevent anybody from stabbing!”<sup>7</sup>*

The threat that Hungary and her allies will ever be attacked with conventional weapons is of low probability, and the probability of such an attack with non-conventional weapons is even lower, however it cannot be excluded beyond reasonable doubt.

Hungary, as a member of a collective defence organisation, must possess military capabilities necessary for collective defence. Representing Hungary as a NATO member state, military personnel from the Hungarian Defence Forces also participate in crisis management, peacekeeping and in disaster management operations. Apart from this, they also actively take part in armed and non-armed operations within the framework of the European Union. This is the reason why the Hungarian Defence Forces must have military service personnel, who are suitable for flexible application and co-operation with allied forces as well as for rapid deployment, who are capable of performing duties also in expeditionary operations and in crisis regions. This national unit of servicemen in special deployment, taking also into consideration Hungary’s NATO undertakings, must be developed gradually and methodically.

Studying warlike and non-warlike military operations performed during the past few years, one may come to the conclusion that operations performed in conventional military theatres have been replaced by a new type of theatre, where the system of relations linking military strategy, actions and tactics has also changed. Here operations are performed without interruption; securing airspace is crucial, however land operations in continental regions still remain of utmost importance. Armies in the future therefore will be confronted with a full scale of varied action circumstances.<sup>8</sup>

Recently mass armies have been replaced by armed forces comprised of a low number of highly trained military personnel, who can be applied for multiple purposes. Instead of long frontlines, these servicemen must engage in combat with such enemies that are difficult to identify in urban areas inhabited by civilians.

Although the development of military technology has made it possible to maintain military forces with a lower number of personnel than before, this development at the same time has made it necessary to introduce high quality development of military capabilities. The diverse array of technologies – as a result of technological development – has increased the intangible value at societal level and also the tangible value, which may also be quantified at budgetary level, of expensively trained military personnel. It has become more and more important that

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<sup>7</sup> FEKETE, István

<sup>8</sup> PROFESSOR SZENDY, István: Hadelmélet és katonai műveletek. (Military Theory and Military Operations) Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem (National University of Public Service), Budapest, 2013, p.137



such military personnel with an “added value”, provided with ever so expensive equipment and training, who are challenged by increasingly professional duty requirements, sustain their good health, be apt and capable for a long working career and be available to serve society.

Apart from material resources, certain qualities of the available human resources are of critical importance during the course of preparation for and the performance of duties. Motivated and dedicated servicemen, who are appropriately trained for performing duties, are the most valuable assets in the Hungarian Defence Forces. Only an army, whose personnel have received high quality theoretical and physical training and possess appropriate physical and psychological endurance, can successfully respond to complex military challenges in our days, and are capable of performing high quality duties in an international environment.

The purpose of physical training and psychological preparation of personnel serving in the defence forces and in law enforcement organisations is that such servicemen always operate at a peak performance-level, without reaching the level of overtraining. Time for physical regeneration is very important during intervals between training sessions. A key element for reaching peak performance is to select the sufficient amount of training and training intensity. If individuals perform little quantitative training, or if their training is not intense enough, they remain undertrained.

As these servicemen perform important duties, special attention should be paid to targeted and controlled prevention activities and health protection during their training. A high amount of static, single-action load imposes a burden also on their bodies. The problems typically do not occur immediately after the onset of training. They surface later, in the form of pain due to overloading, untimely arthrosis and sensitive muscle knots. The intense physical load endured mainly hectically and the unpredictable changes in the climatic environment further aggravate the number of physical complaints stemming from musculoskeletal problems. 30% of all disorders diagnosed during the screening of inactive law enforcement personnel were found to be of musculoskeletal origin.

This is the reason why prevention and health protection should be given a higher priority as early as at the onset of training, since at this time the healthy servicemen can still be orientated to any career path. If individuals do not possess appropriate fundamentals, if they lack strengthening the deep muscular system, and thus the stabilisation of the trunk, and, in adherence to the principle of gradualism, the development of a link between the nervous and muscular system is not adequately supported, if the significance of regeneration and recreation is not taught, the human body will sooner or later send signals in the form of injuries and pain. In such cases, the injured servicemen will be absent from duty during their recovery

period, which will impose an even higher workload on the remaining personnel with retained work capabilities.

*“I’ll have you know that a soldier is the most holy of all humans because he is the most tested-most tested of all.”<sup>9</sup>*

### **Physical strain among servicemen in special deployment**

Complaints related to musculoskeletal disorders among servicemen in special deployment are often triggered by excessive physical strain. These servicemen are exposed to intense physical strain both during their training and periods of heavy workload. Periods of heavy workload are those when such servicemen perform duties in special deployment. All the other periods between deployments are regarded as preparation and training periods, during which the servicemen focus on their mental, psychological and physical development.

In this area, applicants for performing duties in special deployment must meet much higher requirements even during the selection process than those in other professional areas. In other words, we may say that only individuals with the most excellent qualities are selected for this special area, nevertheless this does not mean that such persons can endure everything. The reason why special attention should be paid to health protection during their training and preparation is that they perform very important duties.

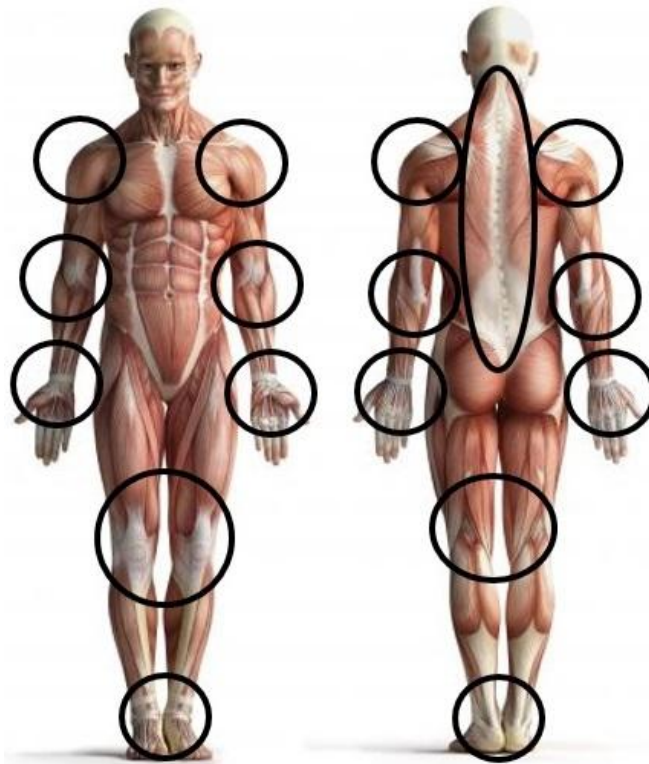
Movement is a complex function, for which the main condition is that an individual’s nervous system, musculoskeletal system, vestibular system, vision, hearing and perception function perfectly. Muscle co-ordination is needed to maintain balance, which means that while one group of muscles contracts, at the same time the antagonist muscle group is relaxed. These actions can be learned and developed. Regular movement exercises bring about new variations and combinations. Among all the co-ordination capabilities the most important changes can be observed in the area of balancing capabilities, motor learning, motor control and regulation.

As a result of an incorrectly performed exercise or wrong movement, acute musculoskeletal problems may also occur, however they can be treated successfully if individuals sustaining injuries receive professional treatment. Chronic, regularly recurring problems have a serious deteriorating effect on physical capacity, since these problems, which are permanently present latently in the background, cause discomfort to and negatively influence the concentration capacities of such individuals.

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<sup>9</sup> This quote from John Steinbeck is of course adapted to servicemen, who serve in the Hungarian Defence Forces and in law enforcement organisations.

Regarding problems triggered by excessive joint loading in servicemen working in special deployment, the most frequently occurring problems are those relating to the spine, the shoulders, the wrists, the elbows, the knees, the ankles and the hip joints.



Body joints used by servicemen in special deployment<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> [http://lunasdebarro.blogspot.hu/2014\\_10\\_01\\_archive.html](http://lunasdebarro.blogspot.hu/2014_10_01_archive.html); Time of downloading: 29/02/2016



Due to the weight of equipment, all parts of the spine, the shoulder joints and all the joints in the lower limb are exposed to excessive axial load even when individuals are in basic stance, since these joints relay the weight of the body and the equipment towards the ground.



In combat stance<sup>11</sup> (when individuals establish a position in which they hold their standard issue firearms on target) the weight of their helmet imposes excessive load on the cervical spine, and the elevated position of the shoulders causes increased tone in the upper part of the trapezius muscle. This is unfavourable since muscle contracture may occur at this part of the body, and because of this, painful muscle knots develop frequently. The reason why the dorsal and the lumbar spine are under excessive load is that the trunk is slightly tilted forward. Individuals can exercise and maintain this position in the long run without sustaining injuries only if they build extremely strong trunk muscles and perform conscientious muscle activity.



In combat stance, when the service weapon is in readiness position, the weapon strap, which is positioned on the shoulder girdle and goes under the opposite armpit, imposes asymmetric load on the spine. This load affects not only the dorsal, but also the cervical and lumbar spine. In this position, the cervical spine and the head are also positioned slightly forward; the trunk is tilted forward, which causes overloading in the vertebral discs and the development of lasting spasms in the superficial and deep paravertebral muscles. Apart from all this, holding the weapon on target forces the trunk into lateral flexion with slight rotation, which may also be regarded as unilateral loading. As a result of shoulder protraction, dorsal kyphosis is intensified, the pectoralis minor and pectoralis major muscles gradually shorten and become stiff, since the origin and insertion are permanently positioned close to each

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<sup>11</sup> Basic tactical stance during action. It is a position used by law enforcement professionals during various types of action. Features of this position are: parallel feet. The leg on the side of the dominant hand holding the weapon is half a foot behind the other leg. The hand operating the weapon and the assisting other hand are clutched in front of the body, or hang on either side of the body. This is patrol level.

With special units the position of the feet is identical with what has been described above. The knees are slightly bent, however the hands hold the weapon (handgun or long-barelled gun) on target, or in a 45 degree angle in readiness position while the trunk is slightly tilted forward at the hip.

other. Because of the flexion of the hips and the knees, there is permanent increased tone in the iliopsoas, the Hamstring muscles and in the quadriceps.



In squatting and kneeling position the load on the upper part of the trunk is similar to the load in standing position, with the difference that in this latter position the trunk is less flexed. On the other hand however, the knee that bears the weight of the body and the equipment in this position is exposed to extremely great loading. The position of holding the weapon on target exposes the trunk to entirely lateral flexion, slight rotation and asymmetric loading, which result in muscle imbalance in the long run.



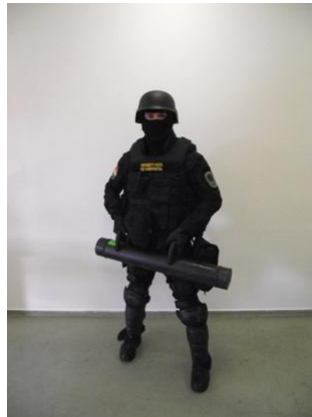
When holding the service weapon on the target in prone position, it is of utmost importance to establish a stable position; however this can be achieved if the whole lower extremity is externally rotated. In respect of the ankle and knee joints, this is an absolutely forced position, which is not really harmful to the hip joints; on the other hand, it induces and maintains shortening in the gluteal muscles and in the iliotibial tract. By increasing lordosis in the lumbar spine, the trunk may be elevated, by which the weapon may be held in an appropriate position. Individuals with a somewhat rigid dorsal part can only do this by much greater lordosis, compared to those with more flexible thoracic spine. In the long run, this also overloads the spine joints and, at the same time, holds the paraspinal muscles in permanent shortened position. The highly intense muscle activity due to shoulder protraction and elevation, the protraction of the cervical spine and the weight of the weapon impose extreme loading on the upper trunk.



Holding the weapon on target in supine position also exposes the muscles and the joints to unilateral loading. In supine position, due to the protracted position of the head and the shoulders as well as the weight of the weapon, the abdominal muscles, mainly the rectus abdominis muscle is permanently contracted. When the body is in lateral position, due to the asymmetrical nature of this position, every part of the spine is exposed to torsion and shear stress.



When individuals hold their weapon on the target, while using bulletproof shields; in this position special loading is imposed on the joints, because apart from the weight of their weapon, they must also hold the mass of the shields in a stable position. In this situation, loading is clearly asymmetrical, because one hand is holding the weapon in on-target position, while the other hand is holding the shield in flexed position, in respect of the joints in the upper extremities.



Battering rams are also significantly heavy, which further increases the loading on the joints in the spine and in the upper and lower extremities. The body flexion and rotation necessary for using this tool also impose shearing stress on the ligaments and the connecting joints of the trunk.



*“The goal in life is not to feel good. Work and act!”<sup>12</sup>*

## **BOSU**

David Weck invented and developed the BOSU® Balance Trainer. He introduced this great and very successful fitness training device to the market in 2000. Originally, the name of this product was an acronym – *Both Sides Up* –, it meant that this device could be used on either side, on the dome or on the platform. The dome is made of special rubber; the platform is made of heavy-duty, hard plastic with recessed handles. The diameter of this product is 60 cm. It is comfortable and safe to use, regardless of which side is used for movement exercises.

The acronym today however reflects a more extended meaning: *Both Sides Utilised* that is both sides can be used. Thus, we can say that this device with a significantly high array of training philosophy improves physical balance, furthermore, it can be used for practising integrated movements and balance exercises, which have significant effects on the brain, the muscles and the nerve-stimulus connections. These connections pose permanent loading during the course of activities such as physical capacity enhancement, doing sports and performing everyday duties. The BOSU® Trainer provides a wide scale of opportunities for the enhancement of body awareness during movement and for body shaping.

The BOSU® Trainer requires a kind of so-called “here and now” thoughtful movement by the users, during which the mind is completely subordinated to this idea, so not only performing the physical part of the training is important. This also may be called the BOSU® philosophy. The BOSU® Balance Trainer and the relating training programmes enhance functional balance and the ability of integrated movement. This device is a unique tool for balance improvement, core stability and proprioception (own-body perception) development, which can be fitted into all types of training programmes; however it can be used also as an individual device, as an excellent functional training tool.

If the application of an unstable medium were introduced at the beginning of the training of servicemen in special deployment, a much more powerful deep muscular system could be developed, as a result of which, these individuals would have a more stable trunk and enhanced physical endurance. It is very important that a device providing an unstable medium has features as follows:

- it must be suitable for the improvement of any type of conditional ability. Due to instability, the co-ordination also develops together with the balance, so the power + balance endurance +the balance, etc.;

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<sup>12</sup> Margaret THATCHER

- its application must be safe;
- it must be able to assist the isolated and also the complex training of certain muscle groups;
- specific types of movement in specific professional areas must be adaptable for the device.



Either side can be used for basic stance. Prior to moving on an unstable medium, it is very important that the user be able to appropriately establish even the basic position. In such cases, the user should try to stand on the top centre of the dome of the BOSU<sup>®</sup>, while the knees are stabilised and the hip and pelvis muscles are contracting or active. Special attention must be paid to the isometric contraction of the abdominal muscles, without drawing-in the abdominal wall. Finally, the user must be instructed to keep the scapulae together and hold the head in appropriate position. This is called core tightening. In basic position, it may be even more difficult to use the platform, because it requires a higher degree of stability by the user.



Warming up and attunement exercises as well as acclimatization are of great significance, since the nervous system must be prepared to function in an unstable environment right at the beginning. Such exercises may be bouncing and bending both knees and step-ups and step-downs by using the BOSU® dome. Strength and power play an important role when performing static and dynamic exercises while bending the knees, the trunk and the arms. Movement drills exercised in an unstable environment activate a significantly large amount of muscle fibres, and thus power development becomes more efficient; as a result of training performed with the BOSU® Trainer, muscle power improvement may be performed more efficiently. When complex, multiplanar exercises are performed, the unstable medium may demand serious extra efforts, because these movements require correctly determined, specific co-ordination. It is important in everyday life and also when individuals perform sports exercises that they are capable of correctly determining their body position and estimate space and time correlations. With this so-called orientation ability individuals can co-ordinate their movements in space, according to the specific tasks they are required to perform.

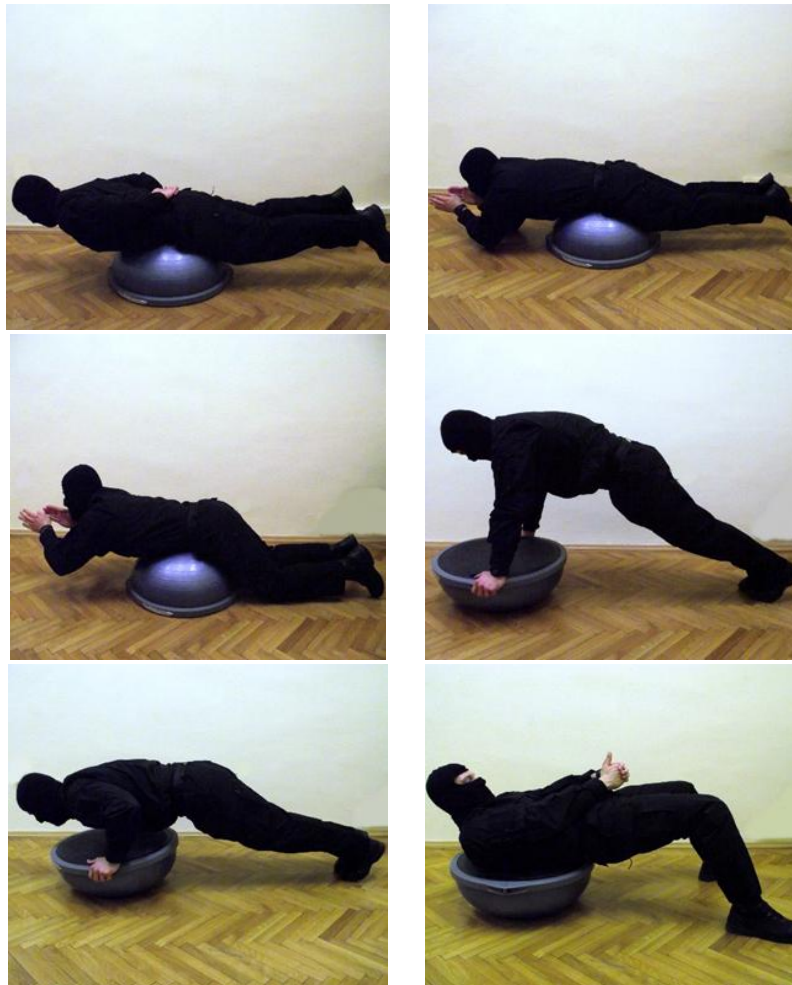




Basic stance exercises: movements while individuals imitate holding a standard service handgun or long gun require a high degree of stability in an unstable environment, since an external environmental effect is present, where a determining factor is the weight of the weapon. In the learning phase, it is recommended that servicemen exercise these movements without holding a weapon, and they can use the BOSU® Trainer later.



When individuals are in squatting or kneeling position, hip stabilisation and core stabilisation play a significant role.<sup>13</sup> In such positions, the significance of the contact points is especially great as it is the knee joint situated closer to the centre of mass (COM) that holds the trunk in balance on the balance trainer. The standard movements performed by servicemen in special deployment impose asymmetrical loading on the joints. Complaints relating to this can be avoided if the BOSU® Trainer is used, because permanent activities by the deep muscles are necessary in the unstable environment it provides. If these positions are regularly practised in this space with varying gravity conditions, the servicemen will be able to perform the same movements much more precisely and quickly in a stable environment, and they will also greatly improve their reaction time and reflexes.



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<sup>13</sup> The stabilising function of muscles in the immediate vicinity of the joints



Movements performed in supine position foster attunement for various elements of standard duty to be performed later. In addition, they also help to strengthen the deep muscles and power. The movements for attunement can be performed dynamically (with movement) and statically (holding).

If the BOSU® Trainer is used for exercises performed in prone and supine position, it is an excellent device for strengthening the muscles that play a role in the stabilisation of the spine. In this way, the agonist and the antagonist muscles can develop at the same time, thus muscle imbalance can be avoided.

The BOSU® Balance Trainer is uniquely suitable for incorporation into special training systems as it is thoroughly and mansidedly tested during its production.

Exercising with instruments:





This instrument can also be used when the user imitates holding a service weapon, or a bulletproof tactical shield. For the performance of such exercises it is important that the user has a high degree of proprioception and body awareness, which at this point are based on the simultaneous awareness of several factors such as the contact and connection points, the visual effect, the special movements and the external environmental effects.



## Conclusions

The security situation today has peculiar features, since while traditional challenges are also present globally; new, comprehensive external and internal threats are emerging. International terrorism has never been as prevalent as it is today. Specially trained servicemen representing various different organisations participate in eliminating a part of such threats, and perform special duties on homeland and abroad, apart from protecting our national borders.

During the course of performing special duties during their deployment, it is a natural requirement that these servicemen possess and maintain adequate **operational capabilities**; perform their duties at the highest level of **efficiency** and accuracy, while acting with appropriate **flexibility**.

The role of **manpower** as an important component of special capabilities is of significant importance and must enjoy utmost priority, which is supported by personnel-centered management measures, permanently taken into consideration within the ranks of the national defence forces and law enforcement organisations.

As servicemen in special deployment perform such duties that differ from those in general areas, special attention must be paid to their health, physical and mental training, and their overall status must be permanently kept at a level, which enables them to accomplish their missions at a high quality level at all times. The intensive physical loading, which is mostly unilateral and is imposed on them unpredictably, and the imponderable changes in the climatic conditions intensify the development of musculoskeletal disorders.

Movement patterns performed in an unstable environment activate a significantly higher amount of muscle fibres, which makes muscle fibre development more efficient and, as a result of performing training exercises with the BOSU® Trainer, a higher degree of muscle power enhancement can be achieved during a given period of time. The BOSU® Trainer provides a wide range of opportunities for the enhancement of body awareness during movement and also for body forming.

The BOSU® Balance Trainer and the related training exercises are suitable for being incorporated in special training systems, because they improve functional balance and the capabilities for integrated movement. Provided that exercises performed in an unstable environment were to be incorporated into the training activities of servicemen in special deployment, right at the beginning of their training process, these individuals would be able to build a much stronger deep muscular system, which would result in the development of a more stable trunk and human system in general with enhanced endurance.



Apart from ensuring suitable pay raises and developing military and law enforcement equipment to a level required in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the significance of **health support** must also be highlighted within the framework of personnel-centered management in military forces and law enforcement organisations, because this can profoundly guarantee that, following recruitment and training, significant and appropriate efforts can be made for **retaining the personnel in service** and for **gaining appreciation** of the duties performed by servicemen.

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- TITLE OF HIS WRITING (in Hungarian and English);
- ABSTRACT/RESUME (in Hungarian and English);
- KEYWORDS (in Hungarian and English);
- AUTHOR'S DECLARATION.

#### Bibliographical reference:

We kindly request the author to apply the usual numbered references, with the method to be found in “the Bibliographical references, (Bibliográfiai hivatkozások) MSZ ISO 690. p. 19-20”.

If the author fails to use this method, we send back his writing for re-elaboration.

#### Citations:

If the author has citations within the text, he has to mark them with raised numbers (superscripts) in the order of their appearance, immediately following a passage of research information. At the foot of that same page, a note beginning with the corresponding number identifies the source of information.

#### First citations:

If we have a list of citations (bibliography), the first citation has to comprise at least: the author's name, his full address, the page-numbers of the citation, in such a way to be easily identified in the list of biographical references.

#### Examples:

1. Jenő KOVÁCS: Roots of the Hungarian Military Science, ideological problems of its development. p. 6.
2. Tibor ÁCS: Military culture in the reform era. p. 34.
3. Lajos BEREK: Basic elements of research work in Military Science. p. 33.
4. [www.globalsecurity.org/army/iraq](http://www.globalsecurity.org/army/iraq) (downloading time: 19 04 2012)

#### List of biographical references (biography):

We have to fill the list by arranging the authors' name in alphabetical order.

#### Examples:

1. Tibor ÁCS: Military culture in the reform era. Budapest, 2005, Zrínyi Publishing House. ISBN 963 9276 45 6
2. Lajos BEREK: Basic elements of research work in Military Science. In: Tivadar SZILÁGYI (editor): Excerptions. Budapest, 1944 Zrínyi Miklós Military Academy. p. 31-50.
3. Jenő KOVÁCS: Roots of the Hungarian Military Science, ideological problems of its development. In: New Defense Review, 2993. 47. vol. no. 6. p. 1-7, ISSN 1216- 7436
4. [www.Globalsecurity.org/army/iraq](http://www.Globalsecurity.org/army/iraq) (downloaded: 19 04 2012)

Requirements for pictures, sketches, illustrations, diagrams and other appendixes:

- title of the picture or illustration;
- source of the picture or illustration (or its drafter);
- serial number of the picture or illustration, (e.g. 1. picture);
- if it is possible, a Hungarian legend should be provided when the caption of the picture or illustration is given in a foreign language.

Requirements for abbreviations and foreign terms:

- foreignisms and abbreviations should be explained – at their first appearance – in the footnote, in Hungarian and in the original foreign language;
- e. g. WFP – World Food Program – ENSZ Világélelmezési Programja.

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