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EVALUATIONS, ANALYSES, STUDIES

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TENDENCIES OF THE JIHADIST MOVEMENT

Abstract

One of the most important challenges of the Middle East in 2014 and in the foreseeable future is the appearance of the Islamic State in the region and beyond it. The author analyses the root, the ideology and the objectives of the jihadist movement by concentrating on the actual tendencies and its effects on the security services. The essay tries to discover the similarities and the differences between terrorism and insurgency in the activity of the Islamic State.

Keywords: Jihadist movement, Islamic State, terrorism, insurgency, security services.

Introduction

The Middle East influenced by the conception of Sykes-Picot began to disintegrate. Sir Mark Sykes and Francois Georges-Picot were British and French diplomats who redrew the map of the region between the Mediterranean Sea and Persia after World War I[1]. They invented countries like Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Iraq. Some of these nation-states are in turmoil. The events in Syria and Iraq resemble the events occurred in Lebanon a generation ago: The central government collapses, warlords representing various groups take control over the fragments of the countries, with conflicts flowing across international boundaries. Thus, the Iraqi and the Syrian crises have become hard to distinguish, and all of this is affecting the internal Lebanese factions and of course the Jihadist movement.

The question is how far the collapse of the post-World War I system will go. Will the national governments reassert themselves in a decisive way, or will the fragmentation continue? Will this process of disintegration spread to other heirs of Sykes and Picot? This question is perhaps more important than the emergence of the Islamic State. Radical Islamism is a factor in the region, and it will assert itself in various organizational forms. Thus, it is not the Islamic State, but the fragmentation and the crippling of national governments that matters.

With the appearance of the ISIS (IS) in Iraq and Syria, the question is logical: what is the future of the jihadist movement? Is this a terrorist or an insurgent group? Will the Islamic State appear in other parts of the world and what about the Islamic Caliphate? In my essay I try to find answers to the above questions.

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[1] George Friedman: The top 5 events in 2014. Stratfor geopolitical weekly: http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/top-five-events-2014#axzz3NJ1tsbwBDownloaded 30.12.2014.

Jihadist goals, objectives and methods

Going back into the history, after leaving Mecca, Mohammed moved to Medina, where he established the world's first Islamic Caliphate. He and his followers then launched military operations to raid the caravans of their opponents. Mohammed's army eventually conquered Mecca and a large portion of the Arabian Peninsula before the Prophet's death. Within a century of Mohammed's passing, his followers had forged a vast empire that crossed North Africa and most of Spain to the west, reaching the borders of China and India in the east. Just as Mohammed and his followers had conquered much of the known world, the jihadists seek to reconquer this empire and then expand it to encompass the earth. What we can see today is that the history repeats itself. The jihadists' plan is to first establish a state called an emirate that they can rule under jihadist principles, and then use this state as a launching pad for further conquests, creating a larger empire they refer to as the caliphate. Many jihadist ideologues believe that the caliphate should be a transnational entity that includes all Muslim lands, stretching from Spain in the west to the Philippines in the east. The caliphate would then be extended globally, bringing the entire world into submission. It is important to remember that the jihadist movement is not monolithic and that there are varying degrees of ideological difference — including goals and objectives — between some of the various actors and groups. For example, some jihadists are far more nationalistic in philosophy and less transnational. It is very important to understand that jihadists are theologically motivated. In fact, in their ideology there is no real distinction between religion, politics and culture. They believe that it is their religious duty to propagate their own strain of Islam along with the government, legal system and cultural norms that go with it. They also believe that in order to properly spread their strain of Islam they must strictly follow the example of the Prophet Mohammed and his early believers.

It is also important to know that terrorism is not associated with just one group of people; it is a tactic that has been employed by a wide array of actors. There is no single creed, ethnicity, political persuasion or nationality with a monopoly on terrorism. Jihadists employ terrorism as they do insurgency — as one of many tools they can use to achieve their objectives.

The al Qaeda's strategy was formulated in Al-Zawahiri's letter to al-Zarqawi[2]. In the letter, al-Zawahiri wrote: "It has always been my belief that the victory of Islam will never take place until a Muslim state is established in the manner of the Prophet in the heart of the Islamic world.[3]" He also noted that the first step in such a plan was to expel the Americans from Iraq. The second stage was to establish an emirate and expand it into a larger caliphate. The third stage was then to attack the secular countries surrounding Iraq (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Syria and Jordan) and bring them into the caliphate. The fourth step was to use the power of the combined caliphate to attack Israel.

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[2]Al-Zarqawi was the leader of a jihadist group operating in Iraq that had pledged allegiance to al Qaeda and changed its name to al Qaeda in Iraq. The group later turned into an umbrella organization comprising several jihadist groups and was renamed as Islamic State of Iraq. More recently, due to its efforts in Syria, the group has changed its name to the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant ISIL).
[3]Scott Stewart: Gauging the Jihadist Movement, Part 1: The Goals of the Jihadists. Jihadism in 2014: Defining the Movement | StratforSecurity WeeklyDecember 19, 2013. Downloaded: 28.12.2014.

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant is not the only jihadist group to attempt to establish an emirate. Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula made a concerted effort to seize, hold and govern territory in southern Yemen, as a result of the Yemeni revolution in 2011, briefly controlling a substantial territory there. Al Shabaab has controlled and governed parts of Somalia for several years now (though recently the group lost significant portions of it). Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb temporarily established an emirate in northern Mali in 2012, and the Nigerian jihadist group Boko Haram has attempted to establish control over areas in Nigeria's north. At present, jihadist groups such as Ansar al-Shariah are seeking to establish control over territory amid the chaos in Libya. These events show that establishing an emirate as a base from which to launch further expansion is at the heart of the jihadist strategy, remaining an important goal for the jihadist movement. Analysing the jihadists' goals, we can see that almost all jihadists — whether they are transnational or nationalist in ideology — seek to establish an Islamic polity along the lines of a medieval emirate. This goal is not only a matter of rhetoric, but an action — several jihadist groups have attempted to establish emirates. Once established, the emirate would be ruled under an extremely austere interpretation of Sharia, as seen in Afghanistan under the Taliban, which was the first jihadist emirate. Transnational jihadists also seek to expand beyond the creation of an emirate to re-establish the caliphate.

What is the difference between insurgency and terrorism from our point of view? Insurgency is an armed rebellion, and militant organizations waging insurgencies will often utilize terrorism as a tool in that rebellion. There are many conflicting definitions of terrorism, but for our purposes we will loosely define it as politically motivated violence against noncombatants. By definition, all insurgencies employ violence, but not all of them employs terrorism. Therefore, while the two concepts are often complementary, they are not synonymous. In the specific case of the jihadist movement, we have seen them utilize terrorism as an element of their various insurgent campaigns. However, in order to fully understand them, we must approach these two complementary concepts — and the theory behind them — separately.

Insurgency, sometimes called guerrilla warfare or irregular warfare, has been practiced for centuries in a variety of different regions and by a number of actors from different cultures. One of these historical examples was the Prophet Mohammed, who is seen by the jihadists as a model for their military campaigns. After Mohammed left Mecca and established the first Islamic polity in Medina, his forces began to conduct asymmetrical military operations against their stronger Meccan foes, attacking their commercial caravans and conducting hit-and-run attacks, until they were able to amass the power necessary to conquer Mecca and expand the Islamic state to include a large section of the Arabian Peninsula.

In the 20th century, insurgent theory was codified by leaders such as Russia's Vladimir Lenin, China's Mao Zedong, Vietnam's General Vo Nguyen Giap and Latin America's Che Guevara. But at its core, the theory is based on the historic concepts of declining battle when the enemy has superior forces and attacking at a time and place where the insurgents can mass sufficient forces to strike where the enemy is weak. The insurgents take a long view of the armed struggle and seek to survive and fight another day rather than allowing themselves to be fixed and destroyed by their enemy. They may lose some battles, but if they cause losses for their enemy,

forcing them to expend men and resources disproportionately, while remaining alive themselves to continue the insurgency, it is a victory for them. Time is on the side of the insurgent in an asymmetrical style of battle, and they hope that a long war will serve to exhaust and demoralize their enemy. There are varying conceptual differences between figures such as Mao, Lenin and Guevara regarding how to best advance a given political situation in order to strengthen an insurgent's position and recruit forces. For example, Mao believed in extensive political preparation among the peasant citizenry before launching an armed struggle. In contrast, Guevara believed that a small vanguard (or foco) of guerrillas could begin to conduct attacks without extensive political priming and that the armed struggle itself could shape public opinion and raise popular support for the cause. In the case of an insurgency against a foreign occupier, it is not always necessary to follow this progression and achieve military parity with them. Local insurgents have superior intelligence as well as the advantage of fundamental interest[4].

Terrorist theory

Terrorism tends to be a tool of the weak. It is often used as a way to conduct armed conflict against a militarily stronger enemy, when the organization launching the armed struggle is not yet at a stage where insurgent or conventional warfare is viable. Marxist, Maoist and Focoist[5] groups often seek to use terrorism as the first step in an armed struggle. In some ways, al Qaeda also followed a type of Focoist vanguard strategy by using terrorism to shape public opinion and raise popular support for their cause. Terrorism can also be used to supplement insurgency or conventional warfare when it is employed to keep the enemy off balance and distracted, principally by conducting strikes against vulnerable targets in the enemy's rear. The Afghan Taliban employ terrorism in this manner. Such attacks against "soft" targets require a disproportionate allocation of resources to defend against. While costly in terms of materiel and manpower, such an allocation is absolutely necessary if the security forces wish to prevent the targeted population from feeling terrorized.

In a location where the security forces are weak and disorganized, it is quite possible for terror groups to utilize a hierarchical command model. But in places where the security forces are competent and aggressive, the terrorists' job is harder. A proficient security force can become quite successful in collecting intelligence on a militant organization, perhaps even to the extent of penetrating the organization with agents, or developing informants from within. Such intelligence operations permit the security forces to quickly identify and round up members of the group, using their own established hierarchy as a targeting framework.

Practicing good operational security can help a militant organization protect itself from the intelligence collection efforts of the security forces, but those measures can only go so far. If the

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[4]Scott Stewart: Insurgent and terrorist theory in Stratfor geopolitical weekly November 20 2013. Downloaded: December 28.2014.

[5]Focoismorthe "focotheory" is a type of vanguard revolution adapted rather differently than the classical Leninism; instead of leading a revolution in which the people participate from the start, the aim is to *inspire the people to revolt* by starting the fight without popular support. Essentially, the people's support is gradually won *throughout* the guerrilla war, rather than simply calling for a massive people's revolution. The focoisttactic has been used by Fidel Castro during the Cuban Revolution, and by Che Guevara.

security forces are capable and aggressive, they can still find ways to infiltrate the organization. One way for militant groups to counter such aggressive intelligence efforts is to move away from a hierarchical configuration toward a cellular structure, in which small teams or cells work independently and do not have links to each other.

In some organizations, the cells can be totally independent and self-contained operationally, conducting all their activities internally, based on direction received from their central command. Other organizations will employ functional cells that conduct the different sorts of tasks required for a terrorist operation. In such an operational model, there might be finance and logistics cells, command cells, bomb-making cells, propaganda cells, recruitment cells, surveillance cells, assault cells and so on. The idea is that if one cell is compromised, the damage will be contained and will not allow the authorities to identify the entire organization. But still, these various cells are linked by a common command element and directed in their operations. However, even cellular organizations are vulnerable to intelligence penetration. Because of this fact, some terrorist theorists have proposed an operational model called leaderless resistance, in which independent cells and individuals conduct attacks without direction from a central command.

Defining the jihadist movement

The jihadist movement is often portrayed as a monolithic entity, with the entire movement frequently referred to as "al Qaeda" or "al Qaeda-linked militants." In reality, the jihadist movement is far more complex.

There are a number of jihadist actors and groups, and many of them hold to different religious doctrines and operational tenets. For example, some groups tend to be more nationalistic in nature, such as the Afghan Taliban, while others are more transnational, such as the al Qaeda core. And there is a range of groups with beliefs that fall between these two extremes. Even al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, the jihadist franchise group most closely aligned with the al Qaeda core, has conducted terrorist attacks against local and regional targets in addition to transnational targets. But target selection and the types of attacks employed are not the only differences. Some groups believe in the practice of takfir[6], or declaring another Muslim to be an unbeliever, while other groups refute takfir as un-Islamic. Some jihadist groups actively attack Shiite and Sufi Muslims while other groups will cooperate with Shiite, Sufi or even secular militant groups fighting for the same cause. There are also differences between groups regarding how Sharia should be administered in areas conquered by jihadist groups. Additionally, not all jihadists are members of hierarchical groups. They may sympathize or associate with a group, attend a training camp and perhaps even fight with a group, but not be formal members of the group. For many years there have been such "free radicals" orbiting within and around the jihadist movement.

Taking into consideration that many studies even in the Tradecraft Review deal with the al Qaeda and franchise groups, I intend to concentrate only on the following groups: Al Qaeda in the

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[6]Takfir is an Arabic word that literally means "pronouncement of unbelief against someone," and can be translated as "excommunication."

Arabian Peninsula, Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Boko Haram, Al Shabaab, Taliban and Grassroots Jihadists (or home grown jihadists).

Implications of the jihadist groups for the security forces

It is important to note that the battle against jihadism is essentially an ideological battle. Military, law enforcement, intelligence, financial and diplomatic tools can be used to contain or reduce the power and the influence of particular jihadist groups on the physical battlefield. However, as long as the jihadist ideology persists and continues to attract adherents faster than they can be killed or arrested, it will not be possible to put an end to the jihadist threat using traditional counterterrorism programs. An ideological solution is necessary.

While some Western governments and individuals have attempted to wage ideological war against jihadism, non-Muslims really have no standing on the ideological battlefield[7]. It is a battle that must be waged by Muslims. With the U.S. withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan, many of the arguments for defensive jihad will be nullified. Instead, jihadists in most places, including Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen and Libya, are conducting most of their fighting against fellow Muslims. Indeed, over the past decade, jihadists have killed far more Muslims in terrorist and insurgent attacks than they have non-Muslims. This fact, along with the manner in which jihadists have governed areas under their control in places such as Yemen, Mali, Somalia and Syria, has been working to undermine the jihadist ideology and to show Muslims that jihadist rule will not produce paradise on earth.

The al Qaeda core has been weakened to the point of military irrelevance and dwindling ideological clout. Al Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri has lost control of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant — a clear reflection of the al Qaeda core's organizational irrelevance to the rest of the jihadist movement. If al-Zawahiri and the other core leaders were taken out tomorrow, the broader jihadist movement would barely be affected (see the situation after the death of bin Laden).

That said this state of irrelevance is not necessarily permanent. The al Qaeda franchise groups in Iraq and Yemen have rebounded and regained strength after experiencing substantial losses on the battlefield. These two resilient organizations are now the strongest al Qaeda franchise groups in the world. They owe their recovery to a variety of factors, including strong, effective leadership, favorable local conditions, prison escapes and access to weapons and funding. In fact, al-Zawahiri was not even a very effective leader of his own group, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad had languished and split before al-Zawahiri and his loyalists were absorbed into al Qaeda. Given space and opportunity, it is possible that a more effective leader could emerge in place of al-Zawahiri, but at the present time, there is no sign of such a leader, and it appears that the al Qaeda core will continue to decline.

One of the main factors that have helped foster the resurgence of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant is the geopolitical struggle between Sunni and Shiite powers now taking place in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. Rather than completely destroy the Islamic State of Iraq following the Anbar

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[7]Scott Stewart: Gauging the Jihadist Movement, Part 5: Implications, Strat for Security Weekly December 12, 2013. Downloaded: 28 December 2014.

Awakening, some Sunni tribal sheikhs decided to allow the jihadist group to survive so that it could be used against the surging Shiite power in the country.

Saudi Arabia and Gulf countries have also supported jihadist groups in Syria and Lebanon in an effort to combat the al Assad regime and Hezbollah, both of which are Iranian allies. This largesse has not only led to the growth of jihadist groups in Lebanon and Syria but has also served as a boon to the Islamic State of Iraq, which has been able to expand and evolve into the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant. The rise of jihadists in Syria was an important factor in the Obama administration's decision against attacking and weakening the al Assad regime further after it crossed the "red line" by using chemical weapons. Permitting the al Assad regime to survive and continue to fight against the jihadists in Syria will give the United States some time to plan on what course of action it wants to take to counter the jihadists' gains toward the establishment of an emirate in Syria.

Scope of Violence

Currently, most of the violence perpetrated by jihadist groups remains confined to their primary areas of operation, with some limited overflow into other countries in their core regions — e.g., Boko Haram kidnappings in Cameroon near the Nigerian border or low-level al Shabaab attacks in places such as Kenya and Ethiopia. Even groups with the intent to attack the United States and the West will continue to struggle to achieve success at a distance due to their limited tradecraft and capabilities.

While some groups such as al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb have long financed themselves by kidnapping-for-ransom, other groups such as al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and Boko Haram are increasingly adopting the tactic. The millions of dollars these jihadist groups make from kidnappings will continue to be a critically important source of revenue as other sources dry up. Other illegal activities such as smuggling and extortion will also become increasingly important as funds dwindle. These kinds of criminal enterprises enable the groups to finance their activities, but they also divert attention and personnel away from other militant activity.

The jihadist groups will also continue their attempts to encourage grassroots jihadists to conduct independent attacks, invariably in places where the groups are weak and have no capability to conduct effective attacks. Hard-line groups will certainly attempt to use any grassroots jihadists from the West who approach them, turning such individuals around to conduct attacks against Western targets. Fortunately, most Western jihadists are more focused on fighting jihad in Syria or Somalia than conducting attacks in the USA or Europe, at least for now.

The Jihadism in 2014

As I noted before, he jihadist movement is not monolithic at all: It is composed of several different actors and groups, some of which abide by different religious doctrines and operational tenets. Those differences were prominently displayed last year by the formal split between the Islamic State and al Qaeda. The growing tension between al Qaeda and the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant – which subsequently became the Islamic State – is definitely a negative factor within the jihadist movement.

But the split is much more than an ideological dispute. It is a struggle for power and wealth, and in many parts of Syria it has erupted into open warfare between al Qaeda franchise group Jabhat al-Nusra and the Islamic State[8]. Members of the two groups have assassinated, captured and executed members of the opposing group as they fight against the Syrian army and other Syrian rebel groups. However, there does seem to be some regional variation in the way the two groups interact depending on their local leaders and the degree of direct competition over resources in a particular area. For example, in Qalamoun, Jabhat al-Nusra and the Islamic State sometimes worked together against common enemies, but earlier this year the Islamic State pushed al-Nusra out of the region altogether during a bloody battle for control of the lucrative energy fields in Deir el-Zour.

The split between al Qaeda and the Islamic State has created a second pole in the jihadist movement. The first pole is al Qaeda and the franchise groups and grassroots jihadists associated with it, and the second pole is the Islamic State and the regional groups as well as grassroots jihadists that have pledged allegiance to it. This split, however, has not really expanded the jihadist movement but has only divided the existing movement.

Though there are a limited number of groups that have declared allegiance to the Islamic State, these groups tend to be splinters off existing jihadist groups rather than new entities. For example, Jund al-Khilifahin Algeria is a group that split away from al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. There has been some re-branding of existing jihadists, but not a lot of actual external growth. This dynamic is not new, and in the past, existing jihadist groups took on the al Qaeda brand name. For example, the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat assumed the name al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghrebin September 2006. The Islamic State has certainly grown on the ground in Iraq and Syria, both by absorbing other groups and by recruiting new local and foreign fighters. However, we have not seen the group expand beyond its core areas of operation in a meaningful way. The organization's growth outside its core area can be attributed solely to the rebranding of existing jihadist groups and to the splintering of existing groups. New Islamic State groups have not yet emerged.

In addition to Jund al-Khilafah in Algeria, a faction of the former Jemaah Islamiyah in Indonesia has declared loyalty to the Islamic State, as have done a faction of the Abu Sayyaf group in the Philippines, the Dagestani faction of the Caucasus Emirates, some of the Libyan jihadists in the Derna area, some elements of the Pakistani Taliban and the Sinai faction of Ansar Beit al-Maqdis in Egypt. There are also some indications that Boko Haram is modeling its methods in northeastern Nigeria after the Islamic State's method of operation, Boko Haram formally declared its allegiance to the Islamic State.

Also, while there has been a recent uptick in attacks by grassroots jihadists associating themselves with the Islamic State, the number and severity of those attacks have been rather modest.There is little evidence to indicate that the pool of grassroots jihadists is appreciably larger than it was before the Islamic State had split away from the al Qaeda orbit.

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[8]Stratfor Security Weekly December 25, 2014. Jihadism in 2014: Defining the Movement. Downloaded 31.December 2014.

Also, it is important to recognize that grassroots jihadists are often lone radicals who may have less loyalty to particular groups. Though groups such as al Qaeda and the Islamic State generate propaganda that help radicalize grassroots jihadists, these operatives usually don't receive the same type of ideological indoctrination as those who attend physical terrorist training camps. Consequently, grassroots operatives could have less preference between al Qaeda and the Islamic State and could conceivably be influenced to take action by both. For example, it would not be surprising for a person taking action in the name of the Islamic State to use bomb-making instructions from al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula's Inspire Magazine.

Many observers expected the Islamic State to replace al Qaeda as the leader of the global jihadist movement because of mass defections following Islamic State's battlefield success, *but this simply has not happened.* Indeed jihadist ideologues such as Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi and Yusuf al-Qaradawi, as well as influential jihadist leaders such as Nasir al-Wahayshi, the leader of al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, have been highly critical of the Islamic State's declaration of a caliphate; and al Qaeda franchise groups have not defected en masse to the Islamic State. Additionally, the Islamic State's penchant for publishing videos on the Internet documenting the execution of its foreign hostages and prisoners of war — most of whom are Muslims — has raised a great deal of criticism.

The split between al Qaeda and the Islamic State has divided and weakened the jihadist movement globally. This competition is not only harmful to jihadist groups because of social media arguments or physical battles in places such as Syria; it is also something that can and will be taken advantage of by those seeking to undermine the movement.

An important point concerns the Islamic State's affiliation with al-Qaeda, mentioned frequently in the media. IS is indeed part of the global jihad movement, which seeks to establish a Taliban-style caliphate under Islamic law in the Levant region. However, the serious conflict between ISIS leader Abu Bakral-Baghdadi and al-QaedaleaderAyman al-Zawahiri has resulted in the group's expulsion from the alliance established by al-Qaeda and several of its main affiliates. Therefore, the widespread use of the term "al-Qaeda forces in Iraq" does not suit the situation, and it certainly enhances the reputation of al-Qaeda unjustifiably, whose strength is glorified to an unwarranted degree[9].

ISIS lacks the ability to fully control and manage the other regions it has conquered in Iraq, and even more to force the residents of these areas to accept the government under the fundamentalist Islamic law to which it aspires. In Syria, too, the organization is far from controlling large parts of the country, and it is mainly making controlling of the Raqqah region and parts of Deirez-Zor. The concern in the countries bordering Iraq, mainly Iran, Turkey, and Jordan, can be expected to pose an obstacle to continued ISIS success.

[9]Yoram Schweitzer: Temporary ISIS: A Risk Assessment in: *INSS Insigh t*No. 564, June 23, 2014. http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.2056420-20Yoram20for20web.pdf Downloaded June 24 2014.

Participation of foreign fighters in Iraq and Syria

Foreign fighters are making more of a mark on the battles raging across Syria and Iraq than initially thought. U.S. intelligence officials estimate that more than 18,000 foreign fighters now have flocked to the region -- up from about 16,000 at the start of November 2014. An estimate by the National Counter Terrorism Center in September had put the number of foreign fighters at more than 15,000[10]. The number of Western passport holders joining the fight also has grown, to at least 3,000. Earlier estimates had put the number of Westerners fighting in Iraq and Syria at about 2,700.

Officials caution the higher estimates do not mean, however, that there are necessarily more fighters on the battlefield. U.S. intelligence officials say most of the foreign fighters heading to Iraq or Syria seem to be intent on joining with the Islamic State, although many are still fighting the al-Qaida-affiliated Nusra Front or with other groups. There is a hope that the flow of foreign fighters to the region will begin to subside.

It is important to analyse whether IS is indeed a rising Islamic jihadist force, which is about to seize control of several countries in this region as part of its plan to establish an Islamic caliphate, or whether it is an organization with limited means and abilities, whose pretensions exceed its real strength. Without minimizing the achievements of IS, it appears that the secret of its power rests primarily on the weakness of its enemies. So far, IS has made territorial gains only in Iraq and in limited areas of Syria, two failed states, whose central governments suffer from a lack of legitimacy among their citizens and in effective control of large parts of their territory[11]. Most Sunni Muslims are not interested in the extreme interpretations of IS, but at this stage they have no choice but to obey the organization, if only for the sake of appearances. Should IS try to extend its conquests to areas of Iraq where there is an established Shiite population, such as the capital Baghdad or the holy cities of Najaf and Karbala, it may well encounter a fighting population protected by an Iranian military force and deeper involvement of Western countries, as happened when it threatened to penetrate the heart of the Kurdish region of Iraq. A similar response is expected to happen if IS dares to confront Jordan or Turkey. For that reason, its threats to make similar advances against other countries of the region – Jordan, Lebanon, and certainly Iran and Turkey – are not serious.

Conclusions

When we look at the al Qaeda core in relation to its goals and objectives of establishing emirates and eventually re-establishing the caliphate, the al Qaeda core has clearly failed. Indeed, the 9/11 al Qaeda attacks caused the United States to invade Afghanistan and overthrow the one existing jihadist emirate, so following 25 years of armed struggle, al Qaeda is no closer to achieving its objectives than it was before.

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[10]Jeff Seldin: Estimates Rising of Foreign Fighters in Iraq, Syria.http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/news/2014/12/sec-141224 a02.htm_m=3n.002a.1299.qi0ao00qad.16wbdownloaded: 31. December 2014.
[11]Source: Yoram Schweitzer: ISIS: The Real Threatin INSS Insight No. 596 http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.2059620-20Yoram20for20web.pdf Downloaded 31. December 2014.

In terms of insurgent theory, the al Qaeda core leadership held a firm view that they could act as a global vanguard and employ violence to establish the conditions necessary for a global uprising in the Muslim world. However, while some groups and individuals have heeded al Qaeda's call to battle, it has been far from a global uprising. Indeed, most of the groups we refer to as al Qaeda franchises were pre-existing Islamist or jihadist organizations that have assumed al Qaeda's name. For example, the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat assumed the name al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in September 2006.

Despite decades of effort, jihadist insurgents have not had much success in overthrowing existing regimes in the Muslim world. While there were jihadist elements involved in the string of so-called Arab Spring that ran from Tunisia to Syria, the jihadists were never really responsible for launching the revolutions. Even in places where they have benefited from a revolution and the subsequent vacuum of state authority, such as in Syria and Libya, it was more a case of their taking advantage of the situation than being the driving factor in the uprising. The same can be said for the civil war in Yemen, the coup in Mali and the decades of chaos wracking Somalia, which have provided jihadist militants with anarchic and permissive environments to thrive in.

Indeed, due to their inability to overthrow regimes in the Muslim world, jihadist groups have focused much of their insurgent efforts on such chaotic environments, hoping to repeat the success of the Taliban amid the turmoil and lawlessness in Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal. Yet even in tumultuous locations such as Yemen, northern Mali and Somalia, the jihadists have not been able to achieve significant and lasting success in holding territory and establishing emirates.

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LT.COL. ENDRE SZÉNÁSI

RUSSIAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SYRIA: THE REBIRTH OF RUSSIAN MILITARY MIGHT

Abstract

The entire concept of the Western world to install a "moderate" opposition government in Syria has hopelessly failed. The strategic analysis of the Russian intervention takes into account the assessments of the so called "Arab Spring", the situation in Syria, the policies of the allies of the Assad regime as well as its opponents or enemies. All these aspects are focused on the realities and the prospects of the Russian military intervention.

Key words: Arab Spring, Assad regime, civil war, ISIS[1], Kurds, military intervention, Russia, Syria, US, West

Introduction

The entire concept of the Western world to install a "moderate" opposition government in Syria has hopelessly failed. The strategic analysis of the Russian intervention takes into account the assessments of the so called "Arab Spring", the situation in Syria, the policies of the allies of the Assad regime as well as its opponents or enemies. All these aspects are focused on the realities and the prospects of the Russian military intervention.

The difficulty of the topic

The analysis of the Russian intervention in Syria is challenging, since we are at the beginning of rapid developments with "great unknowns":

- It is quite difficult to figure out the truth from open sources when key players of the armed conflict in Syria – such as Russia and the US – notoriously deny each other's information in the mainstream media, even regarding relatively simple issues. A good example of this is when US mainstream media – such as CNN and The Washington Post – claimed that according to information gained from unnamed Pentagon officials, some Russian cruise missiles launched from Russian Navy ships loitering on the Caspian Sea tried to hit unsuccessfully terrorist targets in Syria, but it impacted on Iranian territory on the 7th October 2015. Later, the Russian Ministry of Defence officially denied it. Semi-official sources of the Iranian Ministry of Defence also denied it. The Pentagon refused to make comments on the issue. I have checked the Pentagon's official homepage – that is the home

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[1] Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS)

page of the US Department of Defence (DoD) – for clues. I have found no traces of information regarding possible malfunctioning of the Russian cruise missiles.

- All parties involved in the conflict actively use information warfare techniques.
- Even though there are historical roots and examples of conflicts between the West and Russia, and the civil war in Syria has been going on for years; the Russian military intervention in Syria is relatively new, contemporary, a "moving train".
- The Russian intervention in Syria creates significantly different conditions in the civil war, raging for years. The outcome of these new conditions is difficult to judge, since attempts to understand both Muslim and Russian mind-sets provide their own, considerable challenges.

The so called "Arab Spring" and Western "export of democracy"

The Western world – especially the US – played a major role in reshaping the Middle East. Some most important and typical forms of interventions are:

- various forms of support for the political opposition (as in the case of Syria);
- economic blockade (sometimes proposed against the Assad regime);
- training, financing and equipping the opposition fighters and providing them with "useful" intelligence "tips" etc. (as in the case of Syria);
- direct military intervention (in the case of Syria we witnessed a limited direct military intervention by the West and Israel).

The question arises why any Western effort to install a somewhat Western type "democracy" in the Middle East has a great chance to fail.

In the Western world, we have Christian societies in cultural terms (no matter what percentage of the population is actually religious) and more importantly a secular state, where the state and the church are separated from each other. The existence of secular state creates unity among the nations. The most common view is that people identify themselves as citizens of particular countries. It provides a good basis for cohesion within nation states.[2]

In Muslim societies, there is either no secular state, or a secular state might exist, but it must be reinforced by some sort of totalitarian rule, most likely by a form of dictatorship. Once the dictator is toppled, the country would easily descend into chaos and bloodshed, because the Muslim societies are fragmented along religious and tribal lines. Their fragmentation is based on the variations of religious beliefs within the Islam, not to mention the fragmentation between different religions. Tribal bonds are also strong enough to become a firm basis in conflicts between groups faithful to the same religion. When people identify themselves based on variations within Islam and their tribe, the "foundations" of instability within the countries are certainly created. This instability is hidden when an authoritarian rule is installed, but it becomes obvious when the authoritarian rule fails. Iraq and Libya represent good examples for that, after the fall of Saddam Hussein or Muammar Kaddafi.

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[2] Janos Besenyő: Can the „Arab Spring" present a real threat to Europe? Strategic Impact, No. 50., 1/2014, pp. 32-44, http://www.scribd.com/doc/241476196/Can-the-Arab-Spring-present-a-real-threat-to-Europe

The nature of the Assad regime

It has always been a mystery to me why the West insists that the Assad regime should be toppled by "moderate" opposition. Assad is accused by the Western world, because he is a brutal dictator, who kills his own people. He used "barrel bombs" against rebels indiscriminately killing armed militants and civilians as well. The death toll is around 11 thousands.[3] Assad denies that the Syrian government forces loyal to him have ever used "barrel bombs", but it appears that his Air Force did so.

Some years ago, television reports appeared on certain Russian TV channels, showing barrel bombing techniques commenting the practice as a new and successful way of fighting Assad's opposition. The commentators clamed that the Syrian government troops learned how to fight the gunmen in opposition during the civil war.

Barrel bombing is based on a "quasi homemade" technology. Barrels or tubes that are easy to produce are filled with explosive materials and metallic parts for shrapnel effects. Since the weight of the bombs is quite significant, this technique causes a big explosion and a lot of destruction on the ground. The barrel bombs are dropped from helicopters, since they can fly slowly enough to avoid technical problems with the aerodynamically unfit "barrel bombs". Using "barrel bombs" is a desperate attempt of a state leadership to counter an armed rebellion, because it obviously has not appropriate military industrial capabilities to create "normal" (contemporary) aviation bombs, preferably capable of precision targeting etc. As a member of the Western, Christian civilisation, I would argue, that we should not go too far blaming Assad from a "moral high ground" for the "inhumane" barrel bombing, since there are multiple historical examples of similar war crimes on our side[4] as well.

Syrian government forces have allegedly used also chemical weapons against rebels, resulting in maybe a dozen or more deaths, which is denied by both the Syrian government and Russia. Even if it is true – with all respect to every human life – the number of casualties in this case is insignificant. The 5 years of civil war in Syria have already claimed the lives of 220 thousand people as of March 2015 (Annex 1), more than 310 thousand as of April 18, in accordance with the CNN data.[5] As we can observe, unless there was a very significant upward trend concerning the number of casualties for some unknown reasons, it is quite difficult to believe in the accuracy of the quoted sources. Various sources provide significantly different data that contradict each other.

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[3] Lucy Rodgers, David Gritten, James Offer and Patrick Asare: Syria: The story of the conflict, BBC, 10 October 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868

[4] The Allied bombardment of Hamburg and Dresden in World War II with igniting bombs, deliberately destroying entire districts where civilian population lived. Napalm in the Vietnam War that killed everything within area of effect indiscriminately. White phosphorus in Fallujah, Iraq that is a good way to destroy armoured targets but it also literally burns through human flesh when used against infantry, also hitting civilians etc. in an urban environment.

[5] Ben Brumfield: Empty out Boston; starve Moscow, and you may understand some of Syria's hell, *CNN*, 16 October 2015, http://edition.cnn.com/2015/04/17/middleeast/syria-civil-war-by-the-numbers/

The position of some "key players" concerning Syria

In this chapter, I attempt to provide a condensed summary of the positions of some key players, without analysis. Their positions will be challenged in later chapters, when confronted with realities.

a) USA

The position of the US can be summarised by a few quotes from the Obama speech at UN Gen Assembly: "Let's remember how this started. Assad reacted to peaceful protests by escalating repression and killing that, in turn, created the environment for the current strife. And so Assad and his allies cannot simply pacify the broad majority of a population who have been brutalized by chemical weapons and indiscriminate bombing. Yes, realism dictates that compromise will be required to end the fighting and ultimately stamp out ISIL. But realism also requires a managed transition away from Assad and to a new leader, and an inclusive government that recognizes; there must be an end to this chaos so that the Syrian people can begin to rebuild. [..] while military power is necessary, it is not sufficient to resolve the situation in Syria. Lasting stability can only take hold when the people of Syria forge an agreement to live together peacefully. The United States is prepared to work with any nation, including Russia and Iran, to resolve the conflict. But we must recognize that there cannot be, after so much bloodshed, so much carnage, a return to the pre-war status quo."[6]

US Defence Secretary Ashton Carter has a clear position on Russian policy in Syria: "Russia has escalated the civil war, putting further at risk the very political resolution and preservation of Syria's structure of future governance". Carter also said. "It remains my hope that Vladimir Putin will see that tethering Russia to a sinking ship is a losing strategy, and will decide to confront the threat presented by ISIL instead of continuing its unilateral air strikes against Assad's opposition."[7]

b) Russia

The position of Russia can also be summarised by a few quotes from Putin's speech at UN Gen Assembly: „Russia has always been consistently fighting against terrorism in all its forms. Today, we provide military and technical assistance both to Iraq and Syria and many other countries of the region that are fighting terrorist groups. We think it is an enormous mistake to refuse to cooperate with the Syrian government and its armed forces that are valiantly fighting terrorism face to face. We should finally acknowledge that no one but President Assad's armed forces and Kurds (ph) militias are truly fighting the Islamic State and other terrorist organizations in Syria."[8]

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[6] Remarks by President Obama to the United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Headquarters, New York, New York, *The White House, Office of the Press Secretary,* 13 October 2015, https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/09/28/remarks-president-obama-united-nations-general-assembly
[7] US Defense Chief: Russia Has 'Losing Strategy' in Syria, *The Arab Source*, 13 October 2015, http://www.almasdarnews.com/article/us-defense-chief-russia-has-losing-strategy-in-syria/
[8] Read Putin's U.N. General Assembly speech, *The Washington Post*, 13 October 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/28/read-putins-u-n-general-assembly-speech/
Read Putin's U.N. General Assembly speech

The Russian military intervention in Syria makes it quite obvious that Russia would defend its national interests even beyond the Russian borders.[9]

c) Syrian government

"Syrian President Bashar al-Assad said that Russian support for his regime in a coalition with Iran and Iraq was a key factor to saving the entire Middle East from a catastrophe. The four countries (of the Russian led coalition – the auth.) would achieve "practical results," said Mr Assad."[10]

An interview with the Syrian ambassador in Moscow provides a good snapshot of the Syrian Government position on the crisis and the war. "In Syria, there is no such thing as moderate terrorism. Terrorism is terrorism. However, as a part of the aggressive propagandistic campaign that the West is performing against Russia, such statements really have their context. We are accustomed to this in Syria. For this reason, it was not a surprise for us that soon after the Russians started the air campaign we got such accusations from the West. They started to „cry" mourning the „casualties" of the „Islamic State" and other terrorist groups. This is the primary evidence, which proves that the efforts of US-led coalition of 60 countries are absolutely ineffective. […] The bombardment by Air and Cosmic Forces[11] that are of pinpoint accuracy and very effective based on close cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Syrian Army, that fights on the ground and provides accurate coordinates of the extremists."[12] Accordingly to the information provided by the Syrian ambassador during the interview, 40 percents of ISIS infrastructure has already been destroyed by Russian air strikes.

d) Iran

Iran supports Russian military intervention in Syria, preferring the victory of the current Syrian government. Iran provides various forms of aid to the Assad regime and Russia, including military expertise[13] and intelligence data. The "big unknown" is whether Iran would provide a significant amount of troops on the ground if it were necessary.

e) Iraq

Iraq has unofficially requested the Russian air strikes against the ISIS terrorist targets; the official request is yet to come. As a member of the Russian-led coalition against ISIS, Iraq also provides military expertise and intelligence data for the Syrian government, similarly to Iran. In the case of Iraq, the "big unknown" is whether there would be a significant Russian air campaign against the Iraqi ISIS targets. It would be a logical policy from both Russia and Iraq. If this becomes

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[9] Дмитрий Рогозин: Россия будет защищать свои коренные интересы даже за пределами границ, *Voenkor*, 10 October 2015, http://voenkor.info/content/9389

[10] Russia scuppers no-fly zone plans, the gun-buying rush and the prospect of a mega tsunami, *Financial Times*, 6 Oct, 2015, http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/57a792fe-6af5-11e5-8171-ba1968cf791a.html#axzz3nmucSZ7Y

[11] ВКС - Air and Cosmic Forces

[12] Посол Сирии: благодаря авиаударам РФ уничтожено 40% инфраструктуры ИГ, *Ria Novosti*, 13 October 2015, http://ria.ru/interview/20151007/1298298182.html
Посол Сирии: благодаря авиаударам РФ уничтожено 40% инфраструктуры ИГ

[13] Laila Bassam, Tom Perry: How Iranian general plotted out Syrian assault in Moscow, Reuters, 16 October 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/10/06/us-mideast-crisis-syria-soleimani-insigh-idUSKCN0S02BV20151006

a reality, the Russians could prove that they truly fight against the ISIS itself and not only against the armed Syrian rebels associated with terrorist groups of various natures On the Iraqi side, Russian air campaign would be a good tool to eliminate ISIS in Iraq. It is unknown at this stage, whether Russia would take the decision to launch a major air campaign against ISIS in Iraq.

At the present stage, it is highly unlikely that Iraq would provide a significant amount of ground troops to aid the Syrian government if necessary, since the Iraqi government can hardly handle the ISIS within Iraq.

The price of overthrowing the Assad regime and the possibilities to reinstall stability in Syria

Option No. 1: Based on the realities of the Syrian society, if Russians revive the "man-eater"[14] Assad regime, providing the dictator with all the necessary support, they do indeed have a chance to create lasting stability. It might even sound cynical for those who believe that Assad must leave power, no matter who orchestrates the Syrian consolidation. I do not think that my assessment at this point is cynical. I think that we need to be realistic. I assume that the Russians would opt for reviving and keeping their loyal ally, the Assad regime in Syria. We need to take into account that the "Syrian nation" has been unable to come to a compromises during the civil war. It appears that some might win and others might lose, but there is no tendency for compromises amongst the warring fractions that include also armed opposition subgroups that are fighting each other.

Option No. 2: If Russians get to a compromise with the Western world, they remove Assad from power and attempt to install a some "democracy", based on the so called "moderate" opposition, long lasting chaos, bloodshed, and civil war would follow. The reasons are quite simple. On one hand, the so called "moderate" opposition is outnumbered by radicals: "Secular moderates are now outnumbered by Islamists and jihadists, whose brutal tactics have caused widespread concern and triggered rebel infighting."[15],[16] On the other hand, the military training of opposition fighters has failed: "In the span of two hours, a cornerstone of the U.S. strategy toward the self-proclaimed Islamic State in Iraq and Syria would crumble — loudly, and in public. Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, the general in charge of the war effort made clear that the U.S. strategy for arming "moderate" Syrian fighters had failed. Of the thousands of fighters they had hoped to train, just "four or five" are currently in the fight in Syria. And with that, Army Gen. Lloyd Austin, Commander of U.S. Central Command, came under a blistering, bipartisan attack about the strategy in Syria and Iraq. Senators called the strategy "a joke," "an abject failure" and in deep need of revision. But neither Austin — testifying alongside Christine Wormuth, the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy — nor the critical senators had any better ideas."[17]

Such unreliability of Western trained armed rebels undermines any efforts to supply high tech weaponry to the so called "moderate" opposition to challenge the Russian military, the Assad

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[14] Col. László TÖLL, a historian, used this expression during his lecture about Islam at the National University of Public Service on 8 October 2015.

[15] Anti-ISIS Coalition Uses ISIS to Fight Assad in Favor of the Rebels, *The Arab Source*, 10 October 2015, http://www.almasdarnews.com/article/anti-isis-coalition-uses-isis-to-fight-assad-in-favor-of-the-rebels/

[16] *Lucy Rodgers, David Gritten, James Offer and Patrick Asare: "Syria: The story of the conflict"*, BBC, 10 October 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868

[17] Obama's General Just Set an ISIS War Plan on Fire, *The Daily Beast*, 10 October 2015, http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/09/16/obama-s-general-just-set-his-isis-war-plan-on-fire.html

regime, or last but not least: the ISIS[18] or other terrorist groups. The possibility remains for the Western world to support Assad's armed opposition on the ground: „The Obama administration on Friday abandoned its effort to build a rebel force inside Syria to combat the Islamic State, acknowledging the failure of its $500 million campaign to train thousands of fighters and saying that the remaining money would be used to provide lethal aid for groups already engaged in the battle."[19]

The Western concept to settle the crisis in Syria fails completely at this point, because successful realisation of such "settlement" is unrealistic. Since there is no realistic chance to challenge Russian air strikes and cruise missile strikes on rebel positions in Syria by military means. Lethal aid for armed groups already engaged in battles against the Syrian government would not be sufficient for their victory. It would only lead to more casualties, death and destruction. The American "lethal aid" is literally lethal: especially for those, who receive it, since they become targets of the Russian air strikes and cruise missile strikes etc., and all the forces of the Syrian Government.

Option No. 3: There is a third way of managing the crisis and the war in Syria. In this case, Assad would be removed from power by radical forces and there would be neither democracy, nor stability. It is quite obvious that even though this option could be realised – if there is no Russian intervention – but it is clearly not a desired option since radicals would come to power.

It is typical when the Western politicians talk about the necessity to remove Assad from power, but they "forget" to raise concerns about the fate of the Alevites that fight on the side of the Syrian government against the armed rebels and ISIS. When Turkey hits Kurdish targets, the western leaders do not criticise their NATO ally, suggesting that the Turks "are killing their own people", like the western politicians did, when they criticised Saddam Hussein for killing the Kurds. Most Western leaders are not "concerned" because the lack of independent Kurdish statehood, which creates many problems not only to Kurds, but to their neighbouring countries as well. Western leaders fail to acknowledge that in Syria there is a de facto Kurdish state, which is at least a partial solution to the Kurdish problem. The reason is most probably quite simple: the de facto Kurdish state is practically on the side of the Syrian government. These are typical Western double standards that obscure the complexity of the situation in Syria and make Western analysis of the crisis and war partial and one-sided.

The US lead coalition against ISIS

The efficiency of the US-led coaliton bombardment against the ISIS targets raises several fundamental questions. Before we get into any detailed analysis of the war of the US-led coalition against ISIS, we need to consider the following. Why it took a relatively short time to topple the regime of Saddam Hussein and defeat the military of Iraq?[20] On the other hand, why no victory is in

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[18] What is the Islamic State?, The Atlantic, 11 October 2015, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/

[19] MICHAEL D. SHEAR, HELENE COOPER and ERIC SCHMITTOCT: MIDDLE EAST: Obama Administration Halts Program to Train Syrians to Combat ISIS, *The New York Times*, 10 October 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/10/world/middleeast/pentagon-program-islamic-state-syria.html?hp &action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=first-column-region&region=top-news&WT.nav=top-news

[20] Ten years on: a look back at the fall of Saddam Hussein, Euronews, 12 October 2015, http://www.euronews.com/2013/04/09/web-ten-years-after-hussein-a-look-back-on-the-fall-of-the-iraqi-dictator/

sight agains the ISIS? These are very disturbing questions, if we assess that the ISIS is even worse than the regime of the former dictator, Saddam Hussein. Especially, if we try to assess it in a "polically correct" manner. The answers are quite simple. The US had an overwhelming military supreriority against the Iraqi Army of the Saddam regime and there was a real political will on the US side to topple the regime of Saddam Hussein. Therefore, large scale ground operations were also part of the war with Iraq.

We can observe that there are air strikes agains the ISIS, but there is lack of "appetite" – especially from the US lead coalition's side – to launch major offensives on the ground,. Why? The answer is quite simple again: because there is no real political will to defeat the ISIS, at least not at this stage.

The ISIS controlls almost insignificant zones in Iraq (Annex 2). There are relatively big areas which are not under the control of the ISIS, but many citizens living there, support the terrorist state. The zones under ISIS control and the areas where local population supports the terrorist state are both severely fragmented. The ISIS is already beyond of its first birthday[21] and no US-led coalition's victory is in sight. This raises the question why coaliton forces are so ineffective in the war against the ISIS.

The US openly supports (or at least used to support) armed Syrian opposition groups with training, arming and financing, most probably providing intelligence „tips" as well. We can observe that there is a common goal for both the armed Syrian rebells and the ISIS: to defeat the Assad regime and the Kurds. I can not prove at this point whether there is cooperation between ISIS and Syrian rebells, but at least some form of cooperation would be logical based on the common interests. This raises the question whether the US indirectly supports the ISIS itself when aiding the Syrian rebels. My answer is "yes", because the Assad regime – whether we like it or not – fights the ISIS, therefore weakenig the war fighting capabilities of the Syrian government would contribute to ISIS victories as well.

The fact that the US is acting rather strangely against the ISIS came to the light from several channels. "Russia's Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov believes that the US-led coalition against the Islamic State group may have "other purposes" rather than eliminating the terrorist group. Lavrov said in an interview that some members of the coalition claimed that the U.S. commander had not agreed to deliver a strike at times even being aware of specific ISIS locations. […] According to Lavrov, analysing aviation causes of the coalition gives "weird impressions." He said there were "suspicions" that the coalition had other goals "besides the declared goal of fighting the Islamic State."[22]

The British Minister of Foreign Affairs claimed that the US-led coalition's goal is to prevent the expansion of the ISIS, but recapturing territories and achiveing victory against the ISIS are the responsibility of the Iraqi Armed Forces. There is logic in his view, since the Western world is unvilling to deploy ground troops against the ISIS, just like the Russians or any other power, capable of "hiring" troops for the "dirty" job of urban warfare that leads to a significant number of casualties, even on the winner's side. However, the Iraqi Armed Forces have a bad reputation when

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[21] What is the Islamic State?, *The Atlantic*, 11 October 2015, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/

[22] US Coalition Against ISIS May Have 'Other Purposes': Russia, *International Business Times*, 11 October 2015, http://www.ibtimes.com/us-coalition-against-isis-may-have-other-purposes-russia-2094645

resisting the ISIS, since they fled from the rising terrorist state abandoning massive quantities of their weaponry.

The issue of the effectiveness of the US-led coalition against the ISIS has become scandalous, when the US Defence Secretary raised concerns about the reports manipulating the results of the coalition efforts against the ISIS. "Defence Secretary Ash Carter has reminded the Pentagon's senior intelligence corps that they are expected to give him their unvarnished views, amid allegations that the military command overseeing the war against the Islamic State distorted or altered intelligence assessments to exaggerate progress against the military group, officials said Thursday. Pentagon press secretary Peter Cook said that after it was publicly disclosed last month that the Pentagon's inspector general was investigating allegations of skewed intelligence reports, Carter directed his top civilian intelligence officer to reinforce the need for honest assessments, including at Central Command, which oversees the war effort.
"Unvarnished, transparent intelligence is what this secretary expects on a daily basis," Cook said."[23]

It is quite obvious, that the ISIS can not resist the air campaign of the coalition and the attacks of the Iraqi Army in the long run, unless the entire war effort is flawed. The Western world is reluctant to successfully combat the ISIS, since there are other aspects, when the ISIS becomes a tool of advancing geopolitical interests. One of these could be the desire to topple the Assad regime, where the ISIS becomes an "unofficial ally".

There is another evidence that the war efforts of the US-led coalition are flawed. That is the role of our NATO ally, Turkey against the ISIS. It is enough to consider only the topics of articles published by the Western mainstream media, to come to a conclusion, that something unacceptable (at least to the "politically correct" Western way of thinking) is going on.[24] Turkey is reluctant to fight the ISIS,[25] they also buy illegally smuggled oil from the terrorist state[26], thereby directly financing it. I have consulted several unnamed senior MoD officials, who could not deny that the issue of the Turkish role in defeating ISIS is not on the agenda of NATO.
Such discoveries lead us to the conclusion that the US is not only the main "player" in NATO, but rules also the agenda. The US tells the Allies when "to be concerned" and when "not to be concerned".

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[23] Robert Burns: Pentagon chief demands honest war intelligence, *Associated Press*, 11 October 2015, http://bigstory.ap.org/article/bca7c6c3bdab4729b2384d928535325e/pentagon-chief-demands-honest-war-intelligence
[24] Yaroslav Trofimov: Porous Syria-Turkey Border Poses Challenge in Fight Against Islamic State, Fighters, Oil and Military Supplies Flow Across Frontier, *The Wall Street Journal,* 12 October 2015, http://www.wsj.com/articles/porous-syria-turkey-border-poses-challenge-in-fight-against-islamic-state-1424334057
[25] Barney Guiton: 'ISIS Sees Turkey as Its Ally': Former Islamic State Member Reveals Turkish Army Cooperation, Newsweek, 12 October 2015, http://europe.newsweek.com/isis-and-turkey-cooperate-destroy-kurds-former-isis-member-reveals-turkish-282920
[26] ISIS Makes Three Times as Much from Oil Smuggling as Previously Thought: Officials, *NBC News*, 12 October 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-terror/isis-makes-three-times-much-oil-smuggling-previously-thought-officials-n397836

The Russian military intervention in Syria

Russia has been maintaining good relations with the Assad family for 45 years, making Syria a Russian ally. Putin's Russia carefully monitored the security situation in Syria since the breakout of the civil war, providing weapon supplies and military training to the Syrian Armed Forces, based on interstate contracts. Since most of the weapons used by the Syrian Armed Forces are of Soviet/Russian origin and Syria has many officers trained in Russian military institutions, the Russians do not have major difficulties finding the "common language" (both literally and in military technical terms) with the Syrian Armed Forces.

The Federation Council of the Russian State Duma unanimously approved Putin's initiative to deploy Russian military power in Syria at a closed session on 30 October 2015. As it could be observed several times, Putin has no opposition in the State Duma when it comes to critical national security issues. It can be interpreted in different ways. I would say that Putin's Russia is definitely not a Western type liberal democracy; however, Russian unity in such critical, historical moments is remarkable. Russian unity also highlights the effectiveness of the unchallenged leadership of Putin. It is also worth mentioning that Russian bombardment of targets in Syria started on the very same day when approved: „Based on the request of President Bashar Assad, Russia started precision guided air strikes against targets of the „Islamic State" in Syria, deploying SU-25 attack planes, SU-24M and SU-34 front bombers, that are defended by SU-30CM fighters."[27]

The novelty of the Russian military intervention can be summarised as follows: "For the first time in our (Russian – the auth.) history, we started a local war, with the elements of «sixth generation warfare». The war is waged with wide usage of precision weapons (besides conventional weapons)."[28]

Interestingly, the direct Russian military intervention started at a descending phase of the deadly violence in Syria.[29] However, it does not mean that the security situation of the Syrian Government was not deteriorating. On the contrary: the Russians have most likely waited until the last moment, carefully selecting the timing of the direct Russian military intervention. The victory of the armed rebels and ISIS against the Syrian government was in sight, when the Russian military intervention started. "Even if this is little more than political theatre, Russia is making its biggest move in the Middle East, hitherto America's domain, since the Soviet Union was evicted in the 1970s."[30]

The speed and the extent of Russian military buildup in Syria, as well as the toughness and the decisiveness to confront Western policies when supporting the Assad regime have indeed surprised the international coommunity, especially the Western world. The satelite image shown in the Annex 3 is probably one of the first relevant pictures released for the public.[31]

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[27] „Песков: траекторию пуска ракет ВМФ по ИГ согласовали с Ираком и Ираном", Ria Novosti, 10 October 2015, http://ria.ru/syria_mission/20151007/1298436634.html

[28] По Сирии — главным «Калибром», Warfiles, 10 October 2015, http://warfiles.ru/show-97109-po-sirii-glavnym-kalibrom.html

[29] *Lucy Rodgers, David Gritten, James Offer and Patrick Asare:* "Syria: The story of the conflict", BBC, 10 October 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26116868

[30] War in the Muslim world, Putin dares, Obama dithers, The danger of Russia's intervention in Syria, and America's timidity in Afghanistan, Economist, 10 October 2015, http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21669950-danger-russias-intervention-syria-and-americas-timidity-afghanistan-putin-dares?spc=scode&spv=xm&ah=9d7f7ab945510a56fa6d37c30b6f1709

[31] Возможно первое фото Су-30 и Су-25 непосредственно из аэропорта Латакии

The military coalition led by Russia, comprising Iran and Iraq, and last, but not least the Syrian government, appears to be an alternative to the US-led coalition against the Islamic State. The Russian intervention rapidly overrode any serious considerations – appearing in the Western mainstream media – to install a "no fly zone"[32], since the no fly zone can't be reinforced, unless the Western world is willing to go to a big war against Russia itself. "The Russian forces now in place make it very, very obvious that any kind of no-fly zone on the Libyan model imposed by the US and the allies is now impossible, unless the coalition is actually willing to shoot down Russian aircraft"[33]

The map on the territory of the warring fractions shows the known locations of Russian airstrikes (Annex 4) as of 1 October 2015.[34] On the following day, the Russian Air Force bombarded the first targets on the territory controlled by the Islamic State.[35] Russian Ministry of Defence sources claim that the bombardments are of "pinpoint accuracy"[36], and successful. Based on data from 5 November 2015, 3,000 fighters of ISIS have already fled Syria to Jordan.[37]

The tasks of the Russian military in Syria can be summarised as follows: "In Syria we (the Russian military – the auth.) do not have the task to destroy any significant infrastructure. In the depth of the Islamist front there is nothing, except command posts, communication centres, fuel, arms and ammunition depots, training camps, vehicle and armoured weaponry storage areas."[38]

The Russian Navy hit Syrian terrorist targets with cruise missiles from Caspian Sea on 7 October 2015 (Annex 5). This clearly marks a new phase, since it makes clear that the strike force of the Russian intervention is not limited to the Russian Naval Group at the shores of Syria and the Russian Air and Cosmic Forces present in Syria. Some Russian experts argue that the cruise missile strikes were necessary to destroy terrorist air defences.

According to Spokesman for the Russian Presidency, Dmitry Peskhov, the "Duration of Russian military operations is linked to the progress of Syria's army"[39], providing a clue that Russia is not considering its air campaign a "blitzkrieg" in Syria. Russia is rather patient and determined to achieve total military victory with the complete restoration of the Syrian government control over the internationally recognised borders of Syria. If Russia succeeds with this plan, it would greatly

http://warfiles.ru/show-96041-vozmozhno-pervoe-foto-su-30-i-su-25-neposredstvenno-iz-aeroporta-latakii.html

[32] Amina Tawfic: As long as Assad's barrel bomb blitz continues, Syrians will flee in droves, US and coalition navies could enforce a no-bombing zone easily and without boots on the ground, The Telegraph, 10 October 2015, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/11882038/As-long-as-Assads-barrel-bomb-blitz-continues-Syrians-will-flee-in-droves.html

[33] Russia scuppers no-fly zone plans, the gun-buying rush and the prospect of a mega tsunami, Financial Times, 10 October 2015, http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/57a792fe-6af5-11e5-8171-ba1968cf791a.html#axzz3nmucSZ7Y

[34] ANNE BARNARD, NEIL MacFARQUHAR: MIDDLE EAST, *Vladimir Putin Plunges Into a Caldron in Syria: Saving Assad, NY Times, 4 Oct, 2015,* http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/02/world/middleeast/vladimir-putin-plunges-into-a-cauldron-saving-assad.html?ref=world&_r=0

[35] ANDREW E. KRAMER: MIDDLE EAST, As Russia Returns to Middle East, a Look at Some of Its Weapons, *NY Times, 4 Oct, 2015,* http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/03/world/middleeast/as-russia-returns-to-middle-east-a-look-at-some-of-its-weapons.html?_r=0

[36] Минобороны РФ: точечные авиаудары вызвали панику среди боевиков ИГ, 6 Oct, 2015, RIA Novosti, http://ria.ru/syria_mission/20151006/1297890370.html

[37] Су-34 и корректируемые бомбы: какое вооружение использует Россия в Сирии, Russia Today, 6 Oct, 2015, https://russian.rt.com/article/121417

[38] По Сирии — главным «Калибром», Warfiles, 10 October 2015, http://warfiles.ru/show-97109-po-sirii-glavnym-kalibrom.html

[39] Peskov: Duration of Russian military operations linked to progress of Syria's army, The Arab Source, 10 October 2015, http://www.almasdarnews.com/article/peskov-duration-of-russian-military-operations-linked-to-progress-of-syrias-army/

contribute to the image of the Russian military might, providing an ideal test ground for the most advanced Russian weaponry, a perfect "training" for the Russian Military and good lessons learned. It would also set a precedent proving that Russia is able and willing to act against the will of major Western powers, even by military means.

Some insignificant incidents have already occurred, when Russian and US, or Israeli warplanes had to avoid confrontation. It appears that great powers inform each other behind the scenes to avoid deadly incidents that could spark a major conflict, which is in nobody's interest. Incidents when the parties do not open fire are good opportunities for great powers to test each other's capabilities: training, technology, operating procedures etc. that are carefully analysed after the incidents take place.

It is unclear yet whether the Russian ground troops would be extensively used during the war in Syria. I assume that the Russian air campaign would produce sufficient conditions for the Syrian Armed Forces (and their allies) to press forward on the ground. If it takes time, Russia will continue the air campaign, rather than deploying its own ground troops that may suffer significant casualties in an urban warfare.

The scale of the Russian military intervention

A key question is whether the Russian intervention is limited only to Syria, or there are plans to free Iraq as well from the ISIS and the opposition armed groups. Russia has already received an informal request from the government of Iraq that it would welcome the extension of the Russian air campaign against ISIS targets also to Iraq. Russia and Iraq have been already cooperating in the fight against ISIS in the framework of the Russian-led anti-ISIS coalition. Technically, once Syria is liberated from ISIS, the Russian Air Force could inflict enormous damage when hitting the ISIS targets in Iraq. In parallel, operations on the ground could be the job of the Iraqi Army, similarly to the Syrian scenario. Unfortunately, the Iraqi Army has a very bad reputation when fighting against the ISIS, since they fled, leaving behind a huge quantity of weaponry when ISIS was established.

The gratitude of the government of Iraq could definitely be achieved by the extension of the Russian air campaign to Iraq. In the case of government victory, the management of the Sunni population that supports ISIS would be a problem of the Iraqi government, not that of Russia.

Russia has most probably learnt from the experiences of wars in Afghanistan, Iraq etc. Air campaigns can achieve victory only with the help of ground troops, but Russian ground troops directly involved in large scale operations against the armed rebels and the ISIS or other terrorist groups could drag Russia into an unending war, into an ugly quagmire. I am sure that the Russian leadership under Putin will not make such mistakes. It leads us to the conclusion that the Russian air campaign to destroy the ISIS in Syria could be "extended" to Iraq, but large scale operations of Russian ground troops will most probably not take place.

Russian intervention in Syria and the refugee crisis affecting Europe

The refugee crisis affecting Europe has intensified beyond imagination in 2015, and to such an extent that has never been seen since World War II. Syria is a major source of refugees in

Europe.[40] In the short term, as a result of the war in Syria, more refugees could leave the country (Annex 6). In the medium and long term – if the Syrian governmental and Russian efforts succeed in ousting various terrorist groups, as well as in suppressing the armed rebels, favourable conditions could arise for a lasting peace and security. This would be good news for Europe, since it would significantly lower the refugee flow from Syria to Europe. It would also create a possibility for refugees escaped to the neighbouring countries to return to Syria.

Conclusions

The Russian air campaign in Syria – combined with a considerable naval presence and a limited amount of ground troops to defend the Russian bases – is the first occasion in a local war when the Russians can test the latest generation precision weaponry in a real environment.

The key Russian ambition in Syria is to ensure the survival of the Assad regime, loyal to Russia. It allows Russia to keep its influence and military presence in Syria under the banner of fight against the ISIS and the other terrorist groups.

While Russia has a great chance to ensure the survival of the Assad regime and fully restore the Syrian government control over the country, the Western concept to topple Assad and install a "moderate" opposition government has hopelessly failed.

Russia could extend the Air campaign to Iraq in order to deliver enormous damage to the ISIS and the other terrorist targets, but large scale operations of Russian ground troops are highly unlikely.

Some small incidents between the great powers will probably occur, but the outbreak of an "all out conflict" between Russia and the West is highly unlikely, since this is in nobody's interest.

If Russia succeeds in bringing peace and stability to Syria by reviving the Assad regime, millions of refugees would have a chance to return to their home country.

Russian military presence in Syria will most likely be maintained in the foreseeable future.
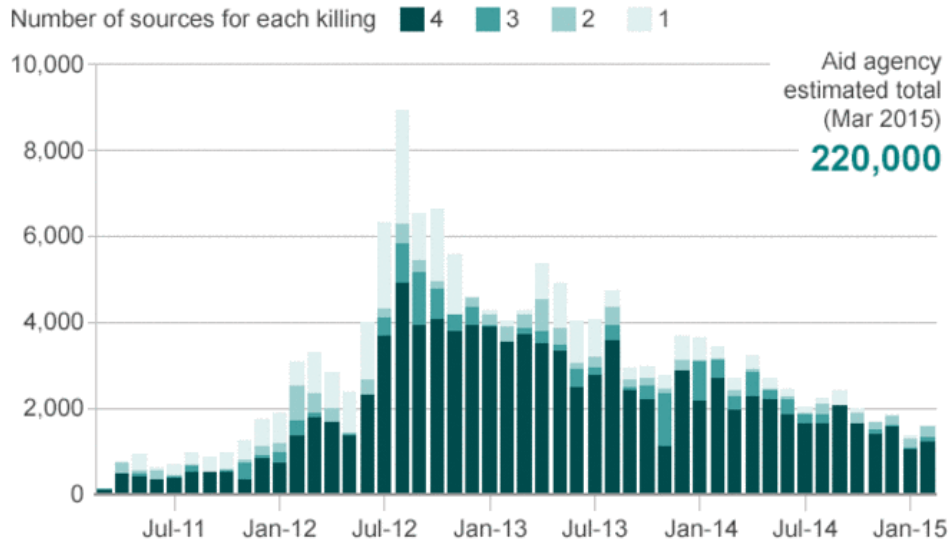
Russia will probably maintain ever closer allied relationship with the Syrian government and will probably take a significant share in rebuilding the country.

The Russian intervention in Syria creates a significant precedent, proving that Russia is ready and able to defy the will of the Western world – primarily the US – even by resorting to military means.

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[40] Besenyő János: Not the invention of ISIS: Terrorists among immigrants, Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues, (2015) Volume 5, Number 1, pp. 5–20. http://jssidoi.org/dok/JOURNAL%20OF%20SECURITY%20AND%20SUSTAINABILITY%20ISSUES/2015%20Vol%205%20No%201%20SEPTEMBER/1%20Journal%20of%20Security%20and%20Sustainability%20Issues%20Nr_5_1_1%20(2).pdf

Syria conflict death toll

Documented killings per month

Number of sources for each killing ■ 4 ■ 3 ■ 2 ■ 1

Aid agency
estimated total
(Mar 2015)
220,000

Sources: Violations Documentation Center, Syrian Shuhada, Syrian Network for Human Rights,
Syrian Center for Statistics and Research, Failing Syria aid agency report

Annex 1
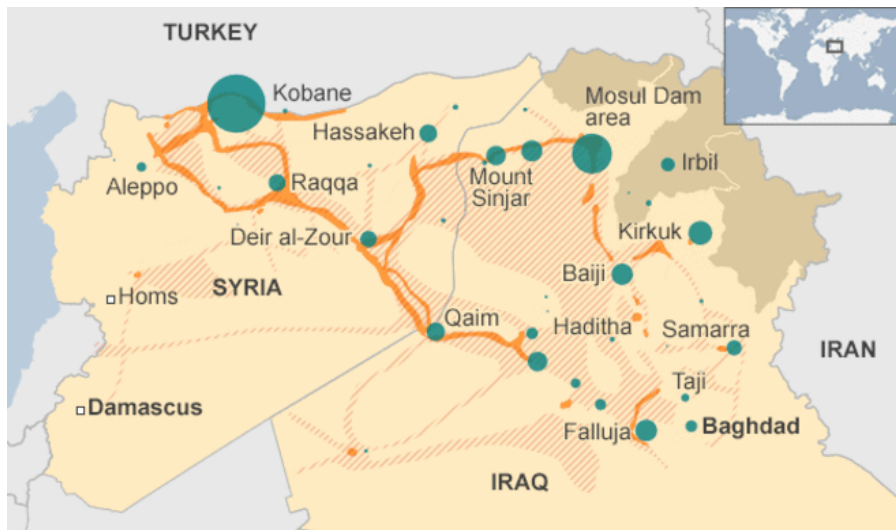
Confirmed air strikes up to 10 March 2015
Iraq **1,431** Syria **1,093**

1,000 500 200 50 20

■ IS control
▨ IS support
▨ Kurdistan Government-administered

100 km   50 miles

Note: Strikes have not been mapped when the precise location was not given or was unclear.
Source: Institute for the Study of War, US Central Command

B B C

Annex 2

DEPLOYED RUSSIAN AIRCRAFT AND ARTILLERY

Sept. 20

Four possible Su-30 multirole fighter aircraft

12 possible Su-25 attack aircraft

Seven possible Mi-24 attack helicopters

Second artillery battery

Satellite image: September 20, Airbus

NORTH

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STRATFOR GLOBAL INTELLIGENCE   ALLSOURCE ANALYSIS   AIRBUS DEFENCE & SPACE

Annex 3

Raqqa

SYRIA

Homs

Damascus

Control as of Oct. 1
- Government
- Rebel
- ISIS
- Kurdish
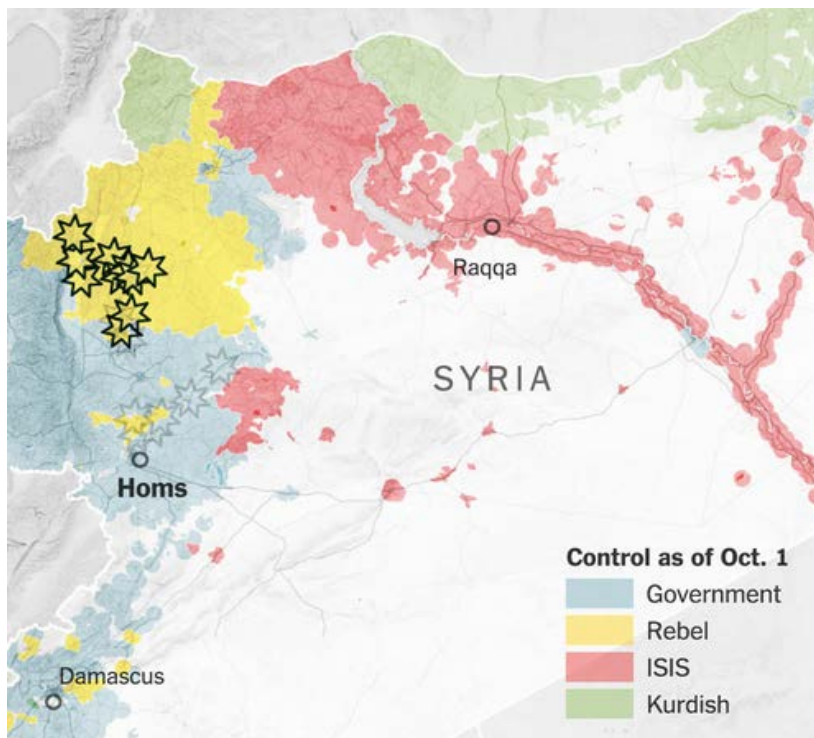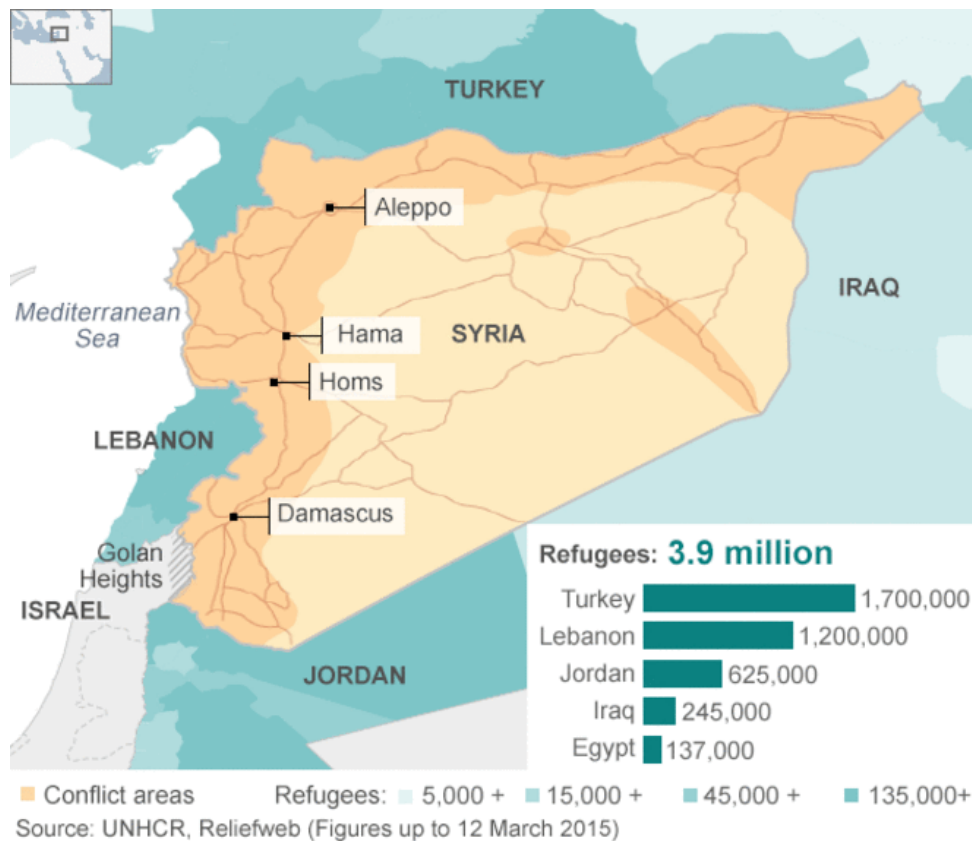
Source: The New York Times
Annex 4
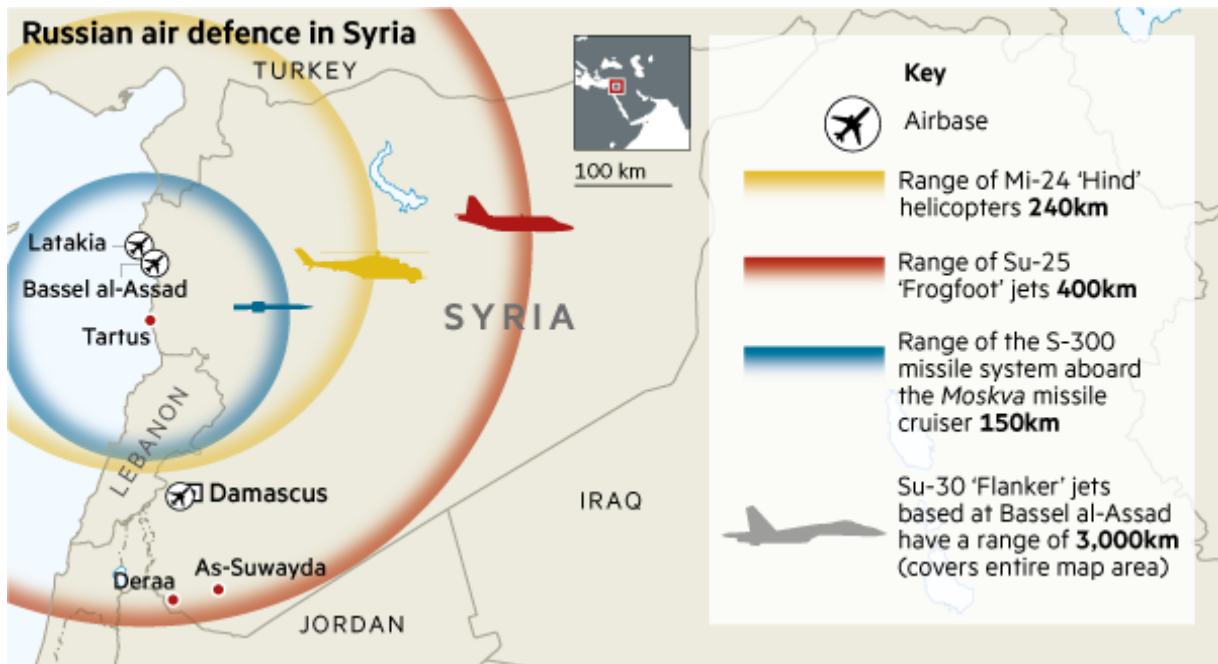
Source: The Financial Times

Annex 5

Annex 6

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ÉVA FÁBIÁN

INDOCHINA AND THE FRENCH FOURTH REPUBLIC - THE FIRST INDOCHINA WAR (1945 - 1954)
PART ONE

Abstract

When studying how the military-affairs and policy were related in the post-WW2 France, we must not ignore the history of colonies (including Indochina), which were under French control for a long time. It is difficult for France to part with them, thus it still constitutes a significant task of the French foreign policy[1] to maintain contact with these – now independent – states. In the spirit of Francophony, whether it is related to economic, cultural or educational issues, France by all means seeks to work up, retain and strengthen the co-operations with these countries. In its relevant efforts, on certain occasions, as the past and the recent events very well exemplify, France does not even refrain from military interventions. Nevertheless, without considering the history and decolonization of these ex-French colonies, neither the French history nor the French foreign- and defence policy can be properly understood.

In my opinion, French economist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, one of the theoreticians of French colonialism, was right to think that "according to the experiences derived from the French Community, the colonization both in Asia and Africa has induced economic, social and political processes, the proposed goals of which were approved by nearly everybody, but their very results have not been always welcomed at all".'[2] Episodes in the 20th century French history perfectly proved this.

The liberation of the South-East Asian region from the Japanese rule, then the colonial power was related to three facts, i.e. World War 2, Japanese expansionism and the impact of the victorious Chinese revolution. Local nationalistic movements generated decolonization, whilst fundamental changes in societies in the colonized territories – owing to economic and military supplying roles in the war – provided the background for these processes. All these empowered the bourgeoisie and the working class of the colonies, whose political elite became the organizers and the leaders for the independence movements. Soon, however, subsequent to the obtaining of independence, conflicts – such as local and civil wars – became permanent. What accounts for these conflicts '... were chiefly the positions of the great powers as well as the endangered internal and external security of the affected countries, which were triggered by both the new

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[1] 'Due to France's objective status and its subjective colonial roles played in *the 1920s and early 1930s*, imperial consciousness was taking shape' (SALGÓ, 1977, p. 116.). For this reason, France was still maintaining the 19th century colonial methods, whilst Great-Britain was already seeking ways of decolonisation. Many think that Indochina would have served as a grand opportunity for the French to review and renew their outdated colonialist policies.

[2] SALGÓ-BALOGH, 1980, p. 5.

East-West opposition and the traditional local rivalry. Another aspect that explains the elongated crisis was the need to find a new path and the fight for power that followed the end of the colonial system. At both levels, the Communist-Anticommunist confrontation became apparent, although "the Communist" orientation in many cases was embodied in the nationalistic and anti-colonialist movements.'[3]

Introduction

In the first phase of the more than 30-year long warfare in post-WW2, Indochina fought against France between 1945 and 1954. The outcome of the Indochina-war – i.e. failure for France – was still not enough of a lesson for the French state to learn from, considering the forthcoming war with Algeria, directly resulting in the termination of French Fourth Republic. The reasons why France adhered to its colonies – apart from the urge to regain its lost prestige as a great power – increasingly originated from economic constraints, or more precisely from its limitations. Moreover, portraying itself as a unique nation, i.e. the exception française[4], also greatly mattered. Besides all these, the guerrilla way freedom fighters fought in the colonies influenced France's military culture, too.

László Salgó in his book Colonial Politics from Napoleon to de Gaulle (1977, Kossuth Publishing House) quotes Montesquieu, when forming his opinion of colonial empires. According to the quote, '…they are like a tree with way too long branches, which distract life-giving juices from the trunk and all they provide is shadows…"[5] It is a relevant opinion considering post-war French colonial policies, which got antagonistic in the altered international environment, in the shade of two superpowers. For economic as well as political reasons, the US had no interest in reserving colonial powers, whilst the Soviet Union was arguing for the liberation of yet suppressed nations from the colonial reign.

French Indochina and events prior to the revolt in August

The term Indochina comes from Danish cartographer Konrad Malte-Brun, and it used to signify Burma (today's Myanmar), Thailand, Tonkin[6], Annam[7], Kokinchina[8] as well as the areas of the kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia[9], where all kinds of nations lived under French reign. The first Catholic mission arrived here in the 17th century, and was attempted to drive away by Vietnamese

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[3] DIÓSZEGI-HARSÁNYI-NÉMETH, 2001, p. 184.
[4] means the French specialty-consciousness
[5] MONTESQUIEU, Ch.: Lettres Persannes. Lettre CXXI: Influence des colonies sur la population. Paris, 1949, p. 306-309. (Quoted in: SALGÓ, 1977, p. 14.)
[6] Bac Bo/North-Vietnam
[7] Trung Bo/Central-Vietnam
[8] Nam Bo/South-Vietnam; Tonkin and Annam used to belong to the Annam Empire, the populations in these two territories as well as in Kokinchina were mostly Vietnamese, and were greatly influenced by the Chinese civilization. Vietnam itself – one of the most ancient country in South-East Asia – consisted of Bac Bo, Nam Bo and Trung Bo.
[9] In these two kingdoms – because of their closeness – the Indian civilization was most influential.

Caesars a hundred years later, which served as an excellent pretence for intervention for the French in fear of their commercial interests. Due to the pressure from the French Navy in 1862, Tu Duc then Vietnamese Caesar signed the contract assuring the French claims. The period between 1862 and 1887 was to solidify French rule, which was successful, despite the locals' resistance. French Indochina – the so-called Indochina Union – was officially brought into being in 1887, to which Laos was annexed in 1893. In terms of exercising power over the area, formally speaking Kokinchina was the only French colony, all the others were protectorates, yet each was commanded by a French Governor-general, who was responsible to the French Ministry of Overseas France. 'France's Indochina-policy was not consistent and characterised by erratic actions, and almost always changed when a new functionary was appointed. Little money was spent on the public utilities and education of the indigenous populace, the economy was dominated by the French community of app. 50,000 people.'[10] Considering all this, no wonder that the local community was estranged and belligerent towards the French colonizers.

In French Indochina, 'until 1927 no organizations, not even the ones loyal to the French, were allowed to operate.'[11] The Marxist Vietnamese Nationalist Party[12] established in 1927 as well as the Communist Party of Indochina[13] established in 1930, both were almost immediately forced to go to underground. The leader of this latter one, Ho Si Minh[14] was instantly sentenced to death by French authorities. Revolts unleashed by the Vietnamese Nationalist party in 1930-31 were repressed by the French, and the Communist party of Indochina, which represented the largest nationalist force at the outbreak of WW2, was later to become the driving force of the conflict with the French colonizers.

Owing to Germany's victory over France in 1940, Gaul rule over the territory was wavered, and in 1941 the Japanese arrived there. Counteractions in order to get rid of the double suppression were not delayed for long, Ho Si Minh set up the League for the Independence of Vietnam in May 1941[15], which regularly led attacks against the Japanese oppressors with the aid of US secret

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[10] DAUGHERTY, 2003, p. 11.

[11] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 126.

[12] Parti National Vietnamien; This nationalistic, revolutionary organization was formed after the Kuomintang in 1927 under the name Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang (VNQDD).

[13] At an illegal meeting of 3 February 1930 on a football match at a stadium in Hong Kong, after conceding Ho Si Minh's 10-point program, the foundations of the Communist Party of Vietnam were laid, the name of which was changed to Communist Party of Indochina in December the same year. Following this gathering an uprising broke out almost immediately in South-Vietnam, which was repressed by French and British forces jointly.

[14] Born in 1890, Ho Si Minh – or Father Ho as he was addressed by his comrades – leader of the independence movement in Indochina was originally called Nguyen Tat Thanh. When returning to Vietnam for good in 1941, he had already used 19 names and last kept the 20th one. He was hiding in the USSR for long as well as visited China, where he was captured by British police forces, yet finally managed to escape with the help of a British couple. He was captured many times, but could always get away. In January 1941, a French military intelligence officer was given the information that Ho Si Minh resided in North-Vietnam. French counteraction was not delayed, cooperating with Japan authorities from Saigon and Hanoi did everything to seize the whole general staff of CPI.

[15] Viet Minh, full name: League for the Independence of Vietnam/Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi; Ho Si Minh was just hiding in a mountain-cave in China, while preparing the 8th extended session of the party's central commission. To his aid – amongst others – he had Pham Van Dong, a high-school history teacher from Hanoi, later to become Prime Minister, as well as Vo Nguyen Giap, later to be general and excellent strategist. During the session on 19 May 1941, they decided to bring Viet Minh into being, led by Ho Si Minh. They intended to form a broader nation-wide platform from this organization mainly managed by communists, thus all unorthodox thinkers were welcome. The founders of the political organization were the Communist Party of Indochina, the Socialist Party, the National Party, the National Trade Unions, the National Peasant Union, the Cultural Union For Saving the Country, the National Organization of Buddhists and Catholics and the National Union of Businessmen, and their ultimate aim was the total independence of Vietnam as well as to create the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, yet to confiscate and parcel out demesnes – just like

services. In 1941 they formed alliance with Chu Van Than, guerrilla leader of the North-Vietnamese Tho minority. The activity of Viet Minh[16] intensified from 1943 on, most notably in 7 northern regions. As a reaction to Charles de Gaulle's speech in Algeria in December 1943 – which also referred to regaining French domination in Indochina, saying 'it is unconditionally necessary that France regain its predominance in Indochina'[17] - the Communist Party of Indochina protested on flysheets, spread all over the Indochinese territory in August 1944: 'France, which itself is fighting against German occupation, intends to maintain their reign over other nations.'[18] 'Despite the fact that, or because the Vietnamese nation is holding high the flag of anti-fascism – says in the French paper La Défense –, the French colonialist circles reacted with dreadful retaliation. Under such circumstances it was both harder and easier for the Viet Minh to carry out their mobilization and organization work.'[19] At the end of 1943, Vo Nguyen Giap's guerrilla[20] troops started military operations against the Japanese and managed to bring under their control large territories in North-Vietnam. Here as well as in the French-zone, Ho Si Minh and his people set up new, illegal mass-organizations: the organization called Save Our Country attracted mostly the peasantry, whilst the intelligentsia gathered in the Society of Cultural Workers for Saving Our Country. Because of the changes of fortune in the European war and in the Pacific region in 1943-44, the movements of decolonisation could flare up in both Laos and Cambodia. In 1943 thousands of Buddhist monks and students protested outside the French governor's residency in the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh.

In 1944, the nationalistic organization called Laos for Lao People intensified their activities, the members of which organization were largely middle-class people and students. To perfect political actions as well as to prepare a general uprising, Viet Minh and the CPI set up their armed propaganda-squad in 1944, led by Vo Nguyen Giap. 'The concentration of forces was based on thorough analysis of conditions in Indochina and the Far-East.'[21] On 9 May 1945, due to their fear of the French's presence, the Japanese led raids and apart from officials and army leaders, civilian people were also imprisoned. Taking advantage of the Japanese putsch, on 11 May 1945, the Vietnamese Caesar Bao Dai (in reign since 1925) proclaimed the independent Vietnam, which action was apparently aimed to support Japanese occupation.

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in China – was not present on the agenda. Between 1941 and 1945, on many occasions, they offered partnership to the French to fight against the Japanese aggressor, unsuccessfully. Subsequently the fight with the French, Viet Minh was turned into the Vietnamese Popular Front. In 1951 most of its leaders joined the latter Communist Party of Vietnam (which then was called Labourers Party of Vietnam/VDP/Lao Dong), which remained the dominant political power of North-Vietnam. Its leaders remained active following the re-union of Vietnam in 1976.

[16] It meant the only organized political power during the Japanese capitulation on 2 September 1945.

[17] SALGÓ, 1995, p. 52.

[18] SALGÓ, 1983, p. 9.

[19] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 185.

[20] In Giap's book titled *People's War People's Army*, published in 1961 in Hanoi he mentions that this warfare-method plays key-role in a war of resistance, yet in order to counterattack at the right place and time it is also essential to organize a large armed force.

[21] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 185.
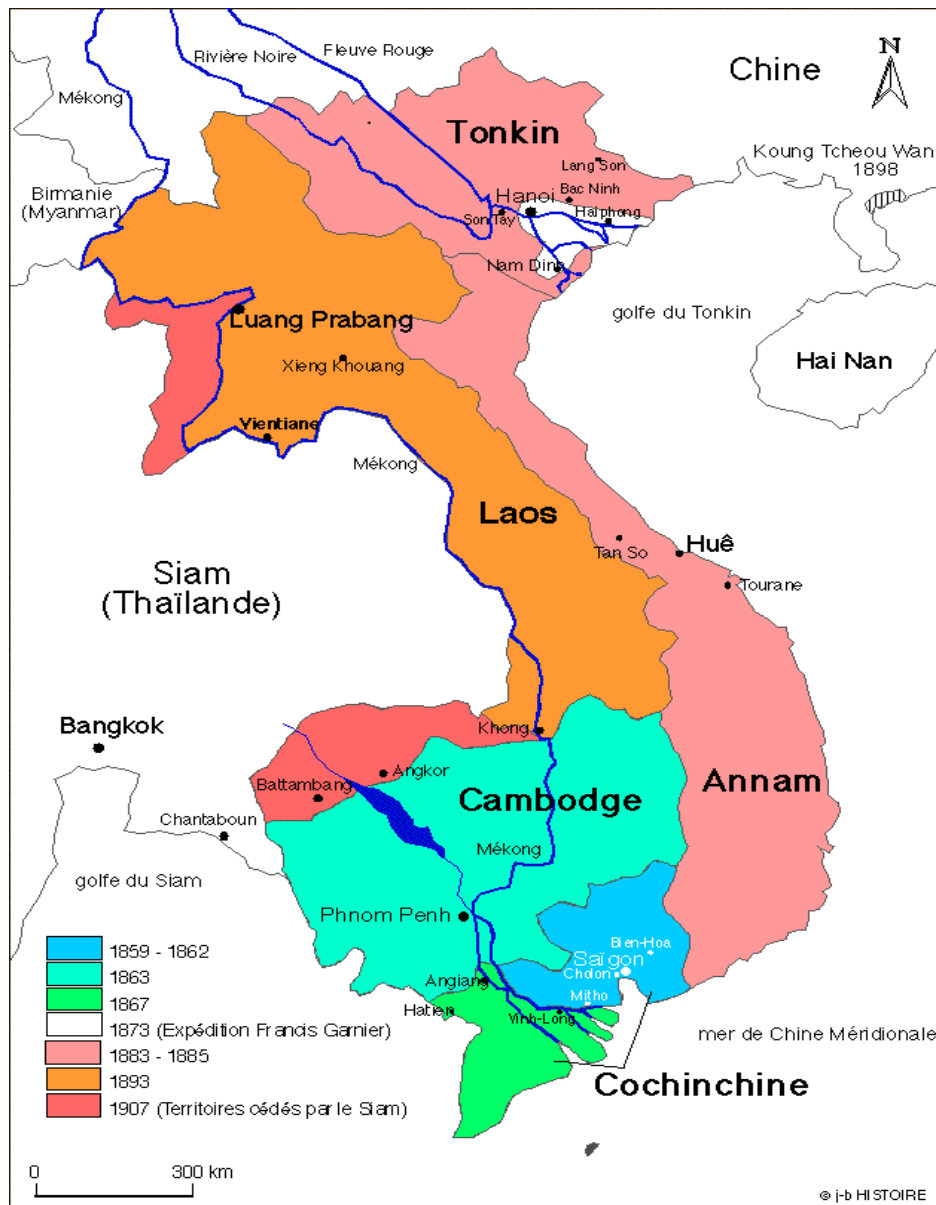
Image 1:

Years of French occupation in Indochina.

Source: http://www.casahistoria.net/images/indochina20conquest20map.gif, Downloaded: 15 November 2013.

August revolution 1945 and what followed after

The resolutions of the post-WW2 Potsdam Conference, held between 7 July and 2 August 1945, disposed that at the 16th parallel north the Kuomintang, whilst at the 16th parallel south, the British were commissioned to disarm the defeated Japanese. Ho Si Minh – as leader of one of the strongest movements of decolonization of the time – and his troops, afraid of being annexed by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, swung into action and in summer 1945, and took over some territories from the Japanese invader forces. They could do so owing to the fact that France had considerably been weakened in World War II and had frail positions in the Far-East. The takeover was first brought into effect in Hanoi, Haiphong and Danang, and by 15 August, they took control

of the whole of Kokinchina. On 6 August, right after the A-bomb at Hiroshima, Viet Minh guerrillas renamed themselves and became Vietnam Liberation Army. At the National Congress of 10 August at Tien Trao, they exhorted for a general revolution, and on 13 August, also at the Congress National Liberation Committee of Vietnam, with Ho Si Minh as its leader. The military chief of the revolution, Vo Nguyen Giap[22] relocated his headquarters to Hanoi. His troops' advancement was unstoppable and they were soon invading the country's central regions. For 17 August, a ceremony was organized in Hanoi to celebrate their independence, where the French flag was changed for a Vietnamese one. By 19 August, Vietnamese guerrillas conquered Hanoi and also the Delta-area and the official bodies of the revolution were established in Hanoi.

On 20 August Hue, the imperial capital was the next to occupy, and the country's independence was proclaimed there. Bao Dai[23] was forced to resign and gave over to Ho Si Minh and his men the control of the country, who were soon to gain control over the southern regions as well, thus ten days after Japan's capitulation, the whole Vietnam was under their control. The Provisional Government was set up on 29 August, with Ho Si Minh as its appointed leader. 9 of the 14 cabinet-members were Communists, Bao Dai was appointed as main counsellor. With 500,000 people present on 2 September 1945 in Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi, Ho Si Minh, leader of the Provisional Government, announced the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam [24] and proclaimed its independence[25]. Vo Nguyen Giap became Chief of Police, with the responsibility for the internal security service as well as for performing his duties as Commander-in-Chief. The newly-appointed government had already to face difficulty in enforcing their power in the south, having only loose front-organizations in those areas. Cambodia and Laos followed in Vietnam's track, declaring their independence on 27 September and on 12 October, respectively.

The National Party of Vietnam also intensified its activities and urged to set up a new national government, particularly in line with the Chinese establishment. Yet this 'nationalist platform' was defeated at the assembly elections in January 1946, and Ho Si Minh won, winning 230 of the 300 mandates and thus, his cabinet became its official government. The established national government incorporated numerous Vietnamese nationalist forces, though the Communists

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[22] Even his father propagated the liberation of the Vietnamese nation, whilst he joined in the activities of the liberation movement at an early age. Graduating from college together with Ho Si Minh, the latter remarkable strategist joined the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League in 1926 (Tat Viet Cach Menh Dang). In 1930 French authorities arrested him for supporting the students' strikes and sentenced him for three years' imprisonment, but he was a few months later already on probation. In 1937 he obtained a law degree from Lycée Albert-Sarraut in Hanoi and worked as a professor of history at Lycée Thanh Long, also in Hanoi. In 1938 he married Minh Thai, with whom he worked together at the Communist Party of Indochina. After the 1939 prohibition of the party, he fled to China, but his wife and her sister were arrested by the French police. Both women died. Giap, having played a significant role in the 1945 provisional government as well as the forth-coming gunfights, became – after the country's partition in July 1954 – deputy prime minister as well as minister of defence and commander-in-chief of North-Vietnam. In the latter fights with the US army units, it was also him who led the Vietnamese troops. After US military withdrawal, he was appointed minister of defence btw. 1976-1980, and from 1976 deputy prime minister of Vietnam. Until 1982, he was a member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam.
[23] He wanted the allied powers to recognize its previously obtained independence, so telegraphed to the leaders of these countries as well as summoned a national congress in the city.
[24] DRVN (the Democratic Republic of Vietnam)
[25] The US president, Roosevelt wrote in his letter of 2nd January 1944 to his minister of foreign affairs Cordell Hull that the French were not to return to the Indochinese territory, but it should be placed under international guardianship. All this originated from his "Pax Americana" concept. His successor, Truman – in order to warm up relations with France – gave France the green light to return there. (CSIZMADIA, 2004, p. 62.)

dominated it. Ho Si Minh was elected president of the newly-formed Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Image 2:
Ho Si Minh
Source: http://vovworld.vn/fr-ch/Actualites/Publication-du-livre-Ho-Chi-Minhhumanisme-et-developpement/193853.vov, downloaded: 29 January 2014.

The French reacted to Indochina's independence movement with little delay.[26] On August 19 1945, General Thierry d'Argenlieu, one of Charles de Gaulle's confidants arrived in the territory as haut commissaire[27], who was commissioned to restore French sovereignty in the area at any cost. Nevertheless, French positions in the Far-East at that time were much too frail to gain results without aid. The some thousand French soldiers, who were stationed in China[28] under the leadership of Jean Sainteny, already attempted to invade Hanoi in August 1945, but had to face American and Chinese armed forces.[29] De Gaulle's request for aid at the Yalta Conference so that he could transport French troops to Indochina was rejected by both the American and Soviet parties.

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[26] Such was – amongst others – the so-called 'Duy-Tan solution', too. Duy-Tan, who was the ruler of Annam prior to WW1, was a relation of Bao Dai's. In 1916 he fell out of favour and was sent into exile by the French to the island of Réunionl After WW2 he retired as major of the French army. Charles de Gaulle and his circles wanted to make him a local leader, who would serve French interests and could win over influential indigenous groups. The reason why he seemed the right person to use as a puppet-leader was that he already discredited himself when collaborating with the Japanese in the eyes of the French. De Gaulle's plan came to nought when Duy-Tan's aeroplane – for unknown reasons – exploded over Africa on 26 December 1945.
[27] haut commissaire, i.e. colonial governor
[28] This unit fled from Indochinese territory to China to escape from the Japanese.
[29] Neither Chiang Kai-shek nor American general Wedemeyer kept their Francophobia secret.

It was Truman's presidency that brought some change, who 'on 24 August 1945 informed de Gaulle: the US government shall by no means prevent France from returning to Indochina.'[30]

Power-politics in Indochina

According to the Potsdam decisions, the first British units arrived in Saigon, South-Vietnam, under the leadership of Major-General Douglas Gracey on 6 September 1945, and were joined by troops from India, who set free and armed 5,000 French soldiers, residing here. On 23 Sept 1945, arrived the first French colonial troops, with General Leclerc as their commander-in-chief.[31] In accordance with the British-French agreement of 29 Sept 1945, which apparently meant breaking with earlier agreements of the allied powers, the French took control of South-Vietnam again. More and more French troops were arriving in the area, over 50,000 all in all. By December 1945, the French had occupied most strategic points in the area of Saigon as well as the south of the Mekong-Delta. As for the north, Chinese pressure did not only affect the Provisional Government and the Viet Minh, but the French residing there as well. After the Vietnamese national committees were eliminated, the Kuomintang Army was supporting the nationalist forces, yet they did not make a long stay in the occupied Vietnamese areas. The French-Chinese agreement was signed in February 1946, in which 'France gave up their privileges in China, as well as numerous concessions, and the French ownership of the Chinese-Indochinese rail-way, and they also agreed to ensure privileges for the Chinese living in Indochina'[32]. In exchange, the French had the right to disarm the Japanese in North-Vietnam, and the Chinese left the area by summer 1946.

Ho Si Minh's cabinet, residing in Hanoi, had to face France's policy of colonial restoration to an ever greater degree.[33] In January 1946 the French launched their military operations called Giaur, with the aim to liberate the blockaded French garrisons[34] as well as occupy important towns and transport routes in the area of the Central Plateau and the Central Highlands along the 16th parallel of latitude. Resources were surely limited, yet ample to cover bridgeheads. Thanks to his successes, General Leclerc went as far as to declare that the whole of Vietnam would be occupied within the following 10 weeks.

Meanwhile, in January 1946 Charles de Gaulle handed in his resignation. In his letter of resignation he wrote of the successes in the Far-East, yet shortly after that, 80,000 soldiers were sent to the peninsula. As actually opposed to what French promises were made at Brazzaville[35]

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[30] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 188. Charles de Gaulle also wrote about this in his war-memoires.

[31] The French Provisional Government already declared on 24 March 1945 that they wish to take control again over their colonies in the region by assuring them autonomy within the Indochinese Federation.

[32] KENDE, 1970, p. 139.

[33] France restored the protectorate in Cambodia, whilst in Laos they launched military operations.

[34] in Nha Trang, Da Lat, Phan Rang and Phan Thiet

[35] The conference held in the capital of Equatorial Africa between 30 January and 8 February 1944 was a result of a double pressure, yet new overseas concept was not outlined. The conference on one hand was called for due to the necessity to loosen colonial dependence, on the other hand to prevent them from becoming US sphere of influence. Nevertheless, in the conference 'again they had discussions of French colonial nations without them being present' (SALGÓ, 1977, p. 169.) Charles de Gaulle, who was becoming well-known then, talked about this in his opening speech: '*It is, and only it is up to the French nation to decide in time about reform of the empire's structure, which they will decide out of their sovereignty*'" (Quoted in: SALGÓ, 1977, p. 171; from: *DE GAULLE, Ch.:* Discours et Messages. Volume I, p. 371-375). Colonial governor René Pleven – later to become the first minister of Overseas France in de Gaulle's cabinet – wrote in his report of 1944: 'Time after time we read that this war must end by what we call all colonies winning their independence. In great colonial France there are no nations waiting for being liberated, nor there is racial discrimination. *There are nations that are not willing to know other independence than France's*

before, it meant that France was willing to declare colonial war in order to restore its sovereignty. However, de Gaulle '… was aware that an ambiguous military victory in the far-East would mean diplomatic capitulation in the west, in Europe. And it would also mean further requests for aid and subservience with people against whom so far they fought for the *grandeur* – with little success. If it has to be done – and it seemed unavoidable –, let the ancestors do it. Algeria, the Middle-East and Indochina – all had enough of de Gaulle's idea of withdrawal. In a way, that would function as the next excuse for the general's latter return – in military terms for the next counter-attack.'[36] Following the scenic resignation, the main question was to terminate temporary organizations in France as well as in the colonies.

The Viet Minh's relation to the Soviet Union then only meant that the Soviet government urged to carry out 'a progressive politics' within a Vietnamese government, that the Communist Party is also represented. The US Administration – since in China they overtly supported the Kuomintang – first also supported the nationalists in Vietnam, yet a gradual drifting was sensible and mutual interests of the French and the Americans became more and more apparent.

At the beginning of March 1946, French troops carried out several so-called mopping-up and pacifying operations in the north, mainly in Hanoi as well as in the mining basin Hon Gay and Laos.[37] In order to react to the French colonialist policy grand-scale resistance was started within the society. Ho Si Minh proposed negotiations in Hanoi with representatives of the French government.[38] In French-Japanese preliminary agreement of 6 March 1946[39], in the spirit of Marcher avec la France[40], Ho Si Minh agreed to the French troops' return to Tonkin[41], and he also consented that in the northern parts of the DRVN, French units[42] together with the Vietnam Liberation Army, would replace the almost 200,000 Chinese soldiers stationing there.[43] Ho Si Minh and Sainteny's pre-agreement also referred to the recognition of the Republic of Vietnam as a free

independence.' (Quoted in: SALGÓ, 1977, p. 171-172; from: Renaissance, Numéro Spécial. 1944. p. 3-4.) On the basis of de Gaulle's imperial concept, by saving the colonies, i.e. concentric protection homeland could have been saved, too, and any autonomy was declared unlikely at the conference thus Brazzaville could be looked at as the altered continuation of French colonialism for French thinking decolonization was unthinkable. 'General Charles de Gaulle always said: France – without its colonies to grant its greatness, the *grandeur* is not France.' (SALGÓ, 1983, p. 8.) At the Brazzaville conference '…the general in front of colonial governors dissolved all doubts: the imperial concept is still alive, the imperial structure is stable.' (SALGÓ, 1983, p. 9.)

[36] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 191.

[37] As was written in the operational orders of France's commander-in-chief in the Far-East: 'It's not at all only and simply about restoring the former French reign, but to protect French interests during the negotiations going on both in Indochina and Paris. This protection must be executed slowly which is apparent in the continuous day-to-day advancement as well as in aggression when required.' (SALGÓ, 1995, p. 96.)

[38] The reason for this was that those days it still seemed that it was Ho Si Minh who offered the easier path for negotiation with the French, and they were also afraid of the nationalist China, which then was preparing to clash with the Chinese communists. What explains the French willingness to negotiate was that they were very much aware of their weaknesses as regards military affairs and wanted to get rid of British and Chinese forces stationed in the area, so the searching of a political solution appeared most plausible.

[39] in *convention préliminaire*

[40] *To march alongside with France* – author's translation

[41] The Vietnamese party did not object to – in exchange for the withdrawal of the Chinese troops – the return of the French units. The parties agreed to organize a reconciliatory conference, too, in which the Vietnamese government of the time expected China and the US to ascertain guarantees needed to keep the agreement. The treaty was rejected in the south of the country and was only considered a local agreement.

[42] It at most meant 15,000 French soldiers under French command, and besides this a Vietnamese delegation would have to be busy, too. Besides, in the French army – apart from those guarding the Japanese prisoners of war – only those from the motherland were allowed to serve. All these were included in the appendix of the agreement signed by General Giap.

[43] Their last units were withdrawn from the country at the end of July 1946.

state, with its own conventional assembly, government, independent finances and army, yet exclusively within the French Union[44], and within the Indochinese Federation.[45] As for France's undertaking of obligations, the French approved of withdrawing their troops from the territory within 5 years and also of allowing them to have a referendum to decide of Vietnam's re-union. Vietnam's diplomatic relations with other states and the two parties' cultural and commercial interests were to appear in the agenda of yet further negotiations.

Soon after signing the agreement, the minister of Overseas France of the time Marius Moutet sent two pieces of confidential instructions to d'Argenlieu – also commander-in-chief of South-Vietnam – to occupy the Mois Highland. Meanwhile, General Leclerc, French commander-in-chief in the Far-East, intensified their troops' trainings with the goal of total restoration of French rule. D'Argenlieu's deputy, General Étienne Valluy, residing in North-Vietnam, ordered his staff to outline a strategy for the occupation of cities.

In the meantime, the unity of colonial empire came to the forefront in French politics: on 19 April 1946, a draft-constitution was passed, which did not actually dispose of France's colonies, yet in paragraph 41 it was stated France formed a union in free agreement with its so-called overseas areas as well as its joint states. Paragraph 44 emphasized that people living in these areas were also regarded as citoyens[46]. After the draft was passed, parties and several social groups had harsh disputes about it[47].

The fact that southern Vietnamese regions opposed to the French-Vietnamese agreement, offered French governmental circles an opportunity to establish the triple federation of Kokinchina, Cambodia and Laos. Although Ho Si Minh, in order to settle the situation, travelled to Dalat in April 1946, his discussions with General d'Argenlieu ended in failure. On 1 June 1946, the General – despite Ho Si Minh's protestation and in spite of what was earlier decided in the referendum, relying on local Vietnamese nobilities and colonial interests – declared the autonomic Republic of Kokinchina, with its own government, parliament and army, and Nguyen Van Thinh from the Democratic Party was appointed to head the cabinet.

In Hanoi, the hopes to settle matters peacefully were dissolved, yet Ho Si Minh undertook a journey to Paris to negotiate with the French: his flight took off from Hanoi's airport on 30 May 1946 only to learn – when landing in Damascus – of d'Argenlieu's proclaiming the Republic of Kokinchina in Saigon, which was recognized by France as a free state within the French Union. Discussion were launched in Fontainebleau on 6 July 1946[48], during which the ceasing from hostilities – mainly in Kokinchina and South-Annam, i.e. in southern Vietnam – came into question. Releasing prisoners of war was also discussed as well as organizing a referendum (yet no date was assigned), the question of equality of rights, and the potentiality of an Indochinese finance and customs union

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[44] Union Française; the expression was to replace the 'French Colonial Empire'.
[45] It meant financial, military and legislative dependency for DFVN.
[46] citizen
[47] In the May 1945, Issue of the review Renaissance on page 17, the then minister of Overseas France Paul Giaccobbi stated that' Indochina and the other colonies (…) will alongside with France constitute the *French Union*, i.e. "*Union Française*"' (SALGÓ, 1977, p. 177.). Charles de Gaulle in his speech on 16 June 1946 at Bayeux kept emphasizing his concept of the empire as well as the integrity and the indivisibility, in reference to the overseas territories. According to him, in the future-French Union *'for 110 million men and women, their future is only conceivable under French flags.'* (Quoted in: SALGO, 1977, p. 194; from: DE GAULLE, Ch.: Discours et Messages. Volume II, p. 9.)
[48] Prior to the negotiations, it became crystal-clear that the French party intended to assure Vietnam only a satellite position within the French Union, with Vietnam's affairs of economy, finance, customs, foreign and defence policy being solely dependent upon the all-time French parliament and the French president.

within the French zone. The talks were not fruitful. In the meantime, the French replaced their puppet-emperors both in Laos and Cambodia, and French army-units started attacks in numerous northern-Vietnamese locations and took over Bac Ninh. The joint Vietnamese-French statement on 14 September as modus vivendi was only to re-confirm the previous agreement of 6 March. They held out the prospect of further disputes in January 1947, but French officials in Saigon – led by Admiral d'Argenlieu – continued the policy of separation.

While discussing the events, it might also be worth taking a quick look at French domestic affairs of the time: a modification of the draft-constitution of 1946 was passed on 26 September the same year. In the introduction, also the decolonisation was mentioned, yet in the 8th paragraph, the constitution apparently assured support for the continuation of colonial politics. It said '…the French Union is constituted of peoples and nations which build their union on equality of rights and duties. The paragraph which would refer to eliminate colonial relations is totally missing. The following part promises one single thing: France – loyally to its time-honoured mission – will introduce the freedom of self-government to nations whose destiny France undertook.'[49] All this meant a returning to the vague concept of self-government at Brazzaville, and as opposed what was said in the previous draft-constitution, people in the colonies are no longer regarded as French citizens, merely citizens of the French Union, granting much fewer rights to them than to those living in the mother-country. The leader of the French Union was the president of the French republic, and the all-time Minister of Overseas France was to appoint a governor for the overseas territories, who would have to report exclusively to the minister. Besides this, there was a local parliament authorized with consultative rights, with MPs elected by the settlers and the natives. Overseas territories, overseas counties and protectorates were differentiated, and the latter ones became joint states. 'To put it concisely – in lawyer François Borella's words –, according to the good old French customs, they only replaced the dictionary, and put the old wine into new bottles.'[50] Without any preliminary reconciliation, the new constitution, the 75th paragraph of which only outlined collective advancement and ruled out the possibility of leaving the union, was forced upon the residents of the colonies by France.[51]

The first phase of the first Indochinese war

In November 1946 at the port of Haiphong[52], French soldiers prevented Vietnamese customs officers from carrying out their duties, then opened fire on them and occupied several public buildings. After that, General Valluy gave orders – with the consent of Bidault, French Prime Minister of the time – to Colonel Débes to deploy artillery and the navy. On the pretext of turbulences in Hanoi, the French fleet was authorized to bomb the port of Haiphong on 22 November, 1946. 'The incident with 6,000 civilian casualties freed the Viet Minh from their obligations, yet it meant a wide range of hostilities as well as the beginning of a nearly 30-year-long warfare.'[53] Ho Si Minh's call was left without response from Léon Blum's French government.

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[49] SALGO, 1977, p. 194.

[50] Quoted in: SALGO, 1977, p. 195; *BORELLA, F.:* L'évolution politique et juridique de l'union Française depuis 1946. Paris, 1958, p. 499.

[51] Many think that it also largely contributed to the outbreaks of the two seven years' wars first in Indochina, then in Algeria.

[52] suburbs of Hanoi

[53] DIÓSZEGI-HARSÁNYI-NÉMETH, 2001, p. 187.

Instead of negotiations, now arms were employed. At the beginning of December, French units from the second armoured division, who were temporarily stationed in the city, clashed with Vietnamese liberation troops. General Morlière, then commander-in-chief of French forces In North-Vietnam, in his ultimatum of 18 December, called upon the enemy to disarm, which would have meant for them capitulation. Ho Si Minh and his people in response urged the Vietnamese nation to start a general revolt with guns, and started attacks against Hanoi's European quarters on 19 December, 1946, and the ultras of the Vietnamese national militia, the so-called Tu Ve ultranationalists, began to take French hostages, for no clear reasons. As a reaction, General Valluy forced Ho Si Minh's cabinet and the armed forces, which were lacking anti-aircraft defence, to retreat to the jungle.[54] The French were preparing for a short and fast, so-called pacification operation, but underestimated the enemy's strength and perseverance. The Viet Minh with app. 2,000 people sustained intensive defence operations for a duration of 60 days, until 17 February, 1947, causing the French huge losses.[55] The General Command of the Viet Minh ordered retreat to Mount Viet Bac on the 60th day, where political and military leaders as well as thousands of refuges from French-occupied regions arrived to hide for a long while. Their leaders then drew up a plan how to fight the French back, according to which plan, they were to attempt attacks against the French in their permanent districts, in order to weaken them as well as to avoid their own troops' fast disintegration. Besides, a number of measures were taken, such as establishing military zones and military districts, with the help of which military mobilization of the country's population for armed fight could advance further.

That time, amidst inflation and lack of food, the French public '…cared only about their own conditions and everyday problems in the mother country. Indochina was much too far. Soldiers, who were first embarked in Marseille, were mostly foreign-legion mercenaries with German, Italian and Hungarian origin….'[56] To refill the army that then mostly consisted of soldiers from foreign-legion, in 1947 Leclerc asked the French government for an army of 500,000, but the idea of enlisting young French men for the infantry did not actually match France's looking for a new position within Europe, neither was it possible under domestic political conditions of the day. Thus, they tried to refill the French army stationed in Indochina with Vietnamese and Arabians as well, with the important army-positions obviously remaining in French hands. From the military operation's point of view, it all was ineffective, but politicálly speaking it was by all means effectual. Another action taken by the French was to appoint Émile Bollaert for the position of Thierry d'Argenlieu as commissioner and commander-in-chief in Indochina, and the military leader in North-Vietnam was also replaced by General Raoul Salan.[57]

During the almost the three-decade long Indochinese war, the decisive battles were mostly fought in Vietnamese territories. There was no continuous frontline to draw: the whole territory became one battlefield. The North-Vietnamese under the leadership of Vo Nguyen Giap preferred maintaining guerrilla warfare, which throughout the years and decades transformed constantly, making it difficult for the French Expeditionary Corps, which could not be victorious over them, in spite of their military and technical preponderance. The Viet Minh controlled several regions in

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[54] Ho Si Minh's following statement was made then: '*Vietnam (…) proves to be such a military zone, where the whole French Union shall begin to fall apart...*' (Quoted in: SALGÓ, 1983, p. 32.)
[55] Altogether there were app. 1500 injured and 500 casualties in 60 days.
[56] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 201.
[57] He had already served in Indochina many times in his career in the army: 3 times between 1924 and 1937 for short periods, and after 1945 for a longer time.

Kokinchina, Tonkin and Annam in 1946, and this way they managed to increase in number and resources to carry on with the fight. Their units first relied on a network of isolated villages mainly, amidst huge rice-fields in rural areas, whilst the French had control over big cities and regions vitally important for the country's economy. During the war between 1946 and 1954, it was the French who could first succeed in military operations, the Vietnamese troops were forced to retreat to the mountains, yet by the end of 1947, the power-relations were more balanced and were even in favour of the guerrillas to such an extent that in 1948 the French could only keep the strategic points in North-Vietnam. General Giap's ever-increasing liberation army reached 350,000 in number – as opposed to a total of 100,000 at the beginning of the war. By 1954, there were up to 400,000 French, altogether with the Vietnamese units under French leadership.

In January 1947, negotiations started between the French and Vietnamese parties in order to mutually bring hostilities and violent action to an end. During the talks, Ho Si Minh acknowledged France's cultural and commercial interests in Vietnam, whilst Moutet, Minister of Overseas France of the time, undertook obligations concerning the right of people in southern Vietnam for democracy and liberty. Yet Vietnam's independence as well as their international representation and the sovereignty of Nam Bo were still unsettled, just as at the Fontainebleau discussions. The agreement also decided on ceasefire between the parties in South-Vietnam.

The French assembly – first in the time of the Ramadier-cabinet – in March 1947, put the situation in Indochinese on their agenda. The Viet Minh officially proposed the termination of military activities and the renewal of discussions on 26 April, 1947. Discussions started in May the same year, in Saigon. The French claims – like disarmament of the Vietnamese Liberation Army, free movement of French units in the territory – were all rejected by the Vietnamese party and the fights continued.

During the negotiations, French troops were redeployed to the Hanoi-area, and were preparing for the Lea offensive. Their objective was to occupy the area of Mount Viet Bac and to liquidate the Vietnamese regular units. The offensive was launched on 10 October, 1947. 20,000 French soldiers were supported by armoured units and the air-force. The offensive units managed to cross the Red River Delta, and their aim was to occupy Lao Cai and also – with the aid of air support – to take control over the militarily important Road Number 4 near the Chinese border. By the end of October, the French succeeded in occupying Vietnamese resistance-points in the following areas: Jen Bai, Thai Nguyen and Tuyen Quang. On the turning-point of November-December, they got alarmingly near the main Vietnamese base, but Giap and his people started a counter-attack, took Dai Thi and Thuyen Quang back and advanced as far as Hanoi's outskirts. All in all, the operation ended in failure for the French, losing over 3,000 soldiers, most of their tanks and armoured vehicles were destroyed and had dozens of aircrafts shot down. It did not succeed in demolishing the management and regular forces of the DRVN, either. The latter ones – by applying a manoeuvring operation – re-occupied areas that had previously been taken by the French. The French solely managed to sustain Lao Cai, Cao Bang and most of their military posts along the Road no. 4. Thus, the Vietnamese-French participants started a new phase: the balance of their power.

Turning-point in concepts of strategy and operation

Owing to the prolonged warfare and the increase in losses, at the beginning of 1948, the French concept of strategy and operation needed some reconsideration. On the basis of this, regular French units in southern regions were joined by south-Vietnamese troops that were subordinated to the puppet-government of Free Republic of Kokinchina, and together they launched grand-scale pacification and mopping-up operations. As Giap summed it up: 'They used their main part of their forces for „pacification" and for consolidating the already occupied areas, in Nam Bo especially, applying the principle: fight Vietnamese with Vietnamese, feed war with war."[58] Their overall aim was to eliminate regular units of the Vietnamese liberation Army as well as to liquidate people's power, occupy further regions and affirm control over these areas by setting up army posts of various number and power. The response – on Giap and his people's side – was not delayed. They attempted at constantly weakening and partly terminating the enemy forces due to the disintegrated French units. 'Therefore the Vietnamese made strenuous efforts to focus on partisan fights in areas under French control.'[59] Thus, their organizational-, training- and supply-systems and political organizations were strengthened, and they also intensified their propaganda as well as agitation activities among the population. They were hunting down collaborators with the French colonizers, disorganizing the polity of Kokinchina's puppet-government, and also destroying their armed forces. Guerrilla-bases were set up all over Vietnam. By the end of 1948 – beginning of 1949 there were ever stronger Vietnamese attacks, which were carried out by both regular and guerrilla units. '… due to the partisan way of fighting, Vietnamese units were everywhere they were needed, but were also beyond reach for the enemy. This depressive way of fighting affected the morale of the enemy's soldiers, and weakened significantly the position of the Kokinchinese puppet-government.'[60] By mid-1949 the government and the armed forces of the DRVN established a kind of power balance with the French. The victory of the autumn revolution in China in 1949 and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, as well as the fact that not only the People's Republic of Chin, but also the Soviet Union and other socialist countries recognized the DRVN[61], all functioned as catalyst for Ho Si Minh and his people[62] and foreshadowed the end of the Indochinese war.

Meanwhile it featured on the agenda of secret negotiations of both the French and the US leadership to strengthen Vietnamese nationalist forces.[63] Then Prime Minister Paul Ramadier and his Secretary of War Paul Coste-Floret both were still optimistic in May 1947 as regards their military and political situations in Indochina. In order to pacify the region, they meant to apply the

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[58] GIAP, 1961, p. 8.
[59] SIENKIEWICZ, 1982, p. 17.
[60] ibid.
[61] As a response, Great Britain and the US recognized the government of Bao Dai.
[62] Owing to Mao Ce Tung's victory, the Viet Minh was given significant support, which already enabled them to set up a well-equipped army and launch an offensive against the French Expeditionary Corps.
[63] First both the English and the Americans found the puppet-governments of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia unviable. The Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance signed between the English and the French on 4 March, 1947 at Dunkerque – as opposed to economic concepts stated in the so-called Monnet-plan, which aimed at mutual exploitation of the Ruhr and Saar region by the French and the English – only made it possible for the French to exploit the Saar area, yet only temporarily and with restrictions. *'Under such conditions, in order to satisfy raw-material demands of the Monnet plan – exceeding the preliminary calculations – it was more and more urgent to maximize the utilization of French colonies.'* (SALGÓ, 1977, p. 208.) Between 1949 and 1950, the rates of colonial stocks were rising in the overseas territories in comparison with stocks in France.

'Bao Dai solution', which was politically evolved by the newly appointed Indochinese commissioner Émile Bollaert. Already from 7 December 1947 on, there were negotiations with this regard on a warship stationed at Baie d'Along. On 5 June, 1948 agreements with the former Emperor were signed here, in which the united Vietnamese state was recognized under Bao Dai's leadership, whose being alive – according to many – was solely owing to French protection. Further on, similar independence was granted to Cambodia on 8 November, 1948 as well as Laos on 19 July, 1949. On 2 July, 1949, the State of Vietnam was proclaimed, under the governance of Unity and Resistance, with an own army to fight the Democratic republic of Vietnam. All three countries were acknowledged as joint states of the French Union, by which France tried to camouflage their colonial war as a civil war. This transient kind of solution was first only indirectly supported by the US leadership of the day, but following the victory of the Chinese communists in 1949 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China[64], as well as the outbreak of the Korean war, US reluctance was over, they reconsidered the whole idea of the Indochinese war by replacing it within a wider context. Truman wished to counterbalance Chinese losses on Taiwan, Korea and Indochina.[65] According to the Truman-Kennan policy of containmen,. France also joined the group of countries fighting against Communism and thus, the Indochinese war was to become one of the major conflicts of the Cold War, a battlefield for the two world orders to clash. [66] Ho Si Minh emphasized the claim to establish a united and neutral Vietnam, whilst the DRVN and the People's Republic of China mutually recognized each other. Bao Dai – hoping for American support – ordered general mobilization, and his regime was recognized by both the USA and Great Britain. 'Ideological ruptures tightened up all over the country, even in the southern region, where the orthodox *Le Duan*[67] became leader of the military resistance under communist leadership.'[68]

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[64] Kuomintang troops of Tsang Kai-shek looked for refuge in Vietnam, and these Chinese were – app. 25,000 people – integrated as "volunteers" into Bao Dai's national army in Lang Son, December 1949. Besides, the Chinese minority was persecuted in Vietnam. Due to that, the Chinese state department and the State Secretary (between 1949 and 1958) Zhou En-Lai protested to Robert Schuman Foreign Minister on 18 January, 1950. The Chinese Secretary of State also regarded it rather alarming for both countries to accommodate Kuomintang soldiers in Vietnam, as the country, according to him, could serve as continental base for further counter-attacks.

[65] 'Domino Theory' was conceived then, on the basis of which only a direct American intervention could prevent the Domino line of unsteady states neighbouring Indochina from collapsing and thus, avoid becoming a Communist country. French General Lattre de Tassigny in September, 1951, summed it up this way: 'if ever Tonkin falls, there will be no obstacles before Suez'. (Later George F. Kennan said that Domino Theory was formulated for European countries, and thus cannot be applied for Asian countries.)

[66] 'In 1949-1950 all civilian platforms of France and the US agreed that direct and preponderant influences of the changes in China must in time be neutralized.' (SALGÓ, 1977, p. 214.) To oppose the spreading of Communism in South-East Asia, an ever increasing US participation was to witness, which first was manifest only in military support; in August, 1950, a military delegation of 35 persons arrived at Saigon. On 23 December, 1950, the US announced their military and economic aid to the French in Indochinese territories. In the background of the American aid was mainly to defeat China, for which reason the military and strategic importance of the Indochinese territory had increased for them. In their theory, it would have been the southern part of the pinchers: an 800-mile long continental bridge, which would have served as sufficient staging area for continental entry. Moreover, the location of the area – amidst China, British Malaysia, Burma and Thailand – was regarded perfect, and the cities of Haiphong and Saigon meant excellent bases as ports. Among economic interests, coal, tin, tit, manganese and timber in the north, whilst rubber, tea, pepper and leather played important roles in the south.

[67] Coming from Central-Vietnam, Le Duan – since he was 21 – was a member of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League, and later a member of the Communist Party of Indochina. In 1945, he was released from the infamous prison of Con Dao and became secretary of Nam Bo. He took part in the fight against French aggression as a party-politician. He became a member of the Political Committee of the Vietnamese Labour Party established in 1951. In 1960 he was elected the party's secretary general. He was also elected secretary general of the subsequent Communist Party of Vietnam in 1976. (KENDE, 1981.)

[68] DIÓSZEGI-HARSÁNYI-NÉMETH, 2001, p. 187.

France's aim by establishing the State of Vietnam – recognized by the US on 7 February, 1950 – was to weaken the DRVN and also to undermine respect for the DRVN among the south-Vietnamese population. The then French Prime Minister Vincent Auriol appointed General Rivers as commander-in-chief of the Expeditionary Corps and Marcel Carpentier as commander to replace Roger Blaizot.[69] Rivers, in order to eliminate enemy-units, further increased the number of French units, especially the motorized troops in Indochina. Besides, he locked up all roads along the Chinese border and had fortresses built along Road no.4 as well as extended occupied areas in the Red River Delta. The number of Vietnam State's army was also increased, which was 60,000 people at the end of 1949, whilst the French troops totalled up to 150,000, mostly from the foreign legion.

According to Rivers' plan, in July 1949, they launched attacks in northern parts of the DRVN and first succeeded in taking over several districts like Bac Ninh Bac Giang, Vinh Yen, and Phu Yen as well as widened occupied areas in the Red River Delta. Meanwhile in the south, more precisely in the Plain of Reeds located 80 km south-west of Saigon, the French under General de Latoure started mopping-up and pacifying operations, which – though attempting at eliminating guerrilla troops as well as their supplier–, training- and other bases – by no means succeeded. Charles de Gaulle, both a soldier and a politician, made his opinion – secretly as well as openly – clear that the war in Indochina had to be continued.[70] 'Indochina means empire. The colonial empire still constitutes the fundament of France's one-time status, its grandeur. That's why he kept repeating to his confidential visitors in Colombey: we must stay in Indochina. If not – the empire is over. (…) In the meantime, time flew by without doing anything about France. The way Paris was viewed internationally, however, changed a great deal. Judging by the altered power relations in world politics, victory could not be hoped for.'[71] On the other hand, in French society the 'filthy' war in Indochina was becoming more and more unpopular.

According to the first plan of the counterattacks of the regular units – launched in May 1950 – the Vietnamese troops started operations in Central-Vietnam, in order to distract the enemy's attention of the northern Viet Bac area. 'Due to the radically new international situation as well as the totally different power relations, everything turned inside out in Indochina. After various stages of withdrawal, defence and power balance followed the Indochinese forces' overall emancipator counterattacks in 1950. The offensive of the national army[72], following guerrilla warfare, and now

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[69] in August, 1949

[70] He spoke about it at a press conference on 29 March, 1949 at the Palais d'Orsay and also at another press conference on 22 June, 1951. Moreover, de Gaulle – via journalists – messaged soldiers fighting in the Indochinese jungle to carry on with the war.

[71] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 205-206.

[72] The Vietnamese Liberation Army was renamed People's Army of Vietnam. In 1950 the merely nationalist Viet Minh was dismissed and was united with the Lien Viet national front (National United Front). In 1951 – as the successor of the Communist Party of Indochina – Ho Si Minh established the Labour Party of Vietnam, under strong Chinese leftish influence (Dang Lao Dong Viet Nam/DLDVN). 'The professionalization of units of the renamed People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) as well as the victorious Chinese Red Army in the civil war in 1949 also meant the improvement of weaponry and equipment both in terms of quality and quantity. Yet unified outfit was by no means applied, however, the PAVN showed signs of regular army units, as regards organization. After 1950, the Chinese government significantly supported the Vietnamese army with supplies as well: uniforms and camp equipment arrived in great quantity from China and they also started to manufacture tropical sun hats, which were the symbols of the PAVN and were downright copies of those worn by French colonial troops as well as jungle hats that were later to gain wide popularity. The first roses worn on hats were provided to generals and officers, and thus a kind of simple hierarchy of ranks was born, without unified marking…' Source: http://katpol.blog.hu/2011/02/26/modositva_megorizni_atoltozott_a_vietnami_nephadsereg_vazlat

equipped with regular units, up-to-date weaponry, heavy artillery etc., generated a new situation. Governments of the French Fourth Republic had to rely on the US and the NATO's[73] (established in 1949) increased assistance, because of limited availability of resources as well as European, continental interests.'[74]

From autumn 1950, Vietnamese troops led successful actions all along the Chinese border, which made the French retreat. 'In fall 1950 General Giap's units "broke the Lang Son frontier" by freeing the city of Dong Khe – of key-importance –, and doing so the French defence line between Lang Son and Kao Bang, in other words "the Vietnamese Maginot Line", was eliminated. The Vietnamese troops started attacks along the Chinese borders on 16 September, 1950, during which more sophisticated tactical units were applied for the first time, more precisely rifles units, whose weaponry – owing to the Soviet aid – was a great deal more advanced: their fight as well as their firepower became more efficient. By breaking through the blockade at Lang Son, they managed to demolish the French defence system at the Chinese borders, and the railway and vehicular connections could become undisturbed and continuous. The French elite corps of app. 6,000 people did not manage to escape, and were all eliminated and captured by guerrilla troops hiding behind front-lines, alongside with their commanders. Guerrilla-fights turned into a war, and France had to prepare for a prolonged warfare, instead of a quick pacification.'[75]

The Vietnamese troops, after the Lang Son victory, launched their attacks in Hanoi's direction, and in the meantime they led smashing attacks against French watch-posts and battle positions of the Expeditionary Corps, causing a great number of casualties: there were over 8,000 casualties and app. 9,000 soldiers were captured, but austere damage was caused to weaponry and military equipment as well. Altogether, during the six-week-long series of attacks, three regions, namely Cao Bang[76], Lang Son and Lao Cai, were taken over, and they also led attacks in the Red River Delta, jeopardizing main French squads. By then the French only were controlling areas around Hanoi, Haiphong and Saigon.

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[73] According to de Gaulle and his party the RPF (Rassemblement du peuple français/Rally of the French People), established on 14 April, 1947, they must by all means hold on to Indochina, and thus urged to join the NATO as soon as possible. They actually had two goals: defence against the Soviet Union and aid in their colonial wars. However, de Gaulle went as far as stating that NATO organizations must be located in France.
[74] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 212.
[75] ibid.
[76] in October, 1950

Image 3:

Vo Nguyen Giap (from left) and Ho Si Minh (from right). The photo was taken in 1950, while preparing the operation called Biên Gioi (one of Vietnam's natural borders).

Source: http://guidefrancophoneauvietnam.com/2013/10/15/le-general-vo-nguyen-giap-eminent-stratege-et-farouche-humaniste/, downloaded: 29 January 2014.

Meanwhile the French government decided to carry on with the fights for the sake of a final victory, so in November 1950 General Jean-Marie de Lattre de Tassigny (died in Paris, 1952 and appointed France's marshal posthumously) – then head of general staff – was appointed commander-in-chief of French forces stationed in Indochina as well as France's Commissionaire there. De Lattre's plan was to fortify their posts in the Red River Delta, which would function as a line of defence against raiding Vietnamese forces. Therefore, he regarded the redeployment of French troops a sufficient solution, because by doing so these disengaged French troops could have pacified the occupied areas as well as could have had great opportunities to take the lead in terms of tactics and operations and offensively attempt at re-occupying certain areas from the enemy.

In December 1950, the newspaper of the French colonial authorities called L'Union Française reported of extreme conditions in Indochina, which actually meant the fiasco of French colonial policy. By then, nevertheless, all big cities were under French control as well as come of the main roads, Tonkin, the area along Ha Long Bay, yet rural areas in South-Vietnam, the plough-lands and woods by roads, forested areas in the east, Central-Vietnam and most coastal areas belonged to Ho Si Minh and his people.

In March, 1951, the Vietnamese party launched grand-scale guerrilla activities behind French lines and concentrated their main forces in the territory of Hon Gai and Haiphong situated by Tonkin Bay. The French reacted to this by pacifying these areas as well as by intensifying the creating of lines.[77] In order to carry out various tactical operations at the same time, the French

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[77] De Lattre-line: territory fortified with posts. It meant the territory lined between Hon Gai and Son Tay, 30 km north-west of Hanoi and areas south-east from Ninh Binh. In its centre Vietnam's capital, Hanoi is located.

asked for Bao Dai's help, deploying his army, which meant 12,000 soldiers, which had partly been equipped and armoured by the US. Their tactical worth was even enlarged by the weapons and military devices provided by the Americans – e.g. bombers. 'In 1951, a hundred American ships transported various war materials to Vietnam. In spite of temporary and local victories, however, the course of the war was impossible to change.'[78] 'In January, 1952 Marshal Juin did not only ask for war material, but American soldiers, mainly pilots as well: '…in Indochina more French officers are killed than are trained at the Military Academy of Saint Cyr…'[79] Meanwhile in France – though not as vehemently as later during the war in Algeria – the public's anti-war feelings were rising. General De Lattre – by launching an attack on 10 December 1951 – started to implement his plan, during which he managed to take over Hoa Binh by cooperating with a paratrooper air-descent battalion, which also caused the Vietnamese to retreat nearby the Laos-borders. Nevertheless, Giap's troops retook Hoa Binh on 23 March, 1952, and their outpost squadrons reached as far as potential routes to Hanoi and Haiphong. As for French losses, app. 20,000 soldiers were either killed or injured, and they also had tremendous losses as regards weapons and military equipment. This all raised the question: was France willing to call an end to the war and sign a peace-treaty?

Answer was not given, and because of the failure of General de Lattre's plan as well as his incurable disease, he was called back and Salan was made the new commander-in-chief and Letourneau was appointed as commissionaire. Owing to US consultation, fights were maintained, and mercenaries were being recruited again. US equipment was arriving in the territory in abundance to an ever greater extent and the pressure on Bao Dai to increase the number of his army was also growing. Due to all this, between March and October1952, the French renewed their retaliatory operations in areas south and south-east of Hanoi. However, these operations again did not bear fruit, which was made even worse by intensified guerrilla actions in territories in South-Vietnam and in the neighbourhood of Saigon, as well as along the River Mekong, due to which some of their troops had to give aid to Bai Dai's army. 'As regards costs of military actions as well as their effects on the economy and the society, the French cabinet had to calculate with an annual sum of 1 billion dollars. As President Vincent Auriol put it, France spent twice as much on war in October 1952 than they were given under the auspices of the Marshall Plan (5 billion in comparison with 2 billion 285 million).'[80]

On the turn of 1952-53, Vietnamese regular units as well as guerrilla troops – thanks to their offensives – took over the northern-west part of the country, almost the whole of the Viet Bac highlands. Besides, large areas in the central and southern part of the country were also taken over. The French then controlled Hanoi, the Red River Delta and the main cities and routes in South-Vietnam.

The war itself was becoming organic part of the rivalry of the two world powers, yet was objected by most French political powers. Thus, the government of the day was more and more willing to negotiate. International relations, however, were starting to change. The Korean War was over, but its cease-fire made it possible for the communist China to turn towards Vietnam. In the USSR – after Stalin's death – more and more signs of de-Stalinization process were showing up.

This article is to be continued in the first issue of the National Security Review in 2016.

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[78] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 215.
[79] Quoted in: SALGÓ, 1977, p. 215; from: The New York Times, 14. January 1952.
[80] SALGÓ, 1977, p. 215.

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NÓRA PÁKOZDI

THE FINANCES AND ECONOMY OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

Abstract

In response to the western-style globalization, the radical Muslim groups that oppose the spread of western democratic values have recently become a significant challenge to the 21st century's world. These groups strive to achieve dominance on the basis of their own set of rules included in the Quran and the Sharia. In order to cement their status in the Middle-Eastern countries, they progressively developed their leadership, ideology, infrastructure and manpower. Taking advantage of the fragile stability in the war-torn countries, many of them have become known for providing the basic needs of their followers. However, they do not shrink from violence, either. On the contrary, they use their armed power and emphasize the seriousness of their plans, causing many grave problems for the international community. Among these terrorist groups, the most radical interpreter of Quran, with its growing influence in the Middle-Eastern countries since 2003 is the Islamic State (previously known as Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – ISIL; Islamic State of Iraq and Syria – ISIS or Daesh), which declared itself a caliphate, and claims sovereignty over all the Muslims of the world. It does not only pay the salaries of its fighters and finance their operations, but also performs government functions and provides a variety of social services. The IS's economy has grown well beyond the financial possibilities of an average terrorist group, considering the variety of its revenues and the huge sums it disposes of. Diversity is the strongest point of the jihadist organization, without which its longevity would be questionable. Given the fact that the IS poses diversified threats; the reaction to these threats must be also diversified. The question therefore is whether the „hard power" campaign of the international community is sufficient to suppress the IS, or economic and other measures should also be taken. This analysis describes the current revenue sources and the expenditures of the IS, its financial and economic operations, and gives an overall picture of how the state functions and increases its revenues, in spite of the collective condemnation and strict measures of the international community

Keywords: Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, IS, Daesh, economy, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, US, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Abu Omar al-Baghdadi, Al-Nusra Front, al-Qaida, Assad regime, Baiji, Mosul, trade and supply routes, crude oil, donations, fundraisers, hawala, kidnapping, extortion, black market, hostages, sex slaves, zakat, wheat silos, Twitter, Dabiq, salaries, social services

Introduction

In 2003, the notorious radical terrorist organization (Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad) attracted attention with its suicide bombings and attacks against Shiite mosques, civilians and Iraqi governmental institutions. Its leader was Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian militant, who had launched his career by operating training camps in Afghanistan. He became known after going to Iraq and being responsible for a series of bombings, beheadings and attacks during the Iraqi War. In October 2004, he persuaded many radical Muslims to join al-Qaeda and pledge allegiance to Osama bin Laden; an act that contributed both to the financial and 'professional' development of his group (which was subsequently renamed as al-Qaida in Iraq).

Building on the ideological guidance of Osama bin Laden, the group continuously strengthened its radical views and committed jihadist attacks on several territories.[1] The primary objective was the expulsion of US troops, the successful global jihad and the proclamation of the Caliphate. In 2006, the al-Qaida in Iraq was joined by several insurgent groups and organizations[2], and changed its name to the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) on 8 June 2006. Abu Omar al-Baghdadi replaced Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (who had been killed in an US drone strike) as the emir of the organization.

In 2011, the long-term escalation of – political, social and economic – problems swept away the dictatorial governments in the Middle East. The continuously raising tension and the demonstrations drew attention to the corruption, the deficient governance and other important social problems such as desertification and unemployment in several countries.[3] Additionally, the global economic crisis strengthened the fears in many people, who then could be easily radicalized, fearing that his level of living will be soon unbearable. In some regions, the lack of political leadership was a great opportunity for the Muslim groups to acquire positions of power. Searching for dominance, the ISI – making use of its connections with other organizations and its own sources – strengthened its governance, structure, personnel and weaponry in an intensified pace.

In 2013, the group extended its area of operation to Syria and renamed itself as Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL or ISIS) or Daesh (from the Arabic abbreviation of the name). It wanted to build connections with the Al-Nusra Front, one of the most powerful terrorist organizations operating in Syria. The ISIS could thereby receive significant financial and personnel support. However, citing ideological differences, Abu Mohammad al-Julani, leader of the Al-NusraFront said no to the association. Clashes broke out between the IS and the Al Nusra Front, during which the IS drove the opposing forces out of the Deir al-Zor area, and obtained control over the oil fields there.

The caliphate was declared on 29 June 2014, under the leadership of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi caliph. Simultaneously, the group took the name of the 'Islamic State'. Its relationships and the extent of the conquered territories radically increased, and the group gained influence in more and more cities, including areas gained through association with other terrorist organizations that

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[1]KIS-BENEDEK, József: Az Iszlám Kalifátus és a globális dzsihád új tendenciái, p.27, Hadtudomány 2014/3–4.
[2]For example, the al-Qaeda Jordanian and Afghan subsidiaries and the Jundt al-Sahhaba (Followers of the Prophet's Army) extreme Sunni fundamentalist terrorist organization. - Al-monitor.com: The Evolution of ISIS, 25September 2013,http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/ar/security/2013/11/syria-islamic-state-iraq-sham-growth.html#ixzz3fHqmpGXv, date of access: 20.07.2015
[3]BESENYŐ, János:Can the „Arab Spring" present a real threat to Europe?Strategic Impact, No. 50., 1/2014, pp. 32-44, http://www.scribd.com/doc/241476196/Can-the-Arab-Spring-present-a-real-threat-to-Europe,date of access: 20.07.2015

pledged their allegiance.[4]Their resources were added to those accumulated through various taxes levied on the population, individual donations, as well as such crimes as kidnapping and extortion.

The territory of ISIS

Taking advantage of the weakened Syrian and Iraqi governments, the militants of the Islamic State occupied cities and economically important areas with significant oil deposits at a rapid pace.[5] To sustain its authority, the organization had to develop efficient methods of financing, which are not only based on territorial expansion, but continue to generate revenue even when no new resources are acquired. The IS is different from other similar organizations, because its economy is not based primarily on income from donors or on illegal trade, but on the wealth produced inside Syria and Iraq.[6]This process is the basis for building a stable economy. It also finances IS's military operations and ensures that the assets acquired through conquest remain exclusively in the hands of the IS. The economy heavily depends on the facilities and the wealth of the conquered territory; on the oil fields, the agricultural land or the trade centers; especially when the external sources do not provide sufficient funds to the long-term operation of the state.

The Assad regime believed that the Islamic State was just a small problem to be solved later on; therefore it concentrated on the immediate civil war and did not turn strongly against the increasingly organized group, which contributed to the group's strengthening process. The Islamic State's forces were in an advantageous position at the end of 2014 in Syria and Iraq. They captured 210,000 km2 (roughly the size of Great Britain), where they seized airports and several strategically important oil fields. Although centralized control of all occupied cities has not been introduced, contributions were expected from 'partner territories' as well. From an economic point of view Baiji, Mosul and the Syrian city of Aleppo were the most significant territorial gains. By occupying Mosul, the group gained access to a significant amount of money, gold and military equipment.[7]After the capture of Mosul, in June 2014, IS militants headed towards the town of Baiji, where Iraq's second biggest oil refinery has been built. The IS gained strategic advantage by seizing the key trade and supply route running between Aleppo and Kobani in June 2015, thereby securing their control over a key market route between Syria and Turkey.
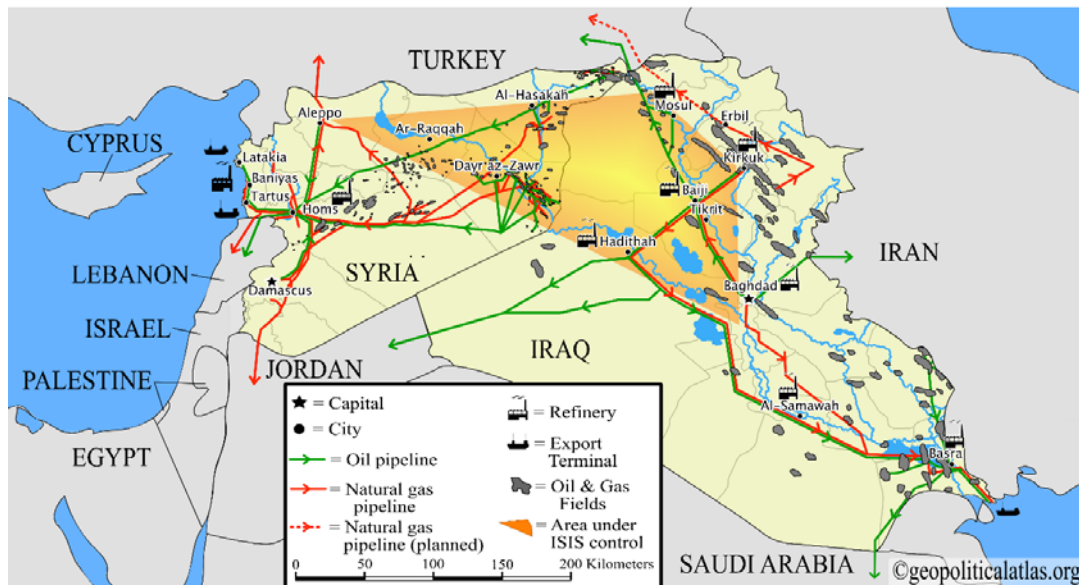
Oil revenues

Oil production on the Iraqi and Syrian territories occupied by the IS has declined. At the same time, the price of oil began to decline as well, inter alia due to the investor's lack of confidence, and stagnated at fifty Syrian pounds per liter. Despite the fall in prices and the reduced production levels, ISIS gained huge revenue through oil production and trade.

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[4]For example, the Nigerian Boko Haram terrorist group also pledged alliance to the ISIS.

[5]MCFATE, Jessica: ISIS Sanctuary Map, In: ISIS Sanctuary Update, March 4, 2015, p.2.,http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/ISIS_Sanctuary_Map_with%20captions_approved_0.pdf , date of access20.07.2015

[6]FATF: Financing of the Terrorist Organization Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), p.5. February, 2015, http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/Financing-of-the-terrorist-organisation-ISIL.pdf, date of access: 20.07.2015

[7]Looting the central bank in Mosul, the ISIS acquired 500 billion Iraqi dinars - about 429 million USD -, and captured US Blackhawk and Kiowa helicopters. – Washingtonsblog,com: Islamic Jihadis Take Over Second-Biggest City In Iraq 11 June 2014, http://www.washingtonsblog.com/2014/06/islamic-jihadis-take-second-biggest-city-iraq-al-qaeda-wasnt-even-iraq-u-s-invaded.html, date of access: 20.07.2015

1. picture: Oil fields under ISIS governance.
Source: GEOPOLITICALATLAS.ORG

The IS now controls above the 60% of the Syrian oil fields, extracting 50,000 barrels of oil per day. This amount and the total refining capacity of the refineries are different from the earlier achievements, since before the conflict, the factories could produce up to 220,000 barrels per day. A higher proportion of the Iraqi oil fields remained in Iraqi government's hands; IS controls only seven oil fields. It can produce an additional 25,000 barrels of refined products per day in the seven oil refineries.[8] Occupation of Mosul and the surrounding areas meant additional sources of oil, since the Baiji refinery is operating there. Seizing the territories of Iraqi Kurdistan would mean further growth in these revenues. The most significant oil-supply could be produced in Tawke, Taq Taq and Kirk refineries.

The IS manages many smuggling and trading routes, where the extracted oil could easily and cheaply be transported to Turkey through Mosul to Jordan, Syria and Iraq, through Anbar province. According to Adil Abdul Mahdi, the former finance minister and vice president, the ISIS sells the oil at the low price of $30-90.[9] They sell crude oil to the refiners across rebel held parts of Syria at an average of 18 dollar, while prices for the refined petroleum products range from $50-$60 per barrel. A liter of locally refined crude gasoline is sold for around half a dollar, which is approximately a third of the price of gasoline sold in government-held areas. This is a lucrative trade for some businessmen who are mainly war profiteers, and also helps the long-lasting relationship between locals and the rebel group, thus it enhances the sustainable oil-production of the IS. Most of the oil sold on the black market is moved via trucks along smuggling routes on the Turkish border.

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[8] DALBY, Chris: Who Is Buying The Islamic State's Illegal Oil?,30 September 2014,http://www.iraq-businessnews.com/2014/10/01/who-buys-islamic-states-illegal-oil/date of access: 16.07.2015

[9]LEE John: IS Sells Oil at Under $30/barrel,12 April 2015,http://www.iraq-businessnews.com/2015/04/12/is-sells-oil-at-under-30barrel/, date of access: 16.07.2015

The oil trade meant about 2 million US dollars revenue a day by 2013 to the IS. In September 2013, the United States bombed oil refineries to weaken the IS's grip, but the operation did not have the desired effect, according to several experts. Although revenues from the oil trade have declined, it is questionable whether the bombing of valuable infrastructure will be profitable in the long run. By now, IS produces and smuggles oil in the remaining refineries, receiving approximately $1-1,4 million per day.[10]This amount is adequate for self-sufficiency of the Islamic State, so in case other sources of revenue are lost, it would still be able to maintain its authority.

In addition to the loyal management elite, the IS also employs local experts in order to manage trade. This is essential to easily solve the technical problems that require a trained and experienced workforce, moreover it helps maintaining former trade relations.

Private financial support

Many people who follow extremist ideologies believe that donation is their duty. Moreover, the advanced propaganda of the IS is encouraging potential donors not to hesitate and take their part in the state-building process. Since 2012, IS has produced annual reports, and published newspapers, targeting both poor and wealthy groups to finance its activities. Based on financial reports, the amount of foreign donations received by IS amounts to an average of 50 million dollars per year.[11]

The Assad-government had been accused of maintaining links with IS, as some agreements ensure that basic services such as electricity and water are not destroyed on their territory.[12]Some of the electricity remaining is reportedly sold back to the Syrian government.[13]

Financial support is usually provided with the help of „humanitarian" or other fund-raising movements. Donations are gathered by a loyal fundraiser, who then travels back to the Islamic State and give the collected money to the governance. Many fundraisers gather millions of dollars for the Islamic State, far from the area of operations, sometimes as far away as Europe or America. For instance, Tariq bin al-Tahar al-Harzi, born in Tunis, was named by the US Treasury Department as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist – as a fundraiser – who collected around $2 million from Qatari supporters. This sum was sent straight to ISIS.

Due to the widespread criminal networks, and the surrounding countries instable banking systems, IS is forced to trade mainly in cash. Combined with lax controls on the bags that pass through many Middle East airports, it is not hard to transport 1-2 million dollars across borders. Although it is risky to handle that much money, this is the easiest way to transport it without any remarkable sign of cash-flow.

The other option for fast, untraceable transfer of funds is the *hawala*, a centuries-old money-transfer and banking system of the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia.[14] It was created

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[10]MARCEL, Valérie: ISIS and the Dangers of Black Market Oil, Chatham House.org, 21.07.2014, http://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/15203, date of access: 2015.08.26.

[11]BRISARD, Jean-Charles: Islamic State: The Economy-based Terrorist Funding, p. 4.,https://risk.thomsonreuters.com/sites/default/files/GRC01815.pdf, date of access: 16.07.2015

[12]AL-KHALIDI, Suleiman: Here's How ISIS Uses Oil To Fuel Its Advances, 18 September 2014, http://www.businessinsider.com/r-how-islamic-state-uses-syrias-oil-to-fuel-its-advances-2014-9#ixzz3g35uWLgC ,date of access: 16.07.2015

[13] U.S. Congress: The ISIS Threat: The Rise of the Islamic State and their Dangerous Potential,), p. 9., 25 September 2014, ISBN: 9781505837636

centuries ago by Muslim traders in order to avoid having large amount of cash with them. The semi-secret, trust-based banking network of Muslim brokers is transferring money to the Syrian jihadists. Hawala brokers operate all across Europe, as well as the United States and Canada. Another advantage is that hawala is out of official banking system's control, so neither of the national nor the international restriction and control applies for the process.[15]

Funding is claimed to arrive mostly from private donors in the Gulf States. Both Saudi Arabia and Qatar have been accused of funding ISIS. Although there is no evidence, the group is also believed to receive funds from operations in Eastern Syria, where it has commandeered oilfields and engages in smuggling.[16]

According to the US Treasury Department[17], a number of terrorist financiers have been operating in Qatar. For instance, Abd al Rahman al Nuaymi has served as an intermediary between Qatari donors and leaders of al-Qaeda in Iraq. Experts claim that more donations come from Qatar than Saudi Arabia. The United States, in reaction to the reports, called Qatar as a "permissive environment for financing terrorist groups".

Although Saudi Arabia's government rejected the claims, Iraqi President Nouri al-Maliki accused Saudi Arabia of funding ISIS. The U.S.-based think tank Washington Institute for Near East Policy have written about individual Saudi donations and the Saudi state's decade-long sponsorship of Salafism around the world[18], but have concluded that there is no evidence of direct Saudi state support for ISIL.[19]

During the ongoing Syrian Civil War, many parties have accused the Syrian leadership of Bashar Assad of some form of cooperation – even financial – with IS leaders[20]. Several sources have claimed that ISIL prisoners were strategically released from Syrian prisons. For example, Abu Luqman, the governor of Raqqa province has been released from prison during President Assad's amnesties in the summer of 2011.[21]The Syrian government has bought oil directly from IS, and in March 2015. An EU investigation brought to light that the Syrian government and IS have some connections, for example they jointly run a HESCO gas plant in Tabqa, in central Syria.[22]

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[14] KIS ÁLMOS, P. and BESENYŐ, J. and RESPERGER, I.: Országismertető – Szomália, pp. 23 and 61., „Sereg szemle" Kiadvány 2010, ISBN 978-963-89037-3-0

[15]HORGAN, Rob: Isis and al-Qaeda funded by 250 Spanish businesses, 2 February 2015, http://www.theolivepress.es/spain-news/2015/02/02/isis-and-al-qaeda-funded-by-250-spanish-businesses/date of access: 17.07.2015

[16]U.S. Congress: The ISIS Threat: The Rise of the Islamic State and their Dangerous Potential, p.9. ISBN: 9781505837636

[17]U.S. Department of the Treasury: Remarks of Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence David Cohen before the Center for a New American Security on "Confronting New Threats in Terrorist Financing", 3 April 2014, http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl2308.aspxdate of access: 16.07.2015

[18]PLOTKIN BOGHARDT, Lori: Saudi Funding of ISIS, PolicyWatch 2275, 23 June 2014, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/saudi-funding-of-isisdate of access: 17.07.2015

[19]POLLOCK, David: Arab Public Opinion & The Fight Against ISIS, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/infographics/Arab_Public_Opinion_and_the_Fight_Against_ISIS_-_English.pdf, date of access: 17.07.2015

[20]BAKER, Aryn: Why Bashar Assad Won't Fight ISIS, 26 February 2015, http://time.com/3719129/assad-isis-asset/, date of access: 17.07.2015

[21]LISTER, Charles: Islamic State Senior Leadership: Who's Who, p.5.,http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Research/Files/Reports/2014/11/profiling-islamic-state-lister/en_whos_who.pdf?la=en, date of access: 17.07.2015

[22]Official Journal of the European Union: Implementing Regulation (EU) No 36/2012 concerning restrictive measures in view of the situation in Syria, 6 March 2015, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.L_.2015.064.01.0010.01.ENG, date of access: 17.07.2015

Gains through military operations and criminal activities

Under the governance of IS, the provinces are required to send 20% of the income generated from kidnapping, extortion and other activities to the next level in the chain of command. Higher-ranking commanders then redistribute the funds to provincial or local cells that needed money to conduct operations or are in difficulties. ISIS has routinely practiced extortion in several ways, robbing banks and plundering gold shops have been other sources of income. The organization has also resorted to selling illegal drugs, demanding money from truck drivers, peddling crude oil on the black market to Turkey, and even owning Internet cafes. Practicing these methods, the ISIS has become the richest terror group that existed until now.

Even in areas not under its complete control, IS still maintains extortion network. IS forces have looted antiques and sold them on the black market. For example, one Iraqi intelligence official claimed that the group had earned $36 million after selling 8,000 year-old items from al-Nabk, north of Damascus, in early 2014.[23]"They are smuggling the artifacts via Turkey, Iran and Syria," claimed Aymen Jawad, executive director of Iraq Heritage, a London-based organization dedicated to preserving Iraq's antiquities. "Some of the tablets are as small as a matchbox, so smuggling them is such an easy task. However, some of our men on the ground have informed us that some large items have been transported by truck."[24]A single Mesopotamian artifact can worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, as evidenced by the sale in April of a cuneiform baked clay cylinder of Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II dating from 604 B.C. to 562 B.C., which was sold for $605,000.[25]

After looting 500 billion Iraqi dinars – the equivalent of $429m – from Mosul's central bank, the terrorist group secured its economic position in the region.[26]"Before Mosul, their total cash and assets were $875m. Afterwards, with the money they robbed from banks and the value of the military supplies they looted, they could add another $1.5bn to that." – said an intelligence official to the Guardian.[27]In 2010, Abu Bakr al-Bagdadi established a financial command council – with the leadership of Muafaq Mustafa Mohammed al-Karmoush (Abu Salah) – and Mosul strengthened its key role as a principal source of income. By 2014, the extortion network was generating $12 million per month.

Then the terrorists plunder the people on the conquered territories. "When ISIS overran Mosul last June, they literally took necklaces off women and earrings off their ears.[28]The Islamic State has threatened to blow up cell phone towers unless the parent company pays protection money; and did the same with electricity substations and other public utilities.

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[23]Ibid. date of access: 17.07.2015
[24]GIOVANNi, Janine: How Does ISIS Fund Its Reign of Terror? 6 November 2014, http://www.newsweek.com/2014/11/14/how-does-isis-fund-its-reign-terror-282607.html, date of access: 17.07.2015
[25]Antiques & Auction News: Clay Cylinder Achieves $605,000 At Doyle New York, 16 April 2014, http://www.antiquesandauctionnews.net/article_print.lasso?-a=Clay+Cylinder+Achieves+%24605%2C000+At+Doyle+New+York date of access: 17.07.2015
[26]Nineveh governor Atheel al-Nujaifi confirmed Kurdish television reports that ISIS militants had stolen millions of dinars and a large quantity of gold from numerous banks across Mosul. Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hdz077thVs4, date of access: 17.07.2015
[27]CHULOV,Martin: How an arrest in Iraq revealed Isis's $2bn jihadist network, 15 June 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/15/iraq-isis-arrest-jihadists-wealth-power, date of access: 17.07.2015
[28]GIOVANNI, Janine: How Does ISIS Fund Its Reign of Terror? 6 November 2014, http://www.newsweek.com/2014/11/14/how-does-isis-fund-its-reign-terror-282607.html, date of access: 17.07.2015

Demanding money in exchange for releasing hostages is also an often applied method. ABC News reported that one U.S. hostage held by Islamic State is a 26-year-old female aid worker, for whom the group has demanded $6.6 million in ransom.[29] Ransoms from kidnappings make up about 20 percent of ISIS's revenue, the U.S. Treasury estimates ISIS has received $20 million in ransoms in 2014.[30] If a ransom is paid, the person is freed—if not, he or she is killed. Sometimes ISIS forces allow victims to telephone their families to report that they are being tortured, in the hope of raising a large ransom to secure their freedom.

The Islamic State has recently exercised an ancient habit again; it put captured female sex slaves from Iraq's religious minorities on sale and has also released a price list based on age. Full-fledged slave markets operate in Mosul, Iraq and Raqqa, Syria, and the IS has cited Islamic theology to justify them. According to a document issued by the ISIS[31], Christian and Yazidi girls, between 1 and 9 years old, are up for grabs for $172. Girls that are 10 to 20 years old are sold for around $129, while those 20 to 30 years old are sold for about $86. ISIS sex slave prices for women that are 30 to 40 is about $75 and for those 40 to 50, it is $43. Slaves are not listed as women – they are labeled as merchandise.

2. picture - An official ISIS price list
Source: Iraqinews

[29]ROSS, Brian: ISIS Demands $6.6M Ransom for 26-Year-Old American Woman, 26 August 2014, http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/isis-demands-66m-ransom-26-year-american-woman/story?id=25127682, date of access: 17.07.2015
[30]COHEN, David: Remarks of Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence David S. Cohen at The Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, "Attacking ISIL's Financial Foundation", 23 October 2014, http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl2672.aspx, date of access: 17.07.2015
[31]Iraqinews: EXCLUSIVE: ISIS document sets prices of Christian and Yazidi slaves, http://www.iraqinews.com/features/exclusive-isis-document-sets-prices-christian-yazidi-slaves/, date of access: 17.07.2015

Taxes

ISIS collects most of its revenue by taxing residents in return for services provided by the regime, such as electricity and telecommunication. Unlike other Islamist groups that operated regime-established facilities for the local communities gratis,[32]ISIS has developed a surcharge. Raqqa's Credit Bank functions as a tax authority, with employees collecting $20 every two months from business owners in exchange for electricity, water, and security.

ISIS makes millions from zakat[33]. Zakat is extracted from annual savings and profits (2.5 percent), livestock (two heads out of 100 heads owned by a farmer), gold (on values exceeding $4,500), crops (10 percent if irrigated by rain or a nearby river, and 5 percent if irrigation costs money). ISIS imposes annual taxes on non-Muslims living on its territories, especially Christians (4.25 grams of gold for the rich and half of that for moderate-income individuals).The few non-Muslims who continue to live in areas under the control of The Islamic State are obliged to pay tax of approximately $720 per an adult male.

Additionally, starting a business on ISIS-controlled territory[34] or driving a truck on an ISIS-controlled highway also entails extra taxes. By seizing key supply routes, the Islamic State has extorted large amounts from truck drivers in both Iraq and Syria. Highways between Syria and Iraq were early targets for al Qaeda in Iraq, as were the roads between Iraq and Jordan. Since seizing territory in northern Syria, the Islamic State has established a toll system on the roads leading to Turkey, while its gains near Mosul and further south in Iraq have given it temporary control of roads leading to Iran and the Kurdish Autonomous Region.

Agriculture

Agriculture in Syria, and more frequently in Iraq, has been mentioned as another type of source of revenue. When ISIS fighters swept through northern Iraq over the summer of 2014, they took control of farms, fields, silos and grain stockpiles. Up to now, ISIS acquired nine grain silos in Nineveh, which spans the Tigris, and seven more elsewhere. According to Iraq's trade ministry, 1.1 million tons of wheat is stored in silos in those areas, which amounts to 20% of annual Iraqi consumption (6.5 tons, half of which is imported).[35]ISIL has regularly confiscates agricultural machinery from locals, who then rents back to their farms. ISIL is able to set the crop prices by taking harsh control of the fields, the distribution and means of production. The FAO estimates that

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[32]For example Hezbollah established the Jehad Al Benaa Developmental Association, in order to establish many constructional and humanitarian projects such as Hospitals, Schools, Cultural Centers and Public clinics in order to raise the social level of population in Lebanon. - Jehad Al Benaa Developmental Association http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/300/320/324/324.2/hizballah/jihad-el-binna/index.html, date of access: 17.07.2015

[33]One of the Five Pillars of Islam, mandatory for all Muslims. Zakat is a charitable contribution, and is considered as a tax. The payment and disputes on zakat have played a major role in the history of Islam, such as the Ridda wars that fueled the conflict between the Sunni and Shia sects of Islam.

[34]Although, there are no start-up fees for those who want to open a store, they have to pay a 2.5 per cent tax on their revenue after each year. – SOLOMON, Erika: The Isis economy: Meet the new boss, http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/b2c6b5ca-9427-11e4-82c7-00144feabdc0.html, date of access: 17.07.2015

[35] Reuters.com: Exclusive: Islamic State militants grab new weapon - Iraqi wheat, 13 August 2014, http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/13/us-iraq-security-islamicstate-wheat-idUSKBN0GD14720140813, date of access: 17.07.2015

ISIL currently operates in the part of Iraq that account for over 40 percent of Iraq's wheat producing region.[36]

The northeastern provinces of Ar Raqqah, Al Hasakah, Dayr az Zawr and Aleppo traditionally have produced 74% of Syria's wheat crop, according to the Syrian Ministry of Agriculture[37], but these provinces are now controlled or heavily contested by the Islamic State. Prior to the war, the central government maintained over 140 collection centers where the state representatives purchased most of the wheat harvest at above market prices. By 2014, only 31 collection centers were still operational[38], and many farmers were unwilling to risk the journey to a center to sell their harvests. This has exacerbated the food shortage in the country, where the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that 6.8 million Syrians face severe food insecurity.[39]
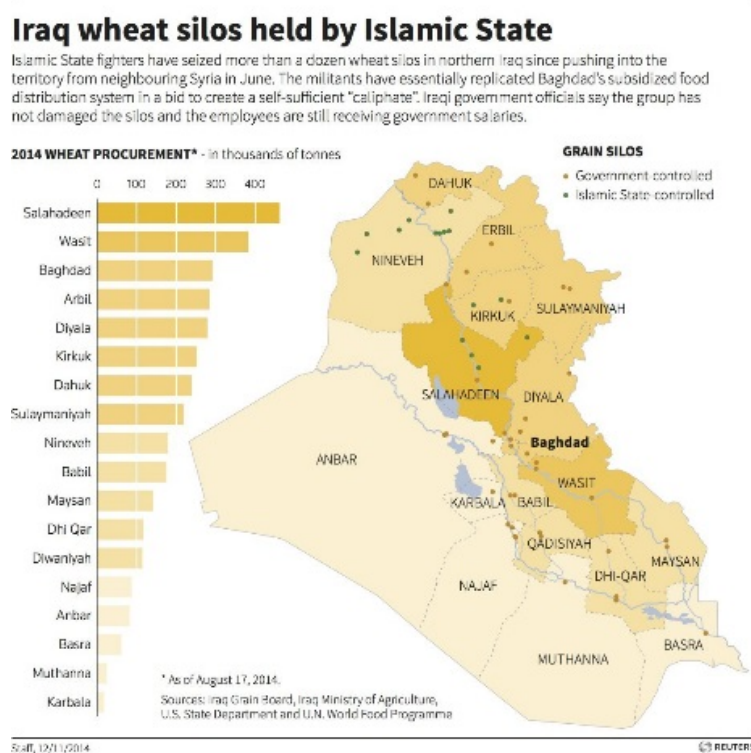
3. picture - Iraq's wheat silos held by ISin 2014 August
Source: Reuters

[36]FAO: GIEWS Country Briefs: Iraq, 16 June 2015, http://www.fao.org/giews/countrybrief/country.jsp?code=IRQ, date of access: 17.07.2015
[37]USDA Foreign Agricultural Service: Syria: 2012 Wheat Production Outlook Is Favorable Despite Ongoing Conflict, 12 June 2012, http://www.pecad.fas.usda.gov/highlights/2012/06/Syria/, date of access: 20.07.2015
[38]Hellenic Shipping News: Syria Plans to Import 1 Million Tons of Wheat as War Rages, 23 October 2014, http://www.hellenicshippingnews.com/syria-plans-to-import-1-million-tonnes-of-wheat-as-war-rages/, date of access: 20.07.2015)
[39]Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N. (FAO), Crop Prospects and Food Situation, No.4, December 2014.http://www.fao.org/3/a-I4256E.pdf, date of access: 20.07.2015

Revenues through propaganda

IS has manipulated social media, physical and virtual social networks, encouraged donations similarly to crowd funding companies. Most of the social media platforms provide an effective method for terrorist groups and their sympathizers to exploit this technology for terrorist financing purposes. As an organization, IS has a newly established Al Hayat Media Center outlet and a propaganda arm called the Al-Itisam Establishment for Media Production. Both of them are designated to recruit and to sustain loyalty.

Al Hayat Media Center is focused on the social media platforms, such as Twitter or Facebook. It is responsible for producing torture videos and the propaganda magazine called Dabiq[40]. Through such methods, IS was able to gain worldwide support by generating a "Twitter storm" on June 18, 2014. Following the „hash tag storm", resulting in 40,000 tweets in one day, the group gained additional support and funding.
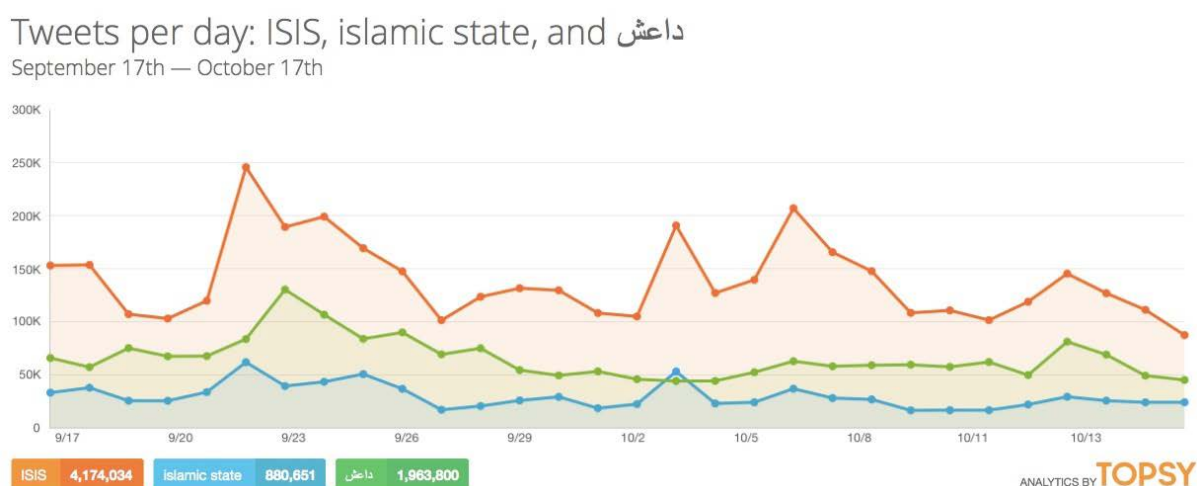
4. picture – Tweets per day: ISIS
Source: BARRETT, Richard: The Islamic State

Pledging allegiance to IS should take several forms, ranging from the purchase of a single weapon to the funding of an operation or paying for the travel, training and arming of a volunteer fighter. These tweets would sometimes list specific weapons and the amount needed to purchase them. For example on 16 September 2014, an individual was arrested and charged with attempting to provide material support and resources to IS, among other charges. According to the criminal complaint, the individual has used Twitter to post and re-post tweets. The accused person claimed that that money is the largest resource for extremists; and people should fight with their money as well as with their bodies and words.[41]

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[40]See all the magazine's issues at: The Clarion Project: The Islamic State's (ISIS, ISIL) Magazine, 10September 2014, http://www.clarionproject.org/news/islamic-state-isis-isil-propaganda-magazine-dabiq#, date of access: 17.07.2015
[41] FATF REPORT, Financing of the Terrorist Organization Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) February 2015, http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/Financing-of-the-terrorist-organisation-ISIL.pdf date of access: 16.07.2015

IS and its supporters also sell souvenirs, for both propaganda purposes and as a source of revenue. CNN reported that there were Facebook pages promoting the sale of ISIS shirts.[42] Other sites were found selling or promoting the sales of ISIS souvenirs.

5 .picture – Propaganda T-shirts
Source: The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center

Expenditures

ISIS pays monthly salaries to about 25,000 operatives, from $300 up to $2,000 per operative, according to his nationality and family size. The salary can be raised with additional fixed amounts for each wife, child and dependent unmarried adult woman in the household. IS also has to maintain the logistics of its military forces. A single fighter is paid $800, a married one $1,200 monthly. The fighters receive free housing, generally by being accommodated in the houses confiscated from Shia, Christians, and other non-Sunni inhabitants, as well as from Sunnis who have decided to flee. These payments and benefits are meant to continue if the IS member is captured or killed, such as a primitive form of life insurance. It also pays rent for some members, maintains medical care and safe-houses.

In addition, ISIS invests large sums of money in the civilian infrastructure of the local populations and in maintaining its leading and organizational systems in Syria and Iraq.[43] The organization usually pays bribes and inducements to tribal leaders to receive some kind of help from them.

To ensure the continuity of its well-known propaganda and to publish videos worldwide, huge amounts of money flow to marketing and film-making operations. Experts believe that a 16-minute long video of beheadings would have cost ISIS approximately $200,000 to produce, considering the

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[42]CNN: Facebook looks to block ISIS clothing sales, 25 June 2014, http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/24/world/isis-facebook-merchandise/, date of access: 17.07.2015

[43]The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center: ISIS: Portrait of a Jihadi Terrorist Organization, November 2014, http://www.crethiplethi.com/files/cp_0115.pdf, date of access: 17.07.2015

sophistication of the editing equipment required and the quality of the multiple HD cameras needed.[44]

Arms purchases and maintenance of used weapons also count as significant expenditures. In the north Baghdad region alone, they spent nearly $2.5 million on weapon purchases in February 2014.[45]

In conclusion

Although both the terms „terrorist organization" or „state" are relevant, taking into account the structure and versatility of its governance, the "state" label is somewhat closer to the actual operation of the ISIS. Since its establishment, it has undergone a series of transformation, both in terms of external connections and internal system, through which the caliphate is now providing stable resources, certain financial assets and benefits.

In mid-2014, Iraqi intelligence extracted information from an ISIS operative, which revealed that the organization's assets worth $2 billion, making it the richest jihadist group in the world.[46] About a quarter of this sum is earned by seizing Mosul in June 2014; looting $429 million USD from the Mosul's central bank, along with additional millions and a large quantity of gold bullion. However, doubt was later cast on whether ISIS will be able to sustain its power if it cannot seize additional cities and expand further. Although its conquests seemed to slow down, some analyses showed that ISIS was still earning $2 million each day. This sum includes income from oil sales, extortion, taxes and smuggling and expenses such as monthly salaries to the jihadists. However, the question has remained: whether the terrorist organization will be able to survive the western interference, the economic and military counter-measures or the possible domestic challenges. ISIS will remain financially solvent in the short run[47], however in the long term – due to a sustained western counteroffensive limiting its ability to maintain control, as well as to the decreasing oil prices – the terrorist organization will be probably facing difficulties in financing the caliphate.

However, ISIS has never relied on basic formal financial institutions such as banks; its leadership has established institutions that provide tangible services and a "more secure" future for its "families" than before. Although the taxes cut many percentages out of the family budgets, the family can live in such a "state" that provides medical care, school and even some kind of entertainment. In order to prevent the ISIS from extending its power, the primary goal is to stop the further spread of the ISIS's radical ideology and replace its leadership in a gradual shift in Syria and Iraq. As a starting step, the Iraqi government should decentralize the power and distribute a larger

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[44]Dailymail.co.uk: ISIS mass beheading video took up to six HOURS to film and cost $200,000: Forensic analysis of Syrian soldier murders reveals clues that could help nail Jihadi John, 8 December 2014, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2865745/Has-EXACT-location-infamous-ISIS-beheading-video-pinpointed-Forensic-analysis-filmed-Syrian-soldier-murders-breaks-filmed-long-took-cost-make.html#ixzz3gPXdQGwi, date of access: 17.07.2015

[45] CBC News: Inside ISIS: Salman Ahsrafi's photo found in documents revealing underbelly of extremist group, 14 November 2014, http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/inside-isis-salman-ahsrafi-s-photo-found-in-documents-revealing-underbelly-of-extremist-group-1.2835453 date of access: 17.07.2015

[46]Theguardian.com: How an arrest in Iraq revealed Isis's $2bn jihadist network, Martin Chulov in Baghdad, 15 June 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/15/iraq-isis-arrest-jihadists-wealth-power, date of access: 20.07.2015

[47]A calculation suggests that ISIS may generate a surplus of $100 million to $200 million this year that it could reinvest in state-building. – Nytimes.com: Hitting ISIS Where It Hurts, 13 August 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/14/opinion/disrupt-isiss-cash-flow-in-iraq.html?_r=0, date of access: 20.07.2015)

portion of it to the Sunni-majority areas. Baghdad should also strike deals with local Sunni tribes and business owners to cooperate in putting an end to the ISIS presence in local markets – maybe in exchange for governmental economic assistance.

Both manpower and money supply routes encumber the efficient offensive against the jihadist radicals. In order to cut off terrorists' foreign sources of wealth, policies should be designed to encourage proper banking practices (to avoid the further strengthening of systems such as the hawala) and improve travel and bank control to place terrorists and their associates on prohibited lists that block their travel and freeze their bank accounts. As the majority of their income consists of oil-revenues, it would be absolutely necessary to prevent them from selling oil products. Iraqi and Kurdish forces should make it a priority to drive away the terrorist organization from the oil wells in northern Iraq. With significant international assistance, the anti-terrorist forces should concentrate on reducing the consumer market of ISIS-produced oil. The Iraqi government must also engage Turkey, Jordan and the Iraqi and Syrian Kurds to conduct a joint strategy on stopping ISIS's oil operations and oust the terrorists from Baiji, Iraq's largest oil production facility. Nevertheless, it would be counterproductive to destroy the huge oil field infrastructure,[48] since its repairs would be expensive and legitimate governments will need those oil revenues when they reestablish their control. A possible solution should be to target the mobile refineries and make impassable the roads that the tanker trucks use to transport oil. The refineries and roads could be easily repaired later on, but for the time being, it would be very difficult for ISIS to transport oil from the fields.

In spite of its multiple income sources, the Islamic State has to make serious efforts to finance its war-machine, including supplying and maintaining equipment, rewarding successful operations, and providing salaries to fighters. There could be over 30,000 fighters, who are said to receive allowances. The international community still faces a huge challenge in preventing further emigration to jihadist territories. The Islamic State found the loophole, where it can unstoppably augment its manpower, but has not yet realized the heavy costs of their personnel's salaries. In the long run, the State probably will not be able to provide enough supply for all of its members; then the ideology will be the very primary tool for preserving its personnel. Taking into account its diminishing economic possibilities, it will take about a decade for the organization to run out of its main financial assets. The international community could efficiently make use of this decline only if it harmonizes the international cooperation against the radical terrorist organization in military, economic and political fields, which may lead to the further, gradual weakening of the jihadist organization.

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[48] The US and allies bombed several oil refineries. Although the bombardment was said to be successful, the targets did not affected ISIS routes seriously.: Businessinsider.com: The US Has Begun Bombing ISIS Oil Refineries, http://www.businessinsider.com/us-bombs-isis-oil-fields-2014-9#ixzz3gPuPfObx, date of access: 20.07.2015

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ZOLTÁN NYIKES – ZOLTÁN RAJNAI

THE BIG DATA APPLICATION TO THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL DIGITAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Abstract

The amount of information and the need for information are fast increasing today, and will further multiply in the coming years. The critical infrastructure ensures the welfare of the state and its citizens. The everyday decision-making requires a large amount of information of various types. The present publication will show the relationship between the Hungarian National Digital Infrastructure and the Big Data. The emergence and use of Big Data have been greatly emphasized in the recent years. This article will present the conceptual and practical manifestations of the Big Data phenomenon. It will also present the Digital National Development Program, funded by the Government of Hungary and the European Union to increase the welfare of the Hungarian society and to make the Big Data a digital service that is easier to access for everyone. The history of the Big Data will also be discussed, as well as the conditions and possibilities of its applications. The article will also examine the security and risk factors of the Big Data, which is essential to ensure the effective protection of the Hungarian National Digital Infrastructure and the personal data.

Keywords: Digital National Development Program, "smart city", digital literacy, the 4 V model, exploitation and application of the Big Data, security conditions, data protection, digital infrastructure.

Infrastructure development

The development of hardware and software

The data or databases have a life-cycle of different stages, from their creation to their repeated uses, each of them requires appropriate technical background and support. Everyday desktop PCs are becoming less and less suitable for this task. A growing part of data processing is taking place in shared systems, in data centers consisting of a huge number of special interlocking computers (computer grids), gigantic in size, called "computing clouds". The emergence and spread of open-source software and web services are lowering the barriers of entry and making their use cheaper. For these internet services and the transfer of gigantic databases, reliable broadband connections are needed.

The hardware itself is not enough: appropriate software is also needed, which does not only refer to the programs. The phenomenon of "Big Data" provides an opportunity to find the answers to the questions of various disciplines with the help of mathematical, statistical, data mining tools, looking for patterns in the data, and finding very complicated, many-variable correlations with

applications that are also able to learn. To process, combine and query the data of various sources, created in various ways, it is necessary to use standards and standard metadata.

Regarding the "Big Data" investments in enterprise IT are obviously inevitable, and they have grown to the size of several trillion dollars a year, which means a significant increase in the recent years. Meanwhile, the cost of information origination, management and storage has been reduced to its sixth in the last five years.

Digital National Development Program

The Digital National Development Program has been launched in Hungary and also in other countries in the European Union. This program embraces the superfast Web, the development of the digital community and economy, the E-government services and the digital competencies. The Government aims to build super-fast internet coverage throughout the country by 2018, which means that it will ensure a minimum of 30 Mb/s bandwidth internet access for every household and institution. This is called National Digital Utility (NDU) in the framework of the program. The program aims at a more sophisticated accessibility, a better quality of life by ensuring full coverage. The aim, therefore, is not just to build the final infrastructure, but to improve the quality of life and the standard of living of the Hungarian population through this added value.

a) The aims of development in the administration

In human societies information has a significant effect on social connections. E-shopping is becoming increasingly popular within the population, because it is fast and convenient. The office administration is becoming more popular, too, although the development and expansion of the existing infrastructure and the available services are essential and necessary. The aim is to go online with a wider range of services, reaching a growing number of users. In the 2010s, besides providing interactive possibilities, the E-Government must also be consumer-friendly.

The development of infrastructure in Hungary is proceeding well, and serious progress has been made in both fixed-line and mobile broadband coverage. However, there are some areas of the country, where no development has taken place. The digital home, the smart city and the E-Government are considered as priority investments. The "success criteria" include the goals, frameworks, participants and responsibilities. The goals: infrastructure, services and competence development. The participants: the state, the market and the EU. The frameworks: the taxes, the EU sources and controls. The responsibilities: education, coordination and cooperation. The development of an appropriate regulatory environment has already begun in Hungary. The program is complex because it covers the network, competence and service enhancements. It will be realized within the frameworks of the programs and projects called the "European Digital Agenda", the "National Information and Communication Strategy", and the "Digital Partnership for Hungary". The Next Generation Access (NGA) coverage was 75.7% in Hungary in 2013. The long-term benefits are more significant than one might think. The preparation of the project, the planning, the tendering phase is followed by the development of networks, including local area networks, and construction of missing facilities. This has been the biggest telecommunication development project of recent times. The EU Directive 64/2014, which is in the process of naturalization, will be governing in the development of the nation-wide access and network coverage ensured by the state.

The project of the Digital Agenda for Europe COM (2010) 245; the 2014/61/EU directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on reducing the development costs of high speed electronic communications networks, the National Infocommunication Strategy, the 1162/2014. (III. 25.) Govt. decision on the Digital Nation Development Program and the 1631/2014. (XI. 6) Govt. decision of the "Digital Nation Development Program" provide the legal background for the development of ICT by 2020 and it will contribute to the functioning of the European economy. The elimination of administrative obstacles is essential for the implementation of the Super-fast Internet Project (SIP), and further investments are needed in order to achieve the strategic objectives.

b) The Hungarian "smart city"

The next question in the Digital Agenda is *what makes a city digital*? Information technology, networks or mobile penetration can also be mentioned here. The service providers, that is the state, the municipalities and the market can also be listed here, as well as the consumers: the citizens and the corporations. The "smart city" program was started in Hungary to improve public safety, to increase the use of city cards, and to provide the necessary devices and training in several rural cities, e.g. in Nyíregyháza, Miskolc and Salgótarján.

The digital city – "the future that is already here" – also means the provision of Wi-Fi service for the population. In addition, the "smart city" project also produces revenue for the administrative units. The online bookings of accommodations have increased by 60%. This has resulted in the increase of employment, too.

The sales revenue for operators can also increase, if the digital skills amongst users are growing. Social barriers between material issues and digital devices need to be broken down. As long as these barriers separate people from each other and from the benefits of the digital world, the envisioned future will remain a dream, which only very few people will be able to use for their well-being. These barriers can be broken down by achieving cost-effectiveness.

For example Tokody et al. (2015), however, have shown that "there are cities where traffic that comes to a standstill is an everyday problem. It is unquestionable that change is necessary. Green mobility and smart city are parts of this change." "In Hungary SMART technologies have long been present in building automation, energy and telecommunication, as well as in other fields. This tendency has been greatly facilitated in certain disciplines, and, as a result, it has been applied to railway developments, too. … By using SMART elements, these modern solutions can ensure the cost-effective development and maintenance of the created network, they contribute to a higher level of passenger service increasing the quality of such service, and provide strategy for the protection of critical infrastructure… ."

c) Development of digital literacy

In order to reduce digital illiteracy in the society, various programs have been initiated by the State. For example, the TÁMOP[1] 2.1.2-1/1, which aims to develop foreign language and information technology competences, as well as the digital textbook program, the grants for research and development, and the promotion of teaching programming. Digital illiteracy can also

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[1] European Union in the framework of the Social Renewal Operational Program

be reduced by the use of widespread mobile applications for educational purposes, for example, by developing various teaching and learning support applications that can run on mobile platforms. Unfortunately, 40.2 % of the population above the age of 15, approximately 3 million people are digitally incompetent in Hungary. Moreover, this does not mean that the remaining 7 million people are digitally competent, because they do not use the contents that would be required for digital literacy. The reason for this may be that people are afraid to discover the digital world, they do not feel that it is made for them, which is a great problem, because they will not reach that knowledge or develop those digital skills that are necessary to take full advantage of the benefits of the digital world. The low level of use of digital content in the society may also be explained by the security issues that have always been on the agenda. This is an important matter to be solved as it accounts for a significant part in the development of digital competence, including the issues of safe storage and safe operation.

What is the Big Data?

By the end of the 20th century, the industrial society was replaced by the information-knowledge-based society. This change transformed everyday life considerably. The increased use of digital devices from the '90s resulted in the generation and accumulation of a continuously growing amount of digital data. The concepts of *petabyte* and *terabyte* are slowly becoming commonplace in today's world. For those who deal with information technology, the concepts of *exabyte* and *zettabyte* are also familiar. These are such big volumes of data that their process and storage require serious infrastructure and resources. These volumes of data and the activities related to them are now together called "Big Data", a term that is becoming increasingly fashionable nowadays.

The data and their dimensions

In order to make these enormous data volumes more presentable, the amounts of data will be illustrated through a few examples below.

A typewritten page constitutes approximately 30 Kb of data.
An MP3[2] track is about 5 megabytes.
A movie can reach 5 gigabytes.
1 terabyte data can ensure the storage of approximately 6 million books.
If 1 Petabyte of data had to be written on DVDs[3], the tower of DVDs would be around 55 floors high.
About 5 Exabyte of data was generated in the world in 2003.
This figure rose already to 1.8 zettabyte in relation to the production of worldwide data in 2011.

A further example can be thought-provoking and frightening for the future. The NSA[4] set up a new data center in Utah at the end of 2013, which is capable to store 1 yottabyte of data.
According to the survey made by Intel in 2013, 640 terabytes of data are forwarded on the Internet every minute, which means 204 million e-mails, over 3 million searches on Google[5], 6 million

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[2] MP3 is an audio coding format for digital audio which uses a form of lossy data compression.
[3] DVD - Digital Versatile Disc
[4] NSA - National Security Agency

Facebook entries and 30 hours of video upload and video viewing on YouTube[6]. In addition, 50 gigabytes of data are produced every minute by the Large Hadron Collider[7].

It is easy to understand, therefore, why such a vast amount of data must be seriously dealt with.

The Big Data phenomenon

It is a fact of life that there will always be new things to invent, or existing ideas to revise. The IT market also likes to introduce new phrases that are easy to remember and can be associated with a trend, a product or a service. One such a buzzword of today is 'Big Data', a field which, as experts claim, will be *the oil of the 21st century*. It means that a wider scale of collection, structuring and analysis of data will determine and drive the world's economy.

Although the definition of Big Data has not been fully clarified, it has been accepted as a reference to the systematic collection and analysis of the increasing amount and more complex forms of data in the world. The conclusions reached at the end of the analysis process help decision makers produce greater business value than without using the big data methods.

"Big" refers to a database or data set that contains a large amount of data. Such a large amount, in fact, that it would be difficult to manipulate it with the commonly available database management applications. The management (creation, transmission, storage, processing, query, etc.) of this huge data volume really pushes technical possibilities to their limits.

The Big Data phenomenon can be described as follows: a high degree of complexity and diversity characterized by fast-growing volumes of generated data, for the use of which there is little time available.

The 4V model

There are much more data existing today than a few years ago, and the aggregation and synthetization of these data sets of different sources has become a major goal to support the making of more successful business decisions.

- "Volume" - the amount of information. The volume of data has grown to truly shocking proportions.
- "Variety" - the diversity of data, the data in a variety of forms. Social media is just one part of the Big Data needs, although admittedly a significant part. Behavioral (consumer behavior-related) data, transaction data, videos, photos, and GPS data, sound recordings, etc. can also be mentioned here.
- "Velocity" - the speed of data spreading. The speed of accessing and analyzing data has increased considerably, making the streaming data analysis possible.
- "Veracity" - the validity of data. The above features, however, can only be useful, if the data can be integrated and synthesized in a way that helps companies make better business decisions.

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[5] Google is an American multinational technology company specializing in Internet-related services and products.

[6] YouTube is a video-sharing website.

[7] The Large Hadron Collider (LHC) is the world's largest and most powerful particle collider, the largest and most complex experimental facility ever built, and the largest single machine in the world.

The conditions of exploiting the Big Data

- Data collection: An institution collects data from different data sources, which are then massively parallelized using systems - often using the grid technology - to distribute them; each node processes a subset of the data.

- Processing: The system uses the same high-performance parallelism in order to carry out quick calculations on the data for each node, reducing the results into more usable data sets.

- Data management: The large amounts of data to process are often heterogeneous, given that they originate from different systems. In almost every case, the data need to be interpreted, defined, purified, enriched and audited for security purposes.

- Measurement: The applying organizations must continuously assess and monitor the quality of their data to ensure data connectivity. User requirements determine exactly what should be measured and what goals should be set in relation to the quality of the data.

- Uses: The use of data must be in accordance with the original requirements of the processing.

- Storage: With the emergence of the data-cloud (data-as-a-service) trend more and more data can be found in a particular location, while the locations of the programs accessing them are not fixed. Either in case of a short term batch processing or for long term storage, the organization must manage the data storage solutions in a conscious way.

- Data asset management: Embraces the user guidelines for data assessment and supervision that refers to each of the six previous steps.

The application of the Big Data

Analytics in the public sector

The employees of the public sector also face the challenge of the potential use of large amounts of data in their work, including the decision making process of the government, which can also be effectively supported by analytical solutions. The Hungarian Central Statistical Office (CSO) used the SAS[8] Device for the central procession of the 2011 census data.
The extent of the data explosion can be well illustrated, considering that the Hungarian tax authority collected as many data between 1988 and 2000, as in the first four months of 2013. The processing is a largely online process, only 1.5 million of the annual 80 million cases are paper based.
Besides the purchase of a petabyte storage space, complex mathematical models and analytical capabilities are also required.

Big Data to help the census

During the Hungarian census, 11.4 million questionnaires were processed at the Central Statistical Office. The possibility of further use lies in the connection of data bases. For example, the system monitoring the careers of higher education graduates, the graduate course-tracking system, is only connected to the data bases of the National Tax and Customs Board and of the

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[8] SAS - Statistical Analysis System, an integrated software suite produced by SAS Institute Inc.

National Health Fund. If it were connected to the long term employment agency database, the system would not only be able to register this data, but also offer job opportunities.

Big Data in the Hungarian agriculture

In an environment such as agricultural production, particularly high results can be achieved through an effective information system, where the utilization of available knowledge is difficult. The creation of an agricultural knowledge center has been launched by Hewlett-Packard's Informatics Ltd., István Széchenyi University, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Computer and Automation Research Institute (CARI) and the eNET Research and Consulting Ltd. The Consortium received over 2 billion forints for the project in the framework of the New Széchenyi Plan – the participants communicated to the Hungarian News Agency.

The project aims to create a broad knowledge base by implementing the "Big Data" analytical system into the field of agriculture. During the research, thousands of sensors will be scattered in the territory of the country, and a complex analytical, forecasting and decision supporting solution will be developed from the data and databases, with the help of another open international knowledge base.

The application of the Big Data abroad

The Dutch water application

The Netherlands has started the Digital Delta program, a more effective analysis of Big Data that contributes to the improvement of flood protection and the optimization of the water management system of the Netherlands. The initiative aims to prevent disasters and environmental degradation, but the system can also reduce the cost of water management by 15 percent. Through the analysis of Big Data, the new monitoring system introduced during the program addresses such issues as the deterioration in the quality of drinking water, extreme weather, or the threat of floods and drought.

Big Data use in the US crime-prevention

In the BBC's[9] documentary, "The Age of Big Data", the first series presents the work of the police in the Los Angeles area. The police database stores the various crimes of many decades. The database was examined by a research team with an algorithm that prepares a forecast every day based on the pattern of crimes committed, highlighting the events of previous days and the locations of high risk on the basis of past experience. Police patrols received maps indicating the risky zones and they returned to those areas much more frequently during their scheduled patrol time. The result is startling: in the examined Los Angeles area the number of robberies fell by 26%, and the amount of crimes against property dropped by 12 %. Encouraged by this success, the program has been extended to the entire city, and it has also been adopted by other communities.

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[9] BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation,

Big Data in the service of medicine

The combination of medicine and "big data" is an entirely natural and inevitable process. In human DNA, for example, which encodes our design and instruction manual in the form of nearly 3 billion characters. Few things are developing as fast as genome sequencing[10]. The sequencing speed is at least as important a parameter as its cost. While a decade ago sequencing accounted for 80% of the costs of DNA[11] analysis, today it is only a tiny fraction of the expenditure. 60% of the costs are now used for the processing of the data. The challenge is not the production of raw data, but their processing. Now it is possible to read the patient's DNA from a simple blood sample, and deduce which proteins differ in function or production from what is expected. This change can be particularly fruitful in the fight against cancer.

Big Data in "smart cities"

In Rio de Janeiro, the accurate weather forecast guarantees the transport safety of the "megapolis", in Birmingham, a mobile application help to find a parking space, while in Singapore city developers aim to eliminate traffic jams by the real time tracking of traffic.

The British model to combine databases

One of the biggest problems the British Government face today is that each of its Divisions are working on a different database and it is difficult to share data between them. The Government is now considering the unification of all existing databases. This would mean, of course, that all data of the citizens would be at one place. With the elimination of errors, however, 46 billion euros of savings could be expected.

Big Data and future challenges

The "big data scientist"

The new research tools that use the Big Data methods are constantly changing, creating opportunities for predictive analysis. This process has generated a significant and urgent need for the data scientist.
The process of change will affect all areas of the organization, first of all the IT department. A qualitative change will take place with the creation of new jobs (scientific data analysts), and overall, the IT department will offer more jobs. Although the data will be managed by IT professionals, other departments (finance, marketing, etc.) will add their advanced technical knowledge to them, and then they will be combined by the IT. This will only be efficient if the data is processed by smart devices on the place where they are created, or else a huge network and storage capacity will be needed. The same changes are happening at the data centers now that were taking place at the PCs some decades ago.

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[10] The genome sequencing is a laboratory process that determines the complete DNA sequence of an organism's genome at a single time.
[11] Deoxyribonucleic acid

Big Data diploma

In the next two years 4.4 million positions will have to be filled worldwide by Big Data analyst experts. Their knowledge will be essential in the 2500 metropolises, too. Companies have started training programs involving more than 1,000 institutions of higher education, while in Ireland it is already possible to get an MSc degree in Big Data analytics.

Risks and security issues

The State ensures the protection of the critical infrastructure at the regulatory level by the 2080/2008 (30.) Gov. decision on Critical National Infrastructure Protection, by the Law No. CLXVI of 2012 on the identification and protection of critical systems and facilities, and by the Gov. Regulation 65/2013 (II.8.) on the implementation of the above law. The areas of critical infrastructure in Hungary, including the critical information infrastructure, such as the IT utilities and their protection, are covered by these regulations.

Risk reduction

Based on the above-written criteria, the Big Data phenomenon may give the impression that this "data-boom" has only positive effects for everyone. Unfortunately, as everything else, it also has its disadvantages.

The "digital shadow" is the mass of data generated continuously about a person. Some of these digital footprints are consciously created by the users, while the other part is unknown to the owner. This is why the protection of personal data is becoming increasingly important nowadays. In Hungary the law No. CXII was passed in 2011 on the right of informational self-determination and the freedom of information.

This law is based on Article VI of the Constitution, to protect the right of informational self-determination and to ensure the freedom of information, the protection of personal data, and the right to access and re-use the data of public interest. The above law ensures the protection of personal data and the freedom of information in Hungary by the established National Data Protection and Informational Freedom Authority.

Security conditions

The "BalaBit[12]" syslog-ng solution collects and processes the log messages generated by the information systems. The main motivation for users is to ensure regulatory compliance, information security control and operational support. However, at present the software products available on the market focus on the log messages of operating systems and basic system applications. The information collection from applications requires a very different approach. It is enough to consider the user activities in an ERP[13] system, an online bank or a social networking portal.

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[12] It is a software company specializing in the development of IT security systems and related services.
[13] ERP- Enterprise Resource Planning System

Summary

The Big Data, the "oil" or "goldmine" of the future, will be worthless, unless its safe access and storage can be ensured. It is evident that the crucial information utilities – as part of the critical infrastructure – ensure people's welfare, which, in the second decade of the 21st century also includes digital welfare.

Digital welfare means the unconditional reach of necessary and sufficient public information by electronic access. A series of decisions need to be made every day. In order to make these decisions quickly, a great deal of accurate, up-to-date and various information is needed. Therefore, in this case, the 4V model can be applied for the use of the Big Data. The Big Data will make a significant part of everyday life in the following years. Economic growth should be considered here, which appears in many forms; like the increase of employment, the appearance of new professions, and the transformation of the structure of education. The use of the Big Data also supports the modernization of the health care system, by ensuring faster and more accurate diagnosis and cure.

The fast and secure transmission of data will be implemented by the State within the framework of the Digital National Development Plan. This project refers to the development of the Hungarian National Digital Infrastructure. In order to achieve digital welfare, access must be ensured to different services and to their appropriate contents. It is absolutely necessary to increase digital literacy, which should not lack functionality. This can only be effective if all data and the media, where the data and information are stored and transferred are adequately protected.

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Eszter Kerezsi

History Repeats Itself if Nobody Listens
How to Fight Against ISIS/Daesh

Abstract

Due to the revolutionary wave of protests (initiated in Tunisia in 2010), called the Arab Spring, the unrest spread throughout the countries of the Arab World. Basically, the outbreak of the Arab uprising was unexpected and the international community was not prepared for it, despite the fact that it was aware of the instability in the region.[1]The most intense civil war occurred in Syria, causing several regional and international problems, too. It is enough to mention that numerous extremist groups were formed or gained more power during this period. For us, the most important and dangerous of them is the ISIL[2], which expanded rapidly in Syria and Iraq. [3]The fight against this Salafi-Jihadi organization[4] can be successful only if the opposition does not make the same mistakes it did both in Libya and Mali.

This study endeavours to show an individual point of view about the possible ways of defeating the ISIS. In my opinion; in order to fight successfully against the terrorist organization, the Western and Arab countries must strictly work together, deploying both land and air forces as well. If they cannot agree, the world will have to face a huge threat ...the continuous expansion of radical Islam.

Key words: ISIS, Libya, terrorism, NATO, Syria, Arab Spring, Islamic fundamentalism

Several similarities can be found between the efforts made by the international community in Libya to fight against jihadists and the efforts to combat the ISIS expanding in the Arab World. The countries that intervened against the Islamic State initiated to use the same methods − among others, deploying only air force − as they did during the Libyan crisis management.

The Libyan civil war started in 2011. Due to its geo-strategic position, this state meant a huge problem for both the Western and the non-Western countries. In the past decades, Libya built up diversified economic relations mostly based on its mineral resources. This was mainly the reason why the West wanted to have a good relationship with this authoritarian regime. Therefore, it was logical on the part of most Western political analysts that they started worrying when the Arab Spring broke out. The event has been threatening the stability

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[1]János BESENYŐ and Viktor MARSAI: Országismertető-Líbia, 2012, Az MH Összhaderőnemi Parancsnokság Tudományos Tanács Kiadványa. ISBN 978-963-89037-5-4. p.62.
[2] Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant-Iraki és Levantei Iszlám Állam
[3]http://www.britannica.com/topic/Islamic-State-in-Iraq-and-the-Levant (downloading time: 28 08 2015)
[4] ISIS or Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham-Iszlám Állam

of this territory and its businesses too. All the Western countries had their own perspectives and debates about how to solve this crisis. The situation in Libya posed a threat especially to the European national economies, which were its main oil-importers.
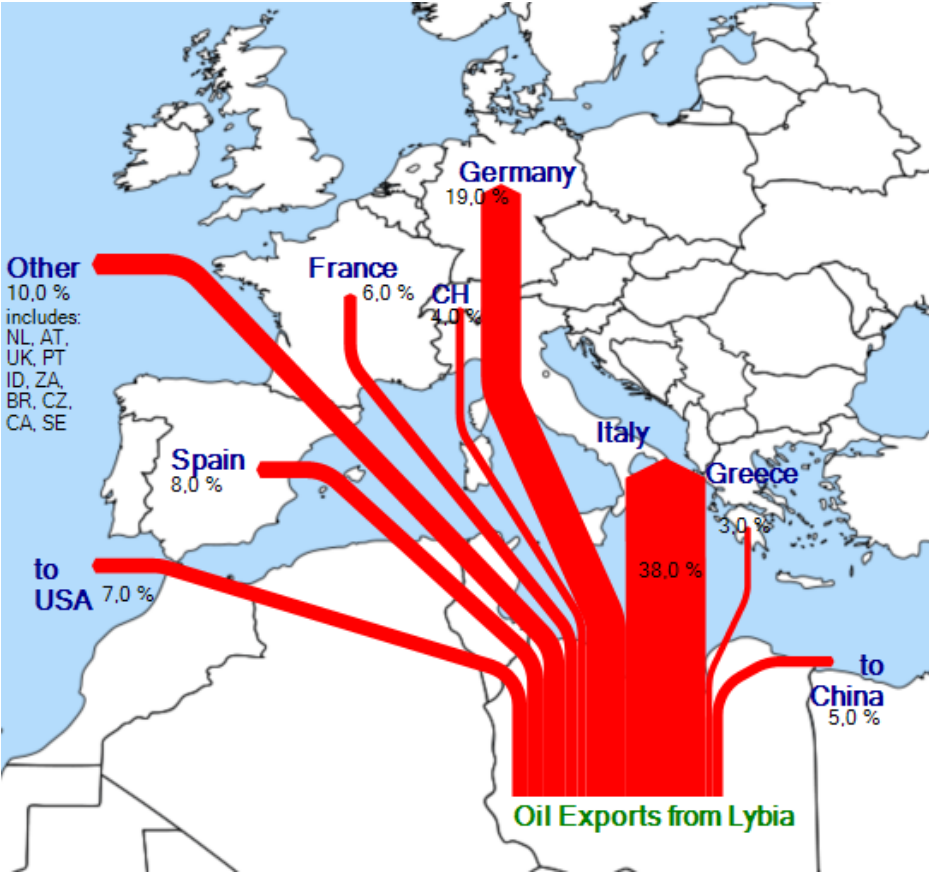
Source: http://priceofoil.org[5]

Moreover, a huge number of investments were at risk in the region. China had also economic interests in the country (railway construction); thus, it did not want to disagree with the West when it decided to intervene. (Germany, on the other hand, did not want to play an active role in the Libyan case.) The intervention was supported by the African Union and the Arab League, too. The United Nations Security Council Resolution no.1970, supported mainly by the Western countries, imposed a series of sanctions. These sanctions included arms embargo, freezing bank account of the Gaddafi family and travel ban for the political elite. Then, according to the Resolution no. 1973, the UN approved a no-fly zone over Libya and promised to take all the necessary steps to protect the citizens. The international community chose the tactic of wait-and-see and acted only in the last minutes. The French Air Forces initiated air strikes, then the British deployed cruise missiles. The US supported the

[5]http://priceofoil.org/2011/02/22/%E2%80%9Cthe-last-man-will-switch-off-the-button%E2%80%9D/
(downloading time: 31 08 2015)

intervention with its high quality intelligence, air force and fleet. However later, mainly the European countries were involved in the NATO[6] mission in conjunction with the US intelligence. Italy played a prominent role in the crisis with providing its air bases. At first, Turkey and Germany protested against the air strikes, but later also these two countries approved them. The OUP[7], which was a NATO operation, had a decisive impact on the fights. The air strikes were able to paralyze Gaddafi's land forces. With the exception of a few countries, such as France, England and Italy, the member states of NATO stressed that they will not send ground forces at all to Libya. The Arab League sent support and attack aircraft together with arms.[8]

Nevertheless, the chaotic situation in Libya has not finished yet. First of all, the case in Libya has already foredoomed to failure because of the armed militias. During the civil war, several armed groups were formed and the government was not able to dismantle them. Consequently, these militias initiated to seize power. They possessed the most efficient weapons, performed policing duties and acted with a high hand in jurisdiction. Secondly, the number of jihadist groups began to increase rapidly after the civil war. It meant not only an internal political crisis, but also a threat to the Christian world. Even if most of the citizens were against the radical groups and their acts, the extremist ideologies spread apace. The asymmetric warfare and terrorist attacks have largely contributed to the maintenance of chaos. Due to the terrorist actions and the instability, almost 40,000 illegal migrants fled their homes in the beginning. Later on, their number increased steadily. They went to Europe, more specifically to Italy. In 2014, this new crisis concerned also the neighbouring and the other Western countries. To prevent further chaos, the US sent nearly 60 marines, 4 aircraft to Sicily (Italy) from its Spanish bases. Nevertheless, the situation in Libya has not improved too much. There is still instability and chaos.[9]

We could easily discover similarities between the case of countering the ISIS and settling the situation in Libya. The Islamic State traces its roots back to 1999. Although, during the years, these extremists have been called themselves in several ways[10], their ideology remained the same. Their main aims are preserving Muslim people from infidels, bringing back Allah's regulations and creating a global caliphate following Salafism.[11] In June 2014, the Salafi-Jihadist militant group formally established their own „country". Since then, the international community joined its forces against this terrorist organization. First, Iranian aircraft were in action helping the neighbouring Iraq and Syria to fight against the terror, because the country has been worried about the spill-over of the fights.[12]

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[6] North Atlantic Treaty Organisation-Észak-atlanti Szerződés Szervezete
[7]OUP- Operation Unified Protector
[8]János BESENYŐand Viktor MARSAI: Országismertető-Líbia, 2012, Az MH Összhaderőnemi Parancsnokság Tudományos Tanács Kiadványa. ISBN 978-963-89037-5-4. p.60-80.
[9]Viktor MARSAI: A líbiai válság elmúlt két és fél éve európai szemszögből. In: Nemzet és biztonság, 2014, no.3. pp.82-104.
[10]ISI, ISIL, ISIS, IS…
[11]http://chosenpeople.com/main/index.php/ministry-news/926-a-brief-history-of-isis (downloading time: 27 08 2015)
[12]http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/05/iran-conducts-air-strikes-against-isis-exremists-iraq (downloading time: 04 09 2015)

What if…

Unfortunately, the attempts to destroy ISIS have not been successful so far. It seems that the West led by the United States and its allies want to use the same tactics as they did in Libya. The cobelligerents utilise the wait-and-see strategy again, which is totally ineffective against the jihadist terrorist group, which occupy more and more areas day by day. The American-led collaboration shows that the ISIS can easily seize more power, while the Western world is waiting. President of the United States Barack Obama hopes that deploying only air forces and supporting the neighbouring countries will be enough to defeat the new enemy in the Middle-East region. It seems that the local proxies of the US, the Iraqi Kurd ground forces, are not able to annihilate the Islamic State alone.[13] Last year, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan highlighted the need for deploying ground forces too. In his opinion, dropping bombs on the extremists is only an ad hoc solution; and there is a need for thinking in ground dimension as well.[14]

The West and the Arab World should join their forces; firstly they have to elaborate a common policy against the extremists and intervene together to win this fight. It is obvious today that deploying only air force is not sufficient anymore. A good example for this was the crisis management in Libya. The country, where only air strikes and temporary solutions were used – is now abandoned by the international community. It is still not able to create an internal stability and the mass migration continues too. Due to the lack of a common strategy and interest, the chaos is still present in this country. The allies were using only ad hoc solutions, which were not adequate. These actions are not more than a waste of money, because they are unable of guaranteeing a radical change. Instead of temporary solutions, the West should propagate and pursue a coherent and intense foreign policy. For their own safety, the collaboration against the ISIS – including the members of the EU and the NATO, supplemented by Arab states – indeed ought to devote resources to this intervention and start utilizing both ground and air forces. [15]

The world would face a huge problem, should the ISIS win the war…

If the international coalition against the ISIS does not join its forces and does not take immediate decisions, the representatives of the radical Islam will rewrite the current status quo. As it is well-known, the final aim of the Salafi-Jihadi extremists is to form a global state under Islamic rules. Namely, this group seeks to find legitimacy in Islam. The terrorists have already initiated the nullification of the borders between Iraq and Syria. But this was only the beginning of their global expansion. During their conquering journey, they committed several

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[13]http://www.cfr.org/iraq/defeating-isis/p33773 (downloading time: 05 09 2015)
[14]http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/09/28/Turkey-can-t-stay-out-of-anti-is-fight-Erdogan-.html (downloading time: 06 09 2015)
[15]Viktor MARSAI: A líbiai válság elmúlt két és fél éve európai szemszögből. In: Nemzet és biztonság, 2014, no.3. pp. 82-104.

barbaric acts of violence last year.[16] The atrocities against Muslim and non-Muslim people included beheading, killing men by fire and throwing homosexuals off buildings. [17]

As a result of the jihadist organization's victory, the area of the Middle East would be completely transformed. Probably next to the stabilization of the Islamic State, an independent Kurdistan would be formed and other smaller territories would separate from the area of both Syria and Iraq.

The issue of mass migration would cause even more problems in Europe, which has already represented a huge burden for the old continent. In addition, in February 2015, the Islamic State threatened to flood Europe with nearly 500,000 migrants causing chaos there, not to mention the fact that many of the asylum seekers are hiding terrorists.[18]The main problem in this situation is the lack of common policy and constant communication between the European states. Moreover, they would have to face even a more tremendous migration wave in the case of their defeat against the ISIS.

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[16]http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-a-year-of-the-caliphate-what-is-it-that-the-socalled-islamic-state-really-wants-10352950.html (downloading time: 06 09 2015)

[17]http://www.stopwar.org.uk/news/barbarians-are-made-not-born-and-here-s-how-isis-was-created-by-the-united-states (downloading time: 06 09 2015)

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PÉTER NYESTE

CRIMINAL STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to define strategic intelligence gathering conducted by law enforcement units based on the major documents determining strategic intelligence. Both the European and the Hungarian examples of strategic intelligence gathering – made with the purpose of combating organised crime – will be listed.

Key words: organised crime, strategic intelligence gathering, criminal intelligence

Inroduction

According to the Police Act and the implementation regulations, criminal intelligence is the activity of law enforcement units which applies special assets (resources, tools and methods), with the primarily aim to reconnoitre, prevent and track specific crimes in a direct manner. Secondly, with the use of supportive crime analysis and the facilities of public administration, it helps – in an indirect manner – to prevent and stop specific crimes, and is aimed at finding solutions to fighting against serious and organised crime as well as terrorism.

The goals and scope of criminal intelligence are normally connected to specific crimes. Apart from few exceptions, in some special areas (steps against terrorism, organised crime, integrity checks, personal and property protection), it *may be conducted to filter and investigate these but exclusively within the constraints provided by law*. The term 'criminal intelligence' is classified as "gathering" (secretly and openly obtaining information) and not "collection" due to its specific nature (suspicion concerning the crime or criminal activity), as opposed to the secret and open information collection of the national security services, which is carried out with the particular purpose of filtering and investigating.

Naturally, in the above-mentioned exceptional criminal intelligence areas, the information is both obtained and collected in order to reach the goal specified by the relevant legal acts.

The goal and criterion of both national security and criminal intelligence are the following: first, they must be time-wise relevant, second, they are to *fill the information gaps* of (political, financial, internal security and judicial) stakeholders; in other words, it has to *meet the information requirements* of the stakeholder in question. Should either of these criteria not be met, obtaining information becomes self-centred, irrelevant and obsolete.

The information requirements of stakeholders are fulfilled by strategic intelligence, while the information requirements of implementers are met by tactical intelligence (operation-bound).

The various models of strategic planning allow the elaboration of the national security strategy of a country, which is a long-term one (10-15 years), and forms the basis for the government security policy. Based on security political principles and the tasks of national security services, the national security strategy can be created and intelligence priorities can be established.

The tasks of law enforcement forces – and more specifically – the strategic intelligence activity of the police are possible primarily on the grounds of up-to-date strategic intelligence and crime analysis.

1.   The guiding points of strategic intelligence

Hungary's geopolitical features, security environment, its NATO-membership and its National Security and Military Strategy are the basic national security guiding points of the strategic goals of intelligence, whose continuous assessment requires strategic intelligence gathering. Of course, for strategic criminal intelligence, the agreements of the European Union and the international collaborations are vital, which predict the most significant and topical challenges, threats and dangers at an international level. It is enough to mention the international assessment and prediction systems of OCTA, SOCTA (Serious Organised Crime Threat Assessment) or TE-SAT (Terrorism Situation Report) and the operational action plans.

The European Union sets up five-year programmes (Tampere, The Hague and Stockholm) and formulates *security strategies*, which set long-term strategic goals for the member states. The formulated strategic goals are broken down to *action plans*[1].
Based on the Treaty of Lisbon[2], the guidelines of the Stockholm Programme and Action Plan[3], the European Union has the possibility to take definite action in response to the growing threats, thereby increasing the security of Europe's citizens and enterprises.

In the Internal Security Strategy adopted in 2010[4] challenges, basic principles and guidelines are defined. In accordance with this strategy, the following most urgent challenges must be addressed by the intelligence, prevention and crime combating organisations of the EU.

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[1] European Union Action Plan to Combat Organised Crime, OJ C251, 15 August 1997 Council Resolution on the prevention of organised crime with reference to the establishment of a comprehensive strategy for combating it, OJ C 408. 29 December 1998, Action Plan of the Council and the Commission on how best to implement the provisions of the Treaty of Amsterdam on an area of freedom, security and justice, OJ C 19/1, 23 January 1999. Millennium'Action Plan on Organised Crime, OJ C 124, 3 March 2000.
[2] Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
[3] The Stockholm Programme – An open and secure Europe serving and protecting the citizens, 17024/09; Delivering an area of freedom, security and justice for Europe's citizens Action Plan Implementing the Stockholm Programme - COM (2010) 171.
The Stockholm Programme is the EU's programme for justice and home affairs for the period 2010-14
[4] Council Document, 5842/2/2010, Internal Security Strategy for the European Union: Towards a European Security Model.

As the Internal Security Strategy states; serious and organised crime may have various forms: human trafficking, drug and gun trafficking, money laundering as well as illegal waste transportation and disposal within and outside Europe, selling counterfeit or dangerous goods, terrorism, cybercrime and the management of the external borders. These usually organised criminal actions require harmonised Europe-level measures. The main objectives of the Internal Security Strategy of the European Union are the following:

- disrupting international criminal networks;
- prevention of terrorism, radicalisation and recruitment;
- raising levels of security for citizens and businesses in cyberspace;
- strengthening security through border management.

Hungary had been lagging behind itsWestern European and Transatlantic partners regarding strategy making. The Hungarian government adopted the new National Security Strategy in 2012, which differs from the previous communications on strategy in several aspects. Compared to the strategies adopted in 2002 and 2004, there was an apparent growing similarity to western, especially to US strategy making practices both in structure and content.[5]

The objective of the National Security Strategy is to provide guidance for the government sector in issues of security policies. Ideologically, it therefore represents a comprehensive and whole-of-government approach. Having considered the values and interests of the country and having analysed the security environment, the mission of the Strategy is to define the national-level objectives, challenges and comprehensive government assets by which Hungary is able to reinforce its national security interests in an international political and security set-up.[6]

The National Security Strategy declares that „all government institutions have to be tasked to continuously evaluate – in their own area of responsibility – the elements of national and international security and the exposures to threats, and to take steps necessary to manage and avert them." The Strategy puts special emphasis on *security political tasks of national security and criminal intelligence services.*

„Intelligence and national security are important elements of the implementation of Hungary's security strategy, the protection of the country's sovereignty and its constitutional order."

    For this purpose, the following have to be available:

    - It is indispensable to render available protected and classified information of foreign nature or origin that is necessary to identify and avert risks and threats in a timely manner and

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[5] Petra Kiss: A magyar stratégiai gondolkodás változása a nemzeti biztonsági stratégiák tükrében. Hadtudomány ,XXII. Évfolyam 2012/3-4.szám. 68-79.p
[6] Hungary's National Security Strategy 1035/2012. (II.21.) Government Decision 20-21 p.

to support government decisions. There is a need to examine changes and potential variations in the external environment and in the integration processes, as well as threats against Hungarian institutions abroad and Hungarian troops and experts participating in crisis management and peacekeeping missions.

 - The asymmetric threats posed by terrorism, organised crime and other illicit activities, as well as the global, regional and internal challenges and the protection of political, military and economic information require Hungary to rely on strong intelligence and national security capabilities.

 - In response to the security challenges affecting Hungary, in addition to the coordinated activities of the respective domestic agencies, a closer cooperation must be developed and maintained with the intelligence and national security services of allied countries and, on certain issues, with the services of other countries pursuing similar security policy objectives. Maintaining internal security, as well as Hungary's responsibilities for the management of challenges threatening the security of NATO and the EU require the strengthening of the structure of law enforcement and crisis management institutions and the improvement of the quality of intelligence-gathering, the sharing and assessment of information on internal and external threats, as well as the further development of their respective structures. The capabilities of law enforcement agencies, required to guarantee internal security, need to be strengthened through institutional and resource development, more effective crime prevention, as well as through international cooperation, in particular with the EU, taking into account the contents of the EU Internal Security Strategy. International cooperation should also be used to chart new criminal trends, identify new types of criminal activities and to adopt best practices."[7]

The above communications formulate a continuous, comprehensive well-coordinated strategic planning and respective intelligence gathering capabilities.

2.   Strategic Criminal Intelligence

Strategic Criminal intelligence can be derived from the classical strategic crime analysis[8] and its updated versions. What are the objectives of strategic crime analysis?
„Strategic crime analysis focuses on the criminal patterns and long-term trends within a given administrational unit in a given period of time as well as on setting further objectives and tasks. The quantitative investigation of crime in general as well as of individual crimes, the presentation of the structure and dynamics of committing crimes, the description of victimological characteristics, the analysis of law enforcement responses and their implementation are all listed among the tasks of crime analysis. By investigating various tendencies, it facilitates forecasting and criminal prognosis. Doing so, *it plays a vital role in the preparation mechanisms of government policies and the decisions of law enforcement leaders.*

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[7]http://2010-2014.kormany.hu/download/4/32/b0000/National%20Security%20Strategy.pdf
[8] 13/2001(X.2) Order of the Hungarian National Police Headquarters on issuing the crime analysis regulation of the Hungarian Police.

Should we wish to simplify and isolate this field of criminal analysis, we could put it like this: Strategic crime analysis performs *situation analysis* and identifies trends necessary for criminal prognosis using the statistical and other data measuring crime as well as the circumstances, conditions (legal, social, financial, geographical, ethnic, etc.)*.* And in accordance with these, it formulates recommendations for the purposes of legislation, implementation and direct organisation management."[9]

Providing foundation for strategic decision making is the ultimate purpose and mission of strategic intelligence gathering! As a consequence, it must be set apart from operational or – according to the German terminology – "tactical" intelligence, which is dedicated to the *immediate* prevention, management and solution of *individual and specific* crimes.

Initially, crime analysis used to enhance strategic decision making by investigating the scope, structure and dynamics of criminal activities, by identifying the characteristics of perpetrators, by devising the position, resources and efficiency of law enforcement, but it definitely did not use to define police actions *connected to specific criminal acts*. As the development of cutting edge tendencies in intelligence gathering activities – such as assessment and analysis – the investigation of various elements and the implementation of new methods were inevitable. Leadership strategies providing a solid foundation for the long-term efficiency of the police, it is essential that in the course of strategic assessment activities, *crime and law enforcement should not be regarded in themselves,* but as *parts of social processes,* and should be investigated alongside the social structure and the organisational environment of the police force. During this investigation, the situation of crime must be identified in the given social context, as well as the efficiency of the law enforcement agencies within the investigated organisational external and internal conditions: how efficient are the law enforcement activities of the police force, and what impact do they exert on the social environment – the institutions and the population – in the management of crime on the level of the entire society, and as a consequence, in the reduction of crime.

After more than three years of preparation activities, in February 2002, a new complex assessment system called *Mérleg Projekt* (Balance) was implemented as a parallel assessment tool.[10] The system is complex as in addition to the mere statistical data, two other criteria are analysed: the *financial, human and technical resource exploitation of police agencies, and it takes councils, social organisation and the population opinions on the police into account.*[11]

The methods of the original, classical strategic crime analysis (analysis of well-known crimes and the data of offenders, the analysis of law enforcement activities, the analysis of self-evaluation and control reports, the analysis of police resources and the efficiency of their exploitation, crime sample analysis, general profile analysis, the analysis of reconnaissance methods) have been extended with the following possibilities:

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[9] L Istvanovszki.:Bűnelemzés a modern bűnüldözésben, Patrocinium, Budapest 2012, 35 p
[10] Dr. Tivadar Dormán: Újszemléletű értékelési rendszer Belügyi Szemle 2002/4
[11] Dr. László Istvanovszki: Bűnelemzés,titkos információ elemzés a bűnügyi operatív munkában, főiskolai jegyzet 2005

- *situation analysis of crime;*
- *crime risk assessment;*
- *threat assessment[12].*

The management of internal affairs and security must make strategic decisions in the case of the significant changes that have already occurred or are anticipated in the situation of national and international crime. Strategic criminal intelligence supports this activity. Its main scope naturally covers the various forms of transnational crime, some categories of organised crime (international drug trade, trade of weapons and explosives, smuggling excisable products, human trafficking, smuggling, money laundering, cybercrime, etc.) and terrorism, of course. This does not mean, however, that strategic intelligence has no legitimacy at a national level. The paradigm change of the Coordination Centre against Organised Crime in 2006 proved that crime and national security data related to economic areas influenced by crime could have a direct impact on the national budget and economic security, if they were collected, analysed and forwarded to the stakeholders in internal politics, finance and jurisdiction; and based on them, the necessary policy and organisation changes occurred.[13]

Such strategic intelligence-based risk assessment preceded some changes:

- the transfer of money laundering from the Police to the Customs and Finance Guard;

- the new regulation of the take-over and origin tracking of nonferrous metals by again extending the scope of assignments of the Customs and Finance Guard;

- the unravelling of the usurpation phenomenon and its re-codification accordingly;

- the investigation of connection between EU/government grants and organised crime, by taking the necessary government and legal actions.

There is continuous threat assessment going on regarding the forgery of the Hungarian Forint and the Euro with the help of criminal, national security, European Central Bank and Hungarian National Bank expert and emission information. The objective of this activity is to forecast possible attacks against currencies as early as possible and protect it in operation and administration, if necessary. Based on these intelligence data and expert investigations, the Hungarian National Bank decided to withdraw certain banknote types from circulation and to launch new versions of higher security standards on several occasions. Similar cooperation is exercised with card issuing institutions and companies accepting cards in the area of bank card fraud, which is one of the most popular fields of domestic and international criminal activities and with the expansion of electronic payment possibilities, an issue of the future. The problem of drugs also requires a continuous and particularly strong national and international cooperation in order to find out more about the causes of changes occurring in

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[12] Bűnelemzés a modern bűnüldözésben KRE 2012. L Istvanovszki.

[13] Even though national security risks providing the foundations for the legal act restricting the operation of slot machines (adopted on 2nd October 2012) were made classified, but direct interaction can still be identified.

the area of drug demand and supply, to analyse the aims and directions of possible tendencies, and to present the analysed intelligence to legal and law enforcement implementation (stakeholders of the police force, health care and social system). Crime involving drugs in the past five years, the entrance and increasing use of designer drugs can be regarded as the race of chemistry and legislation.

3. Actions against severe and organised crime with the help of strategic crime analysis and intelligence

The application of strategic intelligence can determine the efficiency of the fight against severe and organised crime, as well as its mid- and long- term action plans. Organised crime is a special priority of both national security and criminal intelligence activities, which is supported by the basic legal acts regulating their activities as well as the National Security Strategy. As a consequence, there must be close collaboration between the police force and the national security services. The nature and target areas of intelligence gathering activities will, however, result in establishing differing intelligence gathering strategies. For the prevention of and the fight against organised crime in the member states, the European Union annually issues a handbook of best practices which provides excellent examples for strategic criminal intelligence.

„The Finnish national bureau of investigation applies a target-selection method which aims to identify individuals and groups that can be considered severe crime targets. The main criterion of the selection is that the offence committed must be a severe crime whose reconnaissance requires the collaboration of several units within the police force or of several law enforcement organs."[14]

Based on the data obtained during the tactical criminal intelligence gathering activities (secret information collection), organised criminal groups, the participants, their number and position in the group, their activity as well as the crimes organised and committed by the group can all be mapped. This method also helps to find out about the distribution, laundering and investment of the acquired money or property. [15]

„In this phase of secret information collection, it is a basic task to map the structural and functional construction of the organised criminal group and to identify the strategic decision makers, the nucleus of the organism as well as to assess the vulnerable point and to determine the possibilities to attack. These possibilities are mostly connected to people, as the goal is to find the weakest link. Consequently, information collection is concentrated on the individual members of the organised criminal group."

This is the basic principle of the so-called „arboristic" method the Swedish National Bureau of Investigation. According to the Swedish model, organised crime consists of

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[14] Ferenc Szendrei- Erzsébet Füszter Balláné-Zoltan Urban: Handbook of Organised Crime, based on Complementary approaches and actions to prevent and combat organised crime: A collection of good practice examples from EU Member States (docs. 10899/11) RTF, 2011

[15] Action 42/2000 of the Hungarian National Police Headquarters

individual perpetrators, so the combat against organised crime is in effect a fight against individuals who operate within the framework of a well-constructed criminal network. The arboristic method aims to disclose the relationship between the strategic decision-makers and the operational implementers; the ultimate goal is to eliminate the strategically key participants from the system, who are the branches of the tree that must definitely be cut off.

The combat against organised crime requires continuous reconnaissance activities, as criminal groups and their heads are career criminals. Incarceration cannot stop this kind of criminal activity; there are numerous examples for leaders of such groups being imprisoned and still being able to coordinate the group. As a consequence, continuous monitoring and reconnaissance are necessary bound to external (judicial) permission and control to take efficient action against organised crime. In response to this phenomenon, the Serious Organised Crime Agency in the UK devised the method of „life tracking", which has a wider scope: it covers the continuous monitoring of the individual in question, his financial situation and mobility." [16]

An important element of the combat against organised crime was the implementation of a new methodology assessing its situation.[17]

The new methodology to assess organised crime – which had been marked as a main risk among the priorities – brought about new attitudes towards this higher form of crime assessment and law enforcement activities. The new assessment models with the acronyms OCTA, effected two essential changes. First, the new assessment system means a new attitude. It set itself apart from the annual, retrospective type of situation assessment (OCR) applied until 2006, and now a new, proactive, advanced method of threat assessment was introduced, which applies the intelligence priorities of the following year. The identification of security risks and threats *comes from a much larger pool of information*, based on which the Council of Europe – upon the recommendations of the Standing Committee on Internal Security – identifies priority areas. The practical implementation of the projects against criminal threats occurs within the framework of EMPACT projects. In the period of 2012-2013, eight priorities were worded, in seven of these, Hungary also participated; these are implemented based on Operational Action Plans (OAP).

The Belgian University of Ghent devised a similar concept in criminal risk assessment, which they called „vulnerability test". The vulnerability test explores the weak, legally vulnerable niches of the regulation system of economy, which may give organised criminal groups the chance to let money or property gained by crime seep into certain economic sectors. The above-mentioned research project also emphasises that it is a two-way process; often certain companies seek the business opportunities with criminally involved economic organisations

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[16] Complementary approaches and actions to prevent and combat organised crime: A collection of good practice examples from EU Member States (docs. 10899/11 and 17600/13)

[17] Action Plan Implementing the Hague Programme (2005/C 198/01)

or directly, with organised criminal groups for investment purposes.[18] The article names the most typically affected sectors: gastronomy, the entertainment industry, personal transport, waste management, etc.

A somewhat modified version of the methodology devised by the University of Ghent appeared in the Tampere Programme in 1999, which aimed to endorse the aspects of crime prevention and *crime proofing process* at the legislation level of individual member states of the entire EU.

The strategic intelligence-based new Den Hague Programme made it obvious that against the changed crime situation new strategic criminal intelligence methodology should be applied.

The so-called *European Criminal Intelligence Model* (ECIM) is built on the gathering and the analysis of operationally based quality information. The strategic aim is to reduce the legal, financial and human resource margin of manoeuvre of organised criminal groups. Based on the intelligence of criminal reconnaissance organs, the data of state administration and other authorisation organisations and analysing agencies are able to prepare accurate group and activity analysis of the structure of the organised criminal groups.

 The central cornerstone of the *Stockholm Programme* – the new intelligence strategy – is the even closer collaboration of national and international partner organisations, the elimination of parallel activities, thus the accomplishment of more efficient crime prevention in the areas of organised crime or some new threats such as cybercrime or hacking.[19]

One method of establishing an efficient government strategy in accordance with the Stockholm Programme is the construction of an Early Alert System in the priority areas of criminal and national security intelligence, This system facilitates quick reactions and the mid- and long-term strategies by processing and analysing the international data as well as the information from domestic open-access and operational sources.

This method can be applied well to crimes connected to distribution of drugs, to money forgery and to some other forms of fraud, bank card fraud and cybercrime or hacking.

The same problem preoccupies national security and law enforcement forces in connection with another challenge: the terrorism. Regarding the membership in an organised criminal group/terror organisation or concerning a special form of deviance, some method has to be used to indicate the criminal process in an earlier phase. The alert system VICLAS developed by the Canadian Police, which has been successfully applied in several countries of the world, provides a chance to end a criminal life history with sexual aberrations.

Steps have also been taken in Hungary to create an alert system against organised crime by using the database and computerised analysing software of the Coordination Centre against Organised Crime combined with a special risk analysing method. The task of the method is to

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[18] Based on Tom Vander Beken and Stijn Van Daele: Legitimate businesses and crime vulnerabilities. International Journal of Social Economics 01/2008; 35(September):739-750.
[19] OJ C 115, 4 May 2010., p. 1.

signal the potential threats of a criminal group turning into an organised criminal group, if specific criteria are met.[20]

In addition to the alert system, another solution could be to establish *merged national intelligence agencies,* especially in the event of crimes that affect the authority and scope of several national organs: illegal drug trafficking, smuggling of excisable products, human trafficking or money laundering. Considering the fact that the range of activities of organised criminal groups is rather wide, and the measures to be taken against them require a joint work of several national-level forces and inter-agency centres of intelligence, it is necessary to establish close cooperation among these forces and centres, in order to handle the relevant issues efficiently.

In Sweden, this centre consists of ten organs, among others, the tax authority, the immigration office and the Prosecution. The activities of the centre are governed by a shared strategic executive board.[21]

The necessity to eliminate the parallel activities of law enforcement agencies results in the centralisation of responsibilities and duties, which led to the set up of the so-called *fusion centres*.

They were first prompted by the experiences of the 9/11 terrorist attack. The expert investigations disclosing the causes and circumstances of the attack made it obvious that the rivalry between national agencies and the lack of the centralisation, of the timely analysis of and response to intelligence significantly contributed to the tragedy. As a solution, centres of homogenous responsibilities were established, which eliminated the rivalry rooted in the parallel scope of duties and narrowed down the exchange of information to a single channel. Fusion centres contribute directly and indirectly (e.g. through government policies) to the elimination of organised criminal groups and the reduction of the phenomenon of organised crime.

Conclusion

The purpose of strategic criminal intelligence is to provide a solid foundation for strategic decision making. Strategic decision making is necessary because of the significant changes which have already taken place or are to be anticipated both at domestic and international levels. Strategic criminal intelligence and analysis efficiently contribute to the detection of these processes and to the elaboration of appropriate responses to these challenges.

Strategic criminal intelligence facilitates the establishment of crime forecasts and prognoses by investigating various Hungarian and international tendencies. By identifying the suitable practices regarding the European security challenges in the member states of the EU, the

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[20] László Istvanovszki .- Tamás Kenedli: Új értékelési módszerek alkalmazása a szervezett bűnözésre (Magyar Rendészet 2007/1-2)
[21] Ferenc Szendrei- Erzsébet Füszter Balláné-Zoltan Urban: Handbook of Organised Crime, based on Complementary approaches and actions to prevent and combat organised crime: A collection of good practice examples from EU Member States (docs. 10899/11) RTF, 2011

strategic criminal intelligence plays a vital role in preparing the best decisions to be taken by the governments and the ministries of internal affairs.

The main target area of strategic intelligence gathering and analysis is transnational crime in its various forms, certain categories of organised crime and of course, terrorism. Due to their nature, these forms of crime are priority areas of the analysis and assessment organs of law enforcement and national security forces in the EU countries.

All this, however, does not mean that *at national level*, strategic criminal intelligence has no legitimacy, as is demonstrated by the risk analysis examples of the Coordination Centre against Organised Crime based on strategic intelligence.

In this paper, I have presented the intelligence models of several member states concerning the gathering and assessment of security, crime risks and threats (OCTA, SOCTA, EMPACT, ECIM, vulnerability test, crime proofing processes, early alert system, VICLAS, fusion centres, etc.), based on which, the strategic and specific responses can be elaborated to the problems.

In harmony with the objectives set by the National Security Strategy – based on the European examples – law enforcement organs must establish their own efficient strategic criminal intelligence model and develop their intelligence gathering abilities, which will enable them to cooperate with domestic partner organisations and international police forces.

This collaboration must be extended to the agreement of sector-based intelligence gathering models established on the grounds of government strategies. Such close collaboration must be reinforced in the relevant government organs in charge of actions against organised crime (terrorism).

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- Action 42/2000 of the Hungarian National Police Headquarters

ZOLTÁN SIPOS

BASIC ISSUES RELATED TO CYBER SPACE SECURITY

Abstract

In the rapidly changing world of the 21st century, we must put significant emphasis on fending off the cyber attacks. As shown in the article, it is a global phenomenon that could affect anyone. Neglecting it would result in serious consequences in the future.

Keywords: cyber security, cyber space, cyber attack

Introduction

The objective of this article is to provide a general picture of the cyber security and draw the attention of the people of the 21st century to the importance of the relevant issues. The tools in the quickly developing world with which the ordinary people get connected with are either computer controlled or are strongly connected to it.

Nowadays the managers of both the private and the government sector have to face challenges of the economic environment that is full with several risk factors, when they try to distribute the scarce resources properly. In this instable system, the players are more vulnerable by the incidents, internal frauds or data leakage that causes loss of service – and this especially holds true of the Hungarian Army.

What actually is cyber security? According to the definition of the ITU-T X 1205 „the cyber security is the collection of tools, principles, security concepts, security guarantees, risk analysis methods, acts and training, practices that can be used for protection in order to protect the cyber space, organisations and users. The organisations and users include the IT tools, personnel, infrastructure, applications, services, telecommunication systems and the sent and received or stored information in the IT environment."[1]

Regarding the Hungarian definition of the cyber space, we can read in the National Cyber Security Strategy of Hungary that: „The cyber space is a globally interconnected, decentralised increasing group of electronic IT systems and the social and economic processes that appear through these systems in the form of data and information."[2]

The trend shows that the number of threats coming through the cyber space keeps increasing. Currently, the press speaks about only minor events, such as the hacking of the Óbudai University's computer system and the altering of its content. In the future, there might be more serious damages; even the entire infrastructure can get blocked. According to

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[1] International Telecommunication Union – Overview of cyber security http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-T/studygroups/com17/Pages/cybersecurity.aspx (Date of downloading: 08/03/2015)
[2] The 1139/2013 (III.21) Government decree on the Hungarian National Cyber Security Strategy http://www.mysec.hu/download/MK2013_47_M_N_Kiberbiztonsagi_Stratagiaja.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/06/2015)

common sense, we have to specify the possible damages in time, and prepare ourselves for the serious threats, so to have at our disposal all the possible methods to avoid damages and defend ourselves against the expected negative consequences. In every case the best method consists of preventing the event.

According to the records of 2012, a rather high percent (63%) of the Hungarian age group of 15-69 years is using the Internet and 75% of the Internet users have already tried to purchase something online[3]. These numbers show that it is worth paying attention, because it is rather easy to decoy the buyers and sell them some fake items on the Internet. The number of Internet thefts and credit card misuses increased, and all these can be traced back to the people who do not pay sufficient attention to the risks that may come from the Internet use. The users are using naively the community platforms provided by the Internet, such as the Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc. With the extension of the Internet use, the abuse of identities is increasing. It is worth taking the cyber attacks seriously, since in the past years there were several cases that threatened both individuals and countries. Every event is considered cyber attack that undermines the functions of the IT network, regardless whether it has political or national security origin or it is a simple criminal intention[4].

Reviewing the cyber events of the past years

The attacks occurring in the cyber space have an increasing impact on society and slowly they reach a sort of war level.

The accompanying events of the Yugoslavian NATO bombing[5] of 1999 serve as good examples for the presentation of the early cyber attacks. After the bombing, there were DDoS[6] attacks against the NATO's websites. The Yugoslavian People Army notified the teams about the expectable air strikes through data that were collected electronically. They could not have access to confidential information, but they placed their political messages on several government sites.

In April 2007, there were riots in Tallinn during the removal of a WW2 Soviet monument.[7] Then there were regular attacks against the Estonian government administration through the Internet that mostly aimed at preventing the average users from having access to the government websites. The centres that controlled the country's Internet traffic were forced to stop several times, because of the data traffic that was almost thousand times bigger than usual. The systems could not handle this huge overburden, in this way the banking and

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[3] Zoltán Máté – Trends and directions in the Internet use in the world and in Hungary in the FMCG market http://tudomany.szolnok-mtesz.hu/kulonszamok/2014/2014-18-09-Mate_Zoltan.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/12/2015)

[4] Oona A. Hathaway – The law of cyber-attack http://www.law.yale.edu/documents/pdf/cglc/LawOfCyberAttack.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/12/2015)

[5] Gergely Szentgáli – Development of the NATO's cyber defence politics http://uni-nke.hu/downloads/bsz/bszemle2012/2/05.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/01/2015)

[6] Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) – over stressing attacks

[7] Péter Bányász - Ákos Orbók – The NATO's cyber defence politics and the protection of the critical infrastructure in regards of the community media http://mhtt.eu/hadtudomany/2013/2013_elektronikus/2013_e_Banyasz_Peter_Orbok_Akos.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/07/2015)

financial services broke nearly down and functioned unsafely.[8] Because of the ongoing internet attacks, the second biggest bank of Estonia the *SEB Eesti Uhisbank* had to suspend its services that assured the access to the foreign banking systems. Another Estonian bank, the *Hansabank* reported that they suffered a turnover loss of more than one million dollar.[9]

Due to the Estonian events, the NATO experts reported that they were investigating the situation, but they did not consider it as a military action. Earlier, Estonian Minister of Freign Afairs, Urmas Paet accused Russia with psychologically and physically attacking Estonia[10].

Even the launching of the Russian-Georgian war was prepared with cyber attacks, during which – besides the military targets – even civil "targets" were attacked (power supplying units, banks, etc.) by hacker groups[11] that were identified as Russians.

Quite recently, Ukraine had to face several serious political and military challenges. In the current Ukraine border modifications, riots and sometimes bloodsheds are challenging the country's organisations and the tolerance limit of the society. Besides all these, there is a new phenomenon – the cyber warfare, which exerts a huge impact on the society even without shooting. During the DDoS attacks communication breakdown and miscommunications were confusing the country.[12] According to the BAE System's[13] announcement, 22 IT attacks were executed against the Ukrainian systems in 2014. These actions were performed by genuine professionals. The BAE did not define who was behind the attacks, but alluded that there might be Russian interests in this issue. This can be concluded from the fact that the virus was coded in Russian and the hackers left a logo that could be traced back to the symbol that was used in 2008 during the attacks against the American bases.

It is important to mention a case happened in 2008 concerning the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan[14] oil pipeline that caused an unrealised profit of 1 billion USD. Before the explosion, the system did not send an alarm signal and the cameras did not record anything of the flames. During the disaster, 30 thousand barrels of oil were spilled, seriously harming the environment. It is assumed that a group of hackers intruded into the system and switched off

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[8] Lajos Muha – Cyber war in regards of the Russian-Estonian relationship https://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCIQFjAAahUKEwiftfe7_J3HAhXKVRQKHWgpAJw&url=https%3A%2F%2Fhacktivity.com%2Fhu%2Fletoltesek%2Farchivum%2F17&ei=DVDIVd_6DcqrUejSgOAJ&usg=AFQjCNF5I0JqbfgaS9kRv3f3lpMLxTm0nA&bvm=bv.99804247,d.d24&cad=rja (Date of downloading: 08/07/2015)
[9] Prof. Dr. László Kovács – engineer colonel – Security politics http://eiv.uni-nke.hu/uploads/media_items/biztonsagpolitika.original.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/07/2015)
[10] Lajos Muha – Cyber war in regard of the Russian-Estonian relationship /Hactivity https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lkuBtq_jCeo (Date of downloading: 08/07/2015)
[11] János Besenyő – New kind of war? Internet-based warfare in Georgia, Sereg Szemle, MH ÖHP professional scientific journal, volume VI, issue 3, December 2008, pages 61-63
[12] ZDNet – Cyber war in Ukraine: How NATO is helping the country defend itself against digital threats http://www.zdnet.com/article/ukraines-cyber-warfare-how-nato-helps-the-country-defend-itself-against-digital-threats/ (Date of downloading: 08/08/2015)
[13] British multinational defence and security company – http://www.baesystems.com/home (Date of downloading: 08/08/2015.)
[14] Bloomberg Business – Mysterious '08 Turkey Pipeline Blast Opened New Cyber war by Jordan Robertson and Michael Riley http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-12-10/mysterious-08-turkey-pipeline-blast-opened-new-cyberwar (Date of downloading: 08/11/2015)

the emergency alarms of the oil pipelines, cut the communication lines, then increased the pressure in the pipeline; in this way – misleading the local workers – could explode the pipeline. Although the cameras were successfully disconnected before the explosion, it is clear from the records of an infrared camera connected to another system that prior to the incident two black military-clothed people were passing along the pipeline with laptops.

In Iran, the Stuxnet virus caused huge trouble to a system of the Bushehr power plant. „The Stuxnet is a special IT worm that is infecting the computers that run the Microsoft Windows operation system and it is spread on them, but the effect is actually exerted on the industrial process controlling systems. It attacks the supervisory controlling process and the data collection, it is spying the targeted industrial systems and it is also reprogramming them."[15] Actually the virus did not pose a threat to the power plant, because the uranium modifying equipment was the target. The code of the virus contained the reference to the date of May 9, 1979 when Habib Elghanian – a Jewish businessman – was executed in Iran with the accusation of espionage for Israel. The result of the successful virus attack caused that on November 16 2010, Iran had to stop the uranium enriching for several months, because more than 20% of the centrifuges were destroyed, due to the Stuxnet activity.

According to the records of 2014, Israel plays a leading role in the cyber warfare. The attention of the government sector keeps focusing on protecting the Internet-based activity. The number of countries emulating the Israeli example of establishing the cyber defence is increasing. In the Middle East country, the software and the services are protected and used with ingenuity and technique.[16] Israeli experts revealed the deficiencies that concerned the Alibaba's[17] Internet-based purchasing platform[18]. This security gap would have enabled the external attackers to „reroute" the purchasing, to apply eventual price changing, to modify the data of the consignments or even to stop the purchasing process. Then, a Chinese retail company announced that it is investing into the Israeli cyber security initiatives in order to protect itself against the hackers. Since nowadays the army and the IT sector are in strong connection, in this way Tel Aviv considered it important to take the proper governmental cyber security measures, and within the intelligence organisation they established the unit that is coded with 8200 dealing with the cyber warfare. Although Israel's IT systems are sophisticated, it participates in the cyber warfare both as an attacked party and an attacking one. It was quite a story when a few years back the Anonymous hacker group allegedly committed a hacking attack against Israel's two government websites. Israel denies the happening and claims that the breakdown took place because of failed servers. The two government websites, the Mossad and the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) stopped, too. There was a maintenance message on the Mossad site and the IDF could not be reached. The

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[15] András Cserháti – The Stuxnet virus and the Iranian atomic program, Fizikai Szemle (Physical review) 2011/5, p. 150-155 http://fizikaiszemle.hu/fsz1105/cserhati1105.html (Date of downloading: 07/26/2015.)

[16] Gil Baram – The Effect of Cyber war Technologies on Force Buildup: The Israeli Case http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/MASA5-1Eng4_Baram.pdf (Date of downloading: 2015.08.12)

[17] www.alibaba.com – The biggest online retail website of China

[18] Israel21c – Alibaba invests in Israeli cyber-security http://www.israel21c.org/alibaba-invests-in-israeli-cyber-security/ (Date of downloading: 08/10/2015)

Anonymous hacker group answered with a "youtube" video to Israel[19] saying that these steps were made because Israeli forces stopped a Canadian and an Irish ship in the international waters and they even boarded them. The hacker group declared as illegal the sea blockade of Gaza and promised ongoing hacker attacks as long as there are no changes regarding the blockade. The group has still been trying to attack the various Israeli units.

Since 2002, several Internet-based intrusions can be connected to China[20]. China has been experiencing a 7-8% ongoing economic growth that is even in the bad periods. China's increasing activity is challenging the countries in several ways. The Chinese cyber activity is proved clearly by the fact that the Chinese products were banned from certain countries because of industrial espionage. This was because the Chinese manufacturers could not explain the origin of certain software and their functions used for their products. China and the United States agreed to establish a joint group that is able to liquidate the problems occurring in the cyber security area and simultaneously prevents the hacker attacks that are endangering the financial sector, the banks or any area of life. They think it important that every country must protect its own citizens, their rights and the country's infrastructure against unexpected attacks.

Regarding the cyber activity of North Korea, the unit no.121 can be held responsible. The unit pursues a serious activity because originally it had 1,000 people, and now it has 17,000 members. Its members could even block the functioning of an entire city because they can intrude into the most sophisticated IT systems. The Sony Pictures[21] designed a comedy where the story consisted of a fictitious attempt against the North Korean leader. Shortly after that, the Sony's IT network was hacked during which confidential managerial e-mails were leaked.[22]

The above-mentioned examples clearly demonstrate that there are countries that can be attacked unexpectedly in the cyber world. Simultaneously, some countries are prepared against the attacks; they allocate manpower and money for the IT sector in order to sustain it in safe conditions and – if they want – can even attack actively.

The 2013/L act on the electronic information security of the government and municipal government organs

The act was created with the following objective: „It is a social expectation to assure the protection of the data and information stored in the electronic IT system that are indispensable for the government and its citizens, regarding the confidentiality, intactness and availability as well as the intactness and availability of the system elements where the

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[19] Anonymus #OpIsrael - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q760tsz1Z7M&feature=player_embedded
[20] Security politics – Prof. Dr. László Kovács – engineer-colonel http://eiv.uni-nke.hu/uploads/media_items/biztonsagpolitika.original.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/07/2015)
[21] BBC News – Sony hack: North Korea back online after internet outage http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-30584093 (Date of downloading: 07/27/2015)
[22] China's Position on the Sony Attack: Implications for the U.S. Response by Jordan Wilson http://origin.www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/China's20Position20on20the20Sony20Attack_0.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/12/2015)

protection is secured, complete, on-going and proportional with the risks, meaning the protection of the cyber space.

In the entire life-cycle of the electronic IT systems there is need for assuring the confidentiality, availability and intactness of the data and the information handled in the electronic IT systems as well as the secured, complete and on-going risk-proportional protection of the intactness and availability of the electronic IT systems."[23]

Insight into the top-level findings connected to the information protection

„In 2012, the Hungarian government accepted the new National Security Strategy of Hungary that differs – in many aspects – from the earlier strategic documents. Compared to the strategies accepted in 2002 and 2004, the structure and the content of the document show a tendency to resemble the western, United States' strategy making concept."[24]

The security strategy is a planned and harmonised and centrally managed definition of the government's strategic policy as well as the measures taken for its realisation.[25]

Hungarian requirements at strategic level

„The changes that are characterised with extraordinary dynamics and dimensions and take place in the global security environment are causing unpredictability. In this globalised world – due to the utilisation of the modern technology and the strengthening economic connections – certain countries and regions become more and more interdependent, the external and internal factors of the security get interconnected. The composite elements of security are strongly interconnected, therefore the home defence issues can't be tackled separately from other security areas – the handling of the security challenges requires a harmonised governmental activity."[26]

The access to and utilisation of the cyber space are new challenges and potential source of danger, and the increasing number of attacks against the IT networks and the damaging potential are outstanding issues. The actual security strategy that recently came into force in March 2012 in the 1035/2012 Government Decree under the title of "The National Security Strategy of Hungary states that: "the vulnerability of the systems represents a risk and a possibility for a prepared hostile attacker to cause huge damages even from a great distance. Thus, the structure of the modern safe IT infrastructure and the protection of the government systems have become indispensable criteria, since the governmental IT system has to be prepared for the defence against the attacks. The characteristics of the cyber threats

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[23] The 2013/L act on the electronic information security of the government and municipal government organs http://www.complex.hu/kzldat/t1300050.htm/t1300050.htm (Date of downloading: 09/09/2015)
[24] Petra Kiss– Variation of the Hungarian strategic thinking in regards of the national security strategies http://www.mhtt.eu/hadtudomany/2012/3_4/HT_2012_3-4_Kiss_Petra.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/13/2015)
[25] Endre Jávor – The principles and methods that need to be enforced during the elaboration of the security strategy http://www.zmne.hu/kulso/mhtt/hadtudomany/2000/2_3.html (Date of downloading: 09/012015)
[26] The National Military strategy of Hungary, 2012 http://www.kormany.hu/download/a/40/00000/nemzeti_katonai_strategia.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/13/2015)

– that differ from the traditional threats – require a thorough review of the war-related definitions.

„The impact of the establishment of the IT society can be felt in every area of the national and international security. Besides the several positive effects, the negative aspects of the development have appeared, too. The modern info-communication tools used by the governmental and non-governmental players may contribute to the appearance of certain security risks.”[27]

„One of the objectives of the Hungarian Army consists of establishing the conditions of the network-based warfare. As part of this there is a need to strengthen the cyber protection of the Hungarian Army, for which there is a necessity for conception-based rules, procurement of modern tools and the proper preparation and training of the personnel.”[28]

The partial IT security strategy of the Hungarian IT Society Strategy (further on: HITS) is the first step of the long-term objective of making the IT society secure. As it states: *„the realisation of the strategic objectives requires the support and coordination of the output of the security expectations at government level and there is need for the active cooperation of the developers, users and operators of the IT systems”*[29].

Among the main objectives of the HITS, there is the improving of the IT security awareness and the know-how, which requires certain steps regarding (among others) the following main tasks:

- *„Assuring appropriate legal and institutional environment,*

- *Elaborating security requirements, utilising international standards, supporting the realisation and the sustenance of secure IT systems,*

- *Enforcing the security criteria during the improvement, designing and operation,*

- *Obtaining the resources required for the enforcement of the IT security criteria.”*

Roles assumed abroad

Due to our NATO membership, I think it important to present also the NATO's requirement system regarding the IT issues, which should be the basis of the relevant development to be made in the Hungarian Army.

The modern warfare is a network-focused combat that contributes to the acceleration of control. The basis of a faster control is the *„information superiority, the impact-based*

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[27] The National Military strategy of Hungary, 2012 http://www.kormany.hu/download/a/40/00000/nemzeti_katonai_strategia.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/13/2015)

[28] The National Military strategy of Hungary, article 82, 2012 http://www.kormany.hu/download/a/40/00000/nemzeti_katonai_strategia.pdf (Date of downloading: 08/13/2015)

[29] Hungarian IT society's strategy, 2013

application of the force that occurs in the form of better speed, accuracy and reacting capacity"[30], which enables the commander to counterbalance the technological, the potential or the quantitative disadvantages.

The objective of the capacity assured by the NATO network (NATO Network Enabled Capability) aims at building such an environment where the data collecting elements, the decision makers and the forces – that cause the required impacts – are all integrated in a network that consists of sub-networks; and this can provide the users with the required data from any location and in the proper format.[31]

Hungary is a member of the NATO's cyber defence excellence centre. On May 14, 2008 the NATO – considering the frequent cyber attacks – established the NATO cyber protection excellence centre[32] (NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence – NATO CDD COE). The NATO cyber protection excellence centre (further on: Centre) aims at collecting all the information that is in connection with the cyber space and is required for sustaining the cyber security of the 21st century. The seat of the Centre is in Estonia, Tallin and as of October 28 2008, it is legally considered as an international military organisation. As regards the Centre's financing, it is assured also by the sponsoring states. Estonia is assuring the required infrastructure and covering the administrative expenses, and the payment of the experts and the researchers is covered by the supporting countries (that is Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Germany, Italy, Spain, Slovakia and the United States.

Every June, the Centre organises a conference on the current cyber security issues.

Even 80% of the problems of the users could be prevented by playing more attention to using the information space. The mistrust prevents the governments from fully sharing their experiences, while the cooperation among the attackers is quite good, so they are always one step ahead. Those who try to prevent the cyber attacks often meet legal obstacles that slow or hinder their work, while the illegal attackers have no such problems at all. The cooperation at government level is not sufficient, the private sphere should also be involved, first of all the bigger companies, because even the economic sphere is facing a lot of attacks, and sometimes – because for lack of experts and resources – they can't eliminate them.

Despite the establishment of the Centre and the measures taken by the member states, the cyber attacks continued, so in 2012 the article 5 of the NATO Treaty was applied on several occasions, (for making a joint reaction when a member state was attacked).

Summary, conclusions

Nowadays the cyber security issue is facing a dynamic development and our age clearly expects the Hungarian army to keep pace with this. In my article I chose to present the

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[30] Arthur K. Cebrowski, John J. Garstka: Network-Centric Warfare: Its Origin and Future, 1998 www.act.nato.int/documents/nnec/originandfuture.pdf (Date of downloading:09/03/2015)
[31] Information Superiority and NATO Network-Enabled Capability www.act.nato.int (Date of downloading: 09/08/2015)
[32] Biztonsagpolitika.hu – The NATO's excellence centre of cyber defence http://biztonsagpolitika.info/index.php?id=16&aid=1148&title=A_NATO_Kibervédelmi_Kiválósági_Központja (Date of downloading: 07/26/2015)

basic issues of the cyber space security, because I wanted to make the readers see how dangerous the threats are.

Because the threats posed to the modern IT society is very serious, it is extremely important for our country to protect the national electronic database (which is a significant part of the national assets) and handle the IT systems in a secured way.

It is not sufficient for the countries and governments to cooperate, the private individuals must also assume appropriate responsibility. Besides the threats coming through the Internet, we can't exclude the personal errors either. The errors committed by individuals can be either intentional or unintentional, but considering the final output, they can cause huge damage. The external disc connected to a virus-attacked computer at home can infect the computer at work and simultaneously also the network that stores valuable data. The new (cyber) attacks are completely different from the conventional ones; they can inflict a serious blow on the opponent, even by using small financial resources and avoiding any military action. By pressing a button at home sitting in the comfortable armchair, it is possible to attack or annihilate targets that are several thousand kilometres away. The preparation and protection against the new threat should be taken seriously. The biggest problem is that the cooperation among the countries is not easy, due to the complicated, complex and different legal backgrounds, the various structures, the divergent technological and economic interests and the partnering uncertainty. At the same time, the attacking parties can cooperate in such a way that they do not even have to be physically close to each other, they can operate from distant points of the world. It is difficult for the states and the institutions to coordinate their cyber defence, because the cyber attacks can't be foreseen and they are difficult to monitor.

Several countries recognised that the new kind of attack requires less financial resources than the traditional attacks, and it is quite simple to spend more money on the IT sphere instead of training the soldiers for many years. The number of reports on cyber events is increasing; thus the big question is whether we are really prepared for these attacks. In the digitalised world, the computers can take over the command of buildings or even cities within a moment. Without proper counter-measures we are unprotected against the attacks that may cause huge harm. The stakes are high, and security is crucial for everybody. The main objective should be for us to prevent cyber attack and avoid any eventual incident or conflict.

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MARIANN VECSEY

THE AFRICAN AFFAIR
THE EU AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH MALI AND THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Abstract

The article presents the EU missions in Africa, regarding to two countries, Mali and the Central African Republic. It compares them, and analizes their evolution. Were the lessons learned important, are the missions successful? Can Hungary adapt its own experiences from the African operational theatre? We can read the answers in the essay.

Keywords: European Union, Africa, Hungary, Mali, CAR

Introduction

The Africa Strategy of the EU has come to a turning point. The flood of the migrants to the continent already indicated such initiatives as the EUNAVFOR MED. Will it change the structure of the EU missions in Africa too? Will the EU continue its training and mentoring missions on the continent? The article wants to find the answers for these questions with the analization of two African countries.

The EU has missions both in Mali and the Central African Republic. I would like to compare these, and besides seeking the differences and similarities of the deployments, I would like to present the evolution of them. Have they changed through the time, or not? Are they successful? Did they adapt the lessons learned in the missions?

As Hungary is a member of the EU, we are also taking part in the African operations. But do we use the experience we collected in the African operational theatre? Are we capable to adapt them? This article is seeking the answer for these questions.

The Africa Strategy of the European Union

The European Union has a multi level Africa strategy. The wider platform which grounds the fundamentals of the EU relations to Africa is the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES). The concept for the JAES was based mainly on the common history and culture, the geography and the bounded future of the two continents. The document highlights a long term peace-making, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction concept, and it includes a wide range of development plans. This document engages the whole African continent; however it names the AU as the main cooperating partner of the EU.[1]

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[1] The Africa-EU Strategic Partnership. http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/sites/ default/files/documents/eas2007_joint_strategy_en.pdf. Downloaded: 2015.09.05. ps. 1-2.

There is another document on the Africa policy of the EU. The Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel of the EU includes mainly three Sahel states, from which we are interested only in one, Mali. This strategy names AQIM as the biggest threat in the Sahel area. But it provides more data on fighting the violent extremism.[2]

Both strategies are needed, because they provide the framework for the later programmes and deployments of the EU, but both documents need some update. They were made before the escalation of the actual crisises in Mali and the Central African Republic, and of course before the extreme exodus from the African continent to Europe in 2015.

These documents encourage the EU and its member states to intervene in African conflicts, and ensure the financial support for the AU programmes from the EU.[3] But we have to recognise that the peace and security in Africa is important for the EU because its own vulnerability, and fear from the Islamic extremist groups. Despite this fear the European states prefer the financial support of the African peace-making process and operations. The EU missions on the continent with actual peacekeeping tasks are very rare. Europe deployed more training, mentoring and monitoring missions to the continent, which is enough only because the more dedicated former colonial powers, the countries, which still have a lot of economical and political relations with the countries in Africa, already sent the peace-making forces to the conflict zones.[4] Can be the EU successful with this background? Apparently yes. Until the former colonial powers provide the fighting forces in these conflicts, the EU can deploy low profile missions to the problematic areas.

In 2015 the European Union has to face an increasing migration wave. The most sensitive countries for the migration from Africa are the ones which have maritime borders. Because of the high number of accidents on the Mediterranean, the EU decided to implement the EUNAVFOR MED. But the high number of migrants has not changed the Africa policy of the EU. The EU deployments remained the same in the continent, training, mentoring and monitoring missions. The high rate of migration however took its toll. The policy of the European countries changed towards the migrants, and it communicates that the crisises should be treated at the root of the problem.[5]

The EUTM Mali and the EUCAP Sahel Mali

In accordance with the EU policy, we need to understand the roots of the conflict, so I will introduce briefly the Malian crisis. The conflict in Mali has a long history, but the recent crisis escalated in 2012, when a local militant group, the MNLA[6] occupied Menaka.[7] The root of the conflict is the traditional opposition between the African and Arab tribes. The nomad

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[2] Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel. http://eeas.europa.eu/africa/docs/sahel_strategy_en.pdf. Downloaded: 2015.09.05. p.1.
[3] The Africa-EU Strategic Partnership. p.5.
[4] Ongoing missions and operations. http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/index_en.htm. Downloaded: 2015.09.05.
[5] Jeanne Park: Europe's Migration Crisis. http://www.cfr.org/migration/europes-migration-crisis/p32874. Downloaded: 2015.09.15.
[6] National Movement for the Liberation of the Azawad-Mouvement National pour la Libération de l'Azawad
[7] Tiemoko Diallo, David Lewis: Mali rebels push south to open third front-sources. http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/26/mali-fighting-town-idUSL5E8CQ40020120126. Downloaded: 2013.09.11.

Tuareg population, who lives on the northern part of the country, was marginalised by the ruling government, and the development plans for the area never came to an existence. Because of this policy the secessionist movements strengthened, and the Tuaregs wanted to form their own country, the Azawad[8].[9] The government in Bamako was incapable to solve the problem, and a military coup led by captain Amadou Haya Sanogo on 22 March toppled president Amound Toumani Touré and his government.[10] This event made possible for the MNLA to advance to the south. Around April a new party showed up in the conflict, the radical Islamist groups, like the AQIM[11], MUJAO[12] and the Ansar Dine[13] took over the leading position in the insurgency. The first step of the international community was made in January 2013, when Mali invited France to deploy troops to the country in order to solve the situation.[14]

The EU mission started in April. The claim of the mission was the UN Security Council Resolution 2085[15], and the original mandate was to expire in 15 months, but it was elongated with 24 months. The mission will end in May 2016.[16] The Headquarters of the mission decided to be in Bamako, and the training camp is in Koulikoro, at the site of the only Military Academy of Mali.[17] The personnel of the EUTM Mali consist of three main parts. A 150 personnel strong force protection, 150 personnel logistic element and 200 instructors were deployed to the operational theatre.[18] These soldiers are from 23 EU member states: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Nederland, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden.[19] The biggest contingent is from France.

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[8] The name of the Tuareg state. It contains the northern part of Mali, the southern part of Algeria, the southern part of Libya, the eastern part of Niger and the northern part of Burkina Faso. The area is approximatelly 2 million km^2.

[9] Besenyő János: War at the background of Europe: The crisis of Mali – AARMS, Volume 12, Issue 2, 2013, pp. 247-271.

[10] Marsai, Viktor: Külföldi katonai beavatkozás Maliban-Az Operation Serval és háttere. (Foreign military intervention in Mali- The Operation Serval and its background) http://hhk.uni-nke.hu/downloads/kozpontok/svkk/Elemzesek/2013/SVKK_Elemzesek_ 2013_1.pdf. Downloaded: 2013.05.21. p. 4.

[11] Al-Qaeda in Maghreb. The AQIM is Jihadist group in the area of Algeria It started its activity in 2003 on the northern part of Mali. The organisation got its name in 2007, after it was officially joined the al-Kaida. NCTC: Counterterrorism 2013 Calendar, Al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). http://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/aqim.html. Downloaded: 2013.09.25.

[12] MUJAO-Mouvement pour le Tawhîd et du Jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest-Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa

[13] Iyad Ag Ghali founded the terrorist group in 2011. http://www.dw.de/mali-islamist-group-ansar-dine-on-us-terror-list/a-16692076. Downloaded: 2013.07.20.

[14] Marsai, Viktor: Külföldi katonai beavatkozás Maliban-Az Operation Serval és háttere. (Foreign military intervention in Mali- The Operation Serval and its background) http://hhk.uni-nke.hu/downloads/kozpontok/svkk/Elemzesek/2013/SVKK_Elemzesek_ 2013_1.pdf. Downloaded: 2013.05.21. p. 4.

[15] Nyulász, Viktória: A mali válság kezelésének nemzetközi dimenziója. (The internationa dimension of the Malian crisis management) XIV. Euroatlanti Nyári Egyetem, előadás, Szolnok, 2013. July. 31.

[16] EU Training Mission in Mali. http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eutm-mali/pdf/01092013_factsheet_eutm-mali_en.pdf. Downloaded: 2013.10.17.

[17] EU Training Mission in Mali.

[18] Besenyő, János: Az Európai Unió kiképző művelete Maliban és a magyar szerepvállalás. (The training mission of the European Union in Mali and the role of Hungary) p. 70.

[19] EU Training Mission in Mali.

The original plan was to train 4 Battle groups, 750 personnel each, but as the commanders of the mission shortly after reaching the full operational capability and finishing the training of the firs Battle group decide to suggest the elongation of the mandate, and changing the training system of the mission.[20]

The EUTM Mali works with the French method, as the trainees have four days of theoretical, and one day of practical training per week. The Battalion can use the remaining two days for its own plans. The instruction started originally with three weeks of basic training, followed by four weeks of specialised trainings for the chosen ones, parallel with the company training, and three weeks of battalion level training. [21]

After the first experiences with the Malian forces, the training system started to change. The changes were integrated in the instruction of the third battle group. The NCOs and the officers got a pre-training, in order to handle their lower level of knowledge. These changes were however only introduced after the hand-over take-over of the second instructor team.[22] After this the development of the mission was constant. During the indoctrination of the fourth battle group the TTT programme was introduced, which aimed to teach the European methods and their use to the would be instructors of the Malian Armed Forces.[23] In September 2014 started the CCC programme, which is a course for the company and platoon leaders.[24]

Besides the different courses, the EUTM Mali undertook the training of additional four battle groups, and started the retraining of the first battle groups.

After the training for the 6th Battle Group finished[25], the EUTM Mali continued the different trainings and courses like the Train the trainers program, or the Support Weapons Instructor Course.[26] Besides 22 other EU member states, Hungary also sent instructors to Mali. The article will discuss the role of Hungary in the mission later.

There is another EU led mission in Mali in parallel with the EUTM Mali. It is called EUCAP Sahel Mali. The mission started in January 2015, and its mandate lasts for 12 months. This mission is a civilian one, aiming to support the Malian security forces, like the police, the gendarmerie and the National Guard. The claim for the mission is the invitation from the Malian government, and the 2014/219/CFSP decision of the EU Council. The aim of the mission is to restore law and order in the country, and redeploy the security forces to the

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[20] EU training mission in Mali extended. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/142237.pdf. Downloaded: 2014. July 5.

[21] Interview with 1st Lieutenant Richárd Zámbori, the commander of the Hungarian sniper instructor team in EUTM Mali. Debrecen, 2013.10.25.

[22] Formation spécialisée au camp d'entrainement de Koulikoro. http://www.eutmmali.eu/?m=201310. Downloaded: 2014.07. 04.

[23] L'entrainement continue au camp de Koulikoro.

[24] Cours des futurs commandants d'unité (CFCU). http://www.eutmmali.eu/?m=201409. Downloaded: 2015. 02 1.

[25] Deutsche Pioniere zeigen malischen Vorgesetzten zukünftige Fähigkeiten Ihrer Truppen. http://www.einsatz.bundeswehr.de/portal/a/einsatzbw/!ut/p/c4/LYtRC4JAEIT_0a1XgdSb4kPRWwllL7F6iyydd 3KuCdKP7w6cgYGZj4EXRDv8co_C3qGFJzQdn9pFtYuhN7GbUNZY8SMzWbtNJCvBI50Nqc47kpRCTjhm H1B8UKMPYhOZQ4hEsYEm01Wp80O2Sf-O97q4nvf5rrqUNxiHofgDzN6iRg!!/. Megtekintve: 2015. január 24.

[26] EUTM Mali a recommencé la formation, des soldats maliens assistent au 2eme Cours d'instructeur des armes d'appui. http://www.eutmmali.eu/2015/09/. Downloaded: 2015. 09.17.

northern regions, and the implementation of the circumstances for the lasting peace. It is also important to improve the operational effectiveness of the forces.[27]

The EUFOR RCA and the EUMAM RCA

To understand the need for the missions I will introduce the conflict in the Central African Republic briefly. The recent crisis in the country reaches back years, and based upon tribal oppositions. The 'bush war' between 2004 and 2007 erupted because of the Bozizé led regime, the empty treasury, the untrained defence forces and the cancelled elections.[28] The three years long fight ended with a long peace making period. The government made peace deals with all of the participants separately, but the agreements were violated, so the fights flared up in the Central African Republic once again in 2012.[29] A mainly Muslim militia, the Séléka achieved success in the northern part of the country and turned against the capital, Bangui. Under international pressure Bozizé made a ceasefire deal with the group, but the Séléka soon accused the government with the violation of the agreement[30], and continued its advancement in the direction of Bangui, which was captured in March 2013.[31] Bozizé left the country, and the leader of the Séléka, Michel Djotodia became the president of the country. Djotodia disbanded the Séléka in September, but most of the troops continued the fighting.[32] The massacres, committed by the Muslim militia were the reason for the founding of the anti-balaka militias. At first these were self defence groups, but later they could have been accused with the fleeing of the Muslim population. After the tit for tat killings started, Djotodia left his position, and Catherine Samba-Panza became the new president.[33] In the beginning of December 2013, French soldiers arrived to the country, and in 2014 the EU decided to deploy a mission to the Central African Republic.[34]

The claims for the EUFOR RCA were the UN Security Resolution 2134 and 2181. The mission started in April 2014, and its original mandate was 6 months.[35]

The task of the mission was to establish safe and secure environment in Bangui and its surroundings, and hand it over to the African partners. Additional tasks were to defend the most vulnerable population, and ensure the conditions for the humanitarian aid.

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[27] The EUCAP Sahel Mali civilian mission. http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eucap-sahel-mali/docs/factsheet_eucap_sahel_mali_en.pdf. Downloaded: 2015.04.11.

[28] Balogh Andrea, Besenyő János, Miletics Péter, Vogel Dávid: Országismertető – Közép-afrikai Köztársaság, pp. 166-167.

[29] Marsai Viktor: Válságok Közép-Afrikában II. – Polgárháború a Közép-afrikai Köztársaságban. http://nit.uni-nke.hu/downloads/Elemzesek/2014/SVKK_Elemzesek_2014_4.pdf. Megtekintve: 2014. február 22. p.1.

[30] Jason Warner: Who are Seleka? http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2013/01/17/who-are-seleka/. Downloaded: 2014. 01.12.

[31] The 21st century. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/102152/Central-African-Republic/254026/The-21st-century. Downloaded:2015.04.09.

[32] David Smith: Unspeakable horrors in a country on the verge of genocide. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/22/central-african-republic-verge-of-genocide. Downloaded: 2013. 12. 29.

[33] Marsai Viktor: Válságok Közép-Afrikában II. – Polgárháború a Közép-afrikai Köztársaságban. p.10.

[34] Michelle Nichols: Central African Republic wants U.N. force as EU troops OKed. http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/01/29/us-centralafrican-eu-un-idUSBREA0R1FD20140129. Downloaded: 2014. 02.22.

[35] Fact sheet, Central African Republic. Downloaded:2015.04.11.

President Samba-Panza asked for the elongation of the mission in 2014, so the EUFOR RCA got three more months to prepare everything for the African forces in order to deploy a peacekeeping mission. The mandate of the mission expired on 15 March 2015.[36] The European Union considered the mission as a success, because the security situation in Bangui and its surroundings was stabilised, however it remained fragile.

As the EUFOR RCA came to an end started the EUMAM RCA. The claim of the mission is the UN Security Council Resolution 2196. The military advisory mission has 60 personnel in the country. The mandate of the mission is 12 months. It's task to support the reform of the security sector, and to mount an effective and modern defence force.[37]

The mission does mainly advising tasks, but it also makes non-operational trainings for the FACA[38] members.[39]

In a recent visit to the EUMAM RCA, Mr. Hervé Ladsous, the Head of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at the UN said that the UN is willing to see an EUTM type mission in the country, which follows the ongoing deployment.[40]

Comparing the missions

The EUTM Mali, the EUFOR RCA and the EUMAM RCA are all EU missions. But that is not the only similarity among the deployments. All of the missions started in the past few years, in former French colonies in Africa. The leading nation of the missions is France.

The task of the three deployments is however different. The EUTM Mali is an operational training mission, the trainees learn skills they will use in combat. Of course they learn human rights too, but the main profile is to train the soldiers to fight.

The EUFOR RCA was a security mission, it did not include local forces, just international personnel in order to secure the airport of Bangui, then the whole capital and its surroundings. The EUMAM RCA is closer to the EUTM Mali, but it is not a classic training mission. It is mentoring and advising the FACA members. It aims to make the military more popular in the country, the chain of command and the higher staff operable. In order to reach this goal it started non-operational curses to the FACA.[41]

However an EUTM like mission would be welcomed in the Central African Republic too. The military reforms should not end with the training of the higher staff, and the country needs an ethnically and religiously balanced military, which is well trained, and ready to react to the interethnic conflicts.[42]

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[36] Council Decision. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:JOL_2014_325_R_0007&from=EN. Downloaded: 2015.04.11.

[37] Information zur neuen Beteiligung Österreichs. http://www.bundesheer.at. Downloaded:2015.04.09.

[38] Forces Armées Centrafricaines

[39] EUMAM RCA delivers first non-operational training courses for the FACA. http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eumam-rca/news/20150819_en.htm. Downloaded: 2015. 09. 17.

[40] Visit of Head of the UN DPKO Herve Ladsous. http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eumam-rca/news/20150915_en.htm. Downloaded: 2015. 09. 17.

[41] EUMAM RCA delivers first non-operational training courses for the FACA. http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eumam-rca/news/20150819_en.htm. Downloaded: 2015.09.05.

[42] Visit of Head of the UN DPKO Herve Ladsous. http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eumam-rca/news/20150915_en.htm. 2015.09.10.

The development of the missions is visible only in the case of the EUTM Mali, because it is the only one which operates long enough to change its training system due to the experiences. The EUMAM RCA operates only since the middle of March, it just finished its first course. We will need more time to see if the Central African mission of the EU adapts its experiences as well as the one in Mali.

Hungary and the adaptation of African experiences

Hungary takes part in the EUTM Mali, and the country sent soldiers to the EUFOR RCA too. In Mali there is a sniper instructor team, and in the EUFOR RCA headquarters Larissa, Greece, we had 6 staff officers. As the instructor team had more rotations, it is more interesting from the adaptation point of view. The first Hungarian contingent arrived to the country in 13 April 2013. The initial training for the Waraba Battle Group already started, and the instructor team struggled with the selection of the Malian troops to the sniper training. Besides this the Hungarian contingent had other problems too. Our first rotation did not know the details about their accommodation and the training procedures in advance. The following contingents did not have this problem.[43] The first sniper instructor team had to face with a half done training centre. When they arrived, the shooting range was not ready, and it was not completed as they requested it to be done. The situation with the classrooms was the same.

It was not just the infrastructure what caused problems for the Hungarians. The desert uniforms were too heavy to the climate, and some pieces of the equipment were inadequate. However there were some really useful items too, like the medical package.[44] Bigger problem was that, the Hungarians and most of the instructors of the EUTM Mali did not speak French. During the selection process of the sniper instructor team the applicants with French language knowledge were preferred, despite this communication remained problematic for the contingents. There were initiatives to start language courses for the selected soldiers, but it was never realised in the interest of the EUTM Mali.[45]

During the homeland training for the mission the instructors received information about the operational theatre, the conflict, the cultural environment and the training methods. The instructor teams took part in each others' preparations for the mission, and shared their experiences and successful training practices.[46] The instructor teams had to face with major cultural differences also. They had hardships with the training because of the high rate of illiteracy among the Malian troops and the relatively low level of training. Despite of these problems, the trainees were motivated, and improved during the course, however they could not achieve the firstly aimed results.[47] The early experiences in Mali were adapted by the late contingents there, but it never reached a wider range of interest.

In the case of the EUFOR RCA the experiences are limited. The mission was only 9 months long, Hungary sent only one rotation of staff officers to the headquarters in Larissa,

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[43] Interview with 1st Lieutenant Richárd Zámbori, the commander of the Hungarian sniper instructor team in EUTM Mali. Debrecen, 2013. 10. 25.

[44] Besenyő, János: Hungarian soldiers in EUTM Mali. in: Tradecraft Review. 2014/2. HU ISSN 2063-2908. Downloaded: 2015.09.17. p.6.

[45] Besenyő, János: Hungarian soldiers in EUTM Mali. ps.6-12.

[46] Interview with a member of the third sniper instructor team in EUTM Mali. Tata, 2015.09.17.

[47] Interview with 1st Lieutenant Richárd Zámbori, the commander of the Hungarian sniper instructor team in EUTM Mali

Greece. The participants wrote the mandatory report about the deployment, but there were no more steps for the adaptation of the experiences. Hungary has not delegated soldiers to the EUMAM RCA, so until now the country finished its mission in the Central African Republic.

Summary

The Africa Strategy of the European Union has changed because of the migrant situation, but it has not turned away from the continent. The new rhetoric is to solve the problem at its root. It is sure that the EU will continue its missions on the African continent, but they will be low level missions, aiming training, advising, mentoring and monitoring.
The longest operating EU mission mentioned in the article is the EUTM Mali, which adapted its experiences into the training system, and every rotation tried to improve the training methods. The mentoring mission in the Central African Republic was started only six months before, but it already started some training in order to be more effective. But we will need more time to see the achievements as well as the capability to change of the mission.

As we have only one mission ended among the three, we can only talk about its success. The EU considers the EUFOR RCA as a successful mission, because the security situation in the area of interest of the mission improved a lot. The report on the mission however considers that it is still very fragile, and that is the main reason of the presence of the other international missions in the country.

From Hungary's point of view the missions could have been great field for earning experiences. The experiences which the soldiers collected in the African missions were not adapted in wide range in the Hungarian Defence Forces. The participants shared the information only the ones who were interested.

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Requirements to be met by the writings

Ethical requirements:

- the writing has not been published yet elsewhere in its present form;
- it represents the author(s)' exclusive literary property, which is verified by the author(s), through his signing an author's declaration;
- it must be annotated with correct references that can be easily checked up;
- as well as with appropriate bibliographical information (including the literatures referred to, the list of Internet material, together with the date of downloading);
- it can reflect the author(s)' own opinion, which does not need to necessarily coincide with the Service's standpoint.

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- we publish in our reviews – in conformity with their nature – those scholarly writings (studies, essays and articles) that relate to home defense, first of all to military science, national security, intelligence, reconnaissance, military security and security policy;
- the writing must be logically worded, easy to survey, coherent, relevant and well-arranged;
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Formal requisites:

- the size of the manuscripts cannot possibly exceed the space of one author's sheet (40,000 characters or 20-21 pages); written by Times New Roman 12 letters, 1.5 spacing; the pictures and graphics prepared in an easy to be processed format (.jpg or .tif), on electronic data carrier (CD), accompanied by a printed hardcopy. All this has to be taken into account when the author(s) sends his (their) writing to our address;
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- we pay royalty for the accepted and published writings, based on the contract of agency, in harmony with the relevant HDF regulations and according to our available financial resources;

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– everyone is entitled to publish in our periodicals, if the Editorial Board assesses his writing – on the basis of ethical, content and formal requirements – to be suitable for being published in our reviews and on the Internet. The Board holds until the end of the given year those writings that have been accepted, but not published. If the author wishes, we are ready to return his writing to him;

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Our periodical publishes exclusively such studies that are provided with appropriate references and are prepared on the basis of the MSZ ISO 960 design standard.

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– KEYWORDS (in Hungarian and English);
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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".

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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 (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, Zrinyi 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 (downloading time: 19 04 2012)

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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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