

**Abstract of PhD thesis**

# **THE EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN THE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT**

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# ***1. THE THESIS: ANTECEDENTS AND OBJECTIVES***

## ***ANTECEDENTS, JUSTIFICATION OF THE SUBJECT***

The last decades of the second millennium – with the end of the Cold War – and the first decades of the new one saw the rise of many new security challenges, risks and threats around the world which caught the nations and the international communities (partly) unprepared. Peace and peacekeeping, eliminating the emerging threats to peace and preventing their development, the real-time management of the environmental and climate change for which we now have a growing body of serious evidence, and which is going to radically transform our living conditions in the near future, have always been in the interest of every social system and must continue to remain so in the future too.

Unfortunately, human nature and the effects of the different systems of conditions provided certain groups of people and countries with “good reasons” for centuries to strive to wipe out or subjugate each other instead of living in peaceful coexistence, and also to conquer and pillage each other’s territories. On entering the 21<sup>st</sup> century more than a decade ago, humankind faced a lot of problems to deal with. These concerned issues such as how to make the world a more secure place, how to preserve a sustainable natural environment, how to deliver justice in the world for the peoples of rich and poor nations, how to make use of its possibilities and how to protect its values.

Organizations bridging several continents have been striving until the present day to keep peace and maintain security, although it is often hard to call their efforts a success in the light of an analysis of events in the “real world”. It would suffice to mention here the 600 years of fighting in the Balkans and the destruction brought about by generations, but the situation is no better when we turn to an analysis of World War I and World War II, or to the analyses of the global and globalization-related causes and effects of the events of September 11, 2001 in the USA or those of March 11, 2004 in Madrid and the subsequent events in London. The assessments of the revolutionary movements in the spring of 2011 in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula as well as the sad developments of summer 2011 (leading to famine, ethnic conflicts and anarchy in the region of the Horn of Africa) and the series of failures to tackle the challenges posed by global warming/cooling and environmental protection and the recurrent problems in Africa. The positive efforts of various international organizations in search of solutions to crisis

situations are reflected, among others, in the widespread and emphatic adoption of the approach termed “The Responsibility to Protect (‘R2P’): Challenges and Responses to Global Conflicts”.

*„Peace is a fundamental right of every man and woman”, Pope John Paul II said to around one hundred thousand uniformed believers in Saint Peter’s Square, Rome in November 2000. On the occasion of the pilgrimage, tens of thousands of members of the armed forces and police of 49 countries arrived from all over the world in the capital of Italy...The Holy Father praised the self-sacrificing, hard and sometimes life-threatening job of the military and law enforcement personnel, commemorating those brave men who sacrificed their lives so they can remain true to their mission. The Pope expressed thanks to those who help the worn-torn countries and nations through their peace-making activity, and also to those who rescued their fellow human beings in disaster-stricken regions of the world.*

During the more than four decades of my time in service as a soldier, on the peacekeeping and crisis response operations conducted in Europe, the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa, beyond learning about the history of the nations living there, I had the opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge of their culture, faith, everyday life, successes and crises, joy and sorrow. I familiarized myself with their life, traditions, religions and way of thinking. All this has largely stimulated my interest in going beyond the narrowly defined military concept of security to broaden the definition of this concept and to conduct my research on a wider basis.

While preparing for the missions and programs of international organizations during the last decades, I kept analyzing the causes and consequences of the changes in the global security situation. I also engaged in giving an assessment of the ways the international community – of which Hungary forms a part due to its membership in the UN, the OSCE, the EU and NATO – has tried to manage the conflicts arising from the changes of the security situation and of its plans for the next two to three decades in the interest of finding a reassuring and lasting solution to the crises.

*“Every mission has the goal of easing the fate of nations at war and helping those powers to prevail which can bring peace and stability into conflicts” – Defense Minister Dr. Csaba Hende said in his speech delivered at the farewell ceremony of the Hungarian ISAF contingent in Szolnok on August 16, 2011.*

What kind of problems can we encounter due to the “new” security challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century? I concur with those experts who claim that there occurred a radical change in the

security situation of the world at the dawn of the new millennium. In previous centuries, the international situation was based on the exclusive role of states. The events of September 11, 2001, however, refocused attention onto the rising power of non-state actors like terrorist and organized criminal groups, which pose a direct threat to international security. At the same time, today we know for a fact that the international system of security that developed during the period of Cold War opposition was unprepared for these new problems. Furthermore, it is a fact that the one-time colonization has lasting negative effects even today. The main beneficiaries of globalization, which is held to be colonization's modern variant, are the developed rich countries. We should not forget that even today there are countries and peoples officially registered as colonies, and the colonist Great Powers are reluctant to "let them go". International security is under serious threat in the current situation, and the proper responses to these threats are yet to be found, as the present skill-set is unsuitable for dealing with novel emergencies.

Warfare, too, went through a transformation during the last years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the history of the 21<sup>st</sup> century to date. The old concept, i.e. open confrontation has partly disappeared and partly receded into the background. Today's wars are characterized by unconventional, in some cases guerilla warfare, or by asymmetric or in some cases hybrid warfare which has spread widely over the past 20 years and will remain a determinant for the decades to come. In addition, information and computer network-centric warfare has been on the rise, and the term "privatization of war" now has wide currency. The latter means, among others, that today we can see profit-oriented non-state organizations appear in certain theatres of war, which have little respect for laws and rights as they provide services or force protection and operate in the territory of another sovereign state on the principle "in time of war the laws are silent". These days the challenges to our security are no longer exclusively military in character, so we cannot eliminate them by merely deploying the armed forces to conduct crisis response operations.

What are the values that we would like to protect while going through the effects of the changing security environment? I consider it indisputable that human beings and the living world must be ranked at the top of the list. Other values requiring special protection include natural assets, created products, property, democracy and the rule of law. The so-called critical infrastructure, i.e. the provision of goods needed for subsistence and the contribution to public security and defense against external attacks are also high priorities.

Speaking about the most significant security challenges to our values, mention must be made of conflicts arising from differences in social development or permanent opposition, economic, financial and social crises, failed states (e.g. Somalia), ethnic and religious tensions, racism, international terrorism (e.g. the terror attack perpetrated by suicide bombers on the UN headquarters in Nigeria on August 26, 2011 in which 18 people were killed and around 40 seriously injured), organized crime, radical street anarchism (see London, August 2011), illegal drug, arms and treasure trafficking, demographic tensions and the impacts of climate change, migration and man-made disasters. These are the threats that exert a negative influence on the security environment. Furthermore, due to their trans-border character, global challenges and risks may not only cause problems on the territory of a given state but also may affect whole regions (e.g. the Horn of Africa) or every country on a given continent.

In relation to the above-mentioned security challenges and the protection of values, my research focuses on four prioritized crisis zones of the world. I have analyzed the changes in the security environment and their effects, the development and trend of challenges, risks and threats, and the action programs I propose for the international community's consideration in response to them.

**My research claim** (and I would like to continue to conduct research into this set of issues as far as possible) ***is that the overwhelming majority of the crises arising in different parts of the world are simultaneously natural and man-made, which means they are cumulatively acute as they have multiple factors, so their effective and real management is one of the most significant challenges in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which can be accomplished only by adopting a comprehensive and complex approach to address the relevant problems, taking personal responsibility and using modern-day scientific knowledge as well as social, economic, religious and ethnic competences.***

Two examples of these multiple-factor conflicts are:

- a) the complex crisis situation in present-day Pakistan: the escalating threat of war with India (which is a main reason why the country's military budget accounts for 35% cent of the GDP in 2011); the border dispute with Afghanistan that led to a war ('Pashtunia', which has a population of 25 million, has been split for several decades along the British Durand Line that has never been recognized by the Afghans); the ambiguous attitude towards the UN-mandated, NATO-led ISAF operation (official support to NATO, while the Pakistani

Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) is assisting the insurgents); the conflicts and terror attacks arising from secular and religious divisions, the increasingly severe, unmanaged floods and potential earthquakes and the effects of the inhabitants' growing fear of the predictable devastation of tsunamis in the region!

- b) the complex crisis situation in present-day Somalia (and the region known as the Horn of Africa): a drought which is unprecedented in the last 60 years, the fourth unsuccessful international peace enforcement mission to Somalia in 20 years, the UN's official declaration of famine, anarchy, ethnic conflicts, terrorists groups and warlords fighting with the government forces in summer 2011, several millions of starving people, soaring child mortality rates, humanitarian aid missions doomed to failure and...inactive, uninterested Great Powers!

## **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

I intended to divide my thesis into *three chapters, starting with the lessons learned procedure, continuing with analysis of current crises management, and aiming to achieve the new, comprehensive model and methodology for the more effective crisis response procedure*:

*The first chapter* presents, analyses and qualifies with the need for progress the traditional crisis management activities of the international community (UN, OSCE, NATO, EU, AU) together with its besetting contradictions. I do evaluate the individual crisis response activities of the global and regional security organizations, the governmental and non-governmental organizations, their limits of actions and policies.

*The second chapter* discusses the natural and man-made changes in the security environment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century as well as their predictable effects and consequences. I do analyzing and qualifying the growing number of crises, wars, and conflicts, and natural disasters of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with their cumulative effects in four important crisis region (in Balkans, Middle-East, Central Asia, and North-Africa).

*The third chapter* summarizes the conclusions and proposals concerning the protection of our values and effective crisis management, as well as the viability and usefulness of the research results. I introduce the usefulness of the new, comprehensive approach methodology for the crisis management, analyzing the lessons learned of the peace missions in Balkans, formulate

the reasons of still un-effective comprehensive crisis management in Afghanistan. With the detailed introduction of the Security Sector Reforms model, and its usefulness for the wide spectrum conflicts in crisis regions, I put forward proposals for the better cooperation of the global and regional security, and the governmental and non-governmental organizations to avoid crises, and effectively manage the conflicts worldwide.

I expected the research and the thesis to

- give an in-depth analysis of the changes and effects of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century global and regional security environment and their interaction;
- highlight the shortfalls and contradictions in the “traditional” value-protecting and crisis management activities of the international community, and
- provide guidelines and proposed solutions to the timely management of challenges, risks and threats.

## ***2. RESEARCH METHODS***

The first step of my research work consisted in drawing up a detailed research plan and a detailed table of contents for the thesis, broken down to chapters and sections. This was followed by a continuous and step-by-step implementation of the plan.

After surveying the research and source potentials, throughout the research work I was engaged in ongoing consultation with representatives of the related special branches of science and public administration.

Considering that the research topic of my thesis relates to climate change (Natural Geography), ethnic groups and slavery (Social Geography), war and global geopolitics (Planning and Development), nationalism and identity, issues of backwardness and international organizations (Cultural Geography), I collected the set of data for the purposes of a special analysis from the literature found in the research holdings of the relevant specialized libraries, and systematically gathered up-to-date figures and publications with the help of the internet.

I analyzed the lessons learned and conclusions drawn by Hungarian and foreign researchers and experts, took part in conferences pertinent to the research topics both in Hungary and abroad, held presentations at these conferences and conducted professional discussions and

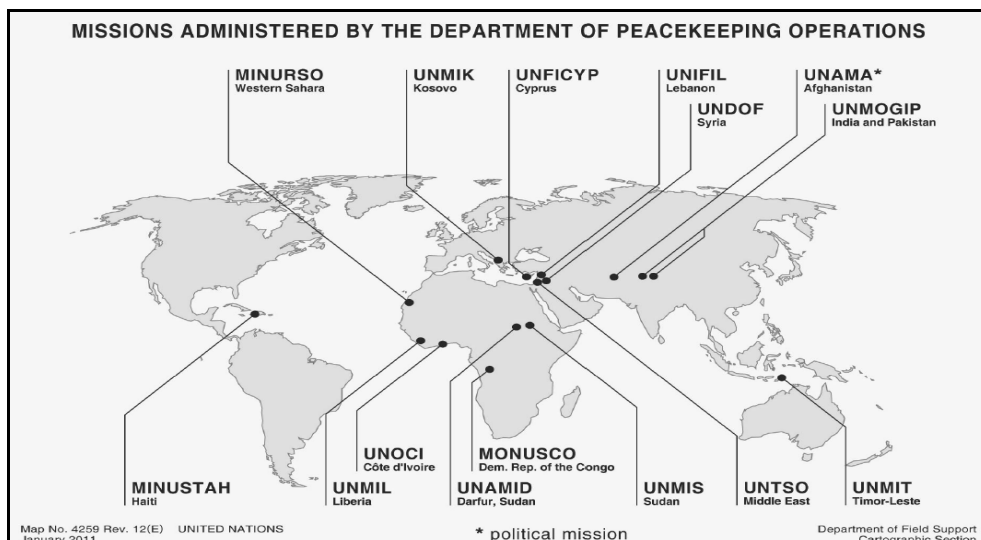
consultations with a view to testing the results of my analyses and the viability of my proposals.

### ***3. MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE THESIS RESEARCH***

#### **3.1. Analysis and evaluation of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century traditional crisis management activities of the international community**

In my opinion, analyzing and introducing within a uniform framework the activities and the organizational-functional shortfalls and contradictions besetting modern-day peace operations and crisis management missions launched over the last 115 years by the international community and its organizations (UN, OSCE, EU, NATO, AU, governmental and non-governmental organizations etc.) is an important task, not only because it provides an opportunity to form a correct opinion and draw conclusions, but also because it improves the chances of the international community to conduct crisis management in the future, i.e. to effectively solve the natural and man-made (intentional or accidental) conflicts and crises.

During my research, I myself asked the question of whether conflict management – which involves peacekeeping, peace support, peace -making, crisis response and management and security sector reform in a given crisis zone – really serves the interests of the given region, or is rather the venue for “representing national interests”.



**Figure 1: The map of the UN mandated, UN-led peace missions**



As a result of the changing nature of conflicts and the modifications in armed combat and violence, the character and concept of peace operations and crisis management missions has by now undergone a radical transformation. The history of progress in peace operations is becoming the story of a growing number of organizations assuming an active role in increasingly complex conflicts in the interest of their successful resolution. The increasingly complex conflicts – which today tend to have the character of being simultaneously natural and man-made – have given rise to new methods, responses, forms of cooperation, legal re-regulations and concepts. Beyond maintaining political stability and the status quo, the tasks of first-generation peace operations focused on the military dimension, while the emphasis in the second period shifted to delivering political, military and economic security. The third generation saw the expansion of the task schemes with special issues like the appearance of private armies in the crisis zones, which I personally experienced in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Although peace operations in the modern sense of the term have evolved from a UN initiative, this world organization itself is more of a global institution whose mission statement is basically about the peaceful resolution of conflicts, so its skill-sets are focused on attaining this goal. Beyond promoting political stability and economic growth, the UN is engaged in dealing with global challenges which pose a serious threat. The circumstances of the establishment of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) – the precursor of OSCE – are indicative of the organization's activity, as it focuses on human rights and confidence-building. The EU was originally established as an economic organization (although there are many question marks over its viability in 2011), whose member states developed cooperation in the field of administration and the defense sector with the passing of time (it is unfortunate that as far as the issues of the defense sector are concerned, there are a large number of duplications within the well-paid EU and NATO command structures.) NATO has been a defense organization from the beginning, which has integrated the military potential and political will of the member states in the interest of collective self-defense. Among the lasting systems of alliance, NATO has evolved into the most resolute organization with the widest range of tasks – and it wants and is able to carry out these tasks indeed.

Peace operations (POs) are an important means of creating and maintaining security. By their characteristics, we can distinguish the early peace operations (up until World War I), the first-generation POs (basically the Cold War era), the second generation POs (conducted in the

1990s), the third-generation POs (counter-terrorism and crisis resolution) and the fourth-generation peace operations (e.g. the “living space” wars of the future).

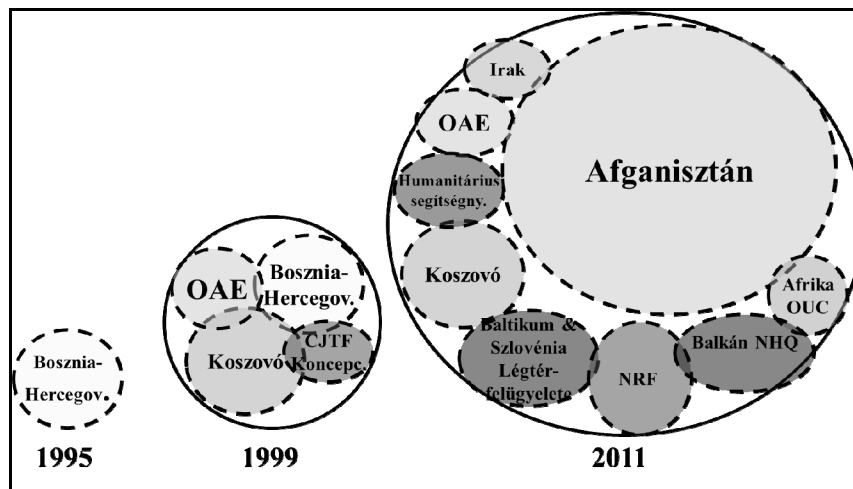


Figure 2: Extension of the NATO's crisis response operations, 1995-2011

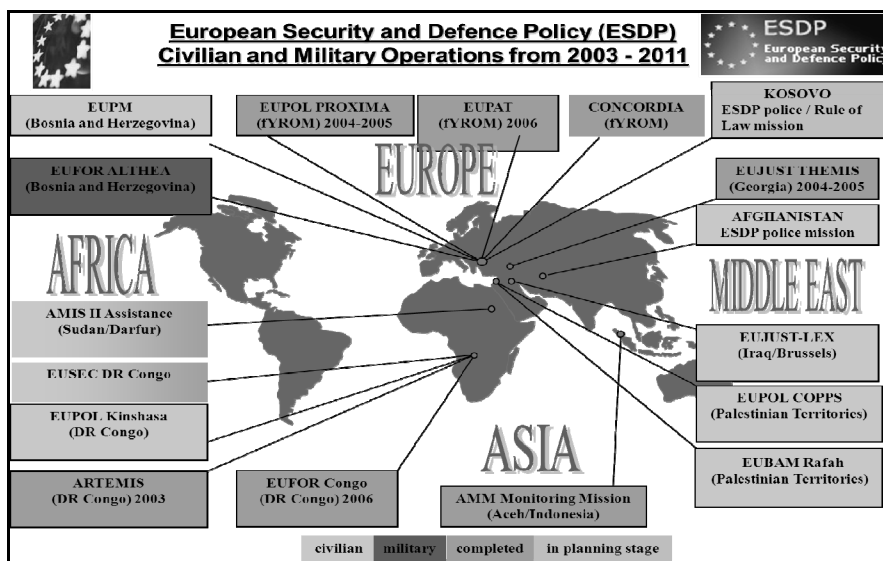
A phenomenon characterizing the late 20<sup>th</sup> and the early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries is the case of certain dictators or failed states providing a proper footing for terrorist organizations (e.g. Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, Libya, and to some extent Yemen, the latest country on the list). Terrorists in these safe havens can organize themselves, make preparations for their actions, rest and hide without being harassed by the local authorities, so they can even recruit and train volunteers. For this reason, delivering stable and predictable security in the political, economic and military dimensions is a fundamental element of every crisis management process.

### 3.2. Natural and man-made changes in the 21<sup>st</sup>-century global and regional security environment, their predictable effects and consequences

Giving a complex assessment of the natural and man-made crisis situations (i.e. those that simultaneously emerge in a given region with cumulative effects) is an urgent necessity. Listed below are a number of permanently unresolved crises and conflicts:

- *The border/administrative line conflict in the Balkans between Kosovo and Serbia which resulted in armed clashes and claimed several lives in July 2011, as well as the vital “Dayton” issues of the tri-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina: Karadzic, Gotovina, Mladic, Hadzic...the Hague.*

- *The revolutionary process and the aftermath of the downfall of decades-long ruling dynasties in the Middle East and Africa; the famine in Somalia and its surrounding region which was officially declared by the UN in July 2011; a draught unprecedented in 60 years, the scarcity of water supplies...disasters;*
- *The increasingly frequent bloodbaths signaling the developing confrontation caused by the religious intolerance between Shi'ites and Sunnites in Iraq after the drawdown of US-led Coalition Forces and by the Arab-Kurd oil debate;*
- *After the 9/11 terror attacks in 2001, the mass civilian and military casualties claimed by the war in Afghanistan which started as a war of reprisal, then evolved into a “crisis-management, state-building” one; the liquidation of Osama bin Laden; the bloodshed caused by the reactions from al-Kaida and the Taliban; an increasing ISAF casualty count; the assassination of President Karzai’s half-brother and his aide, and, most recently, the killing of the former Afghan president who wanted to achieve reconciliation with the Taliban...;*
- *The challenges of globalization and the “living space” wars for water, land and food; the documented destructive effects of man-made, therefore artificial (intentional and accidental) and natural (climate change) crises which threaten both our living world and environment.*
- *The signs and development of mass migration resulting from hopeless impoverishment, the dangerous interaction between arms, organ and drugs trafficking and terrorism.*



**Figure 3: The map of the EU (Common Security and Foreign Policy) peace-missions**

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the last few years of the present one, achievements in physics, biology, chemistry and computer science have radically changed our lives: today we have nuclear energy, high-tech computers, agricultural lands producing increased yields per hectare which are nevertheless unable to provide enough food on a global scale, state-of-the-art medical technology, medicines extending our life span and perfectly automated industrial plants.

At the same time, we also know for a fact that the highly asymmetrical progress of technology continues to impoverish the overpopulated third-world countries which are situated mainly on the southern hemisphere. The sustainable development projects for the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Agenda 21) in those regions meet hard questions, and difficulties. The poor countries are currently leaving behind the first demographic phase (high birth and mortality rates) to enter the second one (high birth and lower mortality rates), and there has been a rapid growth of population. The world's population at the 7<sup>th</sup> billion by November 2011, and it is estimated to grow at such a rate that 30 years from now there may be 3 billion more people living on Earth.

But can we identify overpopulation as the only cause of impoverishment? These countries (too) are characterized by massive corruption, unsafe drinking water and food, and disregard for environmental protection. The overwhelming majority of the population in these countries is illiterate, and people are suffering from widespread violence under the warlords' uncontrollable power and rule.

What the third-world countries need is, first and foremost, money for investment purposes and a proper system of education. To get rid of the threat of famine for good, their citizens should learn modern agro-technology, prevent the pollution of drinking water and the erosion of their arable lands. Furthermore, they have to clean nature, their land and rivers, learn the modern industrial production methods, and reap the benefits of the information revolution and globalization. What are the developed countries doing in the meantime, countries like the USA, Russia, China and France which have greatly profited and gained power from exploitation and colonization? According to the available international statistics, the developed countries spend around 55 billion dollars per year on helping the Third World, which is a mere 7% of their annual military budget.

In some decades, the scarcity of water supplies may become a global problem due to population growth, climate change, pollution and wasteful use. The amount of water suitable for human consumption is quite small at certain places around the world, and is running out. Overpopulation and climate change make the distribution of water supplies even more

unbalanced. With the growth of population, climate change, the many consequences of globalization and increasing pollution, we are drifting toward the limits of progress.

***The predictable challenges to security, the risks of looming crises, the threats to our values***

The predictable challenges to security include, among others:

- the economic recession
- environmental pollution
- man-made ecological changes
- population explosion
- shrinking living spaces
- impoverishment
- the short-sighted exploitation of resources in the short term

The risks of looming crises include, among others:

- arms, drugs, human and organ trafficking
- mass migration
- proliferation
- the spread of money laundering
- extremism
- the continuing spread of radicalism and nationalism
- the existence of dictatorships and dictators.

The threats to our values include, among others:

- the uncoded new factors of modern warfare
- the rise of organized crime
- the realities of geophysical warfare
- the radicalism of violence
- the spread of religious extremities
- terrorism
- the rapid spread of drug abuse

In view of the above, we can forecast the following:

- a deepening global economic crisis
- general loss of values (also known as moral crisis)
- a series of acts of compensation in developed societies
- religious and cultural tensions, and the ensuing permanent local armed conflicts
- international search for scapegoats and retaliatory military actions
- radicalization
- the expansion of the global and total crisis.

*Challenges, dangers and crises of natural origin:*

- The problems of global warming and global cooling;
- The threats posed by increasingly frequent and severe earthquakes, tsunamis, floods and volcanic eruptions caused by the constant movement of the layers of the Earth's crust;
- The activity of the elements of the solar system – of which we have a growing body of knowledge – which threatens our Earth (including the challenges arising from the strengthening oscillations with an increasing impact, the predicted change of the magnetic poles of the Earth, i.e. their hypothesized shift and the Earth's dramatically weakening magnetic field);
- The phenomena and events affecting our planet which cause crises, including spherical resonances (atmospheric events), universal resonances (cosmic rays and various changing effects coming from the outer space, e.g. the influence of the planets of the solar system on earthly life), lunar resonances (the impact of the Moon, e.g. ebb and flow) and solar resonances (the impact of the Sun, including solar wind, solar flare and sunspot activity).

*The possibilities of natural, geophysical warfare in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*

Geophysical warfare is a term meaning the use of the natural environment as a weapon.

The short definition of natural (geophysical, atmospheric physic, meteorological etc.) warfare is “deliberate modification of the environment for military purposes (weaponization)”. The deliberate (controlled) modification of the environment can be achieved with the use of so-called environment modification techniques.

I took my first degree in Kiev in 1977 in radar engineering, then continued to broaden this basic knowledge at the Microwave Department of the Budapest University of Technology under my revered and famous teacher, Professor István Bozsóki's guidance. Thus I have been familiar for decades with the studies, research projects and visions for the present and the future concerning the news and significance of the forms, means and effects of natural warfare. Of course, it would be hard to make or prove any definite claims about a field which has been shrouded in secrecy since the dawn of the Cold War (see e.g. the Manhattan project led by Professor Bell in the USA), which classifies top secret its strategic and defense programs and development results, and where people often carry out covertly the tests in specialized branches of research and military technology development due to lobby and national interests, or even deny the fact of those tests being carried out, laying the blame for some concomitant phenomena on nature, or even on climate change in some cases.

Many of us may rightly ask whether the ever-growing number of serious natural disasters in the 21<sup>st</sup> century such as tsunamis, earthquakes, tornados, landslides, the extensive melting of ice covers and glaciers are all the outcomes of the accelerating weather and climate change? Or rather, did or do the artificial (intentional, i.e. controlled or accidental) human activities also play a role in triggering these processes and events?

During my military research, I came across a number of historical documents on the influence of weather, climate and the natural circumstances on the course of military action. What is more, I personally experienced these phenomena on the international crisis response operations conducted over the past 20 years. For example, the D-Day of the Normandy landing was postponed 24 hours; further cases include the timing of the start of the Iraq War and the abandonment of the hunt for Osama bin Laden and his warriors in the Tora Bora Mountains in Afghanistan.

These days we are familiar with successful experiments aimed at producing artificial rain: the fundamental principle is based on the "solar absorption potential" of carbon black dust, and on the spraying of carbon particles into the air from an aircraft.

Likewise, hail suppression by cloud seeding is also a well-known technique today. This program is intended to change the dynamics of cloud generation (practical experimentation with the use of rockets within a similar subprogram was carried out some years ago to protect the vineyards of the Mecsek wine-growing region in Hungary). The essence of this method is to make precipitation fall as soon as possible. To achieve this goal, it requires condensation seeds

which are created by spraying tiny particles of polluting material (silver iodide) on the clouds from an airplane. Combined with dry ice, the silver iodide causes the condensation of water vapor in large quantities, and this process results in raindrops.

Natural warfare is a state monopoly in our age. Owing to its technological characteristics, this type of warfare can bring about destruction in the living world and our environment on a much larger scale than conventional warfare. Beyond destroying so-called critical infrastructure, such attacks may lead to partial or even total physical annihilation.

### *The content and challenges of geophysical warfare*

Geophysical Warfare/War or “Earth as Weapon” is a term meaning deliberate modification of the Earth’s geophysical processes for war-fighting or general military purposes – but it must always be interpreted against the background of the economic-social interests of a given country!

### **3.3. Conclusions, guidelines and action program proposals related to the protection of our values and effective crisis management**

The challenges of globalization and the “living space” wars waged for water, land and food; the documented destructive effects on our living world and environment of man-made (intentional and accidental) and natural (climate change) crises; mass migration caused by hopeless impoverishment; the sings and events of the dangerous interplay between arms, organ , treasure and drugs trafficking and terrorism should all prompt international organizations and individual states – no matter how optimistic their outlook is –, to face the above-mentioned processes as soon as possible (their list is not intended to be exhaustive) and take responsible action in the interest of a livable future.

### *Application of the Security Sector Reform crisis management (Afghanistan, 2001-2011)*

The term Security Sector Reform and its use in practice have a relatively short history, as the current complex interpretation was given to it just 10 years ago. The precursors of the concept couched in other terms with partly less content were already around (available to me as a



peacekeeper too) during the Balkan peace process in the period between 1996 and 1998, but the still valid rationale behind the complex character this concept assumed during the ongoing management of the crisis in Afghanistan has been the conflict that arose after the overthrow of the Taliban regime in fall 2001; as the presence and cooperation of the UN, NATO, the EU, the OSCE, governmental and several hundred non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and global as well as regional aid organizations presuppose and require coordinated action in the interest of successful (re-)building of the Afghan state and the necessary and inevitable reforms in all the components of the Afghan security sector.

*The applicability to the timely management of regional threats of the Security Sector Reform model*

Recent developments in Afghanistan have highlighted again the significance of ongoing international activities in the Central Asian country. It is imperative that the UN, NATO, the EU, the states, the governmental and non-governmental organizations all respond to the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, because our world has changed. In our age the former opposition of two political-military blocs gave way to the trans-border challenges we must face, like global terrorism, tensions arising from climate change and migration, water scarcity and cyber warfare. We have to see and identify these challenges, and we have to respond to them as well.

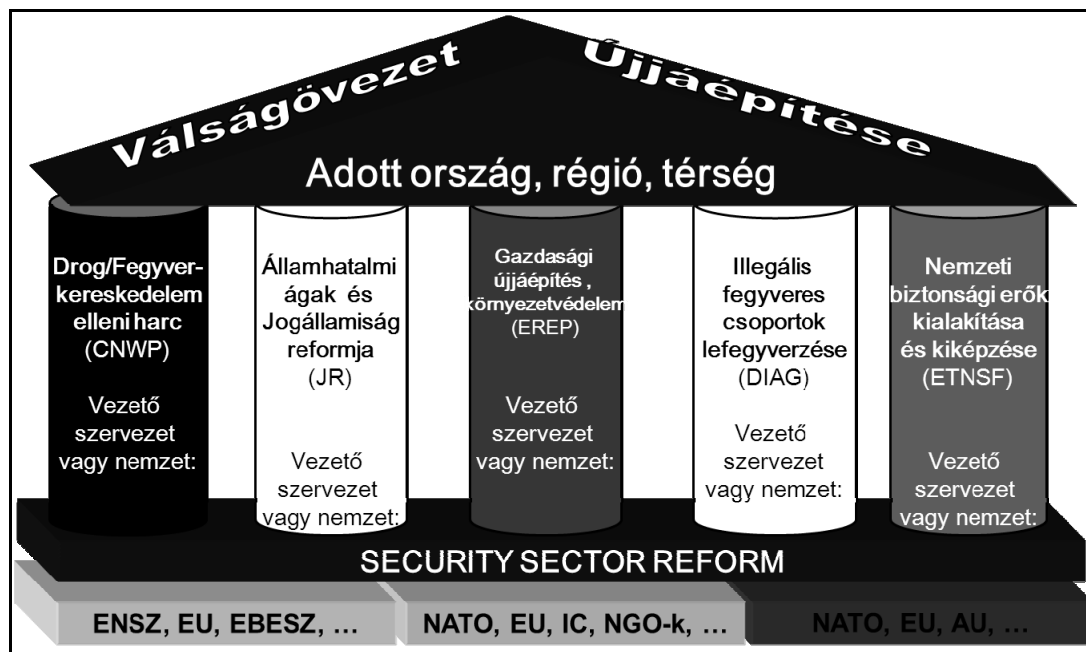


Figure 4: The Security Sector Reforms' 5-pillar model, Afghanistan

### *A case study in NATO–EU cooperation in the Balkans*

One example of successful security-related cooperation between NATO and the European Union was the Ohrid Framework Agreement to prevent war in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In February 2001, at the height of inter-ethnic strife between the country's security forces and armed Albanian insurgents, NATO and the European Union coordinated the negotiations that led to the Ohrid Agreement in August of that year.

That same month, NATO launched its thirty-day Operation Essential Harvest to disarm ethnic Albanian groups and destroy the weapons collected from them. This was followed by the three-month long Operation Amber Fox, which protected the international monitors overseeing the implementation of the peace settlement in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Then, to reduce the possibility of backsliding, NATO agreed to continue its support with Operation Allied Harmony, conducted from December 2002 to March the next year, at which point the operation was handed over to the European Union.

Another positive example is Bosnia and Herzegovina. In December 2004, NATO terminated its nine-year Implementation Force (IFOR)/Stabilization Force (SFOR) operation, and handed it over to the European Union, which immediately began its 6000-strong Operation Althea.

Partnerships at the global level are likely to set up a culture of security cooperation between the Alliance and other actors, reduce misunderstanding and misconceptions, and enhance knowledge and awareness of regional conditions crucial to the design of efficient security responses to current and emerging threats.

Considering the above, we can safely say that coordinated action taken by large international organizations like the UN, the EU and the OSCE (whose main responsibilities include monitoring democratic governance in crisis zones and operating the system of international arms control) and NATO is indispensable for resolving the growing number of international crises and for giving effective responses to them. Nevertheless, governmental and non-governmental organizations must also be involved in the stabilization process to make sure that the potentials of civil-military cooperation are maximally utilized on the local level.

In view of the different organizational-functional systems of these organizations, they can produce results only by taking coordinated action. In its absence, we will have to reckon with a number of unsuccessful missions like some peace enforcement operations in Africa and several

long-running missions like e.g. those in Cyprus and the Sinai Peninsula or the Balkans crisis management operation in our region.

#### ***4. CONCLUSIONS, PROPOSALS DRAWN FROM THE RESEARCH, AND SUMMARY***

##### ***Conclusions***

Chapter 1 of my PhD thesis introduced in detail the international organizations which conduct peace, crisis management and disaster relief missions. Their activity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century makes it clear that for all their good intentions, they kept trying to bring their own organization to the fore, refusing to acknowledge the necessity/possibility of cooperation.

Apart from very little success, in most cases the efforts of “modern-day” international crisis management over the last 115 years resulted in either permanent stalemates or in conflicts which flared up on the same hotspots soon again with increased intensity and led to wars.

Due to the increasingly frequent occurrence of natural and man-made disasters on a wider scale, and the immediate opportunity of keeping track of these events and situations via the World Wide Web, the last 15 years saw the international organizations, the governmental and non-governmental actors displaying a tendency for their willingness of cooperation to increase. For the most part, however, organizational and national interests still continued to “neutralize” their well-meaning attempts to improve partnership.

The predictable conflicts, dangers and challenges of natural and human (i.e. either intentional or accidental) origin in the 21<sup>st</sup> century around the four regions discussed in Chapter 2 of my thesis have already such an impact on us that we cannot make any attempts to tackle these crises without a comprehensive and complex “healing” strategy for intervention, be they natural and/or man-made ones anywhere around the world. These days all the experts and the decision-preparing/decision-making bodies must see it clearly that e.g. the looming or actual crisis situations in distances of several thousand kilometers from our country, in the periphery will have an impact on our life within a measurable time. The policy of keeping aloof, organizational strife and the overestimation of national interests are going to be followed by

deepening crises, which is a recurrent experience in the four regions highlighted in my research.

Introduced in detail in Chapter 3 of my thesis, the type of crisis management based on a comprehensive approach offers the most effective solution to the best of my present knowledge and experience. Of course, a management scenario with the same content cannot serve as a blueprint for resolving each and every crisis and disaster situation, but the application of the “security sector reform” model encompasses the more effective management of man-made crises and that of natural ones that unfortunately co-occur with them with increasing frequency.

### ***Proposals***

Apart from the continuing extension of my theoretical knowledge, my research claim and PhD thesis have evolved and benefited from my personal insights related to my hands-on experience gained in international crisis management, the presentations held at professional crisis management conferences organized by various international organizations, and a number of forums for consultation and debate.

I am personally convinced that the natural and human exploitation of humankind and the whole living world, our living space included, has by now reached a level that demands our response of implementing real programs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. If we fail to react, we will see the intensification of natural processes and phenomena – that would defeat the human factors anyway – and the foreseeable concomitant expansion in the scale of man-made disasters. This is by no means pessimism – personally, I profess to belong to the group of the hopeful, but remain a realist nevertheless. This means that I consider it necessary to take the steps listed below, therefore I make the following proposals. We should

- investigate the overall effect of regional and global processes;
- make the results of this investigation available to the widest public;
- raise public awareness of the risks, dangers and conflicts;
- raise awareness of individual and national interests vs. regional effects;
- carry out a carefully considered reinterpretation of natural processes;
- initiate awareness of tasks for the sustainable development, in crises areas;
- disseminate the theoretical and practical elements of comprehensive crisis management;
- revise the current operational mechanism of international organizations;

- improve the cooperative effectiveness between regional and global players;
- harmonize international law to achieve the above goals;
- based on the above, develop a new system of guarantees in service of the future.

### ***Summary***

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, our world is facing crisis situations that have probably never been experienced before. The crisis management efforts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the national, regional and global levels did not produce any permanent or final solutions. On the contrary, the exploitation of nature and humankind has continued on an ever-widening scale, while both natural and human tolerance has reached its limits. The destruction of nature has become unmanageable, the present and future of the living world, including an ever-growing part of humankind, have turned unmanageable and unforeseeable. At the same time, the world is facing mass exodus on a scale that was unprecedented in earlier centuries, and gives a slow and lazy response to it, forgetting that today the impact of forced migration and different diseases can spread at the same speed as information.

There is no doubt that the mostly cumulative natural and man-made disasters/crises of the 21<sup>st</sup> century more and more often lead to conflicts and wars for water and food, and definitely, for life!

In view of the above – based on my service experience gained on missions abroad during the last decades and my specialized research into the practice of crisis management – I propose that the international organizations, the national and regional bodies and we, all the people should reconsider the current practice of managing natural and man-made crises and conflicts, learn about nature's mechanism of action and widely disseminate this knowledge together with humankind's responsibility for its own fate, put the complex system of crisis management on a new basis to replace the outdated, wasteful and self-justifying activity of international organizations, and adjust the renewed system to the practice of the relevant international laws and responsibilities.

I wish to devote my current and future research work and public appearances to achieving this goal, raising awareness of the importance of personal responsibility in my own environment and, to the extent possible, in a wider circle in the interest of future generations.

## **5. NOVEL SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS**

1. I adopted a uniform framework and approach to discuss, present and comment on the shortfalls and contradictions besetting the 115-year history of peace operations and crisis management missions of the international community and its organizations in terms of organizational structure and functioning, in their interconnectedness. I have had proved that the global and the regional security organizations – due to their organizational, control, capabilities and cooperation defectiveness – by oneself are unable to avoid crises, manage conflicts, build peace, stabilize post-conflict situations in a given crisis region.
2. I provided a detailed analysis of the changes in the 21<sup>st</sup>-century security environment and the interaction of the consequences of natural and man-made (intentional or accidental) disasters/crises in Europe (the recurring crises in the Balkans), the Middle East (the Babylonian Iraq and the turbulent Arabic Peninsula), Central Asia (the fabulous Afghanistan and its warring neighbors) and North Africa (the exploited past and the present-day wars of the continent). I have had proved that the main majority of crises are complex by nature, and it brings never seen consequences during the first decades of 21<sup>st</sup> century, and more to follow.
3. By providing a case-study-based, comprehensive presentation of the implementation (or absence) of the “security sector reform” type of crisis management, I formulated proposals for the international community with a view to facilitating the timely management of challenges, risks and threats that arise cumulatively in the security environment. And it is understandable that the use of the uniformed SSR-model and methodology will not solve every type of crises of the world. In opposite ignoring such crises management model will enforce some conflicts, and human tragedy.

## **6. RELEVANT PERSONAL LITERATURE**

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