

The Development of the Security Environment

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Changes after the cease of bipolar world order

Almost without exception, recent security policy analysis begin with the already stereotypical statement that in the second half of the 20th century, and especially during its last years, significant, landslide-like socio-political changes have taken place which have led to a radical redrawing of the strategic map of the World. These changes basically came about in Europe, where the bi-polar system which had evolved following the establishment of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, collapsed by the end of the century with the disintegration of the former Soviet Union into its constituent parts and the consequent disappearance of the Warsaw Pact. The period of the Cold War was over by the end of the century and the danger of worldwide nuclear conflict between the super powers, and the coalitions headed by them, decreased to a minimum.

The changes in Europe mainly came about as a result of peaceful socio- economic revolutions, which led to the establishment of market economies and firmly rooted multi-party democracies.

Nevertheless these generally positive changes have allowed long suppressed problems to re-surface. These include firstly the recrudescence of unsettled issues between neighbouring countries, and secondly ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural tensions or conflicts within individual countries. In some cases these problems have favoured the activities of extremist elements. In certain regions existing states have either disintegrated or seen the growth of centrifugal movements. As the century came to a close some state-confederations – peacefully or forcefully – fell apart leading to armed conflicts, civil wars and the creation of new, smaller states. This process has given weight to the prophecy of Samuel Huntington, professor at Harvard University, made in an international conference held in Paris on December 19, 1995, and entitled “The Confrontation of the West and Other Civilisations”, in which he predicted that in the first quarter of the 21st century

- wide scale international conflicts could be expected between different civilisation;
- the rapid demographic growth of Muslim peoples as well as the upsurge of Islam might also become a source for conflicts;
- the most destructive conflicts might originate from the economic dynamism of China and certain Asian countries.

New risks and threat

Formerly the concept of security meant in the first instance military security, and in terms of World security policy it took the form of confronting the possible outbreak of nuclear world war. These days, however, the danger of nuclear war has been replaced by risks which are on a smaller scale but far more numerous. The former challenge was unambiguous in

nature; in contrast today's challenge is not straightforward; threats to security are often impossible or very difficult to identify, and sometimes a combination of various challenges and threats have to be faced.

Dr. Attila Ágh in his study entitled "National Security and Accession to NATO. National Military Strategy in the New World Order." places the beginning of a radical reinterpretation of the concept of security in Hungary in the second half of the nineteen-eighties. At this time the emergence of global interdependence led the traditional concept of security to be extended to cover economic security. The last decade of the century has brought about a further sharp turn as a result of the increase in new kinds of threats, i.e. international crime, terrorism, ethnic problems and the instability of international political systems. Taking these factors into account one can identify five basic elements within the current concept of security, all of which are closely related and to a certain extent over-lapping. These are:

- Economic security, i.e. the stability of any given country's economic environment and internal economic dynamism;
- Public security, i.e. the internal protection of society against the impacts of both external and internal developments;
- Social security, protection against the potential destabilising impact of minority, ethnic, religious and language conflicts;
- Political security, referring to the stability of the political system in any particular country;
- Military security, i.e. a country's capacity to defend itself against external military threats.

The above list reveals that the concept of security in today's world covers not only the capability to deter external military aggression, but also, as Dr. Ágh says, covers "the relative orderly state of the World Order which provides for the relative stability of individual nations, embraces the process and extent of change in these nations, and allows for the continual renewal of the security system itself as change takes place".

In our age the contradictions between competing values and interests, or the relationships interwoven with complex problems of identity or nationality have created new challenges and factors that endanger international security. There is little emphasis upon global war amongst the options available for combating these threats. And yet global or trans-national challenges and threats that recognise no borders - and cannot therefore be constrained within national borders - are now at the forefront. These threats do not have a similar uniform impact upon all nations and regions, but any negotiation relating to them, as well as their containment, call for monolithic efforts and international teaming.

According to our perspective, such trans-national challenges and risks may be listed as follows:

- Terrorism;

- Organised crime;
- Drugs, arms and human smuggling;
- Environmental catastrophes;
- The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the illegal arms trade and transfer of technologies;
- The possibility of global economic and financial instability;
- Cyber (information) challenges and risks;
- Global social, and political challenges (e.g. North-South controversies, poverty, demographic problems, *etc.*).

It is necessary to be aware of the great importance of analysing and interpreting the above-mentioned challenges correctly; for failure to recognise in time the threat they pose can lead to a situation in which we are left only with cleaning up the ruins they have created or managing their tragic consequences. In order to prevent threats becoming reality, and to give us a chance to avert crisis situations before they come to a head, we need to conduct a thorough and expert study and evaluation of how such threats develop and the environment in which they flourish.

NATO's New Strategic Concept – Managing New Risks and Threats

The document laying down the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's basic principles, the Strategic Concept, summarises NATO's assessment of the security environment, both globally and in Europe, defines the Alliance's role and missions and pins down the basic principles of its security policies. Since all the issues that the Strategic Concept addresses are in dynamic motion and will undergo change, occasional overall reviews and incidental amendments of the document are necessary. The above indicated transformation of the external security environment, and the changes in the nature of challenges faced by the Alliance, as well as the evolution of the organisation itself, together called for the updating of the basic Treaty in 1999. It was expected that the new document would be functional and forward looking and delineate the framework for an Alliance that would be flexible, capable of acting quickly and effectively, and capable of providing appropriate responses to the security challenges which would have to be faced in the foreseeable future.

Even in the preparatory discussions great stress was laid upon missions that would confront threats from a variety of sources, which would have to address a range of imponderable factors of diverse and complex origin and which would have to cope with challenges whose resolution would be very uncertain. In addition the Alliance emphasised the need to gradually increase preventive measures in parallel with maintaining a developed reaction capability.

Among the risk factors the Alliance highlighted most were international terrorism, the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, the internal collapse of states and regional instability provoked by outside governments.

These priorities were subsequently echoed by the heads of US Military Intelligence (Lt. General Patrick M. Hughes in 1999, and Admiral Thomas R. Wilson in 2000) when giving their situation assessment reports in front of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee. They highlighted the following potential sources of instability or insecurity in their projection of the main global and regional challenges likely to arise during the next 10-20 years following the cold war era:

- The dangers inherent in uneven economic and demographic growth;
- Potentially explosive ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts in a number of places;
- International terrorism, organised crime and drug trafficking, all of which endanger the security of countries and nations;
- An unbalanced distribution of economic, technological and intellectual resources, which is likely to lead to tension;
- The unforeseeable risks which are inherent in large scale technical developments in both the armaments field and in the civilian sector, (e.g. environmental pollution, an inability to maintain traditional life styles, the disintegration of social structures, etc.);
- The impact of the collapse of unstable global and regional organisations which were established during the Cold War but are no longer appropriate for today's world.

Hughes and Wilson concluded that the more pernicious side effects of globalisation are generating counter reactions in many regions of the World. They have concluded that in many places radical Islamic and extremist nationalist “anti-western” forces organised under a range of cultural, religious and ethnic banners are standing in the way of the spread of democracy, freedom and the market economy. Regimes in some of these countries place themselves outside the boundaries of internationally accepted basic standards of behaviour, flout the generally approved minimum of human rights, oppress their people to an unprecedented degree, wage war against sectors of the population in their own countries and endanger world stability by means of their irresponsible arms exports.

The economic, technological and military supremacy of the developed world – and in particular that of the US – has induced certain national and non-national groups and extremist organisations to apply unconventional and fanatical means of resistance. According to the report new kinds of transnational threats, risks and challenges have grown up as traditional threats have faded. A further danger that has been identified is that posed by the activities of rootless, renegade individuals and groups placing themselves beyond the rule of law. In his 1999 and 2000 Senate Report George Tenet, the Director of CIA, pointed out that non-state elements, either organisations or, in some particular cases even individuals, may have gained control of financial, material and technological resources which would enable them to extend their control to a significant extent over certain countries or even regions. As an example he referred specifically and by name to the activities of Osama bin Laden. The events of September 11 proved that the Director of CIA was right.

The September 11 terror attack underlined the fact that in spite of all the theoretical work being conducted on these issues, NATO in its present form and with its present mechanisms cannot effectively control the threats of the present era. As Dr. István Gyarmati, a former OSCE Ambassador, later Undersecretary of State at the Hungarian MOD and today Deputy-Chairman of the East-West Institute in NYC, highlighted this fact in the January 5, 2002 issue of the Hungarian daily, *Népszabadság*, going on to argue at the same time that there is still a need for a military alliance, in which countries of common values join their forces in defence of these values and their mutual interests.

II The Definition, Origin and Forms of Terrorism

The notion and definition of terrorism

“Kill one to terrorize ten-thousand” ...says an ancient Chinese proverb.

Dr. Tibor Kőszegváry, professor at the *Zrínyi Miklós* National Defence University, refers to this proverb when searching for the essence of terrorism in his paper entitled “Military problems and tasks in the fight against terrorism”. He writes:

“Over the centuries men have already applied force, means and methods with the goal of terrorising, generating fear and triggering panic, but in each age these were used in order to achieve some kind of definite political (ideological, religious) objective. Terrorism is always a means to advance a definite ideology based upon political, religious or ethnic considerations, and actions aimed at furthering the objectives concerned are always carried out with merciless methods and means.”

We can therefore state that aggression and the exertion of pressure based upon fear, which are basic constituent elements of terrorism, have been significant throughout recorded history, but have manifested themselves in ever-changing forms. In studying world history we cannot find even one country on earth that has not witnessed aggressive actions, or the exertion of pressure based on fear carried out in the name of some kind of idea, ideology or religion. Terrorism is not, therefore, newfangled, and in no way a twenty first century concept.

Webster’s Dictionary informs us that the word “Terror” comes from the French language as spoken between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, and means an act inculcating intense, overwhelming fear or the use of aggression for generating anxiety in political adversaries. The Hungarian Dictionary defines the word “Terror” as a method or means of forceful, merciless action, or in the political sphere as the reign of fear and intimidation. Terrorist actions applied in political struggles are described as intimidating and forceful actions.

According to the definition by the Hungarian expert Attila Gergely:

“terrorism (horror, dread, reign of terror) is aggressive action of political purpose by individuals or groups, through which they intend (by applying coercion and intimidation) to inculcate anxiety and uncertainty upon society. Its objective: to generate disorder and tension in political and social life as well as in international relations ...”.

In the Military Dictionary issued by the Pentagon in 2001 the following definition can be found for terrorism: it is “the unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence against individuals or property in an attempt to coerce or intimidate governments or societies to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives.” Earlier, in 1996, the Pentagon also issued a document, entitled “*Combating Terrorism Program*”, in which terrorism is described as “the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological”.

The evolution and varieties of terrorism

Coercion, fear and terror are tangible features of our every day life just as they have been through the millennia. Throughout history certain groups have practiced violence in a variety of ways. In our present age terrorism has grown to become a special form of violence, a form of crime with enhanced danger and significance for the modern era. *Terrorism has tried to achieve its premeditated objectives in every age by being prepared to use every form of force and intimidation against anybody and, over the last decades, it has developed into a most merciless threat reaching over national borders.*

Today’s terrorism evolved during the sixties and seventies in the Middle East and Europe. In the Middle East it was associated with the establishment of the State of Israel and the political and social neglect of the Palestinian people. In Western Europe the roots of terrorism lay in the ever greater social and cultural differences generated by the prevailing capitalist system, by the increasing nationalism and racism at that time and by the total refusal of governments to accommodate movements in favour of regional autonomy. Together these factors conspired to generate groups and organisations that in pursuit of their objectives used indiscriminate force against governments and society and continue to do so to this day.

In the nineteen seventies terrorism became an international issue. This was due to two factors: firstly that in pursuit of their policy objectives certain regimes employed terrorist groups against countries they considered their rivals; and secondly that improvements in the modern means of transport and communications have enabled terrorist groups to become more efficient. National frontiers no longer impede co-operation between terrorist groups which are of different nationalities but whose objectives are almost identical.

Hijackings, murder by bombing, hostage taking and political assassination, carried out across the globe, have created fear and uncertainty at every level of society. The tools of terrorism have developed in keeping with advances in technology. The terrorists of today use and abuse the benefits of globalisation, new technologies and the growth of sophisticated financial services, as well as exploiting the modern media. By taking advantage of the global arms trade terrorist groups have been free to obtain the most sophisticated arsenal, including even nuclear and biological weapons. The terrorist murders in the Tokyo metro on 20 March 1995 have demonstrated that desperate terrorist groups would not shrink from using biological and even nuclear weapons without any regard for the incalculable consequences of so doing.

The September 11th terrorist outrage revealed that, in recent years, terrorist groups have undergone significant changes in terms of their structure, organisation, motivation and objectives. In the past terrorist activity was characteristically carried out by isolated individuals or at most by small groups whose objectives were either to liquidate particular individuals who were prominent in government, religion or politics, (e.g. the assassinations of Crown Prince Francis Ferdinand, Tsar Alexander II, Martin Luther King, or J.F. Kennedy) or to create or provoke fear by destroying a given building or installation. In contrast, today's terrorists are drawn from large organisations often with an international dimension; and instead of striking at clearly defined targets, they are driven by hatred to create generalised fear and commit mass murder, striking at targets that are no longer identifiable and are often innocent people. This qualitative change in the nature of terrorism took place in the nineties, when it became practice for various terrorist groups to collaborate internationally and even distribute missions amongst themselves.

There was frequent activity by terrorist groups with the support of, and sometimes under the direct control of governments, such as those operating in the Arab world, Palestine, Iraq or northern Europe. Such groups, which use sophisticated methods and equipment, prepare their terrorist acts carefully and painstakingly over a long period and the effects and consequences are far more brutal than those incidents mentioned above. Behind the activities of such groups one will find a doctrinal leader and financial sponsor, such as is the case with Osama bin Laden.

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks also indicated the need to distinguish between the designers, organisers and executors of any given operation according to their place within the structure of such organisations. This differentiation has relevance for the motivation and behaviour of those concerned. Terrorism based in Islamic extremism shows how religious fanaticism can be abused for destructive purposes. Those fanatics who live in poverty or at least at the lower strata of society, can be prepared to sacrifice their lives out of conviction in pursuit of some goal concealed within the trappings of religion. On the other hand, as the examples of Osama bin Laden and Omar Mullah show, those who draw up the blueprints for terrorist activity or operations show more concern for their lives and for protecting the wealth they have acquired courtesy of the '*hateful West*'.

The significance of understanding the nature and philosophy of terrorism and its various manifestations

The appearance of terrorism – as one of the most aggressive and, therefore, most dangerous challenges facing the world today – makes urgent demands upon all organisations and forces capable of combating it and destined to do so. Because of the sophisticated communications which are available these days, contemporary man is vulnerable to acts of terrorism at any time regardless of where he is living and even if the act of terror takes place elsewhere. The situation is made worse because - as a result of technological advances - the potential and actual impact of terrorism is ever more increasingly extended and destructive. Controlling it is therefore a task of the highest priority and developing methods to prevent it is a matter of the greatest urgency. On the other hand it is indispensable for carrying out counter-terrorist measures to study the nature of the challenge and the dangers posed, and thus to be able to predict possible terrorist actions.

Terrorism can also be viewed as a systematic sequence of actions whose objective is to resolve an existing conflict; its methods and short-term goals are continually changing, although it is not possible to identify clear evolutionary trends in this respect. It remains true that ideologically inspired terrorism can still be expected in the future. However, in recent years an ever increasing number of terrorist actions around the world have been motivated by religious or ethnic considerations. And in keeping with this trend future conflicts are also likely to be of religious or ethnic origin; assessments suggest that there are hundreds of potential ethnic conflicts world-wide.

One of the most common characteristics of ethnic conflicts is that those involved are non/governmental groups, although they can often be influenced or manipulated by outside states in pursuit of their own interests. An important aspect of such groups is that they are exclusive in nature and define themselves by identifying who does not belong to them. And while the origin of ethnic conflicts can be simultaneously political, economic or social, the determinant factors in such struggles are hatred and anger, making any kind of compromise almost impossible.

Perhaps the most important points to understand in any study of terrorism are the foundations upon which terrorism, as an ideological tool, is built. In most cases these foundations are populations living in such dire poverty and deprivation that they can be recruited through their religious beliefs to carry out actions which they consider *honourable* and which they hope will bring rewards in the *after-life*. It is true that there have been terrorist groups in the past whose members, far from facing deprivation, came from the upper strata of their respective societies; and that such individuals, mentally shallow and influenced by drugs, could act with considerable aggression and without mercy. But individuals of this kind are not characteristic of today's terrorist.

Another reason why terrorism can arise is as a result of differences in the level of technical development between different countries. This is described with the term 'unbalanced threats', for example, when the economic, technological and military supremacy of the Developed World inspires certain countries, groups of countries, or organisations, whose principles may be different, to apply an unbalanced method of opposition.

The importance the world now attaches to the dangers of international terrorism is indicated by the fact that in recent years dozens of institutions have begun to analyse the subject. Articles, studies and papers have been, and are being published and social scientists and researchers exchange views at conferences, on what is now seen as one of the gravest problems of our age. All one can say today is that the world has recognised the danger, but unfortunately has not yet discovered an effective method of overcoming the problem or putting an end to it. A challenge that has become international requires to be tackled at an international level; but so far, in spite of the US action against the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Afghan based terrorist groups, the response has not moved beyond generalities. Meetings organised at international levels, such as the Halifax G-7 meeting in 1997, the February 1996 *Sharm-al-Sheik* Anti-Terrorism Summit, the June 28, 1996 Lyon Declaration and the July 30, 1996 Paris G-7 plus Russia Summit, merely passed general resolutions calling for anti-terrorist measures to be increased at both national and international levels. A wide-ranging and effective international agreement on combating terrorism has yet to be

concluded; such agreements as have been reached only addressing specific aspect of the problem.

The distinctive features of terrorism and the reasons for it

The primary requirement for combating terrorism is to have a thorough knowledge of the nature of the challenge, to have itemised the main factors in any terrorist actions and to have analysed the main characteristics of terrorist acts. This task is made more difficult by the fact that when one analyses the constituent elements of terrorist activity, significant differences emerge between how such actions are perceived by the participants (that is, the perpetrators and victims) and in the nature, purpose, objectives and *modus operandi* of a given terrorist action:

- Perpetrators can either be isolated individuals or smaller, *ad hoc* organised groups, or – even regular – formations with actual and long term goals, or structured organisations, or sometimes certain governments of states conglomerates, as well;
- Victims of terrorist actions might be political, economic, military or religious leaders, groups of leaders, political, military or religious organisations and formations and also indefinite groups of private individuals as well as governments and states;
- In terms of the nature and form of terrorism one can experience in terrorist actions the threats, casualties, homicides, hostage takings and/or attacks on property such as bombings, arson, or in accordance with the technology of the age, more and more frequently cyber terrorism (forceful destruction, alteration of data, databases, or injection of computer viruses);
- In terms of motive, one can mention innumerable ideological, religious and ethnic principles; there is uniformity only in one aspect, namely, that the means used for the action are justified by the goals to be achieved;
- The goals of terrorism can be identified throughout the centuries of its existence, thus these are indoctrination of fear, provocation of panic or even coercion in pursuit of political or financial gains on individuals, agencies, public institutions or against governments and leaders in order to achieve destabilization, and ultimately the collapse of standing regimes.

Major Ernő Balla in his dissertation put forward at the War Sciences Faculty of ZMNE in 2001, summarises the opinions of experts dealing with the subject, saying that terrorism classically features the following characteristics:

- **Criminal characteristics**, indicating that terrorism is a special form of organised crime. In this sense, there is an understanding among the nations of the European Union insofar as terrorism must be handled as a criminal act committed in the pursuit of change by force, or by promise of force to its victims, forceful change to political, social and economic structures in countries operating under the rule of law freely. This characteristic is also underlined by the fact that terrorism is always associated with violence.

- **Desire for political change**, since terrorism – though on the side of its actions manifests itself to society as a criminal act – in its motivation and goals wishes to achieve change in an existing (political) regime by applying all those means available to it. Within the scope of this, it can be aimed at maintaining existing political power (in the form of a terrorist state), or aimed at changing state at any price – with the motive being based on feeling stemming from deep ideological, religious or ethnic beliefs.

Other researchers cast their vote on emphasising political goals, like Richard Shultz does, who says “terrorism is a reasonably deliberated activity, a “calculated violence”, steered at swinging the opinion and/or behaviour of special groups of the populations”. Included in this, he speaks of three varieties; *revolutionary terrorism*, aimed at total political change within a given political regime; or *semi-revolutionary terrorism*, in which the demand for changes are merely aimed at certain portions of a political regime; and *institutional terrorism*, directed against the external or internal opponents of a standing political system:

- Again, **rationality** of terrorists is a basic feature. Although they pick their victims incidentally, they elaborate and plan the action itself thoroughly and in detail;
- The most important characteristics may be **organisation, good management, and absolute conviction**. Today’s terrorist organisations carry out their activities in well-organised form, along the lines of identical ideological or social philosophy, within which the use of extreme violence is generally accepted, as is the absolute adherence and attachment to the group.
- Significant is the need for **media publicity**. It is among the methods of terrorists to draw public attention to themselves and to their articulated goals and their means. The best way to do it is through the use of media. As the British historian, Walter Lyqueur, puts it: “the media is the best friend of the terrorist. The act of terrorism in itself is worth nothing, while in turn the publicity is everything.”

Taking into consideration these characteristics, methods, and goals, four fundamental **reasons** can be found for the action of terrorists:

- First, change to political or social structures, with this endeavour frequently is paired with ideology in contradiction with the actual standing ideology;
- Second, the demand of ethnic or political minorities, or suppressed peoples for their own state or, at least, to have a certain amount of political and cultural autonomy;
- Third, change or protest because of religious or pseudo-religious motives;
- Fourth, as a result of a mission of mentally disturbed individual perpetrators (as the selected ones). These organise and carry out their assassinations in isolation, without any wider support or background, though in certain cases their actions can even be used for goals articulated by terrorist groups.

Attributes of organisational structures and personnel composition

When looking into the issue it is expedient to focus on terrorist organisations and formations posing actual challenge and threat, and assume that today's terrorist groups that work on the basis of international collaboration well surpass, in their activity, the efficiency and significance of the danger posed by the traditional isolated or individual terrorist.

By looking at their immediate environments, it can be stated that members of terrorists groups represent every class and strata of a given society. The same observation applies to their skill, education and social and material resources. At the same time a general conclusion may be drawn suggesting that group leaders are often highly educated persons of significant existence, capable of exercising power over the group members. It has been established in a number of cases that in the background of terrorist actions there are leading personalities belonging to political, economic, social elite strata, or specifically to the sphere of government or political opposition, who maintained contact with the organisation itself under strict conspiracy. The composition of the executing staff shows a more heterogeneous picture. Here, there is significant participation of young people from lower, or lower-middle strata of society that are not satisfied with the standing regime, and this layer seems to be complemented with signs of frustration and an aggressiveness without significant mental limitation, despite their actions. At the same time the involvement of declassed, criminal elements has become significant today as well.

As a result of the actual technological developments a new intermediate strata has developed at an expert level, whose role is definitive, and mostly major, if not case by case, within the preparation for action, however, in many cases, religious motivations lead to an active role for the expert in the execution as well (e.g. pilots playing major role in the events of September 11).

In addition to ideological dissimilarity there might also be **compositional diversities** among individual groups. According to international assessments the members in extreme left or right groups are young people of 18-25 years, and while there is a high number of females in extreme leftist organisations, the extreme right groups are made up exclusively of males. In case of separatist movements the average age is higher (30).

III Combating and Preventing Terrorism

Localisation of terrorist groups and organisations, and of their operations

The most effective form of combating terrorism seems to be prevention. As it has been mentioned in outlining the methods of terrorists, the limited possibilities of prevention leave only the 'clean up' of casualties and ruins, where timely information on the terrorist action had not been obtained or where effective and timely measures could not be put in place before the execution. This makes the most important constituent of preventive measures 'effective intelligence'. At the same time, it is indispensable to intelligence to have knowledge of the terrorist philosophy, activities of the group's personnel, the motivations governing the groups' conduct, and a thorough study of the mentality of organisations' members. Regarding the

fact that terrorism as a phenomenon is not new, its motivation, fundamentals and basic features have already been researched and are becoming better understood.

Despite the research, the continual addition, complementary analysis, and evaluation of knowledge and particular data are necessary, especially at an international or global level. The reason is not only the fact that terrorism itself is becoming an international phenomena, but also that its goals and methods are becoming international, without mention the so-called super-terrorism, *i.e.* the emergence of mega-organisations operating with biological and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. The application of biological weapons, as an effective means of terrorism, is unfortunately a fact today (anthrax). In view of experiments begun by the world's nuclear powers during the sixties, through which were developed easily portable and easy-to-handle devices using small-energy nuclear power for diversion purposes, it can be assumed that miniaturised nuclear weapons might even have, or in the future may get into the hands of terrorist groups. It should be held that anything developed by the scientist can get into the hands of a terrorist.

International cooperation is given an emphasised role in the localisation of terrorists. The effectiveness of bilateral cooperation needs to be strengthened, especially in those crisis areas where outside limited cooperation, an alliance level of cooperation would be desirable. In the period following September 11, the US in its call to the World also gave emphasis to collaboration in the fields of intelligence. This was also emphasized by Richard Sentner, Deputy Director of Intelligence of NATO International Staff, in his professional discussions in December 2001 in Budapest, where he said that "the capabilities of international terrorism may extend and grow, and by means of the power of WMDs and the probability of cyber attacks against communications and information systems is significant". (MTI 1/4/2002.)

Mr. István Gyarmati offered something very similar: "the challenge of our age is hyper-terrorism and the organised crime ... If this danger threatening the entire world is real (and it is, as per the conclusions of September 11) then in the framework of an alliance consisting of the western countries facing these challenges must collaborate. Pursuant to their mutual interests and based on their common values these nations have to form a cooperative association to develop and maintain common military capabilities to effectively counter challenges."

In short, we must develop our capabilities expediently and advisedly, and if NATO has acknowledged and required the capabilities of Hungarian intelligence, it is not wise to weaken it in favour of other areas of the army. Conversely, it has to be an accentuated task to coordinate relevant operations of appropriate Hungarian organisations, to initiate evaluating and analysing work with the involvement of the Hungarian scientific community's representatives as well as to enhance the efficiency of international cooperation.

The Military tasks of combating terrorism

Even Dr. Kőszegváry pointed out in his paper that combating terrorism has to be done not only through the means of defence, but with the use of offensive means, as well. Since Osama bin Laden and the organisation he heads could get support from the government in Afghanistan, the Afghan political and religious leadership were to understand that the fight

against Al-Qaeda was equally extended over training bases, terrorist installations as well as over leaders and other supporters. If we talk of offensive the fight against terrorist organisations armed with sophisticated weapons and deployed in protected installations at greater distances can only be figured out with the utilisation of modern armed forces specially selected and trained for the mission.

Certain criteria can be set for troops considered for fighting terrorism, and as a consequence it is determined what troops can be and expedient to be counted on. As lessons learned from known and analysed terrorist actions, the following can be cited among the fundamental criteria:

- They should have strategic, *i.e.* long range, recce/intelligence capability, troops and means;
- They should have air defence intercept and destruction assets to fight against air vehicles;
- They should have appropriate authorisation in order to be able to set timely and effective counter measures in motion;
- They should have striking assets to destroy terrorist bases and training centres;
- They should have combat units of appropriate strength, armament and training to carry out missions against terrorist forces.

It is an accepted and applied principle in the majority of western countries that combating international terrorism is a mission for an armed force. This is underlined by the Strategic Concept of NATO accepted in 1999, and by the National Military Strategy of the US.

Forces applicable in combating terrorism

This paper has given significant emphasis to the importance of the cognition of the localisation of terrorists, terrorist organisations and terrorist actions, of their philosophy, ideology, religious and ethnic origins and of their goals and methods of achieving them. It is only feasible by thorough, detailed evaluation based on enormous amounts of data. From this also results that the most important element of combating terrorism is intelligence.

Regarding the fact that terrorism is made up of the activities of basically extremely audacious, fanatic and occasionally well skilled individuals, therefore, the troops to be applied in the fights against them have to have similar qualities. Along with individual qualities the provision of appropriate technical assets and armament is of course also necessary. In terms of each country these troops are serving in the special mission or special purpose organisations. The US, Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany, as well as Russia all have these kinds of units, and permanent high level combat readiness and efficiency of these troops are provided by means of significant material resources and funds, as well.