MMXVIII. VI. ÉVFOLYAM KÜLÖNSZÁM

SPECIAL ISSUE 2018

NEMZETBIZTONSÁGI SZEMLE

NEMZETI KÖZSZOLGÁLATI EGYETEM
NEMZETBIZTONSÁGI INTÉZET
BUDAPEST

NEMZETBIZTONSÁGI SZEMLE

A Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem
Nemzetbiztonsági Intézetének
elektronikus (online) megjelenésű tudományos folyóirata

KÜLÖNSZÁM / 2018.

NATIONAL SECURITY REVIEW

JOURNAL OF
NATIONAL SECURITY INSTITUTE
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE

SPECIAL ISSUE / 2018.

HU ISSN 2064-3756

Published by National University of Public Service

Authors:

Zoltán Bács, Dr. univ,
National Security Institute, NUPS

Attila Kasznár, PhD, Senior lecturer,
National Security Institute, NUPS

József Boda, habil, PhD, Associate professor,
Faculty of Law Enforcement, NUPS

Noémi Göbölös-Zalai, PhD,
National Security Institute, NUPS

Ganbadrakh Tsend-Ayush
Doctoral School of Military Science, NUPS

Contents

Basic socio-philosophical incompatibilities, strategies and developing practices as new security challenges in 2018

Zoltán Bács, Dr. univ.[1]

Absztrakt:

A terrorizmusra jellemző antagonisztikus szembenállásnak, valamint az ebből fakadó lehetséges radikalizációnak a gyökerei mélyebbre nyúlnak, és a következményei is eltérhetnek egymástól. A társadalom-filozófiai modellek közötti különbségek kiváló alapul szolgálnak a további kutatásokhoz, ha valaki közelebb kíván kerülni a radikalizáció és terrorizmus motivációját.

Kulcsszavak: terrorizmus, radikalizáció, társadalom-filozófiai modellek, diktátori rezsimek, közösség-centrikus rendszer, individualizmus.

Abstract:

The antagonistic counter-position and the possible subsequent radicalization and violent measures characteristic for the terrorism, have deeper roots, so even the consequences can differ from each other. The differences between the socio-philosophic models consist a vast base to be investigated if one wants to get closer to understand the motives of radicalization and terrorism.

Keywords: terrorism, radicalization socio-philosophic models, dictatorial regimes, community-focused system, individualism.

[1] National Security Institute, National University of Public Service, ORCID 0000-0003-3454-9539

One objective - two ways of tactical implementation

2017 was a year which became a turning point in the international combined efforts - military, civilian, economic, law enforcement and counter-terrorist – to curb down the heading of the international terrorism and its most aggressive and bloodthirsty representative the organizational conglomerate named Islamic State (IS).

Although the IS and the adherent local organizations as well as the single but never lone perpetrators attracted mostly the attention of the mass media it is important to state that beside the IS there were other terrorist organizations not less active but having and keeping a lower profile according to their tactical concept. What does it mean? The explanation seems to be simple at the first sight but is not in deed. There are not different strategies if we suppose the final goal of every terrorist organization is to take over the power to become a dominant and ruling force in any country making their own rules, religious, philosophic, ethical and moral values not predominant but implacably dominant in the given society and to persecute any other system of values considered as a clear threat or hostile factor.[2]

Once we admit that all the terrorist organizations have similar aims, what makes a difference between them is the way they supposed to achieve their aims.

The way is nothing but a logic chain of tactical measures preliminarily conceived taking into consideration several possible modifications depending on the circumstances which can emerge suddenly or which can be foreseen as the logic consequence of the previous tactical measures. These tactical measures, more precisely their effects on the society of the target country determine the reaction of the public. If the profile of the terrorist groups' activities is low enough so the activities do not cause a tangible or palpable harm to the public or do not provoke any disturbance which could interfere into the daily routine of the public's life the public remains inert toward the activities of the terrorist groups often covered as cultural or educational – religious programs, retail or wholesale commercial enterprises, small or medium-size business in the commercial and service or industrial fields.

The reaction of the public is different if the terrorist organizations' actions cause bloodshed and victims and the modus operandi is extremely aggressive and violent, like ramming, stabbing, shooting or exploding bombs in public places. The first approach or attitude we can classify as slow or prolonged infiltration and consequent conquest of territory, resources, wealth, economic and political

[2] See more: The Counterterrorism Handbook: Tactics, Procedures, and Techniques, Fourth edition, Frank Bolz, Jr., Kenneth J. Dudonis, David P. Schulz CRC Press London, 2012.

power and cultural and educational institutions. These tactics are affordable for terrorist organizations having a solid economic, political, infrastructural and logistic background which can be given by a state. This is the prolonged export of state supported terrorism. The structural type of this kind of terrorism is mostly the "old-fashioned" pyramidal formation.

There are also examples that prolonged infiltration as a tactical way to achieve long-term strategic objectives is used for non-terrorist, peaceful goals. The best example is the practice boosted by the Konfucianist-Taoist religious-philosophic theory applied in its foreign policy by the People's Republic of China. The features of difference are imminent. While the terrorist organizations' ideology is aimed at the ideological, political, cultural, economic and social conquest of the target society, the Chinese policy has nothing in mind than to be determinant in the economy in the given country thus exercising influence on the country's foreign and economic policy according to the interests of the People's Republic of China and leaving untouched the ideological, confessional, cultural, social, educational and other aspects of the country's life.[3]

What refers to the ideological background of the different approaches some ideas will be submitted later.

The more bloodthirsty tactics are typical for other organizations like the IS and its fans and followers from the radicalized youth of the second or later generations of immigrant marginalized in the hosting countries. In view of the absence of a solid, durable (state-sponsored) political, financial, military, logistic and infrastructural background the organizations of this type are urged to set up all these elements necessary for the long-term creation of their own territorial, political, social, economic, etc. … entity with attributes of a state according to the definition of the international law. The initiators of the creation of such an entity have to apply the fastest way which usually is the most violent too to possess all the possible resources of the country while it is still in shock by the brutality of the intent of take-over. Another factor is that based on some religious-ideological postulates of the Islam explained on their own manner and some historic experience from the middle age these groups of initiators-terrorist want to assure their status in the international field by widening more and more their influence intruding into different areas and countries exposed to terrorism sometimes due to the weakness of their spiritual, economic, political or military self-protection capabilities. It is clear that the proclamation of a cross-border or even a cross-continental conglomerate[4] would be a bridgehead for further intrusions and conquests and would serve as a basis for requesting the international recognition. Only a growing territorial influence and possession of the

[3] See: Attila Kasznár: China: the New Key Protagonist of the International Security

[4] A thing, consisting of a number of different and distinct parts or items that are grouped together. See: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/conglomerate

assets could fuel the rolling-on conquest of new areas. This is the weakest point, the Achilles' heel of these terrorist organizations. From this point of view the elimination of the military structure of the IS is one of the most important events of 2017.

Socio-philosophical discrepancies leading to polarization and radicalization

Let us have a look into an important factor of the radicalization beside of those I wrote about in my study "A radikalizáció és a terrorizmus kapcsolata, egyes formái, gondolatok a megelőzés lehetséges perspektíváiról."[5]

The basic socio-philosophical models

If we look at the timeline of development of the socio-philosophical views and values throughout the history of mankind we can see different models.[6] They are mostly community-focused models where the community's interests have absolute priority against the interests of the individuals. All the religions - polytheistic or monotheistic - are based upon this principle implemented and supervised by a much smaller group of selected people and their elected or appointed or selected by descendency, leader. At this point one can see an internal contradiction. On one hand the guidelines oblige the public to subordinate their individual interests to the common and general community interest declared and represented by the leading group because this kind of unity is the only chance for every obedient individual to be protected, fed and sheltered in real or fictitious threatening circumstances. If an individual does not subordinate himself or herself voluntarily to the community's interests the sanctions can be different depending on the historical period and the interests of the ruling group beginning from the physical punishment up to the death penalty or the excommunication. On the other hand, the ruling group and its members composing it are collectively and one by one interested in maintaining the collective subordination of the individual interests of the members of the community in order to preserve their privileged leading position.

Beside the religious communities and organizations one can find other socio-political formations operating by the same community-focused – group-privileged principle. There are the dictatorial or totalitarian regimes, the absolut-

[5] The links between the radicalization and terrorism, it some forms, thought about the possible perspectives of its prevention. In: A radikalizáció és a terrorizmus kapcsolata, egyes formái, gondolatok a megelőzés lehetséges perspektíváiról. Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle 2017/1. 5 – 26 pp.

[6] See: Charles F. Andrain: Comparative Political Systems: Policy Performance and Social Change Armonk, N.Y. M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

istic monarchies, the anti-democratic or pseudo-democratic and authoritarian regimes: the feudalism, the Jacobinism, the Fascism, the Nazism, the Communism, so called People's Democracies, all with their leading groups, parties or other oppressive organizations. Perhaps it is not surprising that the terrorist organizations are also guided by the same principles. Even some slogans are the same: "we must preserve our values because our case is divine and just, we must be united when facing the hostile ideologies and only united we can fight them, we must spread our truth all over the world sweeping away all those who do not obey us, etc. …"

What socio-philosophical view can be the counterweight of these violent aggressive ideas and practices? That is the individualism. According to the Oxford Dictionaries "*individualism is a social theory favoring freedom of action for individuals over collective or state control*"[7]. The freedom of action as a declared principle is the starting point to satisfy the physical, spiritual, social and other needs and passions. The absence of collective or state control granted by the individualism can give space for different addictions abusing the products and services usually used to satisfy the natural needs. It is the complete opposition of the ideas of individual self-constraint in the name of the community proclaimed by the community-focused – group-privileged socio-political formations. The intolerant attitude of these entities, their limited or forbidden access to the material assets and goods, the rejection of the principles, behavior and lifestyle of the individualists declared sinful and punishable consists the basis for radicalization.

What about freedom?[8]

There is another difference between the collectivist and the individualist approach. It lays in the concept of freedom of the individuals. The collectivism supposes the individual is free when subordinates himself or herself to the rules of the community and accepts his or her position and limits within the community and does not intent to cross the line. If it happens the individual will be sanctioned.

In the case of individualism the individual is free until its free actuation does not interfere or limit the freedom of other individuals. Sanctions will be applied only in critical cases. The individualism encourages the new ideas and non-standard thinking challenging the "uniformed" mentality of the collectivism, the cornerstone of the manageability and manipulation.

[7] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/individualism

[8] See more: The New Freedom: Individualism and Collectivism in the Social Lives of Americans, William A., Donohue Transaction Publishers, 1995

Role of the consumption

The other thing what the individualism encourages is the consumption. Hence, the individualists' consumption grows the gap between the economic, financial and social situation of the collectivist groups and the surrounding them majoritarian individualist society also increases like in the case of the immigrants in the developed countries. The fallback of the immigrant collectivists groups with high probability can play the role of the radicalizing factor.

The leaders

At this point it is appropriate to say something about the leaders of the collectivist communities and the individualists. In the first case the leader's or leaders' power is almost unlimited or only self-limited and extends over all the fields of life of the collectivist community beginning from political, moral, ethical, economic, cultural up to the influence on confessional issues. This ultimate authority is based exclusively upon the principles and practices introduced by the founders of the community "canonized" or recognized as the implacable and eternal base of the community's ideology and way of life. It is necessary to point out that no proves, no evidences are required to certify or confirm the legitimacy of the power and its holder. Once no certification or confirmation needed so the way to get and hold the power is far beyond the will and decision of the community's members. In an ideological and practical system where initiatives from under are punishable the election of the highest ranking community leaders is the responsibility of the same group practically. For the ordinary members there is "no selection – no election".

In some cases due to historic, political, economic, social or military catastrophes when the previous socio-economic and political system collapses collectivist groups can come to power legally abusing the opportunities of the democratic electoral systems and install their collectivist rules in the aftermath. With certain popular sarcasm this can be called "democratorship", composed of democracy and dictatorship.

What refers to the leaders of the individualist communities or societies their power is rather functional, and they come to power upon the will of other people not only individualists, but the only principle to elect them as leader of the community is their supposed or real ability. They will remain in position until their credibility lasts or the rules determined by the whole community allow it, and their role is rather managing at the maximum the implementation of the individual development and the creation of the advantageous conditions for that.

It would be unfair to suppose there are only extreme positions. There is another approach too, the already mentioned Konfucianist-taoist one. In its focus there is the family. This mentality does not provoke controversy either among

the collectivists or the individualists once the family plays an outstanding role in both cases. On one hand it is the forum where the cultural-religious traditions are transmitted to the new generations during the childhood, on the other hand the family can be the starting and supporting point for the individual development. These two factors have been developed and maintained in the classic Chinese families by the religious-philosophical thought throughout several thousands of years.[9]

General Security Threats in Europe in 2017 and after

Europe is different - say the European continental patriots. There is no other region in the World which is so united in its diversity. Nevertheless, from the point of view of counter-terrorism Europe does not differ from other regions in the World similarly exposed to terrorist threats and attacks. One of the reasons is that the terrorism is a phenomenon which is globalizing since the second half of the 20th century. It can be explained by the accumulation of the tension with political, socio-economic, climatic and other roots, generating polarization, radicalization and migration.

Another reason of the globalization of the terrorism is that the structural targets of terrorism and some important symbolic institutions, monuments and organizations representing the culture that the terrorist would destroy are spread all over the World even in locations where the Islam is the dominant religion. In this case the socio-philosophic concept of the terrorists is focused on their own exclusiveness of representatives of the only true Islam refusing all other moderate or tolerant ideas of the cooperation, coexistence and equivalence of religions and cultures worth to destroy by them. Surely, it is not surprising that the assets and wealth the terrorist wants to expropriate are also mostly on the territory of the target areas.[10]

Let's have a look on the following chart showing some terrorist attacks perpetrated in 2017 in Europe.

[9] See in details: Attila Kasznár: China: the New Key Protagonist of the International Security

[10] See more: Bács Zoltán György – Kasznár Attila – Zalai Göbölös Noémi: A terrorfenyegetés forrásai Bevezetés a terrorelhárítás alapjaiba Szerk. Kasznár Attila 18 – 26 old. Dialóg Campus 2017

Date	Venue	Modus Operandi	Number of victims (dead/injured)	Outcome for the perpetrator
February 3, 2017	Paris, Louvre	Intended stabbing	None	Shot
March 22, 2017	London, Westminster	Ramming and stabbing	5/40	Shot
April 7, 2017	Stockholm, central pedestrian street, shopping center	Ramming and stabbing	4/15	Arrested
20 April, 2017	Paris, Champs Elysée	Shooting	1/2	Shot
May 22, 2017	Manchester, Manchester Arena	Bombing, self-explosion	22/59	Self-exploded
June 3, 2017	London, London Bridge	Ramming and stabbing	8/48	3 perpetrators shot
June 19, 2017	Finsbury Park/London	Ramming	1/8 (Muslim worshippers)	Arrested
August 17, 2017	Barcelona, La Rambla	Ramming	14/130	Shot
August 17, 2017	Cambrils, Spain	Ramming, simulated bombing (self-explosion)	1/5	5 perpetrators shot

It is highly important to see, that terrorism in Europe is not only focused on non-Islamic groups and the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks are not exclusively follower of the Prophet. It is enough to mention the attack against Muslim worshippers in Finsbury Park on 19 June, 2017. This attack was also a typical terrorist attack against innocent people who had nothing to do with terrorism. They became targets and victims due to their religion, their culture. It cannot be justified saying that it was the retaliation and reaction on behalf of the perpetrator as a consequence of the multiple terrorist acts in Britain.

In view of the global character of terrorism we have to add to this list three other attacks on the periphery of the European Union. Just on 1 January a shooting took place in Istanbul taking away thirty-nine lives and causing injuries to seventy people.

On 3 April in Saint-Petersburg, Russia, a bomb was blown up at the Sennaya Square metro station. The result was 15 casualties plus the bomb man and 51 people injured.

In the same city another bomb was blown up on 27th December, 2017 in the Perekrestok Shopping Center. There were only 14 injured people and no casualty. The expert linked these attacks to Turkey's and Russia's participation in the military maneuvers against the IS.

What does this chart mean? What kind of conclusions can be deducted?

1. Growth of 'franchise' terrorism. In this case 'franchise' means a form operation of terrorists' structures when there is no permanent contact between the political and military center of the organization and the operatives. The operatives keep a very low profile during the preparation of the planned action what they plan independently from the center. The possible targets are selected by the group, the same as the way of implementation. In the case of the 'franchise' terrorism the center does not direct the cell, just guides it through the general instructions for all the followers without specified addressee through the internet. The financial and logistic support for the operation comes from different sources which can hardly be linked to the terrorist organization. Usually only the leader of the cell knows personally the emissary of the center who supplies the cell with the necessary materials and tools. After the perpetration of the terrorist attack the center declares that the act had been carried out by the group self-subordinated the given terrorist organization. Some factors fostering the 'franchise' terrorism:

a) Growing tension within the passively segregated[11] immigrant communities within the EU.

Its reasons: these communities are also fragmented by place of provenance, ethnic group, religion, family ties, etc… Under the severe conditions when the density of population within the places where the communities live is permanently growing and the hope what encouraged the migrants to come to Europe is vanishing minute by minute the polarization and radicalization are imminent phenomena.

[11] Passive segregation in not an act against the segregated group of people it is rather the lack of intention and action to help the exposed minority to achieve the general, social, economic and cultural level of the hosting society. There is no legislative way to counter the passive segregation. It should be based upon bilateral will and commitment of the sides: on hand the exposed minority and on the other hand the hosting society's dominant groups independently from the political parties in power. Decreasing the passive segregation would be much longer than a four-years-long political cycle even if the same party remains in power for a longer time therefore it needs a joint social commitment and not only a political will.

b) Continuous growth of the gap between local people and first and second generation immigrants or posterior descendants in economic, social, cultural and financial fields fostering polarization. Even in those cases when some of the migrants open a business, their skills and experience if any are not enough to overcome the existing differences between the average level of the local businessmen and them. Another point is that even a successful migrant businessman faces problems of supporting the other members of his family. Sometimes the younger generation does not want to follow the older generation in the business, they want something else and the differences in age can convert into discrepancies in the mentality so the family problems can also aggravate the situation within the migrants' community.

c) Lack of tangible perspectives and solutions of their social problems contributing to radicalization. Social problems include the lack of kindergarten, the lack of personnel at the available institutions speaking their language, shortcomings in clothing, food, books and also the phenomena of segregation, prejudges, superstitions on behalf of the hosting society and the migrants themselves. The problems with the education beginning from the minors up to the elder classes are often generated by the strong religious background of the migrants, the only thing they really can preserve throughout the difficulties of the migrant's life. On one hand the strong religious postulates tie the migrants to the past and close them the future. The hosting societies expect that the migrants to form part and be an active component of social, cultural, economic and even political processes in the country. A double confrontation is unavoidable. Once the migrants are not willing to break through the traditions inappropriate in the contemporary European societies, these societies will never accept this kind of implacable alien body thus the controversy will not end but even it can increase. On the other hand the conflict inside the communities will continue growing facing the increasing multifaceted gaps and unsolvable problems.

Another internal conflict is always present too. It concerns the decision what the migrants should take to find the way out from their disastrous situation. Obviously, there are different groups regarding the levels and the depth of the compromises to be undertaken. While some radicalists can affirm the community has to keep the traditional behavioral patterns and oppose to the hosting majoritarian society there might be other views ready to undertake some changes leading to the acceptation of the norms of the hosting cultural space. The temps and phases of the changes can provoke other disputes even inside the pro-development groups fragmenting further the migrants' community. Any further fragmentation of the community around the unsolved problems makes much more difficult for the politicians, civil organizations and social organizations to elaborate and offer to the migrants' community the system of acceptable compromises.

d) Continuous brainwashing from abroad strengthening the conscience of being the elected people, the representatives of the only right views. It is nothing but active self-segregation aimed to keep high the spirit massive obedience. The communities are targets of ideological coercion from different religious and political centers and its leaders. We should not ignore the internal discrepancies inside the migrants' communities. There are always persons strongly committed to traditional ideas including segregating extreme religious views supporting and making invariable the alienation between the migrants' community and the hosting society. They are ready to lead the community toward radicalization and violent imposition of their views and ideology. This is called terrorism.

2. Wide range of social inertness and spreading segregating views in the hosting countries as repercussion of terrorism related atrocities worldwide. (Circus Vicius!) Facing the increasing number of post-modern terrorist attacks and the growing losses caused by them the victimized societies' reaction is not in favor of the reconciliation. It's absolutely understandable and logic. Why should a society peacefully tolerate the acts of hostile groups or individuals which can lead to lethal victims and further losses of material goods? The aggravation of the situation is imminent due to the terrorist attacks. It is a political must to elaborate and implement efficient measures to thwart the terrorists, the real and potential representatives of the hostile ideologies instead of attempting to involve them into the normal course of the social political, economic and cultural life. There will be a huge number of self-appointed leaders who propose not less radical solutions against all the followers of the original religion misinterpreted by the terrorists suggesting violent acts against innocent people without making difference between the terrorists and peaceful migrants. Huge social groups will advocate for ceasing the social programs for migrants to stop granting asylum for refugees at all and to stop giving them material assistance and other benefits of the developed democratic countries. Others will demand the immediate suspension of the Geneva Convention on Refugees of 1951 with the immediate expulsion of the migrant communities sending them back to the countries of origin which are in many cases unsafe for living. Wide social groups are ready to brand the migrants as hopeless to integrate. The unilateral political commitment is not enough to find the way out because the solution of this problem in its complexity requires a longer time than the normal political election cycle of the parliamentary democracies i. e. 4 – 5 years. Without long term all-society's commitment on one hand and without the migrants' community's definite decision to become a part and parcel of the hosting society on the other hand the terrorism will shadow the complex development of every society in Europe and beyond for a very long time.

This situation is aggravated by the problem of the returning foreign fighters. They are an invisible legion: they are able, capable and ready to fight wherever,

whenever, for whom ever….. These young people are well trained with battlefield experience, having operational, intelligence, counterintelligence and conspiration skills. Europe is divided what to do with them. Although the European Union has already adopted some guiding documents which contain just some recommendations but the real measures that should be applied to the returning foreign fighters still are in national competence. This is the reason why any intention is inefficient regarding the foreign fighters. Without a synchronized all-European protocol the differences between the national acts dealing with the situation of the returning fighters, and handling the problems caused by their presence in the societies, and the threat they represent due to their military training and battlefield experience and skills, it is impossible to guarantee the security and safety the population of the European countries demand. We would be very naive supposing that the returning fighters will not be any more in the contact list of the terrorist organizations and will be definitely de-radicalized and will forget the training, the skills and experience of terrorist warfare beginning from setting up covered networks, logistic bases, contacting and radicalizing youngsters, organizing trainings for them to produce and handle different weapons and IED, etc…. It is logic to have certain reservation whether they are eager to integrate in the society of their countries. The chance they can be mobilized to perpetrate any terrorist act or to go and fight wherever they are paid for it is imminent. It is a clear threat that the returning fighters will be an invisible but really capable legion.

3. Beside first or second generation immigrants, political asylum-seekers also appeared among the perpetrators mostly from the former Soviet Union's Central Asian region as for example Uyghurs, Uzbeks. They appeared in Stockholm, in Istanbul in the shooting on January 1, 2017 in the Reina Disco, in St. Petersburg attacks on April 3, and December 28. What does it mean? Practically it means the following: after the collapse of the Soviet Union as an apparently monolithic political, economic, military moral and ethical entity the former Soviet states recovered or gained their national independence. At this point the traditional religion as the only durable, solid and reliable system of moral and ethical values oppressed during the Soviet era recovered its importance and became the fundament of the political, cultural and social interrelations in these societies.

All the foreign religious centers and organizations followed with the maximum of attention the processes going on in these newly independent countries. They were not passive observers but active stakeholders of the events trying to influence on the masses of believers on these "markets of beliefs". The Roman Catholic Church tried to carry out a new evangelization campaign in an attempt to convert as big part of the Orthodox believers as possible into Catholicism, the Orthodox Churches – both the Moscow Patriarchy and the Kiev Patriarchy strongly opposed, they had their own separate conflict. Religious leaders as Billy Graham also visited the East-European countries, Russia and Ukraine trying to

widen the influence of their ideas. But what happened in the former Soviet Central Asia?

The Islamic cultural and religious organization along with the political representatives and economic organizations considered the period appropriate for a quick and wide range conquest of that enormous territory with its natural resources. It was not complicated to set up the necessary network in the Central Asian countries to take over the conscience of huge masses disillusioned by the communism and seeking new and firm support by returning to the old ideas represented by the Islam. The dzhihadism also had and still has more or less open access to the masses of the Central Asian countries. It became popular as usual mostly among the undereducated social groups and the young generation having problems with its socialization. Any acts to be perpetrated in the name of a superior idea against other cultures will be considered as a proof of the almightiness and invincibility of the given idea and as a symbol of the defeated old inferior idea. This is why the national security and counter-terrorist organizations have to pay growing attention to the people coming from the Central Asian countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

4. Growth of the number of cheap attacks. The clear financial shortcomings of the Da'esh lead to the subsequent search for new sources obviously out of the preliminary operational scene, supposedly through legal enterprises in countries which had not been affected by terrorist acts and have a stable political, economic and financial structure in Europe and beyond. The low operational costs make easier the planning and preparation, keep the profile pretty low thus make the detection and prevention much more difficult.

5. A clear demand on behalf of the voters and the professional law enforcement and counter-terrorism organizations tending to apply more severe measures against perpetrators within national competence. Meanwhile the EU is still unable to elaborate united policy to thwart terrorism. No efficient measure was undertaken to prevent terrorism at the roots i.e. handling the processes which generate or contribute to the round of polarization, radicalization and at least terrorism.

6. New and restructured targets – change of tactics and modus operandi (Dabiq No. 5. November 2016) Double hit against hotels, shopping centers, arson of chemical and industrial plants, stocks of tires, wood, facilities handling hazardous materials, water processing facilities, communal services, pipelines, transformer stations, gas stations, energy supply systems, etc. …

Trends and Challenges Impacting WMD Proliferation and Determining Measures of Counter-proliferation in the Immediate Future:

1. Due to the shrinking operational financial resources the terrorist groups will try to produce a growing part of their weapons and they'll try to increase their efficiency.

2. Parallel they will try to create new types of weapons using their experience and skills using their scientific and technological resources to upgrade the destructive potential.

3. Operations will be carried out in the cyberspace. The targets will be the computer centers of the critical infrastructure and other IT networks and structures.

4. The goal will be to obtain the capability to hack and destroy the networks and provoke the temporary or definite collapse of vital supply and service networks and systems, beginning from the banking networks up to the road lights and communication systems of the cars with electric engines.

5. The terrorist organizations will try to develop further their IT capacities in order to use the artificial intelligence for engineering the new generation of WMD with reduced size and enhanced potential.[12] It will be harder to limit the proliferation of weapons with unknown yet mechanisms of effect. To replace the highly protected mono- or bi-component or binary biochemical bio-physical, bacteriological weapons, the terrorist groups, organizations and countries supporting them will carry out scientific programs to elaborate new accessible ways of production of non-nuclear weapons, like new toxins and bacteria.

6. Ongoing aggravation of the factors generating migration as for example:

a) Polarization: Even in mostly homogenous societies the polarization is becoming a very common phenomenon due to the growing gap between people having different opportunities to satisfy their needs according to the Maslow pyramid.

b) Radicalization as consequence of polarization: in aggravated cases the separation and polarization i.e. the apparition of clearly distinguishable sub-groups, can lead to the radicalization of the whole group which is in worse position to satisfy their needs, or they think the obstacle of the implementation of their goals is the existence or the actuation of any other group, usually having better living conditions.

[12] H. K. Tillema: A Brief Theory of Terrorism and Technology in: Technological Dimensions of Defence Against Terrorism Editor: U.F. Aydoğdu, p. 7.

c) Wide-range of social, political, ethnic and armed conflicts in the region or in the country boosts up the decision to emigrate temporarily or permanently.

d) Economic, financial, subsistence and occupational crisis;

e) Shrinking the lands for agricultural use, the general warming-up, the growth of territories of the deserts as a consequence of the greenhouse effect;

f) The diminishing of sweet water resources and the more and more difficult access to these resources for growing groups of people, the reduction of the ration of water per capita per day sometimes under the vitally necessary quantity as a consequence of the relative overpopulation, i. e. the demographic pressure;

g) The limited financial and territorial effect of the international relief and humanitarian programs and campaigns.

All these factors mentioned above can have enhanced effects under the conditions when at least three or more of them appear and combine. Eventually, it refers to all the crisis zones in the World so it must be clear that the crisis symptoms also have global character and the conflicts are also globalized due to their effects through the protagonists, the other countries involved in one way or another in solving the conflicts or in withdrawing some benefits from it. The effects of the globalized crisis we have to face expected to be the following:

1. We have to count with the growing threat of a much higher number of migrants and among them considerable groups capable, able and ready to fight using whatever they consider applicable for the victory, including new sorts of WMD.

2. The resurrection of the ideologies based on racism and segregation in some segments of the societies in Europe and beyond is an imminent process. Those who are ready to combat against the representatives of other cultures do not reject the use of WMD either. Being in a better position they can try to obtain or develop new weapons to prevent and thwart any threat, to protect what they consider their world or even retaliate in case of aggressive measures including supposed terrorist actions. This is the first WMD arms race in the 21st century.

No one can say for sure in which direction the terrorism and the WMD will develop but one thing is sure: without efficient countermeasures the expectances and the perspectives of developing a safer World which should be able to sustain its population are really threatened. What kind of countermeasures shall be taken immediately? Here they are:

1. Strengthen the control of scientific research centers even in peripheral fields.
2. Intensify the security and safety awareness education at all levels.
3. Overview the classic definition of WMD.
4. Strengthen the scientific background of non-proliferation of WMD and counter-terrorism.
5. Overview the structure and concepts of humanitarian and relief programs focusing on creation of local conditions helping to prevent further polarization and radicalization.

Without any of these points no long-term solutions can be expected in fighting the terrorism and its collateral effects, no get out can be seen for the attenuation of the factors fostering the radicalization not only in the most exposed zones of the World but even in the democratic countries. Without increasing the democracy and security awareness in our countries our vulnerability to terrorism will continue to grow while our capacities to thwart and combat the terrorists elsewhere will be undermined.

General conclusions

It is beyond doubt that the "communitarian" or community-focused and dictatorial ideologies of the twentieth century – Fascism, Nazism, Communism – due to their nature opposed to and fought against any other ideology or philosophy positioning the individual and human values over the sophisticated community-focused and dictatorial ideologies. Since they were compromised and collapsed an ideological vacuum exists in this field. The religion-based moral and ethical principles regaining their previous influence and coming out from the shade of the conscience of vast undereducated masses trying to take the space of the compromised dictatorial ideas. The liberalism and neo-liberalism in their different but pretty similar forms of appearance advocating for individualism i. e. the maximum use of one's potential in as many fields as it possible fostered the strengthening of the consumerism, the typical attitude of the wide social strata in the most developed industrial countries. Parallel to this the growing groups of immigrants which are unable to catch up with the level of the hosting country have been forming and maintaining their cultural entities as an enclave searching for the ideological support of their ancestors and relatives living in the countries with ideological vacuum. This internal dualism as the result of the basic antagonistic socio-philosophical incompatibilities is the most powerful factor fostering terrorism through radicalization.

References

- Charles F. ANDRAIN: Comparative Political Systems: Policy Performance and Social Change Armonk, N.Y. M.E. Sharpe, 1994.
- BÁCS Zoltán György: A radikalizáció és a terrorizmus kapcsolata, egyes formái, gondolatok a megelőzés lehetséges perspektíváiról. (The links between the radicalization and terrorism, it some forms, thought about the possible perspectives of its prevention.) Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle 2017/1.
- BÁCS Zoltán György – Kasznár Attila – Zalai Göbölös Noémi: A terrorfenyegetés forrásai, In: Kasznár Attila (szerk.): Bevezetés a terrorelhárítás alapjaiba, Dialóg Campus 2017
- Frank BOLZ, Jr., Kenneth J. DUDONIS, David P. SCHULZ: The Counterterrorism Handbook: Tactics, Procedures, and Techniques, Fourth edition, CRC Press London, 2012.
- Attila KASZNÁR: National security aspects of the Chinese headway, National Security Review 2017 (Nemzetbiztnsági Szemle / Különszám 2017) pp.76-81.
- H. K. TILLEMA: A Brief Theory of Terrorism and Technology in: Technological Dimensions of Defence Against Terrorism Editor: U.F. Aydoğdu
- William A. DONOHUE: The New Freedom: Individualism and Collectivism in the Social Lives of Americans, Transaction Publishers, 1995
- https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/conglomerate

About Security Awareness

Attila Kasznár[1]

Absztrakt:

A globális biztonsági kihívások átalakulása szükségessé tette az azokra adandó új válaszok kidolgozását. Ezek a válaszok azonban nem a születéstől kezdve előre programozottak, hanem tanulni kell azokat. Az állam, mint politikai rendszer szempontjából alapvető, hogy ezt a tanulási folyamatot elősegítse. Az állam által legfontosabb teendő pedig nem más, mint a biztonságtudatossági programok kidolgozása és működtetése.

Kulcsszavak: biztonsági kihívás, terrorizmus, állam, politikai rendszer, biztonságtudatossági program

Abstract:

The transformation (changes) of the global security challenges has made necessary the elaboration of new responses. These responses are not programmed from its birth they have to be learnt. From the point of view of the state as the embodiment of the political system it is basic to promote this learning process. The most important task on behalf of the state is nothing but the elaboration and run of the awareness programs.

Keywords: security challenge, terrorism, state, political system, awareness program

[1] Senior lecturer, National University of Public Service, Institute of National Security, kasznar.attila@uni-nke.hu. Orcid: 0000-0002-5498-0855

In the second decade of the 21st century it became clear that the security dimensions generally accepted earlier are undergoing transformations and changes at a level which provokes a general overview and significant completion of all previous scientific opinions in this realm. The globalization boosted up by the technological and technical changes transforms the everyday life of the mankind in every segment of the security opening new opportunities both for the individuals and the communities and - at the same time - resulting a new spectrum of challenges to respond what the societies of the world are absolutely not prepared. The changes are so fast that they erode all the responding mechanisms elaborated and applied to face the previous challenges.

The lack of reactions has serious consequences leading to the reduction or significant harm of the feeling safe. Once it happens, the consequences are extremely complicated and severe. They concern the field of law enforcement science and have interdisciplinary impact in the field of culture, economy and politics. Besides it can be a starting point for deep, wide and very dangerous social processes.

A complex structure of the security and its sub-systems has been formed for today at international, national and institutional level where the interaction of the components has a more and more direct and strong character. The notion of security has been changed for the 21st century; it has become wider and more complicated, so "*there is a consensus among the expert that the security should be interpreted in a complex way taking into consideration many factors*" [2] while it also includes the necessary tasks for its achievement. This fact makes more and more difficult to define what is security because the researchers of the notion "*did not define or do not define what security really is, but they define what's lack is security.*"[3]

As the security dimension changes the threats appear in new forms in the new circumstances. Subsequently, the adaptation to these new conditions has become one of the most important actual tasks from the point of view of the individuals and the communities. The way of the adaptation is learning i. e. the process acquiring the necessary knowledge enabling the individual to find the appropriate answers to the new challenges. The learning process in the realm of security is called 'developing the mentality based upon the security awareness' which had been having different forms throughout the history: "*the efforts*

[2] KERN Tamás (2010): Katonapolitika: prioritás vagy nem? Egy kormányprogram margójára. Nemzet és biztonság 2010/5. p. 76.

[3] VIRÁNYI Gergely (2013): A biztonság-fogalomról másként. www.pecshor/periodika/XIII/viranyi.pdf (Accessed on 26 Jan 2018)

thwarting the threats to the humans' security have a long historic past."[4] The process of learning the way of thinking based upon security awareness can contribute to maintain the feeling of security and safety in the society what is an indispensable condition of maintaining for long time the democratic political systems formed in the Western cultures.

The base of security awareness: the security and the feeling safe

The way of thinking based upon security awareness has its origin at the beginning of the human existence The human living as part of the nature as individual and as a member of a group acquired the forms of behavior and modalities what had to be observed to stay in life and safe in the rough surrounding world. During this socialization process the humans learned what kind of danger the natural phenomena and the fauna meant for them devaluating the security. The responding mechanisms emerged during the learning process helped the humans to maintain the security and safety for longer time forming thus a stable society able to develop.

One of the basic but nevertheless sufficient conditions of being organized as a society is the individual and collective feeling safe without what the existence like a community loses its sense. The content of the feeling safe cannot be described without knowing what security means. The meaning of this notion develops parallel to the mankind. According to the actual classification the following six groups - and many sub-groups - are the aspects where security appears:

- political;
- environmental;
- economic;
- IT;
- social;
- military.

Based upon the accumulated sense of the content of the dimensions mentioned above the general meaning of the security can be defined. Practically it is nothing but the quiet, safe, unthreatened, harmless status where the life and its conditions are in a situation where the chance that disturbances or threats can emerge does not exist or it is minimal.

Once the individual or the community perceives the situation where the surrounding conditions do not threaten them i.e. everybody is in safety or with other words the situation is secure, so they will be able to make efforts to maintain or to achieve this status. Following this logic the security awareness is based upon the recognition of threat or the absence of threat. If the distinction of the

[4] RESPERGER István (2017): A válságkezelés kicsit másképp. Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle 2016/3. p. 29.

difference between the two statuses is conscientious the demand of forming the individual self-protection and of collective protection processes and the need to implement them automatically appears. It is important to state that facing the threat and its recognition does not go on in the same time in the whole society. Some individuals meet threating situations earlier other may meet them later or never therefore the latter cannot assess these situations as threatening. Due to the emerging asymmetries the individuals forming a society can be split up in the following groups:

- isolated from the chance of emerging any threat;
- persons who do not recognize the threat yet;
- persons recognizing the threat but they do not have any concept to respond to it;
- persons having responding mechanism to the threat giving security.

The chance to minimize the anomaly within the society in the field of security has a better perspective when the number of those persons having responding mechanism to the threat giving security i. e. having a way of thinking based upon the security awareness, is higher in the given system.

It is obvious, the higher is the proportion of people thinking according to security awareness principles in a society the stronger is the all-society feeling safe what in its turn contributes to the stability of the given political system through diminishing the fault-lines in the society.

We can come to the conclusion that the way of thinking based upon security awareness is a complex process going on in interdisciplinary frames which content is in permanent change due to the multiple impacts emerging inside the given social system and in its surroundings.

Quite often the actors of the political system of any country are vitally interested in spreading as wide as possible the mentality of security awareness because this is the way of indirect rising of the level of their political legitimacy. Once it is true the governments of different countries consider it proper to elaborate and implement wide-range centralized security awareness programs including as many segments of the society as possible taking into consideration the up-to-date challenges. Tailoring the security awareness programs to the renewing challenges is a must.

What is said above is proven by the most important security challenge, the terrorism what is nothing else than *„a violent and ruthless technique of intimidation”*[5], in relation to what it was stated *„the methods of the terrorist organizations are in a permanent interaction with the tactics elaborated and used by the*

[5] BODA József (2007): A terrorizmus rövid története és az ellene való fellépés lehetőségei. Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek XIII. évf. 16. sz. p. 46.

national and international organizations and services countering them."[6] It seems to be present the permanent and fast flexibility in the field of security challenges the same as the renewing threats because "*in the asymmetric struggle against terrorism and more efficient methods shall be applied to be successful.*"[7] Following the previous thought due to the permanent changes of the societies and the challenges in the circumambiency and also to the fact that "*the threat never disappear it just changes the form*"[8] the permanent renewal of the mechanisms applied to maintain the security and the programs aimed to learn these mechanisms is indispensable. The methods used successfully under previous circumstances can be useless under the new conditions, they can fail, so it is important to be aware of that every service and individual working to strengthen the security of any society shall act to reinforce the mentality of security awareness thus serving to the completion of the security of the whole society.

In the majority of the developed Western democracies the security awareness programs have a several decade-long past. These programs are implemented in two dimensions, in state-organized frameworks or by specialized private enterprises. In general terms these programs are mostly dealing with cyber security but the segments dealing with other aspects of security is growing. The success is guaranteed due to the unconditional trust of the civilians and the decision-makers of the institutions and the private enterprises as well toward the organizers and the presenters of the security awareness programs, among them the law-enforcement agencies and the secret services. Although there are no exact statistics, we can hardly mistake if we suppose that in the countries where security awareness programs with different contents and topics are implemented for longer period, the relations between the institutional system of the political establishment and the social actors are rather consolidated, better balanced, there are less fault-lines and the stability and legitimacy of the system is stronger.

Examining the security awareness programs it is important to see that the governments - being political actors - carry out a sui generis state-building activity when implementing these programs. At the same time this process goes against that what Fukuyama said about the primary task of the contemporary politics: "*it cuts back the power of the state legitimated by the voters to diminish the role of the power of the state.*"[9] During the planning of the state-run security awareness programs certain centralization takes place where one of the primary

[6] BÁCS Zoltán György (2017): Miért nincs „magányos farkas" Latin Amerikában? Arc és álarc 2017/2-3. p. 191.

[7] PADÁNYI József (2015): "Az aszimmetrikus hadviselés során alkalmazandó eljárások, eszközök és módszerek". Hadtudomány 2015/1-2. p. 81.

[8] HANKISS Ágnes (2017): Vékony jégen. Arc és álarc 2017/1. p. 95.

[9] FUKUYAMA, Francis (2005): Államépítés. Századvég Kiadó. Budapest, 2005. p. 14.

criteria is to keep the balance between security and freedom. These programs have an important role in the formation of the contemporary preventive counter-terrorism embracing a national and supra national level of thinking and acting. Aiming to the exaggerated security - due to the measures limiting the freedom - can have a negative repercussion among the citizens because they can have a feeling that they will be deprived a part of their freedom and squeezed into undesired frames. In this case the regulations will cause a negative effect instead of having a positive one . As a consequence, the exaggerated security measures will not upgrade the feeling safe but launching another factor of uncertainty which will have a counter-productive effect.

Security awareness programs in Hungary

The way of thinking based upon security awareness does not have a long past and it is usually related to the field of informatics specially the data- and information security. At the same time as we can see, the security awareness is more complex notion and it has a wider interdisciplinary content which covers the full gamma of scientific subjects for the 21st century. The actual Hungarian etalon is the „Awareness Program" of the Constitution Protection Office what mostly meets the requirements mentioned above, presented to an initiative that is aimed at forming the behavior based upon security awareness.

The ongoing security awareness programs are not uniformed at all and even less they are sufficient to prepare the society to face the challenges of the contemporary world. There is a clear demand of learning the methods and mechanisms of protection against the new threats and challenges like the terrorism. Due to the tendencies of the international security and parallel to the new threats the clear signs of the demand of security awareness have appeared in different segments of the Hungarian society.

Summary

During the past decades „*the traditional state has come to a crisis as a consequence of the process of globalization, the transformation of the world order, the boosted-up financial and economic processes, increased social tensions and reduced national sovereignty.*"[10] Today it is a clear and legal expectation that the responsible governments of the states shall make all the necessary efforts using all disposable means to approach to the maximum security possible today including special fields and to be prepared to the new challenges. The security challenges have become very complex and their emergence has changed basical-

[10] STUMPF István (2006): Új államépítés. In: Gombár Csaba (szerk.): Túlterhelt demokrácia. Századvég Kiadó. Budapest, 2006. p. 76-77.

ly the tasks to be done by the political elite, the government and the institutions as soon as possible because the people urge the fastest responses. Therefore the governments are also "*expecting immediate responses to the new threats and hazards*"[11] on behalf of the experts.

From Hungary's point of view it is primordial to have successful, modern and easy-to-implement responses to the new kind of security challenges of the 21st century. These solutions have to contribute not only to the security of our country but to the security of the whole European community and through this to the universal security of the mankind. It is necessary to underline that the majority of the Hungarian society is still consisted mostly of those who "do not recognize the danger" or who "recognize the hazard but do not have a concept in response". Seemingly, it has vital importance to launch and operate a centralized training program of security awareness which has to have the widest coverage of the society to draw the attention of the masses to this problem and to teach them the responding mechanisms.

References

- BÁCS Zoltán György (2017): Miért nincs „magányos farkas" Latin Amerikában? Arc és álarc 2017/2-3. pp. 191-200.
- BODA József – BOLDIZSÁR Gábor – KOVÁCS László – OROSZ Zoltán – PADÁNYI József – RESPERGER István – SZENES Zoltán: Fókusz és együttműködés: a hadtudomány kutatási feladatai. Honvédségi Szemle 2016/3. pp. 3-19.
- BODA József (2007): A terrorizmus rövid története és az ellene való fellépés lehetőségei. Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek XIII. évf. 16. sz. pp. 46-51.
- FUKUYAMA, Francis (2005): Államépítés. Századvég Kiadó. Budapest, 2005.
- HANKISS Ágnes (2017): Vékony jégen. Arc és álarc 2017/1. pp. 83-100.
- KERN Tamás (2010): Katonapolitika: prioritás vagy nem? Egy kormányprogram margójára. Nemzet és biztonság 2010/5. pp. 74-83.
- PADÁNYI József (2015): "Az aszimmetrikus hadviselés során alkalmazandó eljárások, eszközök és módszerek". Hadtudomány 2015/1-2. pp. 81-82.
- RESPERGER István (2017): A válságkezelés kicsit másképp. Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle 2016/3. pp. 28-48.

[11] BODA József – BOLDIZSÁR Gábor – KOVÁCS László – OROSZ Zoltán – PADÁNYI József – RESPERGER István – SZENES Zoltán: Fókusz és együttműködés: a hadtudomány kutatási feladatai. Honvédségi Szemle 2016/3. p. 6.

- STUMPF István (2006): Új államépítés. In: Gombár Csaba (szerk.): Túlterhelt demokrácia. Századvég Kiadó. Budapest, 2006. pp. 76-77.
  VIRÁNYI Gergely (2013): A biztonság-fogalomról másként. www.pecshor/periodika/XIII/viranyi.pdf (Accessed on 26 Jan 2018)

Secret Police activities in the Warsaw Pact

Jozsef Boda[1]

Absztrakt:

A Varsói Szerződés tagállamai között hatékony hírszerzési együttműködés működött. A tagországok hírszerzési és elhárítási ügynökségeinek fő feladatait a Varsói Szerződéssel összhangban határozták meg. Albánia 1968-as Varsói Szerződésből való kilépésével véget vetett a tagállamokkal folytatott hírszerzési kapcsolataiknak. A Varsói Szerződést létrehozó országok közé tartoztak az Albán Népköztársaság, a Bolgár Népköztársaság, a Csehszlovák Szocialista Népköztársaság, a Lengyel Népköztársaság, a Magyar Népköztársaság, a Német Demokratikus Köztársaság, a Román Népköztársaság és a Szovjetunió

Kulcsszavak: elhárítás, hírszerzési együttműködés, szocialista országok, állambiztonság, Varsói Szerződés

Abstract:

Intelligence cooperation among the member states of the Warsaw Pact was a very effective one. The main responsibilities of the intelligence and counterintelligence agencies of the member states were determined in accordance with the Warsaw Pact. Albania withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968 and ended its intelligence relations with the member states. The countries establishing the Warsaw Pact included the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia, The Polish People's Republic, The Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Romanian People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Keywords: counterintelligence, intelligence cooperation, socialist countries, state security, Warsaw Pact

[1] assistant professor, dean, National University of Public Service, ORCID: 0000-0002-4010-896X

Introduction

The Warsaw Pact was a defense, military-political alliance, of *8 Central and Eastern European socialist countries*. It was established in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, in May 14, 1955 by the initiation of the Soviet Union, and it remained officially intact until April 1, 1991.

The first joint intelligence conference in Moscow between March 7 and March 15, 1955 was another turning point in the history of the intelligence agencies of the socialist countries within the Warsaw Pact. During the conference the state security leaders of the socialist countries determined the modes of cooperation among the countries, as well as the responsibilities of the state security organs in the individual states. During the meetings the responsibilities of the Hungarian intelligence agencies were determined as well.

In the same year, in September 20 in Warsaw, a coordination center was created (later known as the Apparatus) to coordinate a collective radio counterintelligence system and to synchronize the technical developments, which worked effectively until the end of the Warsaw Pact.

1. The secret service of the People's Republic of Albania

People's Republic of Albania is an independent state located in the Balkan Peninsula in South-Eastern Europe. Albania is bordered by the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (known as Montenegro today) /172 km/ to the northwest, Kosovo /112 km/ to the northeast, Macedonia /151 km/ to the East), Greece /282 km/ to the south and southeast. The country is also bordered by the Adriatic Sea to the west and the Ionian Sea to the southwest. The length of Albania's total coastline is 362 km. Territory: 28,748 km². The population of Albania: 2 400 000 people. The capital of Albania: Tirana. The form of government of Albania: the People's Republic of Albania.

Albania declared independence in 1912. The first Albanian secret service (Albanian Secret Service) was formed in December 17, 1912. It operated under the Ministry of Internal Affairs from 1920.

The Albanian state security apparatus, *the Directorate of State Security* (Drejtoria e Sigurimit të Shtetit-Sugurimi- Sigurimi) was established in March 20, 1943 by Enver Hoxha (1908-1985). The Sigurimi was organized into national headquarters, which were situated in the capital, and twenty six district headquarters.

From 1945 the police force called the People's Defense Division was under the direction of the Directorate of State Security. The Sigurimi employed an estimated 30,000 officers, approximately 7,500 of them were assigned to the People's Army.

The headquarters had the following fields under their control:

- Political control and phone tapping,
- Foreign intelligence,
- Counter-espionage,
- Censorship and mail,
- Public records,
- Prison control,
- Internal security troops,
- Physical security

Due to the changes in politics the Sigurimi was reorganized and renamed as the National Intelligence Service (*Shërbimi Informativ Kombëtar*-SHIK) in July 1991.

2. The secret service of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

People's Republic of Bulgaria is situated in South-Eastern Europe on the coast of the Back Sea. Bulgaria is bordered by Romania (609 km) to the north, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (today Serbia and Macedonia 506 km) to the west, Greece (493 km) and Turkey (259 km) to the South, and the Black Sea (378 km) to the east. Territory: 110 911 km². Population: 8 706 000 people. The capital of Bulgaria: Sofia. Form of government: People's Republic.

The secret service of Bulgaria, known as the Committee for State Security (Komitet za dăržavna sigurnost) was established after the communist's regime takeover and it existed until 1989.

The organization reflected the Soviet model and it consisted of main directorates, directorates, main departments and departments.

- 1st Main Directorate: foreign intelligence,
- 2nd Main Directorate: counter-espionage,
- 3rd Directorate: military counter intelligence,
- 4th Directorate: surveillance
- 5th Directorate: government guards
- 6th Directorate: political department of law enforcement, which 7 main departments kept almost all groups of society under control such as the university students, artists, minorities, religious groups, even the unions.
- 7th Directorate: information collection, analysis and evaluation

In 1964 the State Security formed a special unit called *Service 7*, which was dedicated to disruptive work against Bulgarian dissidents living abroad, assassinations and kidnapping.

3. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and it secret services

The country in Central-Eastern Europe was called Czechoslovakia from 1918–1938 and from 1945-1992, the period in between was World War II. In January 1, 1993 Czechoslovakia peacefully split into the two states of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Territory: 127 877 km². Population: 14 738 000 people. Capital: Prague. Form of government: Socialist Republic. Between 1945 and 1990 the following four secret services operated in the country:

- State Security-StB
- Security Divisions of the Historical Territories II-ZOB II
- Military Counter- Intelligence - OBZ,
- Military Intelligence Service, the 2nd Section of the –Defense Ministry,

3. 1. The State Security (Štatna Bezpečnosť-ŠtB):

The organization was established in June 30, 1945 straight after the end of World War II. Formally the StB was controlled by the National Security Corps but practically it was under the direction of the Communist Party. The activities, rights and obligations were specified in ACT No. 149/1947. From December 1947 the activities of the agency were extended by intelligence and military intelligence responsibilities which were specified in ACT 286/1948. From this time on the responsibilities of the StB included identifying, locating and neutralizing the enemies of the state and of the communist party, and Soviet advisers came to the country.

Similarly to the other state organizations of the party the StB also used all available instruments to locate the enemies of the party and of the socialist state, including illegal surveillance, wiretapping, and making false accusations. Other common practices included wiretapping, intercepting private mail, house searches, surveillance and arrests the „subversive". During its operation the service cooperated with the Federal Soviet Security Services (KGB) all along, and from the year 1954 it supplied significant amount of materials to the KGB as well.

The methods used during the so called Rock-Action describe their activities the best. They tried to stop the flow of refugees after Klement Gottwald (1896-1953) seized power with the help of coup d'état in 1948. During these operation, which took place between 1948 and 1951 about 40-50 miles before the actual Czechoslovakia-Austria and Czechoslovakia-Germany borders, some ŠtB agents „greeted" the refugees posing as Austrian, West German or American border crossing agents to make the refuges believe that they had already crossed the border to the West. The illusion was perfect: boundary stones, the US Secret Service premises, American soldiers, officers drinking whiskey, an American flag and a portrait of the president. Based on the information which the refuges voluntarily gave up in their first euphoric relief the StB gained fairly accurate intelligence on the activities of the human traffickers. The retaliations carried out

by the StB had greatly contributed to the negative view of the population about the state power organization.

The technical development of that period of the StB was so advanced that even the Hungarian State Security Department (AVO) applied their technical solutions and used the experience that they had gained through monitoring the foreign agents' radiobroadcasting. It was the StB with whom the AVO first established international radio connection.

In the 1950's physical violence and intimidation characterized the actions taken against the enemies of the regime, and suspicious people were sent to prison camps. By the 1960's instead of physical violence they primarily used psychological methods.

The State Security Service was organized regionally, and supervised the work within the two federal states regional and district headquarters. During its operation it effectively used the violent methods and instruments of the communist state security services, such as torture, blackmailing and kidnapping etc.

In 1989 the StB had more than twelve thousand employees. The StB's role in the fall of the regime in 1989 still remains unknown. Due to the November demonstrations in the country the definition of the role of the communist party leader was abolished by a constitutional amendment. Thus the process of the democratic transition began and in 1990 during a monumental demonstration the citizens declared their will of independence in Bratislava. Among the first measures was the abolishment of the despised secret service the StB, since the transitional authority realized that the police-state organization, which in the previous decades operated with the state power organizations, cannot be maintained. The StB was dissolved in February 1, 1990 by the order of Richard Zacher, the Minister of Interior at the time.

The secret services were reorganized completely, civil and military intelligence and counterintelligence services were formed.

3. 2. The Czechoslovakian military intelligence and counterintelligence:

There had always been military intelligence services in the first and second Czechoslovak Republic, but during World War II and the socialist times they operated within different organizations.

After Czechoslovakia proclaimed its independence at the end of 1918 the establishment of the Czechoslovak Army started. At the same time the formation of the second Intelligence Division of the General Staff also began by the appointment of military intelligence officers, with experience from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The preparation of the military staff also started with the help of French army specialists. Besides military intelligence the division was also responsible for military counterintelligence duties. By the 1930's military intelligence became the most effective security service in the Czechoslovak state. The

first commander of the military intelligence was Brigadier General Vladimír Chalupa, a friend of President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850-1937). Directly before the German occupation of Czechoslovakia the leadership of the military intelligence service fled to London carrying the most important documents. In 1940 they continued their operation under the Ministry of Defense of the Exile Government established in London. The leadership participated in planning the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich (1904-1942) head of the Reich Main Security Office and acting Reichsprotektor of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. This organization coordinated the military reconnaissance of the Czechoslovak troops organized in England, France and Middle-East, also supported the national resistance movement and the operation of the Central Intelligence Office in Istanbul.

Nonetheless in terms of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps, fighting alongside the Soviet Red Army, military reconnaissance and counterintelligence followed the soviet model. Following the liberation of Czechoslovakia form the German occupation the army's counterintelligence bodies supported both the Soviet troops, which were stationed in the country, and the Czechoslovak communist party's seize of power.

In 1945 within the Ministry of Defense the Military Counterintelligence Department was formed as well. After the reorganization in the summer of 1945 the interior security and national security affairs were transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Military Intelligence became independent in 1951 and subordinate to the Ministry of National Security. After the abolishment of the Ministry of National Security the organizations were transferred under the direction of the Minister of Internal Affairs, except for military intelligence. The next significant changes in the structure of the organizations were made following the events of the 1968 revolution. Military intelligence was carried out by the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. Military Counterintelligence was then incorporated into the structure of the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs within the newly established Federal Administration of the Intelligence Services, which remained unchanged until the events of the November Revolution in 1968. Military Intelligence in both federal states remained in the same organizational structure until 1994.

4. The intelligence organs of the Polish People's Republic

The Polish People's Republic was a communist state between 1944 and 1989. However the name of the Polish People's Republic was only used after 1952 when the new Constitution was passed. Between 1944 and 1952 the official name of the country was the Republic of Poland (Rzeczpospolita Polska). Area: 312 677 km². Population: 33 845 770 people. Capital: Warsaw. Form of government: People's Republic.

Before introducing the intelligence organs of the Polish People's Republic let's review the activities of some of the predecessor organizations:

Polish intelligence officers had an extensive network in World War II. The Polish network in France grew to 1,500 members, who supplied Britain with vital information e.g. about the movements of German submarines. In the spring of 1941 the agents working in Poland supplied extensive intelligence about the German preparations to invade the Soviet Union. It was also a Polish secret agent, Witold Pilecki, cavalry officer who provided invaluable information in his report about the crimes against the Jewish population in the camps.

The cryptologic achievements by the Polish experts made it possible to read the German Enigma-encrypted messages at the end of World War II.

Near the end of the war Polish intelligence operated under British control on the one hand and on the other hand within the Polish Army through military reconnaissance organizations that were established reflecting the Soviet model.

In 1946, Section II was officially disbanded, at the dissolution, it had 170 officers and 3,500 agent. Its archives were taken over by Britain. Most likely some of the Polish agents continued working directly for Britain during the Cold War. According to a research published in 2005 about 43% of all reports received by British secret services from continental Europe in 1939-45 came from Polish sources.

4. 1. Civilian branches of the Socialist Polish intelligence services:

After the occupation of Poland the Soviet Union began to establish new Polish intelligence and internal-security agencies. As early as in 1943 a group of 120 Polish officers started their training at the school of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKDV) in the Soviet Union. The Soviets established a Polish "puppet government" by the name of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego), or PKWN, which the western states recognized as well. Subordinate to the puppet government the Department of Public Security or RBP (Resort Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego) was created. One of the most important departments within the RBP was Department 1. By the end of 1944 the Department of Public Security (RBP) employed about 3000 persons. The PKWN was transformed into a provisional government and the agency was reorganized as the Ministry of Public Security in December 31, 1944. The Ministry of Public Security was responsible for both intelligence and counter-espionage, as well as surveillance of citizens and suppression of dissent. Naturally the ministry did not employ former officers and intelligence officers of government. Personnel were recruited for their "political reliability" and Soviet officers in Polish uniforms overlooked their operations until 1949.

In 1953, after the death of Stalin and the later desertion of Col. Józef Światło from the RBP, the Ministry of Public Security was disbanded and reorganized.

The Committee for Public Security (Komitet do Spraw Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego) was responsible for intelligence and government protection, while the Ministry of Internal Affairs was responsible for the border guards, the fire rescue and the correctional facilities. In 1956 the Committee for Public Security was disbanded too and the Ministry of Internal Affairs took over their responsibilities. Within the Ministry of Internal Affairs the Security Service (Służba_Bezpieczeństwa) or SB was created, its responsibilities included intelligence gathering, counter-espionage, prevention of anti-state activity, government protection, providing protected communications, supervision of the local governments, militsiya, supervision of correctional facilities, and fire rescue.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs also had command of the border guards and the internal troops. The intelligence bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs composed of the following departments:

1. Intelligence Department
2. Counter-espionage Department
3. Department of Anti-State Activities

Between 1966 and 1990 the Ministry of Internal Affairs was the biggest and strongest administration within the government. In 1980 the number of employees of the Security Service (SB) was about 24 000 people. Following the free elections held in 1989 the Security Service was disbanded. A new agency, called the State Protection Office (*Urząd Ochrony Państwa*) or UOP was formed.

4. 2. The Military Intelligence of the Polish People's Republic:

The first Polish Military Intelligence was the 2. Section of General Staff of the Polish People's Army (Oddział II Sztabu Generalnego Ludowego Wojska Polskiego), established in July 18, 1945. Between 1947 and 1950 it belonged to the Ministry of Public Security then again to the Ministry of Defense. In 1951 the organization was transformed and intelligence work among the United States, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria was expanded to countries such as Norway, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and Israel.

The first military counterintelligence service of the Polish People's Army was called the Directorate of Information (Zarząd Informacji Naczelnego Dowódcy Wojska Polskiego). The directorate was responsible for counter-espionage, terrorism and sabotage and it was under the direction of the commander-in-chief of the Polish People's Army. From 1950 the organization became the Main Directorate of Information of the Ministry of Defense. Between 1956 and 1957 it was directed by the Ministry of Public Safety, then it was disbanded. In 1957 the Military Internal Service (Wojskowa Służba Wewnętrzna) was formed, which operated up until the change of regime.

In 1990, after the change of political system, the military intelligence directorate (Second Directorate of General Staff of the Polish Army) and the military counterintelligence service (Military Internal Service) were combined under the new name: the Second Directorate for Intelligence and Counter-intelligence.

5. The German Democratic Republic and the state of security

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was a socialist state in the region of Germany that was occupied by the Soviet military forces between 1945 and 1990. In May 1945 the military forces of the Western Allies and the Soviet Union defeated the Nazi Germany. The four allied powers divided Germany into four occupation zones. The West asserted their authority over 2/3 of the territory of Germany while the Soviet Union took control over 1/3 of the territory of Germany. The Soviets handed the western parts of Berlin over to the Western Allies while the Soviets were given control in Thuringia and Ostfalia. Territory: 108 178 km². Population: 16 924 000 people. Capital: Berlin. Form of government: People's Republic.

5. 1. The organization of the secret service of the GDR:

In July 1948 the German Socialist Unity Party (GSUP) was given power over the territories of Germany that had been under Soviet control before. In the first part of 1948 Walter Ulbricth (1893-1973), the latter Secretary General of the Socialist Unity Party, requested Moscow to establish an intelligence agency subordinate to the Communist Party, and he was given the permission in December 28, 1949. Then in 1949 one of the most effective and repressive intelligence and secret police agencies of the world was founded, under the direction of Erich Fritz Emil Mielke (1907-2000), latter Minister of State Security. In the GDR civilian intelligence and counterintelligence was operated by the Ministry for State Security (Staatssicherheit-MfS) commonly known as Stasi, which was officially founded in February 8, 1950. The Stasi motto was "Schild und Schwert der Partei" (Shield and Sword of the Party).

Wilhelm Zaisser was the first Minister of State Security of the GDR, and Erich Mielke became undersecretary of state. The beginning was rather challenging though because 44 active and 33 former Stasi employees fled to the West between 1950 and 1953. As a result serious measures were taken. The apparatus of Stasi had 26 former employees that fled the country returned and to make an example many of them were executed. The uprising of 1953 was another blow to the organization because they were not informed in time about the widespread strike of the East Berlin construction workers. The uprising in East Berlin was violently suppressed by tanks of the Group of Soviet Military Forces in Germany. After the uprising the Ministry was disbanded and it was transferred under the direction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Stasi was granted independ-

ence again in November 1955. In October 1957 Mielke was appointed head of Stasi for 32 years (1957-1989). In the same year Markus Wolf became the head of the Main Directorate for Reconnaissance (Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung- HVA), the foreign intelligence division of East Germany's Ministry for State Security, who during his 29 years as intelligence chief, achieved great success in penetrating West Germany with spies..

That year Stasi ran a huge apparatus in East Berlin with as many as 17 thousand full-time employees. In the last years of its operation this number rose to 90 thousand and it had more than 173 thousand "unofficial collaborators" or agents. This means that more than 1 percent of the population were informants. Stasi monitored all groups of society through special departments and a network of informants. They paid special attention to the armed forces, the possible opposition, the churches, cultural organizations and underground movements. Stasi also had an elite motorized rifles regiment of about 11 thousand people under its command called the *Felix Dzerzhinsky Guards Regiment* (Wachregiment "Feliks E. Dzierzynski").

5. 2. *Structure of the Ministry for State Security:*

- A so called „Cabinet" was set up to work alongside with the Minister. The First Secretary of the Party Committee as well as a military General, who was the head of the Secretariat for the Minister, worked directly with the Minister.
- The Center of Stasi operated 15 district directorates which had 217 territorial units under their direction.
- The head of the intelligence group, who was the under-secretary as well, was responsible for foreign intelligence, for the legal groups of informants under cover as well as for the main department providing the technology for the operations. Separate departments coordinated political and military reconnaissance against Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany).
- Also an under-secretary was responsible for radio reconnaissance and counterintelligence, for the operative technical main department, for the department providing secure communications for the government, also for the departments of encryption, material and technical supply and wiretapping.
- Another under-secretary was responsible for the main departments of counterintelligence such as the military, border patrol, the ministry of internal affairs and the police. Besides it was responsible for the main departments monitoring passport control, tourism and hotels, as well as the departments of surveillance, investigation and counterterrorism, and the departments dealing with escapes, relocations as well the depart-

ments coordinating with the units monitoring the so called „visitor's agencies" in West Berlin.

- An under-secretary coordinated the different main departments monitoring the background institutions. Different departments were responsible for the affairs of national economy as well as for transportation, postal services, communication, state administration, culture, Church, as well as for the Central Operative staff, the Privacy Protection Action Group, the action group responsible for Commercial Cooperation and the Operative Technical Action Group.
- The Ministerial Action Group, which operated under the direction of the Minister with the leadership of a General, was responsible for mobilization, the defense facilities and the Felix Dzerzhinsky Guards Regiment.
- The Central Evaluation and Information Action Group also operated as a direct organization for the minister in subordination with the departments of Central Information and Data Registry, the Central Data Processing Department as well as with the Legal Department.
- Cadres Training and Education Department was also under the direction of the minister. The main department coordinated the Central Medical Services and the College of Law.
- Stasi's internal security services were performed by the 2. Counterintelligence Department at the direct disposal of the minister. The main department was responsible for surveillance of mail**.**
- The Investigation Department was under direct command of the minister
- Department of International Relations**,**
- Economy Department**,**
- Department of Crime and Punishment,
- The leadership of Dynamo Sports Club and
- The Department for Personnel Protection were also ranked under direct ministerial direction.

In response to the political situation in 1989 Erich Milke resigned at the end of the year and in November 17 the Council of Ministers of the GDR renamed the organization as the Office for National Security (*Amt für Nationale Sicherheit* – AfNS), however, under the pressure of public opinion the government directed the immediate dissolution of the AfNS in January 13, 1990 without successor.

6. Secret Services of the Romanian People's Republic

The Socialist Republic of Romania was a socialist state in Eastern-Central Europe. The Soviet Union bordered Romania from the North-East, Hungary and Yugoslavia from the West, Bulgaria from the South while the Black Sea bordered it from

the East. It had an area of 238,391 km² with a population of 21 028 000 people. Capital: Bucharest. The form of government: socialist republic.

6. 1. Romanian intelligence bodies before the socialist period:

In 1862, after the creation of the Romanian United Principalities, the necessity of a secret service performing intelligence and counterintelligence duties for the nation became inevitable. As a result in 1865, the 2nd Section was created, inspired by the French system, to gather military intelligence in the beginning.

Following the events of World War I the staff and the responsibilities of the 2nd Section increased and as a result in 1917 the Dobruja Security Office was established. Until 1925 in terms of Romanian intelligence services we can talk about military services exclusively, in other words members performing military services coordinated nonmilitary affairs as well. It was in 1925 when the services started employing civilians for the first time. Mihail Moruzov (1887-1940) who was the head of the special civilian intelligence service, had a significant role in the establishment.

In the beginning of World War II. the Special Service of Intelligence (Serviciul Special de Informații) or SSI was founded with Eugen Cristescu (1895-1950) as the director, at the same time as the establishment of the regime lead by Ion Antonescu (1882-1946).

6. 2. Romanian state security organs:

After World War II the Romanian state security service was founded reflecting the Soviet model, similarly to other socialist countries. During the period between 1945 and 1948 the political police (called Siguranţa Statului/Siguranța) continued its operation, while at the same time another independent intelligence service (*Serviciul Special de Informaţii)* also exited which responsibility was "general intelligence gathering which is the highest state interest". The foreign intelligence organization was incorporated in the Secret Service Directorate General (Directia Generala Securitatii Statului) or DGSS in 1951.

During this period military intelligence was performed by the 2nd Section of the General Staff of the Armed Forces (*Sectia an II-and a Marelui Stat Major*), which was subordinate to the Main Intelligence Agency of the Soviet Union (GRU).

In August 30, 1948 following the reorganizations, the *Siguranţa* was renamed as General Directorate for the Security of the People (*Direcţia Generală a Securităţii Poporulu- DGSP*), in short *Securitate.* The composition of the ethnicity within the organization is interesting. The total number of employees of the *Securitate* was 3973 out of which 338 people were Jewish, 247 Hungarians, 24 Russians, 5 Germans, 3 Armenians, 5 Czechs, 1 Italian, 3 Bulgarians, 13 Yugoslavians and 3334 Romanians.

The organizational structure of the *Securitate* at its foundation:

- 1. Internal Intelligence Directorate
- 2. Counter-Sabotage Directorate
- 3. Police and Penitentiaries Interior Counterintelligence Directorate
- 4-a, Interior Armed Forces Counterintelligence Directorate
- 5-a, Criminal Investigations Directorate
- 6-a, Ministers / Ministries protection Directorate
- 7-a, Technical Directorate
- 8-a, Human resource Directorate
- 9-a, Political Directorate
- 10-a, Administrative Directorate

Securitate was one of the largest secret police forces in Romania until the fall of communism, and it was known as the most brutal secret police forces by the Romanian People. The state security formally belonged to the Ministry of Interior's organization, and according to the founding regulation No. 221/1948. Its stated purpose was to „defend democratic conquests and guarantee the safety of the Romanian Peoples' Republic against both internal and external enemies." In reality *Securitate* aimed at maintaining continuous fear within the population so that the Romanian people would not question the legitimacy of the communist regime. The organization had an army unit of 60 thousand soldiers and they also operated the so called Romanian „Gulag" consisting of 250 prisons and work colonies where 10 thousand people were kept imprisoned until 1964.

During the decades *Securitate* went through several reorganization processes which resulted in the increase of its power. The organization was under the direct command of Ceausescu so that it could:" consistently work to faithfully implement the orders and instructions of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the Supreme Commander of the Armed Force". The last significant reorganization happened in March 1978, when the Secret Service Directorate (*Directia Securitatii Statului*) was created within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which lived on until December 30, 1989 when the organization was ended. During this period of 11 years the organization was under the direction of General Iulian Vlad.

The reorganization was the result of Ion Mihai Pacepa's defection to the West, who at the time of his defection was an advisor to President Nicolae Ceausescu and an acting chief of the foreign intelligence service (Departamentul de Informatii Extreme) or DIE. Pacepa worked for the foreign intelligence service for 28 years and he was 50 years old when he defected to the United States, where he requested political asylum. He is believed to have supplied invaluable information to the western intelligence services. The General published his autobiography in 1987.

From the second part of the 1970's Ceausescu's political leadership also used *Securitate* for currency acquisition and technology imports. By the 1980's *Securi-*

tate monitored a significant portion of the country's foreign trade through fictitious foreign trade transactions of companies called Crescent, Terra, Delta and Trawe. All these transactions were coordinated by the Center of Foreign Intelligence (*Centrul de Informatii Extterne*) or CIE.

Considering the above mentioned facts it is clear that the Romanian state security operated without any democratic control until its end in 1989. On the other hand the organization maintained high level of professional standards due to strong Soviet support and also due to the fact that the regime was generous with money to spend on the operation of *Securitate*.

Finally an interesting fact about the organization: unit 0920/A was the executer of the organization's unique activities, which highly confidential responsibility was to counter the intelligence activities directed against Romania from the countries in the Soviet Block, to prevent possible assassination attempt against Nicolae Ceauşescu and to ward off the activities of the member states in the Warsaw Pact that may be used as an excuse for military intervention in Romania.

Hungarian minorities were the main target of the organization. The Hungarians protesting against assimilation and exclusion faced continuous harassment and they were kept in fear. Several Hungarian intellectuals were forced to leave their motherland.

Until 1989 *Securitate* remained basically unchanged in terms of its organizational structure. The directorates and units of the organization were the following in 1989:

- Foreign Intelligence Centre (UM 0544)
- Foreign Intelligence Center Interior Remedy (UM 0195)
- Cryptographic units (UM 0525)
- "Dunărea" (Danube) Foreign Trade Company
- I. Directorate (Domestic Intelligence)
- II. Directorate (Economic Counter-Espionage)
- III. Directorate (Counter-Espionage)
- IV. Directorate (Military Counter-Espionage)
- V Directorate (Guarding and Security)
- VI. Directorate (Criminal investigations)
- Special Counter-terrorist Unit (UM 0666)
- "F" Special Tracking Unit
- Special Unit protecting state secrets (UM 0500)
- Independent Foreign Trade Department
- Information and Documentation Centre
- "D" deception Department
- Independent Legal Secretary
- Independent department of Staff education and mobilization
- Operative Technical and Communication Headquarters
- "T" Special Unit (surveillance systems setting up)

- “C” Department (transporting secret documents)
- "P" Special Unit (research and design)
- "S" Special Unit (postal censorship)
- "R" Special Unit (surveillance of radio communications)

Securitate, the violent state security organization of the communist regime was disbanded following the events of the December revolution in 1989. The fact that some of the „protestors” attempted to burn down the building that housed *Securitate* in Bucharest well describes the peoples’ disdain towards the organization.

Many believe that *Securitate* was also responsible for the deadly riots in Targu Mures that broke out in March 19-20, 1990.

7. Secret services in the Soviet Union

A short historical overview:

In February 1917 due to economic and social problems, heavy military setbacks on the fronts in World War I. and the dissatisfaction of the soldiers and the Russian people, a democratic revolution broke out in the Russian Empire (1721-1917), which dismantled the Tsarist autocracy of Emperor Nicholas II (23 February). In 7 November, 1917 (October 24 in the Gregorian calendar), the Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, with support from the workers took control in Saint Petersburg. The Provisional Government (March 15-October 24, 1917) was overthrown and the head of the Provisional Government Alexander Fyodorovich Kerensky (1881-1970) fled the country.

Before the October Revolution in 1917 the Russian Empire was under the control of the Okhrana, the Russian secret service. It is an interesting fact in the chapter of the development of the Russian secret services that the secret police of the Russian Empire and the history of the communist secret services intertwined through the character of Roman Malinovsky. Malinovsky an agent for Okhrana joined the Bolshevik Central Committee with Vladimir Lenin's support then later he became a member of the Imperial Parliament, the Duma. The methods developed by the Okhrana were also applied by the latter Soviet secret police (Cheka, NKDV, and KGB).

In November, 1917 the peasant party won the general elections. The Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (1870-1924) won 25% of the votes (9 million votes). In January 6, 1918 the Red Guards disbanded the Constituent Assembly ending the Russian democratic attempt. As a result the Russian Civil War broke out (1918-1922).

In December 1922, during the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established with the unification of the Russian, Transcaucasian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian Republics. In

a nationally televised speech in December 25, 1991 Gorbachev resigned as president of the USSR, marking the end of the Soviet Union. Territory: 22 402 200 km². Population: 253 259 000 people. Capital: Moscow. Form of government: Socialist Republic.

7. 1. The formation and operation of the Soviet civil secret service:

The Bolshevik power takeover in October 1917 was organized and directed by the Soviet Revolutionary Military Committee (RMC) in Saint Petersburg, where Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky (1877-1926) had a very important role. At the beginning of the reign of the Soviets the RMC had an investigative unit and a penitentiary. At the end of October the Military Investigative Committee was officially formed. It was Dzerzhinsky who decided on the fate of the anti-revolutionary officers. Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky proposed the establishment of the Soviet political police the (All-Russian Emergency Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage or Cheka) in November 21, 1917. The members of the organization were selected from the RMC. The organization was under the command of the main judicial organ, the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party only. The Polish born Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky was appointed the head of Cheka in December 7, who had a very active role in the Central Committee as well.

The new committee relocated in Moscow in March 1918 and settled in Lubyanka Street, as the executive body of the new Russian state power and court-martial. The foreign section of the organization (INO) was established in December 20, 1920, howeverthe leaders were unable to name the organization for many years, which indicates how disorganized they were in the beginning.

Cheka was reorganized several times and in 1922 it was renamed as the State Political Directorate (GPU) then in 1923 it was renamed as "Joint State Political Directorate" ("All-Union State Political Board"-OGPU) and it operated under this name until 1934. After that it was renamed again as „Main Directorate for State Security" and officially it operated as part of the “Peoples’ Commissariat for Internal Affairs" (Narodnij Komisszariat Vnutrennyih Gyel or NKVD).

After the 17th Congress of the Communist Party (1936) the clean-up work began. Most of the work was done by the restored NKVD, whose leader at that time was Genrih Grigorjevics Jagoda (1891-1938), and he was well known for his cruelty. In 1936 he was succeeded by Nikolai Yezhov (1895-1940) as the head of the NKVD. Another two years went by before the very ambitious Lavrentiy Beria (1899-1953) was appointed the head of the NKVD. Beria remained in his post, as opposed to his predecessors, until the death of Stalin, then he lost his leadership position due to power struggle.

NKVD was the main body for the internal branch of public administration in the Soviet Union between 1934 and 1946. During World War II the organization

underwent some structural reconstructions and as a result the commission was established, which was responsible for intelligence and counter-espionage. The commission at that time mainly gathered intelligence on the 3rd Reich of Germany. Apart from this they also focused on gathering intelligence on their allies. The importance of that increased significantly after the end of World War II.

In 1946 the Commissariats were renamed as Ministries, and the Council of Commissars was changed to Council of Ministers. The Ministry of Internal Affairs or MVD became the successor of the NKDV.

The responsibilities of the NKVD/MVD were widespread: besides coordinating the crime police, highway patrol, fire rescue and border patrols their responsibilities also included directing the system of organizations of the state security such as the Gulag (labor camp and prison) and the "Main Directorate for State Security" (GUGB) as part of the NKVD. The Main Directorate for state security had oppressive responsibilities and authority as well which were characteristics of the communist regimes. The NKVD carried out mass murders, the organization operated the Gulag prison camp, eliminated the underground opposition, deported entire ethnic groups to the far and uninhabited regions of the country, they also performed intelligence duties and political assassinations abroad. Besides these it was also responsible for influencing foreign governments and spreading communism over the borders of the block.

After seceding from the NKVD in 1943 the “People's Commissariat for State Security or NKGB was created. Three years later in 1946 all People's Commissariats were renamed to Ministries, and as a result of that the secret service became the „Ministry for State Security" or MGB. The following year foreign intelligence and military intelligence were combined into one organization called the Information Committee of the Council of Ministry. Two years later in 1949 it was reorganized and then it started to operate as the Information Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1952, when it was transferred back to the Ministry for State Security or MGB.

In terms of organizational restructuring it is important to mention that until 1947 intelligence and counterintelligence were not separated. In case of the Russian and later Soviet secret services the frequent organizational restructuring and renaming was due to the power relations within the leadership of the communist party.

Following the death of Stalin the new leadership significantly reduced the authority of the state security organizations and the number of their staff. The political police was restructured as an independent organization and renamed as the *Committee for State Security* or the KGB.

The Committee for State Security was the organization performing state security responsibilities for the Soviet Union between 1954 and 1991. Formally it was under the direction of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, its leader was a minister, however in reality it was directed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The basic responsibilities of the KGB were to perform political (intelligence) police work, as well as foreign political intelligence and foreign counterintelligence duties. The organization had a huge apparatus. The total number of people employed in the subordinate organizations was about 500 000 – 750 000. Above all the organization performed technical reconnaissance, border patrol and coast guard duties as well. It was responsible for the personal security of the state leaders, guarded and secured nuclear weapons and other state establishments. The KGB performed military counterintelligence duties for the Soviet Army too.

The KGB monitored the entire Soviet society at home, and carried out diplomatic and other missions abroad. 30-40% of Soviet diplomats, journalists and representatives of tourist agencies etc. were employed by the assigned intelligence the KGB rezidenturas.

The KGB had control over their agents abroad, the different political movements, e.g. the so called peace movement, the anti-nuclear movements, they also published false news, spread dezinformatsiya (intentionally false or misleading information that is spread in a calculated way to deceive target audiences) through their agents. What's more the KGB was responsible for combating dissent, and anti-Soviet activities both in the country and abroad.

The KGB had a wide source of information. Among the most important sources of information were the Soviet embassies or consulates abroad as well as other missions (academic, technical, educational institutions), where the KGB established and operated secret intelligence rezidenturas. Apart from these the KGB also operated an independent and illegal network of agents with special mission directly from Moscow to investigate certain, important issues. They worked within the UN delegations and within other international organizations. Aeroflot, the Soviet Airline provided great opportunity for the KGB to gather intelligence legally or illegally. The KGB agents working in the branch offices of Aeroflot collected intelligence on the civilian and military airports and their navigation systems in the western countries. They often hid spy cameras and other electronic spying equipment on the Aeroflot airplanes. For their intelligence gathering purposes the KGB also used the Inturist travel agency, created by Stalin in 1929, and other travel agencies abroad, also many of the TASS (Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union) employees served as informants for the KGB. TV and radio foreign correspondents, guest lecturers or scientific research experts working abroad were also used as informants for the KGB. After returning home the Soviet citizens had to submit to the Soviet government any technical and scientific magazines and publishing or lecture materials that they had purchased abroad. The scientific materials of experts from the western countries were secretly photocopied. The KGB used the most advanced technical equipment and methods to spy on the foreign diplomatic consulates or embassies located in Moscow or elsewhere.

They set up strong cooperation with the secret services of the member states of the Warsaw Pact (except for Romania) as well as with the secret services of Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea.

Similar organizations of other socialist countries operating abroad formed important adjunct to the KGB. When a Soviet spying organization abroad was compromised and expelled by a target country another socialist country's similar organization took over temporarily for the KGB.

The new era of the KGB started with the appointment of Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov in 1967 whose main idea was to transform the KGB into an organization which was not only involved in international crisis but was able to influence them as well.

The Chairman of the KGB was the head of the Soviet KGB. He was assisted by one or two First Deputy Chairmen, and four to six Deputy Chairmen.

The First Main Directorate (Foreign Operations) had about 15 thousand members. In the 1980's the operational core of the First Chief Directorate laid in its geographical departments. The Departments were responsible for the majority of the KGB enterprises abroad:

- The United States and Canada;
- Great Britain, Australia, New-Zeeland and the Scandinavian countries;
- Federal Republic of Germany and Austria;
- France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg and Ireland;
- China, Vietnam, North-Korea;
- Japan, India, Indonesia, the Philippines and other parts of Asia;
- The Arab states, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Albania;
- French speaking nations of Africa.

Subordinate to the First Chief Directorate were the following directorates: Illegals Directorate (Directorate S); Scientific and Technical Directorate (Directorate T), Planning and Analysis Directorate (Directorate I); Information Service (Special Service I); Counterintelligence Service (Special Service II); Disinformation Department (Department A); Executive Action Department (Department V).

The Second Chief Directorate was responsible for internal political control of Soviet citizens and foreigners residing within the Soviet Union.

The Third Chief Directorate dealt with military counter-espionage and political surveillance of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The Fifth Chief Directorate dealt with internal security. It was created to combat political dissent, it took up some of the tasks previously handled by the Second Chief Directorate, such as dealing with religious dissent, monitoring the artistic community and the media (censorship of literature).

The Seventh Chief Directorate (Surveillance) handled surveillance, by providing technical equipment to follow and monitor the activities of both foreigners and Soviet citizens.

The Eighth Chief Directorate was responsible for the highly sensitive area of communications. The Communications Directorate was tasked with monitoring foreign communications. The Directorate was also responsible for the crypto logical systems used by the KGB divisions, the transmission of communications to the KGB stations abroad, and the development of secure communication equipment.

The Ninth Chief Directorate (Guards Directorate) – the 40,000-man uniformed bodyguard for the CPSU leaders and families, guarded critical government installations (nuclear weapons, etc.). The directorate operated the Moscow VIP subway, and secure government–party telephone system.

The Sixteenth Chief Directorate maintained the telephone and radio systems used by all Soviet government agencies.

The Border Troops Directorate of about 245 000 personnel protected Soviet land and sea borders.

Following the Collapse of the Soviet Union significant changes were made in the structure and organization of the KGB. President Yeltsin believed that the first main responsibility was to split and rename the organization.

7. 2. Short History of the Soviet Military Intelligence:

The Red Army's Fourth Bureau (military intelligence), the GRU, directly subordinate to the General Staff, was created at the beginning of the 1920's by the order of Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) the founding leader of the Red Army. It was created from the division of Checka, the state security organization led by Felix Dzerzhinsky. Felix Dzerzhinsky, the head of the All-Russian Special Commission (also referred to as VCSK), appointed his deputy, Yan Karlovich Berzin (1889-1938) to set up the GRU (the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Army). Berzin led the organization for 15 years (1920-1935).

The GRU was given the task of handling all military intelligence, particularly the collection of intelligence on military technology and military industrial espionage. It was also the GRU who carried out military counterintelligence within the Army.

From the very beginning the two secret services (Cheka and GRU) were known to be rivals both in the fields of intelligence and counterintelligence. In the beginning of the 1920's and the 1930's the Soviet Union was in a rather isolated position thus the organization of foreign military intelligence was difficult and they basically used illegal intelligence agents to carry out the tasks. In consequence during the operations there had been many clashes between the two organizations.

From 1927 the GRU operated a special short wave radio station to connect with the agents abroad.

Of course the GRU was not exempt of the show trials in the Soviet Union. Many leaders of the GRU – among them General Yan Karlovich Berzin - were

executed. In the beginning of the Soviet-Finnish War in 1939 the Finnish spies working for the GRU were blamed for the first tragic losses of the Soviet Union.

During the leadership of Joseph Stalin (1878-1953), First Secretary for the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Bolshevik Party, the rule of „divide and conquer" was applied by the intelligence agencies. In the competition it was the successor of the Checka, or the latter NKDV or the GRU who were competing against each other. After the fall of General Berzin, the GRU was temporarily put under the direction of Genrikh Grigoryevich Yagoda (1891-1938), then Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov (1895-1940), former secret police officers and leaders of the NKDV. Then after the fall of Yezhov the intelligence organization of the army, subordinate to the General Staff of the Red Army, started to operate independently, however, general, counterintelligence – except for within the organization - remained the responsibility of the GRU or the NKDV respectively.

In the beginning of World War II the GRU, under the direction of Filipp Ivanovich Golikov (1900-1980) became more successful. The organization already had a huge apparatus during the war which was further increased after the war. Within the Red Army they had military intelligence and reconnaissance bodies on the levels of army-military groups/front.

A great number of people operated abroad, who were stationed in embassies and military intelligence units, also informants under cover, employees of Aeroflot, the Soviet Airline, and the Soviet travel agency called Inturist, as well as businessmen, academic experts etc.

The partisan groups or units that conducted long-range reconnaissance patrol missions behind the enemy lines provided a great source of invaluable information as well. The partisan movement was coordinated and controlled by the Soviet General Staff and the leaders of the special departments of military reconnaissance.

Before and during World War II military intelligence obtained a huge amount of American technical documentations through several Soviet „specialists" visiting the United States for educational purposes, and a great number of American experts also worked in different construction sites of the Soviet Union. These provided good opportunity for the Soviets to obtain American technologies as well as to build up their own network of agents.

After the war and especially following the death of Stalin the bodies of the political intelligence, the MGB (Ministry for State Security) then the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs), under the direction of Lavrentiy Pavlovich Beria (1899-1953), tried to incorporate military intelligence in the GRU, but Khrushchev resisted. Beria was executed because of other matters and under the direction of Colonel-General Mikhail Alekseevich Shalin, who was chief of the GRU between 1952 and 1956, the GRU gradually gained strength.

Many secret service officers of the GRU became traitors, among them Major Pyotr Semyonovich Popov and Colonel Oleg Vladimirovich Penkovsky, who informed the United Kingdom and the United States about the Soviet emplace-

ment of missiles in Cuba. As a result State Security General Ivan Alexandrovich Serov (1905-1990), the head of the KGB, which was the successor organization for the MDV, took over as head of the GRU. However, in the beginning of the 1960's Serov was removed from his post and one of the deputy chiefs of the KGB, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union Ivashutin, Petr Ivanovich (1909-2002), was appointed to lead the organization. He remained in his position from 1963 to 1987. After his appointment, Ivashutin filled up the leadership positon for the reconnaissance division with officers from the KGB:

Under the leadership of Ivashutin the organization of the *Main Intelligence Directorate, abbreviated GRU, was the following*:

- Head of the Main Intelligence Directorate:
- First Deputy Chief (deputy directory of intelligence)
- 1. Directorate of Europe (except for Great Britain, but including Morocco);
  2. Directorate of Asia;
  3. Directorate of North and South America, (Great Britain, Australia and New Zeeland);
  4. Directorate of Africa (except for Morocco);
  5. Directorate of Operational reconnaissance;
  6. Directorate of Electronic reconnaissance, as well as elite military reconnaissance formations („Specnac" special forces).
  7. The „assigned" directorates in Berlin and Cuba.
  8. The space reconnaissance directorate, to analyze data gained through monitoring satellites.

- Direct organs of the Main Intelligence Directorate:
  – political department,
  – department of archives,
  – 1st security main department,
  – department of human resources,
  – operative technical service;
- Information service:
  – reconnaissance command post,
  – the six information directorates,
  – open information institution exclusively for material procession and publicity.

The Main Intelligence Directorate of strategical reconnaissance and intelligence was subordinate to 24 regional military intelligence directorates. The four naval fleet (Baltic, North Sea, Atlantic Ocean and Black Sea) also had direc-

torates. There were directorates set up in the army units stationed in the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

7. 2. 1. The structure of the regional reconnaissance directorates:

- Head of the directorate (head of the main department)
- 1. The main department for reconnaissance of army troops coordinated the reconnaissance sub-units such as the reconnaissance battalions of divisions, reconnaissance companies of regiments, and the scout ships of the Navy.
- 2. The responsibilities of the illegal intelligence department included setting up and coordinating illegal network of agents in their own territory as well as in the naval bases.
- 3. Spetsnaz department coordinated the special reconnaissance units and sub-units activities,
- 4. The information department was responsible for analyzing and evaluating data;
- 5. The department of radio electronic coordinated the subordinate radio intelligence regiments, battalions and the companies of helicopter operations.

The main departments of information and radio electronics were directly under the direction of the head of information and radio electronics departments in Moscow. The intelligence departments coordinating the armies of combined arms and military vehicles as well as the groups of naval fleet were under command of their respective leaders. Their organization was similar to the above mentioned one, but less in number and authority.

The elite military formations called Spetsnaz were first deployed in 1968 during the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Spetsnaz were under the control of the military intelligence service, and in every army groups' intelligence division had a Spetsnaz brigade subordinate to the head of the division, and the field armies had a company size Special Force. The naval fleet also had Spetsnaz brigades under their command.

The main intelligence directorates as well as the military intelligence departments of the armed forces and fleets coordinated and organized military reconnaissance on operational level.

Tourists visiting the Soviet Union, students, scientists, members of delegations, crew members of the naval fleet could have been among the agents in the expected battlegrounds (e.g. Federal Republic of Germany). Also citizens in the member states of the Warsaw Pact were considered for recruitment, who had relatives, or friends living abroad. Soviet citizens were rarely considered so as not to be able to compromise with the recruiting GRU officer.

Radios and letters written with secret writing etc. were used for maintaining connections with the agents. Truck drivers, the crew of Aeroflot, or travelling agents were also used as „couriers" for intelligence purposes.

The military operational intelligence set up separate intelligence organizations within the target countries who were completely independent of each other. These „stations" or rezidenturas operated illegally under diplomatic cover (the staff had diplomatic immunity). The legal rezidenturas, under diplomatic cover, operated in the territories of the target countries which had Soviet embassies or consulates. The rezidenturas of the intelligence organization were set up from the staff of the given embassy so as to make it legal, since the staff was well known by the secret service and by the immigration offices of the host country. The military diplomats were the official intelligence agents (military attaches, deputies), who made up primarily the staff of the rezidenturas and most often the rezident (head of the rezidentura) as well. Among the staff of the rezidenturas could be other diplomats e.g. advisors, secretaries, consuls or members of trade organizations, crew members of Aeroflot, the Russian Airline, Inturist, representatives of TASS and other persons were also recruited.

In certain Soviet embassies or consulates there were three diplomatic categories:

- The ambassador, or the deputy chief of mission – who was „theoretically" not recruited by the secret service;
- The rezidentura of military intelligence – introduced above;
- The rezidentura of the KGB (which was organized similarly but it operated independent from the military intelligence and without over lapses).

This way 90% of the total number of staff, or sometimes even more, worked for a certain intelligence organization.

The diplomatic rank and immunity provided excellent opportunities to carry out intelligence work. The intelligence agencies of the host countries were of course aware of such activities of the Soviets – since they used similar methods abroad as well. However, confronting them was only possible if they were caught in the act, for example they openly violated the rules of diplomatic immunity or became non cooperative.

From the second part of the 1960's the Soviets paid special attention to diplomats from Asia, Africa and North America. These countries had a great number of human resources in the developed western countries e.g. students of military institutions, military diplomatic officers or members of companies supplying military technology etc. who had access to military regulations of the host countries as well as publications of military technology and military magazines.

Apart from the KGB, the GRU also widely employed illegal intelligence organizations in the given target countries. The illegal work was coordinated by the illegal departments of the GRU with the basic difference that the members of the illegal organization did not have any diplomatic status (cover) and as a matter of fact they officially had to make the impression that they had absolutely no

ties with the Soviet Union. The recruitment was directed from Moscow, however, the recruited were mainly foreign citizens, or Soviet people who had been residing and working with fake aliases in the given target country for many years, and most likely they had already gained citizenship there. During World War II and especially during the Cold War a great number of illegal Soviet intelligence organizations infiltrated Western Europe and the United States.

The structure of the illegal rezidenturas was similar to the structure of the legal ones. The head of the rezidentura was the rezident, who was either a foreigner or a Soviet citizen with an alias. Apart from the rezident the rezidenturas were also built up of a deputy rezident, some illegal officers (1-10), a cryptographic and radio section as well as some secret agents. After their recruitment the secret agents were given fake identifications and (cover) jobs.

Unlike the KGB, the GRU did not use blackmailing methods because after many years of experience they did not believe in their positive outcome. They used ideological persuasion instead.

After the fall of the Soviet Union military intelligence had to face with the same problems that also characterized the entire army such as low salaries, hardship in existence, decreasing recognition.

Conclusions

The article will hopefully deepen the readers' understanding of the importance, complexity and politically sensitive nature of the history of the state security organizations in the Warsaw Pact countries.

After the collapse of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia new national security agencies were established and most of them are under democratic control.

References

- Czech Military Intelligence Service Webpage (2017) History of Military Intelligence after the Second World War
- Christopher Andrew- Vasili Mitrokhin. (2000). A Mitrohin-arhívum, A KGB otthon és külföldön, [The Mitrokhin Archive, The KGB at home and abroad] (in Hungarian)
- Dobák Imre- Endrődi Ferenc. (2014). A magyar rádióelhárítás nemzetközi együttműködésének története 1955-1990, [The history of international cooperation of the Hungarian radio counter surveillance 1955-1990] Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem [National University of Public Service] (in Hungarian)
- Dolmanyos Istvan. (1977). A CSEKA első esztendeje, [The first year of CSEKA] Belügyi Szemle [Journal of Internal Affairs] (in Hungarian)

- Eduard Bala. (2008) Intelligence reform in Albania: its relations to democratizations and integration into the EU and NATO, Naval Postsgraduate School, Monterey, California, USA,
- Farkas Vladimir. (1990). Nincs mentség [No excuse] (in Hungarian)
- Hajma Lajos. (2001) A katonai felderítés és hírszerzés története, [History of military reconnaissance and intelligence] (in Hungarian)
- Ion Mihai Pacepa. (1989). Vörös horizontok, egy kommunista kémfőnök vissaemlékezései, [Red Horizons: Chronicles of a Communist Spy Chief] (in Hungarian)
- Jobst Agnes. (2015). A STASI működése Magyarországon [The STASI activity in Hungary] (in Hungarian)
- Kwan Juk Pan. (2005). „Polish Veterans to take pride of place in victory parade", Financial Times,
- Rado Sandor. (1979). Képes politikai és gazdasági világatlasz [Political and Economical Worldmap with pictures] (in Hungarian)
- Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI) Webpage. (2017). Key Historical Moments
- Sven Felix Kellenhorff- Bern von Kostka. (2010) Kémek fővárosa, Berlin [Berlin- Capital City of Espionage] (in Hungarian)
- Stefano Bottini. (2007). A Securitate [The Securitate] Rubicon [Historical Journal] (in Hungarian)
- Toth Eszter. (2011). A politikai és gazdasági hírszerzés szervezettöténete [The institutional history of the political and economical intelligence] Betekintő [Electronic Journal of Historical Archive of State Security Agencies] (in Hungarian)
- Zagoni Ernő. (1981). A Varsói Szerződés Alapító okmánya [Founding Document of Warso Pact] (in Hungarian)

Upcoming generations in the law enforcement and national security field

Noémi Göbölös-Zalai[1]

Absztrakt

Az elkövetkező években jelentős változások várhatók a hazai munkaerőpiacon, köszönhetően az új generációk megjelenésének. A rendvédelmi szervek és a nemzetbiztonsági szolgálatok esetében ez különösen jelentős kihívást generál, tekintettel a hagyományos értékrendjük és az új generációs jellemzők közötti különbségekre. Annak érdekében, hogy a szolgálatok a jövőben is képesek legyenek megtartani és felvenni a legjobb munkaerőt, szükséges vizsgálni a jövőbeni fejlesztési lehetőségeket figyelembe véve az új generációs sajátosságokat.

Kulcsszavak: rendvédelem, nemzetbiztonság, generációk, kihívások, szervezeti kultúra, fejlesztés

Abstract

In the next years there will be significant changes on the labour market, thanks to the appearance of the new generations. As for the law enforcement organizations and national security services this tendency will generate particular challenges, regarding the differences between their traditional values and the characteristics of the new generations. In order to keep their ability for holding and recruiting the most appropriate staff, it is necessary to evaluate the possible ways of development considering the new generations' attitudes and attributes.

Keywords: law enforcement, national security, generations, challenges, organizational culture, development

[1] National University of Public Service, Institute of National Security, ORCID: 0000-0002-7651-5321

In the next decades major and fast transformation is about to happen in the environment of the state security organizations regarding the composition of the staff. Among the forthcoming changes one of the most decisive one will be the issue of the new generations' characteristics. Not only will their different attitude mean great challenge, but the acceleration of the generational exchanges. While in the last centuries a certain generation was exchanged for another in about 40-50 years, nowadays 15 years are enough for this process. This means that there are not only 1-2 generations are actually present in the labour market, but at least 3-4 very different ones altogether.

Considering the fact that the national labour market is less fragmented, therefor the same basis of selection is available for every employer, no matter of their sort. Above all the law enforcement and national security sphere has to cope with even more difficulties because of its operational characteristics, which set up specific conditions and expectations. Besides their hierarchic and authoritarian organizational culture will generate further challenges in their human resource management, for which they have to be prepared soon.

During the previous years some steps have already been taken, initiated by these organizations, aiming to obtain more knowledge about the upcoming generations' way of thinking and expectations. The reason for that is quite simple, since these organizations experienced the difficulties and challenges through their recruitment procedures caused by the generational differences, for which appropriate solutions need to be found. However handling these challenges demands such new tools, methods and suggestions which are based on and inspired by grounded, overall and specific researching results.

It is a fact, that within reasonable time every employer must prepare for certain changes, which will be indicated by the different habits, motivation and ideology of the potential employees. The currently active and socially better integrated X generation will be shifted by the Y and Z generations, and within 15 years the Alphas are coming. However these generations compared to the previous ones possess distinct motivations, work ethic and expectations.

Above all it is also a matter of interest that how the members of the different generations working in the same environment can fit to each other, in order to end up in a well-operated, understanding and cooperating team and community. Besides certain other aspects should be taken into consideration, such as the dynamic and continuous technological environment, which is a major interest for the upcoming generations, and furthermore their different communicational habits, which necessarily effects their sociocultural relations.

There aren't too many experiences available about the upcoming generations' working habits, therefor the changing situation needs further evaluation, including the possible implementations of outstarter methods. The most obvious way for that is to obtain knowledge, to analyze the new generational particularities and to study the law enforcement sphere's current phase and possibilities.

General characteristics for the new generations

Y generation (1980-1994)

Generally they are ambitious, brave and initiative, and can easily fit into any multicultural environment, however they have high expectations for their working place, especially as for the salary and the leave. They are open for the novelties and quickly adapt themselves for the technological innovations. Unlike their parents they reject the anxious way of life, so if they can't identify themselves with a certain task or environment, they tend to quit easily, because their primary aim is to enjoy their profession and to reach the balance between work and private life, instead of neglecting personal freedom.

They manage their relationships virtually and actually at the same time. They are often called the reversed socializing generation, since in contrast with the previous ones they obtain knowledge by themselves or with the help of their mates, instead of having taught by their ascendants. Besides usually they are the ones, who teach elder generations how to use digital devices and applications.

Self-fulfilment plays a major role in their lives, however they likely work in teams. They have different expectations for their studies as well, demanding much more interactivity, variegation and flexible time-management. Their pretension for intense study and their capacities of concentration are lower, and they are more impatient.

Z generation (1995-2009)

They are the digital aboriginals, who were socialized into the full scale possibilities of the virtual world, therefor they get used to gain all the necessary information almost exclusively from the internet. Most of their social lives connect to new kinds of digital platforms, and they are used to have instant access to all the information needed. Due to this they prefer new teaching and learning methods, moreover they are usually multi-tasking, thus they can hardly pay attention exclusively to only one thing.

However they are able to adapt themselves to changes fast and they aren't afraid of new technologies. They are positively curious, but their interests are hard to be engrossed for long-term. They get accustomed to continuous and constant communication with others, which are mostly connected to the virtual space, therefor generally they were socialized by the virtual community, and they feel more confident in the virtual platforms.

Apart from that this generation likes to work in teams or in offices, and not afraid of the traditional working order unless it is located to a certain place.

Alpha generation (2010-)

We haven't enough information about them, since the oldest members of them are still attending primary school. Aside from that the researchers are actively trying to observe their behavior and attitude, because they will join the labour market within 10-15 years.

They don't have experience about not having the internet, therefor they are addicted to it, which will lead them to become the loneliest generation. Besides they have to face such challenges in their lives as the global warming, aging societies, the lack of certain resources etc., for which they will be expected to find solutions.

Because of their constant virtual presence, their information processing and learning habits will differ from the previous generations, similarly to their consuming and working preferences. This generation will be raised up in a dynamically developing technological environment hence their primary source for communication will be mobile phones and applications. Thanks to the possibilities given by the internet, many of them may gain publicity among virtual communities therefor they will probably be braver and more adventurous when they grow up.

Comparing to the previous generations the Alphas in some ways may become much more qualified and effective. Presumably the online forms of education will be preferred by them instead of traditional teaching methods. Besides the cycle of their learning process starts earlier and lasts actually life-long.

Most parts of their lives will be managed through the internet – including shopping and official administration – and because of that paradoxically this generation will be more isolated than ever, in spite of the instant access to anything and anybody.

As for their communication habits, it can be stated that e-mailing has lost its priority and has been replaced by the Facebook, Snapchat and Instagram, which are currently the most preferred platforms by them for keeping contacts.

The characteristics and expectations of the Hungarian law enforcement organizations and national security services

The scope of activities of the law enforcement organizations and national security services are regulated by the law and subject to certain levels of authorization, and strict controlling mechanisms which guarantee the firm application of legislative provisions. All these derive from the special features of functioning and by all means are necessary. It cannot and shouldn't be changed, however the strict rules apply not only to the circumstances of their functioning, but to their staff members as well.

The strict rules and discipline, the highly hierarchic organizational structure and the conservative aspect have been characteristic for the law enforcement

and national security sphere for decades. Accordingly most of the requirements towards the staff are based on these expectations. Furthermore high capacity of workload, stress tolerance, regulatory compliance, responsibility, vocation, loyalty, willingness for cooperation, stable values, moral strength, trustfulness and precise working habit are certain competencies which are among the fundamental expectations of the law enforcement and national security organizations.

Besides the necessity of strict regulation these state organizations will have to adapt themselves to the changing labour market, and as an employer must regard the characteristics of the upcoming generation in order to ensure high quality working standards with the appropriate staff. In case the organizational values and workplace approach won't be fitted to the changes of labour market tendencies, than the gap between the expectations of employers and employees will inevitably increase. Of course it is often stated that the law enforcement and national security organizations don't belong to the classical members of the labour market and are differ from the multinational and other kinds of companies. On the other hand it must be noticed that the Hungarian labour market is less fragmented, therefor the same basis of selection is available for all kinds of employers. The new generations are to be determinative role players of the labour market soon, thus those companies who are able to renew themselves will be more effective on the long term by obtaining the most talented employees.

Examining the topic from the point of view of the law enforcement and national security organizations as employers, on one hand there are remarkable differences concerning their expectations, but from certain aspects some fitting criteria can be found. Such particularities of the upcoming generations as rejecting authoritarianism, de-emphasizing loyalty and constant usage of social media platforms are certainly not favoured by these organizations. On the other hand such features as creativity, innovation, dynamism, teachability and curiosity which are characteristics for the younger generations may be desirable for these organizations as well.

Naturally neither the employers nor the employees are expected to change basically, but these kinds of evaluations regarding the future expectations are meant to help both of them to realize the necessary ways of development.

Possibilities

Regarding the above examined aspects it is obvious that the need for change concerns many factors and areas. Hereinafter I would like to draw attention to those segments and related possibilities which can be easily recognized and developed by the law enforcement organizations and secret services without the approval of higher directives.

First of all the revision of their culture and their values is inevitable and indispensable, because the existing strongly hierarchical environment may retain the upcoming generations from joining. However the existing values don't have

to be eliminated, more likely a kind of synthetizing process is needed, in which the traditional and the newer values can be harmonized in order to ensure all the members to find their place and mission in these organizations. The first step should be a wider opening towards the society in order to get rid of the decades-long stereotypes which still influence their reputation and respect. Fortunately there have been many positive examples for that in the past years, which verify their intention for that, nevertheless some aspects of their communication can be further improved.

The inner communication of these organizations will play a major role too particularly in socializing the newcomers. The evolution of the organizational culture and communication is never random, but an outcome of an institutional strategy, and should be a part of a conscious procedure, in which the leaders of the organization have major impact. On the other hand for instance it is useless to create a well-planned human resource strategy if it cannot be implemented in the everyday operation, and contradicts the actual experiences. Convinced identification with the mission and values of a certain organization demands clear-cut and consistent communication and actions. Above all the upcoming generations will be highly sensitive to the advancement of the organizational culture therefor to concentrate on that is a must.

Besides these organizations shouldn't put aside the importance of the clearly communicated message about their mission and vision towards the society, since that may establish their prestige and appreciation, which can ultimately increase their attractiveness as employers too. One of the major elements of that procedure is their way of appearance in the media, either in reports and news, or on their websites and others platforms. If we take a closer look at that segment it can be ascertained that the Hungarian law enforcement organizations and secret services are quite stranded comparing to many foreign services, for instance their websites are mostly outdated and less attractive for the high-tech generations. However it must be repeatedly emphasized that up-to-datedness mustn't be at the expense of secrecy, but it should have creative appearance and fetching content.

Another major part of the necessary development is the innovative approach which refers not only to the means and methods, but to every aspect of the organizations' activities, including the human resource management as well. Let us examine for instance the process and method of recruitment and selection, which generally have decades-long traditions in these organizations. However by now the world has changed a lot, so do the individuals, not to mention the characteristics of the younger generations, thus some parts of these methods and systems must inevitably be revised and tailored to the present situation. Which were appropriate 5-10 years ago, that don't necessarily stand the ground today, at least not in unchanged form. Once again it doesn't mean that traditional methods must be eliminated, but the organizations should open to the

new approaches, and strive for combining them with the traditional ones as much as it possible.

The employees of the future have other preferences than before concerning their career, so if an employer wants to be successful and effective in admitting the most suitable staff, then the easiest way for that is to catch up with the new trends. For example if we know that our potential future employees tend to search and apply for a job through virtual platforms, then we should look for them and draw their attentions that way. This can have many forms, for instance a multi-level, internet-based filtering application system, which includes different kinds of tasks to solve. In the end those who were able to get through the certain exercises, may be drafted for personal interview. This method would spare time and energy for the organizations, and would be attractive for the potential employees at the same time. Accordingly the same is valid up to the learning and preparation processes. The traditional forms of education are mainly no longer proper and effective for the younger generations therefor it would be useful to integrate innovative and modern learning and teaching methods, such as e-learning, and situation-based, specific exercises, outdoor activities etc. Many more possibilities for the development can be recited, but the purpose of this publication is only to draw the law enforcement organizations' and national security services' attention to the future challenges deriving from the characteristics of the upcoming generations.

On the whole it can be summarized that knowing the features and expectations of the upcoming generations, the employers won't be in easy situation, nevertheless there are many ways and possibilities for them to evolve. In the changing global security environment the law enforcement organizations and secret services will play more important role than ever, but their effectiveness will highly depend on their ability to keep and to apply the most talented and appropriate staff. For that it is necessary for them to examine the future trends and to adapt themselves for the changes, while keeping the balance between the traditional and newer values.

References

- Kissné András Klára: Generációk, munkaerőpiac és a motiváció kérdései a 21. században. http://www.ohe.hu/hrmagazin/cikkek/generaciok-munkaeropiac-es-a-motivacio-kerdesei-a-21-szazadban, letöltés ideje: 2018. április 15.
- Pais Ella Regina: Alapvetések a Z generáció tudománykommunikációjához. Pécsi Tudományegyetem Pollack Mihály Műszaki Kar, Pécs, 2013. www.zgeneracio.hu/getDocument/1391, letöltés ideje: 2018. április 10.
- Pais Ella Regina: Y és Z generáció, mint a jövő munkavállalói. http://www.kormanyhivatal.hu/download/2/18/60000/Y%20%C3%A9s%20

Z%20gener%C3%A1ci%C3%B3%20mint%20a%20j%C3%B6v%C5%91%20munkav%C3%A1llal%C3%B3i.pdf, letöltés ideje: 2018. április 10.
- Pálfi Károly: Emberséget vár főnökeitől a Z generáció. *Origo.hu,* 2017. február 23. http://www.origo.hu/gazdasag/20170223-baratkozos-fonokot-szeretnenek.html, letöltés ideje: 2018. április 21.
- Pintér Marianna: Milyen tapasztalatokkal kerül az alfa-generáció az iskolába? http://folyoiratok.ofi.hu/uj-kozneveles/milyen-tapasztalatokkal-kerul-az-alfa-generacio-az-iskolaba, letöltés ideje: 2018. április 15.
- Tari Annamária: Z generáció. Tericum Kiadó, Budapest, 2011
- Zalai Noémi: A humánerőforrás-gazdálkodás kérdéseinek vizsgálata a nemzetbiztonsági szolgálatoknál. Doktori (PhD-) értekezés. Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem Hadtudományi és Honvédtisztképző Kar Hadtudományi Doktori Iskola, Budapest, 2012
- Dr. Zalai Noémi: Új típusú kihívások: generációváltás a nemzetbiztonsági szolgálatoknál, Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle, IV. évf. 1. szám (2016), pp. 34-44.

Prison tradition: The philosophy of punishment in ancient Mongolia, China and Japan

Ganbadrakh Tsend-Ayush[1]

Absztrakt:

Ha meg akarjuk érteni a mai mongol börtönrendszert, fontos, hogy tisztában legyünk a mongol börtönhagyományok társadalmi, kulturális, jogi, politikai és történelmi aspektusaival. A jelenlegi mongol börtönrendszer tükrözi az elmúlt korok kultúráját, mélyen gyökerező elméleteit és hiedelmeit. Mongólia börtönrendszerére hatással voltak még külső tényezők is, például a szovjet jogrendszer és a nyugati jogi alapelvek keveredése, valamint az európai kontinensen található országok törvénykezése.

Az 1990-ben lezajlott békés politikai és gazdasági változások után a mongol börtönrendszerre nagy befolyással voltak, a világ büntető igazságszolgáltatási rendszerei. Az utóbbi 25 év során Mongólia sok törvényt és szabályt átvett különböző nemzetközi forrásokból. A börtönök jogi, szervezeti és működési szempontokból történő átfogó megreformálása azonban elmaradt, bár a közigazgatás más területein történtek változások. A büntető törvénykönyvben voltak „kozmetikai" változtatások, de a börtönrendszer alapelvei nem különböztek a szocialista korszakéitól. A büntetés-végrehajtási intézetek hatékony és eredményes működtetése céljából sürgősen el kell érni, hogy a rendszer megfeleljen a nemzetközi előírásoknak.

Kulcsszavak: büntetés, börtön, jogrendszer, büntető igazságszolgáltatási rendszer, csoportos felelősség, megbékélés, társadalmi csoportok, börtön létesítmény

Abstract

In order to develop an understanding of contemporary Mongolian prison system, it is important to be aware of the socio-cultural, legal, political and historical aspects of Mongolian prison tradition. Mongolia's prison system reflects a number of influences including the culture and deeply rooted ideas and beliefs of previous times. Mongolia's prison system is also affected by external forces such as the mixture of the Soviet legal system and Western legal principles such as the codes of continental European countries.

After the peaceful change of the state political and economic system in 1990, Mongolian prison system was influenced heavily by the universal criminal justice system. Over the last 25 years, Mongolia has adopted a number of laws and regulations from various international sources. But the overall reform of prison institutions in terms of legal, organizational and operational aspects lagged behind of other sectors of public governance.

[1] Doctoral School of Military Science, National University of Public Service, ORCID: 0000-0001-6182-4984 E-mail: ganbadrakht54@gmail.com

Hungarian version of the article: Ganbadrakh Tsend-Ayush: A büntetés filozófiája az ősi Mongóliában, Kínában és Japánban, Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle 2018/1. 79-94 pp.

There were „cosmetic" changes in penal code. The basic principles of prison system are still not different from socialist era. It is urgent to accommodate and adopt universally acceptable international standards for the effective and efficient operation of prison institutions.

Keywords: Punishment, prison, legal system, criminal justice system, group responsibility, reconciliation, social groups, prison institutions

Introduction

Punishment is a natural response to fear and injury and prison seems to be one of the most favorite types of punishment. Punishment a pain or unpleasant experience inflicted upon an individual in response to a violation of a rule or law by a person or persons who have lawful authority to do so.[2] Like any other institution, prisons have reflected the cultures, societies, governments, and eras to which they have belonged.[3]

Ancient Mongolian society as a nomadic and pastoral society

Distinct characteristic of way of life of the ancient Mongols was nomadic pastoralism. *Nomadic pastoralism* is a more intensive exploitation of the domesticated herds on arid land or grasslands unsuitable for the cultivation of cereal crops[4]. In this case the herders have no permanent dwellings but follow the herds continuously, living in tents (*ger*). Every part of the animals was used since no other agricultural source of food was available.

Tribal law was enforced by a council of elders whose judgments were based on a code of honor that specified personal rights and obligations, rights of revenge, guidelines for granting and receiving asylum, hospitality, bravery, steadfastness, righteousness, persistence, defense of property, honor, and the chastity of females.[5]

Tribunals acted as arbitrators rather than judges in negotiations that determined guilt and consequent penalties paid in cash, services, livestock, and transfers of land rights, women, and bondsmen.[6]

The Mongol chieftain Genghis Khan united the diverse central Asian tribesmen and reorganized them into 1,000-man fighting and administrative forces (*ming-*

[2] Pollock Joycelyn M.: The Philosophy and History of Prisons: The Rationale For Imprisonment, Texas State University–San Marcos, 2005, pp.3-17 http://www.jblearning.com/samples/0763729043/Chapter_01.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)

[3] Pollock Joycelyn M.: The Philosophy and History of Prisons: The Rationale For Imprisonment, Texas State University–San Marcos, 2005, pp.3-17 http://www.jblearning.com/samples/0763729043/Chapter_01.pdf (Letöltés: 2016. December 24.)

[4] Crabtree Pam J.: Encyclopedia of Society and Culture in the Medieval World, FactsOnFile, New York, 2008, pp. 775-778 (ISBN-13: 978-0-8160-6936-1, ISBN-10: 0-8160-6936-0)

[5] Ibid: Crabtree Pam J.: 2008

[6] Ibid: Crabtree Pam J.: 2008

gan). To maintain order among his ranks, he institutionalized the local codes of honor into a common code of law that provided examples of appropriate military and social behavior.[7] Since the army was so crucial to the nation, the laws enforced strict military discipline.

Great Yasa or Ikh Zasag, as an early criminal code for Mongolian society, was predominantly put more emphasis to a *collective responsibility* in order to prevent an offense under commanders responsible for crime warriors, masters of servants, parents for children.[8]

The main characteristic of Mongolian state during the reign of Great Khans (after the death of Genghis Khan, his descendants rule the Mongols for more than 400 years) was that the interests of privileged groups (military leaders and members of nobles) and the expression of their will were put above the rest of society in terms of implementation of statutes and rules.[9]

The main role of punishment in ancient Mongolian society, as it is today, was to serve as a deterrent to would-be criminals and also to satisfy the victims of crimes with the terms of punishment. The ancient Mongolia was relying on oral tradition and the enforcement of laws by rulers or tribal chiefs. This usually meant that punishments were imposed on the basis of legal precedents, with the penalties meted out generally reflecting the existing practice of the group or area. Early Mongolian tribal leaders made attempts to codify laws, in terms of recording in legal works or by carvings on stone, the punishments for specific named crimes.[10]

In ancient Mongolia serious crimes resulted in capital punishment. Executions generally were conducted in public, not only to show the power of the state but also to show that the person actually had been executed.

Although prisons existed, they usually served as places to hold people until they were tried. Common punishments were monetary fines, flogging, being sentenced to a certain number of years of hard labor or exile, or execution. Punishment for any of these offences was execution either by beheading or by strangulation with a cord. The latter was used on wealthier people to avoid the

[7] Ibid: Crabtree Pam J.: 2008

[8] Dugarova S.J.: Characteristic of a Criminal and Legal Ban of Great Yasa, Law Enforcement, Theoretical and Methodological Quarterly Journal, Ulaanbaatar, 2016, #2(10), pp.53-59

[9] Crabtree Pam J.: Encyclopedia of Society and Culture in the Medieval World, FactsOnFile, New York, 2008, pp. 264-279 (ISBN-13: 978-0-8160-6936-1, ISBN-10: 0-8160-6936-0)

[10] Ibid: Crabtree Pam J.: 2008

shedding of blood (*honor execution*).[11] If a member of the noble was found guilty with a crime, the effort to avoid spilling royal blood went as far as sentencing the offender to commit suicide by taking poison. The crime of assault was punishable by amputation of the hands or by the victims wounding their attackers in the same manner they had been injured.[12]

The larger was a society, the more complex was the laws. According to Mongolian belief, the blue eternal heaven has the highest and utmost power on the earth. The Khan was commanded from heaven to lead the people. The criminal law was the embodiment of the "Heaven Power".

Socialist period

Throughout 70 years (1921-1990) as a socialist state, Mongolia was something of an enigma to the rest of the world. Mongolia engaged in diplomatic relations almost exclusively with one state: the Soviet Union.

The fundamental principle of socialist prison system was that the offenders as convicted ones who acted against society values should be rehabilitated by actively participating in labor activities (*social value*). The labor was the highly proposed end state for every convicted one to transform him or her as a law abiding citizen in the future. The state government made it possible to set up the legal environment for the promotion of prison industrial entities. Providing job opportunities for all prisoners was the utmost importance.

The theoretical foundation for the functioning of socialist society was the Marxism-Leninism. Marx said, *"Within any social relationship legal initiators do not create the act but rather shape it. For example, criminal law was the result of social and economic factors. The state must put more attention of the well-being of its citizens who are enforced in prison. Any prisoner is still the valuable member of society with limited rights. To ignoring prisoners would create the atmosphere of social alienation"*[13].

[11] Crabtree Pam J.: Encyclopedia of Society and Culture in the Medieval World, FactsOnFile, New York, 2008, pp. 264-279 (ISBN-13: 978-0-8160-6936-1, ISBN-10: 0-8160-6936-0)

[12] Ibid: Crabtree Pam J.: 2008

[13] Astrada Sebastian R.: Exporting the Rule of Law to Mongolia: Post-socialist Legal and Judicial Reforms, Denver Journal of International Law and Policy, 2010 http://tsogt.blogmn.net/11185/exporting-the-rule-of-law-to-mongolia:--post-socialist-legal-and-judicial-reforms,-by-sebastian-r.-astrada[1].html (Viewed 24 December 2016)

Lenin believed that we could recognize the authority of punishment for crimes, but we could gradually make it possible that the prisons could be transformed as *places for rehabilitation and education.*[14]

Modernity

In 1990, Mongolia undertook a joint transition from socialism and a centrally-planned economy to democracy and a free-market economy.[15] Mongolia has radically adopted democratic values since 1992 and right after the communist regime has been broken down, it lost its formal social controls over the society[16]. Such sudden changes resulted in increased social disorder.[17]

Despite the promulgation of the new Constitution in 1992, which established the main legal and institutional framework for Mongolia, there have been significant deficiencies in implementing the rule of law and persistent problems with reasonable and reliable access to justice. According to the Mongolian Human Rights Commission, the law enforcement system is characterized by red-tape, delays, a 'bribing epidemic', 'systemic corruption', *tribalism and cronyism (traditional link!).*[18]

At the moment, Mongolia is in a process of reforming its socio-economic sectors by adopting some universal standards. In order that the standards become fully applicable, the agility of implementation is needed. For instance, in prison institutions it is very important and urgent to smoothly introduce some universally implemented standards such as re-socialization and re-education of current and former inmates by the way of "*localization*".

[14] Astrada Sebastian R.: Exporting the Rule of Law to Mongolia: Post-socialist Legal and Judicial Reforms, Denver Journal of International Law and Policy, 2010 http://tsogt.blogmn.net/11185/exporting-the-rule-of-law-to-mongolia:--post-socialist-legal-and-judicial-reforms,-by-sebastian-r.-astrada[1].html (Viewed 24 December 2016)

[15] Ibid: Astrada Sebastian R.: 2010

[16] Ibid: Astrada Sebastian R.: 2010

[17] Chuluunbat Sh., Li Min Sik: Fear of Crime and Contemporary society, Law Enforcement, Theoretical and Methodological Quarterly Journal, Ulaanbaatar, 2016, #2(10), pp.11-22:,

[18] Dr. Landman Todd, McEvoy Claire, Larizza Marco: State of Democracy in Mongolia a Desk Study, Human Rights Centre, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ, United Kingdom (Paper prepared for 'Democracy Development in Mongolia: Challenges and Opportunities', National Conference, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 30 June to 1 July 2005) p. 3 http://www.openforum.mn/res_mat/State%20of%20Democracy%20in%20Mongolia.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)

More efforts need to give the chances for the first time offenders and convicted ones by being involved in labor activities.[19]

The Buddhist spiritual leader Dalai Lama, who is notorious among the people, recently made some statements about the issue. He said *"Majority of offenders are used to be in prisons. They are thought to be marginal of society. In that context, it is difficult for them to try to change. We must not put them in this unbearable situation. They are same with all humans. They have ability as we to change for the good. It is quality of all human beings. The society ought to support them in the way to change their behavior. The courts could make decision on individual base. It means to give them some leniency according to the degree of wrongdoing"*[20].

If there are not any conditions given for ex-offenders to self-realize themselves in the community after their release, the chances of re-offending are very high. At the moment, Mongolia does not have the efficient and effective mechanism dealing with ex-offenders. To put it in another way, there is an urgent need to establish the well-developed *probation service*.

The following steps could be taken to enhance the current prison system. First, revision of legal aspects of prison system related with rehabilitation of prisoners, second, formulate and implement new concept for the criminal sentencing policy thus to nurture the conditions for the human oriented development of the inmates.

The philosophy of punishment in ancient China and its influences on Chinese criminal justice system

Confucianism

Confucian codes of conduct, which are clearly defined patterns of *obedience*, have become intertwined in ancient Chinese society and culture.[21] The traditional Chinese view of law is primarily influenced by Confucian teachings that an

[19] Khash L.: Tradition of Mongolian Accusation Policy and Imprisonment, Law Enforcement, Theoretical and Methodological Quarterly Journal, Ulaanbaatar, 2016, #1(09), pp.98-114

[20] Jantsan S.: Origin and Development of Philosophy of Sentences, It's Law, Theology and Doctrine, Law Enforcement, Theoretical and Methodological Quarterly Journal, Ulaanbaatar, 2014, #1(01), pp.24-32

[21] LeFande August Matthew: Aspects of Legalist Philosophy and the Law in Ancient China: The Ch'in and Han Dynasties and the Rediscovered Manuscripts of Mawangdui and Shuihudi:, November 2000, pp.1-15 http://www.commonwealthprotection.org/AncientChinaLaw.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)

individual should be guided by *li* (virtue or propriety) rather than by *fa* (the law).[22]

Confucianism emphasized the duties and obligations of people rather than their individual rights. The focus is more on the interests and harmony of the family, clan, or community than the rights of a single person.[23] Confucius taught that most of the ills of society existed because people forgot their stations in life and rulers failed to practice virtue.

The rationale of Confucianism is that society is organized in a hierarchy of superior– inferior relationships: the rulers to the subjects, parents to children, men to women. If every person performs his or her role, stability and social order will be sustained. Confucius emphasized *complete obedience* and loyalty of the inferior to the superior and at the same time, the benevolence of the superior to the inferior.[24] Confucianism influenced every aspect of Chinese life, including governmental systems, politics, and the law.

An important element of the ancient Chinese legal system was the concept of *collective responsibility*. Traditionally, Chinese defined a person's identity in relation to others within the society. The illegal action of one person could lead not only to the prosecution of the original offender, but also the punishment of many others who were guilty by association.[25]

Daoism

Daoism (Taoism), a school of thought developed by philosophers Lao Zi (5th century BC) and Zhuang Zi (4th century BC). Daoists advocated inaction (*wuwei*), political passivity without human interference.[26] Daoism opposes institutions and organizations, moral laws, and governments as human artifices that obstruct the *Dao*[27]. Daoism sought to promote the inner peace of individuals and the harmony with the environment (the term could be projected towards society in modern era).

Legalism

The third school of thought that significantly influenced the current Chinese criminal justice system is Legalism (*fajia)*.The Legalists advocated rewards and punishments by which to keep all people in order. The Legalist philosophy advo-

[22] Ibid: LeFande August Matthew 2000

[23] Ibid: LeFande August Matthew 2000

[24] Ibid: LeFande August Matthew 2000

[25] Ibid: LeFande August Matthew 2000

[26] LeFande August Matthew: Aspects of Legalist Philosophy and the Law in Ancient China: The Ch'in and Han Dynasties and the Rediscovered Manuscripts of Mawangdui and Shuihudi:, November 2000, pp.1-15 http://www.commonwealthprotection.org/AncientChinaLaw.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)

[27] Ibid: LeFande August Matthew 2000

cated dismantling feudal privileges, strict accountability for actions, and the standardization of individual duties in a manner whereby everyone is bound equally to the same standard.

Group responsibility was ordered within the family and among units of families, and all people were under an honor system to report crime or face collective punishment.

External influences on the development of modern mainland Chinese law

For centuries, China flourished in isolation from the rest of the world. During the colonial era, the Western powers imposed the *system of extraterritoriality.*[28] The primary objections to China's criminal justice system were that the use of penalties was too severe, torture was employed to obtain confessions of guilt, and the courts were corrupt (Figure 1).

The Soviet legal system and the development of mainland Chinese Law

In February of 1949, the Communist Party of China (CCP) forcefully removed the Nationalist government, including its judiciary and the entire body of laws.[29] After the process, communist leaders started to shape the new legal system. They had highly appreciated the legal system of the Soviet Union. There was a huge enthusiasm among the leaders about the achievements of the Soviet state with building up of society on the basic of different cultural, social and political values. But Mao Zedong and other leaders in mainland China did not want to establish the copied legal system of the Soviet Union, but to add some indigenous qualities (political, social and cultural features of mainland China) into it. The core fundamental principles were the protection of the fundamental values and rights of peasants and workers (major social groups of Chinese society). The political organization had ultimate prerogative over the legal system. It means that the political leadership could shape and lead the criminal justice system in mainland China. The lack of independence had hampered the daily activity and overall operation of the courts of all level.

During the opening up and reform era, mainland China brought forward some of the universally accepted legal norms and procedures. The process of adaptation of international norms regulating business and commerce, foreign investment, and financial securities issues had an influence on the whole legal system including the criminal justice system was no exception.

[28] Ibid: LeFande August Matthew 2000

[29] Ibid: LeFande August Matthew 2000

Figure1. China was famous for its varieties and use of wooden collars and cages, called *cangue*.[30]

Restorative justice practices in mainland China

Since 2002, *criminal reconciliation* (*Xingshi Hejie*), debatably *the indigenous restorative justice* practice, has been gradually implemented in the criminal justice system.[31] Criminal reconciliation is a mechanism in the criminal proceedings where the judicial organ exempts suspects from criminal liability or punishment, or imposes lenient penalties, after the offender and the victim reconcile with each other through offender's sincere remorse, compensation, apology or other measures.[32]

The philosophy of punishment in ancient Japan

Kamakura shogunate[33]

With the rise of the warrior class and the unification of Japan under the Kamakura shogunate (governing ruler), the Japanese legal system acquired the form of

[30] Duhaime Lloyd: China - A Legal History, 2008
Published at http://www.duhaime.org/LawMuseum/LawArticle-367/Crime-and-Punishment-in-Ancient-China.aspx (Viewed 24 December 2016)
[31] Ibid: Duhaime Lloyd, 2008
[32] Duhaime Lloyd: China - A Legal History, 2008
Published at http://www.duhaime.org/LawMuseum/LawArticle-367/Crime-and-Punishment-in-Ancient-China.aspx (Viewed 24 December 2016)
[33] The Kamakura shogunate (Japanese: 鎌倉幕府, Kamakura bakufu) was a Japanese feudal military government that ruled from 1185 to 1333. The heads of the government were the shoguns. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamakura_shogunate (Viewed 24 December 2016)

the traditional samurai code of ethics focused on maintenance of the hierarchy and familial honor and obligation.[34] Another major contribution was the development of principles of *group responsibility* known as *renza* and *enza*[35]. In accordance with these values, blame was not simply assigned to the guilty individual when a crime was committed, but it was also assigned to that individual's family and perhaps the larger community of which he was a penalty as the one who had committed the crime.[36]

Even in modern time, there is an extensive use of suspended prosecution by public prosecutors, fines and suspended sentences by criminal courts, and dismissal and probation by family courts.[37]

A better explanation may be grounded in social immobility that breed responsibility, as well as in the hierarchical status roles in the Japanese social and family tradition.[38] It is also important to delegate the settlement of disputes to other social groups such as the family and village.

This group responsibility is, of course, probably one of the main reasons for the traditionally low levels of crime. If a person was convicted, this had enormous effects on all his wider relatives, his village and neighbors and others. *This was traditionally a society where people were expected to confess their guilt*.[39] The tradition of confession has continued since early ages. *Most of those who come to court nowadays confess their guilt*.

The vast majority of disputes are settled out of court. Today there are three major forms of reconciliation. The first is widespread in *Tokugawa* villages and was informal conciliation or *jidan.*[40] The second, called *chotei*, is primarily a formal pre-litigation procedure, and was devised piecemeal in Japan in the years between the two world wars.[41] The third, *wakai*, is a direct German borrowing, a procedure by which the judge encourages and assists the disputants to reach a compromise settlement.[42]

---

[34] Deal, William E.: Handbook to life in medieval and early modern Japan, FactsOnFile, New York, 2006, pp.101-105 (ISBN 0-8160-5622-6)

[35] Ibid: Deal, William E.: 2006

[36] Ibid: Deal, William E.: 2006

[37] Macfarlane Alan: Law and Custom in Japan: Some Comparative Reflections, Continuity and Change 10 (3), Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp.369-390 http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/TEXTS/law&custom.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)

[38] Ibid: Macfarlane Alan, 1995

[39] Ibid: Macfarlane Alan, 1995

[40] Macfarlane Alan: Law and Custom in Japan: Some Comparative Reflections, Continuity and Change 10 (3), Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp.369-390 http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/TEXTS/law&custom.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)

[41] Ibid: Macfarlane Alan, 1995

[42] Ibid: Macfarlane Alan, 1995

The origin of the first prison in Japan

The first prison in Kanazawa, originally for holding prisoners of war, was located within the castle walls. The castle prison's original function became obsolete by 1590, after Toyotomi Hideyoshi established hegemony over Japan.

Suspects who were declined to speak, could be subjected to harsh methods of coercion (Figure 2). In such cases, the prison interrogation room served as a torture chamber to extract the confession necessary to resolve crimes during the Edo period.

In seventeenth-century Kanazawa, the most prominent forms of capital punishment still practiced were saw-pulling, ox-pulling, boiling alive, drawing and quartering, burning at the stake, crucifixion, and beheading.[43]

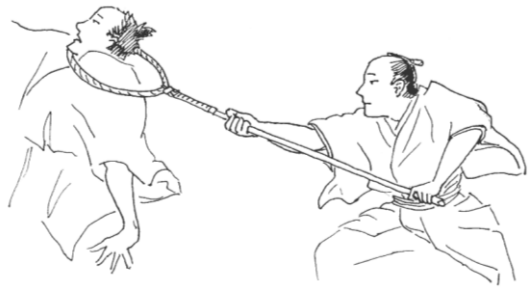

Figure2. Example of an *uchikomi*, a device used to apprehend a criminal suspect[44]

Conclusion

The overall historical evolution of ideas about punishment in general and the prison institutions in particular was the result of the combination of factors.

[43] Nelson D.: The Consolidation of Place and Punishment in Seventeenth-Century Japan: Kanazawa Prisons and Criminal Justice, Austin Peay State University, Southeast Review of Asian Studies, Volume 30 (2008), pp. 188–195 http://www.uky.edu/Centers/Asia/SECAAS/Seras/2008/23_Nelson_2008.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)

[44] Deal, William E.: Handbook to life in medieval and early modern Japan, FactsOnFile, New York, 2006, pp.101-105 (ISBN 0-8160-5622-6)

Otherwise in order to outline the whole picture about the development of prisons a multifactor analysis is necessary. The historical periods defined by analyzing social, political, cultural and economic entities which shape the relationship between people to people and state to people. The prison creation followed by mature establishment of firm bonds between state as dominant and people as subordinate. It was vividly reflected in the historical documents of ancient Mongolia, China and Japan. However, should be emphasized that in ancient time ideas about prison in Mongolia, China and Japan have some similarities and differences.

Similarities:

- In ancient Asia, *social groups* who had the authority (whether it is Khan and his nobles in Mongolia, Emperor and his inner circle in China or the shogun and samurais in Japan) to command and rule others made it possible to formulate ideas about to whom, where and how to punish;
- Sometimes the dominant social groups could change the rules and ideas of punishment. It depended on the situation. It could have been both negative and positive effect to subordinates;
- The authorities often used harsh and severe methods of punishment.
- There were wider use of both capital and corporal punishment;
- The distinct unique common characteristic of Mongolian, Chinese and Japanese punishment of ancient time was that even though they were different in terms of value system, belief and norms; they consistently adopted "*collective or group responsibility*". When someone acted irresponsibly, his or her relatives and the community were regarded responsible as well;
- The whole historical view on punishment of these countries depended on both internal and external factors.

Differences:

- In ancient Mongolia, distinct characteristic of way of life was nomadic pastoralism. The nomadic pastoralism as main way of life created tribal thinking. Tribal thinking makes it possible to shape whole society activities. Tribal laws was formulated and implemented on the basis of tribal thinking. The tribal dominant group comprised of nobles and the Khan who had the highest authority and mandate from "Heaven". The nobles and Khan were able to create laws and punish other subordinate groups. It was not a one sided process. The member of the noble group involved in crime could be punished in less severe way. The so-called "honor killing" applied to them. These form of thinking (tribalism and cronyism) is still alive in current Mongolian society and one of the main characteristic of all areas of society. The prison system is not an exception. The Soviet legal system impacted the development of Mongolian prisons in the course of 20th century. The widespread "tribalism and

cronyism" is impeding the real reform of the prison system of current Mongolia.

- In China the following three concepts had a powerful influence on ancient philosophical thinking. The Confucian, Daoism and Legalist approaches to punishment made impact on the development of overall Chinese legal system. The Confucian ideas were the prevalence of duty and obligation over individual rights. The punishment methods had to be severe and perceptible. The Western legal system tried to shape the legal system during the colonial period. After the rise of communist ideology, Soviet legal system with native model of communist ideas shaped the attitude towards the punishment. During the last 30 years, due to the opening up and reform, the international standards were established. It accelerated the reform of the legal system in China. Restorative criminal practices are actively promoted and maintained.
- The Japanese legal system acquired the form of the traditional *samurai* (dominant group) code of ethics focused on maintenance of the hierarchy and familial honor and obligation. The Japanese view on punishment has firmly supported by traditional concepts. These unique characteristics exist in current Japanese system. Japanese society still relies on basic values and norm created in ancient time. One of the core fundamental principles of the modern Japanese view on punishment which differs from other societies' is the legal "reconciliation". It is a tool in hands of society to smooth the process of solving the legal issues related to the punishment. The Japanese view is that the reconciliation is one of the most efficient methods to punish others for their wrongdoings.

References

- Astrada Sebastian R.: Exporting the Rule of Law to Mongolia: Post-socialist Legal and Judicial Reforms, Denver Journal of International Law and Policy, 2010 http://tsogt.blogmn.net/11185/exporting-the-rule-of-law-to-mongolia:--post-socialist-legal-and-judicial-reforms,-by-sebastian-r.-astrada[1].html (Viewed 24 December 2016)
- Crabtree Pam J.: Encyclopedia of Society and Culture in the Medieval World, FactsOnFile, New York, 2008, pp. 775-778 (ISBN-13: 978-0-8160-6936-1, ISBN-10: 0-8160-6936-0)
- Dugarova S.J.: Characteristic of a Criminal and Legal Ban of Great Yasa, Law Enforcement, Theoretical and Methodological Quarterly Journal, Ulaanbaatar, 2016, #2(10), pp.53-59
- Deal, William E.: Handbook to life in medieval and early modern Japan, FactsOnFile, New York, 2006, pp.101-105 (ISBN 0-8160-5622-6)

- Dr. Landman Todd, McEvoy Claire, Larizza Marco: State of Democracy in Mongolia a Desk Study, Human Rights Centre, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ, United Kingdom (Paper prepared for 'Democracy Development in Mongolia: Challenges and Opportunities', National Conference, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 30 June to 1 July 2005) p. 3 http://www.openforum.mn/res_mat/State%20of%20Democracy%20in%20Mongolia.pdf Viewed 24 December 2016)
- Duhaime Lloyd: China - A Legal History, 2008 http://www.duhaime.org/LawMuseum/LawArticle-367/Crime-and-Punishment-in-Ancient-China.aspx (Viewed 24 December 2016)
- Jantsan S.: Origin and Development of Philosophy of Sentences, It's Law, Theology and Doctrine, Law Enforcement, Theoretical and Methodological Quarterly Journal, Ulaanbaatar, 2014, #1(01), pp.24-32
- Khash L.: Tradition of Mongolian Accusation Policy and Imprisonment, Law Enforcement, Theoretical and Methodological Quarterly Journal, Ulaanbaatar, 2016, #1(09), pp.98-114
- LeFande August Matthew: Aspects of Legalist Philosophy and the Law in Ancient China: The Ch'in and Han Dynasties and the Rediscovered Manuscripts of Mawangdui and Shuihudi:, November 2000, pp.1-15 http://www.commonwealthprotection.org/AncientChinaLaw.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)
- Macfarlane Alan: Law and Custom in Japan: Some Comparative Reflections, Continuity and Change 10 (3), Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp.369-390 http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/TEXTS/law&custom.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)
- Nelson D.: The Consolidation of Place and Punishment in Seventeenth-Century Japan: Kanazawa Prisons and Criminal Justice, Austin Peay State University, Southeast Review of Asian Studies, Volume 30 (2008), pp. 188–95 http://www.uky.edu/Centers/Asia/SECAAS/Seras/2008/23_Nelson_2008.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)
- Pollock Joycelyn M.: The Philosophy and History of Prisons: The Rationale For Imprisonment, Texas State University–San Marcos, 2005, pp.3-17 http://www.jblearning.com/samples/0763729043/Chapter_01.pdf (Viewed 24 December 2016)
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamakura_shogunate (Viewed 24 December 2016)