

LAJOS JÓZSEF KOMJÁTHY¹

The Establishment of the Stability of Democratic States during Peace Operations. Potential duties of Forces Participating at the Establishment of Stability. Experience gained during Stabilization Tasks in Afghanistan

A demokratikus államok stabilitásának megteremtése a békeműveletek során. A stabilitás megteremtésében résztvevők erőik lehetséges feladatai. Az afganisztáni stabilizációs feladatok tapasztalatai²

'The state is made for man, not man for the state.... That is to say, the state should be our servant and not we its slaves'.

Albert Einstein

Abstract

The article gives an overview of the general stability characteristics of today's democratic states, of the main areas of state security, and of the main tasks that help to secure the safe operation of the state. It examines the major areas of implementation of peace operations for the sake of stabilization and possible tasks. It analyzes the potential duties of peacekeeping forces in order to create stability in the state. It summarizes the main peace-support tasks of the establishment of stabilization during peace operations, results and mistakes, shortcomings based on experiences in Afghanistan, suggestions and assessments.

Keywords: young democratic state, stability, operability, peace operations, preparation and training of law enforcement, experiences in Afghanistan

¹ Nemzeti Közszerológati Egyetem egyetemi tanársegéd, National University of Public Service, assistant professor, E-mail: komjathy.lajos.jozsef@uni-nke.hu ORCID:0000-0002-6486-9122

² The work was created in commission of the National University of Public Service under the priority project KÖFOP-2.1.2-VEKOP-15-2016-00001 titled "Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance" in the Ludovika Research Group.

Das Werk wurde im Rahmen des Prioritätsprogramms mit Identitätsnummer KÖFOP-2.1.2-VEKOP-15-2016-00001 mit dem Titel „Entwicklung des Öffentlichen Dienstes gerichtet auf „Gute Regierungsführung“ in der Ludovika Forschungsgruppe fertiggestellt.

Absztrakt

A cikk áttekintést ad a napjaink demokratikus államainak általános, stabilitási jellemzőiről az állam biztonságának főbb területeiről. azokról a feladatokról, amelyek biztosítják az állam stabilitását, működőképességét. Vizsgálja a békeműveletek végrehajtásának főbb területeit, a stabilizálás érdekében és a lehetséges feladatokat. Elemzi a békefenntartó erők lehetséges feladatait az állam stabilitásának megteremtése érdekében. Összefoglalja a békeműveletek során a stabilizáció megteremtésének főbb béketámogatói feladatait, az eredményeket és hibákat, hiányosságokat afganisztáni tapasztalatok alapján, ezekre alapuló javaslatokat, és összegzéseket.

Kulcsszavak: fiatal demokratikus állam, stabilitás, működőképesség, békeműveletek támogatása, kormányzati erők felkészítése, kiképzése, afganisztáni tapasztalatok, eredmények, javaslatok

INTRODUCTION

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century was the era of changes in the world, during which numerous new states were established in a peaceful way (Slovakia, Czech Republic) or via an armed conflict (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc.), and Alliances also transformed (they broke off, altered or widened). In order to maintain their independency and ability to operate, the newly established states had to face several challenges in the altered environment, also due to the security policy issues present in the changing world. In my study, I issue the main areas which can determine the maintenance of viability of a state and examine how international organizations and peacekeeper forces can foster the reinforcement and operation of these states during peacekeeping operations, using the experience gained during peacekeeping operations of Afghanistan.

STABILIZATION OF THE OPERATION OF NEW STATES, MAIN TASKS AND POTENTIAL AREAS

By examining the duties of a state, two main areas can be determined. One of these is the assurance of operation of internal tasks limited to the area of the state, and the other is the representation of the interests of the state and the protection against external threats, the assurance of safety against global, regional and local challenges. In case of some countries, especially of recently established states, these tasks can only be performed with the support of external peacekeeping forces, which is inevitable to maintain their safety and ability to operate. Let's see the main tasks that are substantial for the states and their citizens. During the examination of the internal tasks of the state, the following ones can be identified that the state must carry out for the sake of its stabilization: consolidation of the

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

economy and the organization of its functioning (industry, agriculture, services), maintenance of the social order, the assurance of citizens' rights without ethnic or religious discrimination, the formation and actuation of the system of costs and revenues of the state. Among the external tasks of the state we can identify the organization and assurance of armed protection of the country, the representation of the interests of the State at international forum and occasions, protection against security policy threats (terrorism, migration, human trafficking, natural disasters), and the prevention from spreading crisis. Naturally, these liabilities cannot be taken over entirely by international forces and organizations, they can rather assist stabilization and peace operations by performing training and preparation, reconstructing the state and establishing the necessary infrastructure. Going forward, I intend to examine based on the experiences gained so far what tasks and support the peacekeeping forces can accomplish for the sake of the stabilization of the state. In his message sent on occasion of the day of peacekeepers,³ Antonio Guterres⁴ described this system of tasks the following way: "Peacekeeping operations have evolved from simply monitoring ceasefires to protecting civilians, disarming ex-combatants, protecting human rights, promoting the rule of law, supporting free and fair elections, minimizing the risk of land-mines and much more. They also work to ensure that women are fully represented in peace processes, political life, and in branches of government. All these investments are fundamental to building lasting peace."⁵

The establishment of an armed force and the ability of self-protection of a state have always been a symbol and guarantee of sovereignty⁶. For this reason, the ownership and acquisition of a timely and modern, effective home defense force which is in line with its purpose specified by law/regulations is a task of prominent importance. In his work 'The Prince', Niccolò Machiavelli⁷ pictured sovereignty the following way: 'No principality is secure without having its own forces; on the contrary, it is entirely dependent on good fortune, not having the valour which in adversity would defend it.' (XIII. Chapter). The states can use their armed force against internal or external enemies but must follow legal regulations in every case. International law (measures of Genf and Haga) regulates belligerents, applied processes and means, and the treatment of the injured and prisoners of war.

³ International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers, 29 of May every year.

⁴ António Manuel de Oliveira Guterres GCC GCL is a Portuguese politician and diplomat who serves as the ninth Secretary-General of the United Nations.

⁵ 29 May 2017 António Guterres' Message to Mark The International Day Of United Nations Peacekeepers.

⁶ Hungarian Definition Manual Dictionary: independent, unrestricted, free
Depending on the division, the sovereignty of the state can be internal and external. The decision-maker has the highest power, the rules it imposes (constitution, law) are binding on the people of the state. The state of independence of external sovereignty: the fact that it makes decisions without external control.

⁷ Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli (Italian; 3 May 1469 – 21 June 1527) was an Italian diplomat, politician, historian, philosopher, humanist, and writer of the Renaissance period.

POTENTIAL DUTIES OF PEACEKEEPING FORCES FOR THE SAKE OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXTERNAL STABILITY OF A YOUNG STATE

One of the most important tasks of the state is the protection and maintenance of its independence and territorial integrity. A young or weeks states always have to face the fact that its neighbours tend to file territorial/economical claims. One of the most outstanding example was the multiple division of Poland⁸ (1772, 1793, 1795), and the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact⁹ signed by Russians and Germans during WW2. At the end of the 20th century, the occupation of Kuwait territories by Iraqi forces was a noted example of neighbour aggression.

New-sprung states formed during the breakup of the colonial system often met great-power influence and neighbour claims, which must be listed as a cause of the evolution of one of the most dangerous crisis centers of the world, the territory of Kashmir. This area is the target of opposing Indian and Pakistani claims and has been the scene of several armed conflicts since the declaration of independence of the two countries. Numerous countries define their territorial inviolability and relevant duties of armed forces by law¹⁰ on governmental level. Great powers, accepting the Monroe doctrine¹¹, support the operation of new states. During peace operations, peacekeeper forces can support these tasks of democratic governmental forces of new states on three main areas:

- Reorganization and training of national forces¹²
- Separation and demilitarization of opposing parties, control of disarmament and arsenal, delegation of observant, supervision of ceasefire in demilitarized zones¹³

⁸ Source: Soós István: A lengyel anarchia, Lengyelország felosztásai. In Poór János: A kora újkor története. Osiris, Budapest, 2009.
https://www.tankonyvtar.hu/hu/tartalom/tamop425/2011_0001_520_a_kora_ujkor_tortenete/ch01s07.h.tml

⁹ The German-Soviet Non-Aggression Treaty, on September 17, 1939, The Stalinist Soviet Union attacked the Polish army which was fighting opposite the Wehrmacht. The official reason for fraternal assistance is the protection of the Ukrainian and Belarusian minorities. But in fact, in its secret clause, the territory of Poland was divided between them.

¹⁰ For example. Basic Law of Hungary. 25. April. 2011. 45 article.

¹¹ James Monroe (1758. April 28. – 1831. Julius 4.) 5. President of United States, 1823. on December 2 congress in his message he drafted the very powerful position of the new states in the case of a "Monroe Doctrine" making a name for yourself, "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere."

¹² Following the defeat of the Taliban power in Afghanistan, the reconstruction and training of Afghan democratic forces (military, police, border defense forces) were carried out by ISAF with international cooperation.

¹³ In Cyprus, the demilitarized zone and the status of Turkish and Greek troop movements are supervised by observers and peacekeeper forces of UN.

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

- In absence of adequate national army, the protection of borders by operation against external invaders with the help of international forces¹⁴

To support the execution of these tasks, nations often delegate trainers, instructors and advisors to peace operation forces instead of armed troops, and provide military tools, equipment¹⁵ simulators and educational devices to the new states. Trainings are organized locally or are fostered by possibilities ensured at international courses. A good example may be the reconstruction in Afghanistan, during which the work of ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) was supported by Swedish, German, Dutch, etc. police instructors and Hungarian military advocates.¹⁶ Also, the leaders of Afghan army had the possibility to prepare and train together with the regional leaders of ISAF at the training center of NATO¹⁷ in Bydgoszcz, Poland, strengthening the cooperation between ISAF and new Afghan governmental forces.

The important task for peacekeeping forces: when they help to new states: increasing the State's security capability, to help provide security during the government when of other States the threats, deter, and assistance in the field of responses to this.

To aid the most effective advocacy of the interests of new states at international forums, countries supporting their stability often delegate advisors to assist the work of national representatives. Based on the Monroe Doctrine, many ex-colonizer states also support the independence of former colonies and their transformation into sovereign and strong states. This stabilization activity and duty is studied by several international organizations and independent foundations, who aids peacekeeping forces by providing orientation to the establishment of peace and security with the help of their investigation and research. For example, Polish "Casimir Pulaski Foundation" was formed with the purpose of assisting international conflict management and the preparation of programs of peace and stabilization strategies. The foundation studies the activities of national and non-national participants during peace operations and prepare efficient recommendations for stabilization and peace operation support:

- Assistance of training of armed forces and organizations;
- Provision and support with modern and up-to-date armature;
- Technical and legal support;
- Compilation, development of training program's method;
- Training of governmental members and forces
- The delegation of consultants and Subject matter experts(SME).

¹⁴ After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (02. august. 1990.), UN forces restored the country's independence and borders during the "Desert Storm" (1991. 01. 16–02. 28)

¹⁵ In 2004, the Hungarian state handed over 77 refurbished T-72 tanks to the re-organized Iraqi army.

¹⁶ Air Advisory Team (AAT) has been helping to prepare and train the Afghan helicopter drivers/operators since 2011 so that the independent Afghan National Army can use its own resources to maintain and consolidate stability and peace in the country.

¹⁷ Joint Force Training Centre (JFTC).

Naturally, these tasks are connected to and influence security and the establishment and assurance of internal stability. During the analysis of the peace operations of the present and the past (Iraq, Afghanistan), all of these tasks can be identified among the supporting activities of international forces and organizations.

POTENTIAL DUTIES OF PEACEKEEPER FORCES DURING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERNAL STABILITY OF THE STATE

The establishment of the internal stability of the state and the support of its operation is one of the most versatile duties which sets up challenges for the state itself as well as for the supporting peacekeeping forces and international organizations. The operation of the national management system, the formation of functionary staff and the assurance of their work and its necessary conditions are inevitable conditions of the reconstruction and stabilization of the state. "The poverty, wealth, strength, weakness, orderliness and disruption of the state are determined by the physical, mental and moral qualities of people." (Jen Fu¹⁸)

According to the wording of RAND¹⁹, the nation has a duty to defend basic government, financial, energy, transport and other critical infrastructure operations against terrorist activities and natural disasters" The formation and operation of social order is a task of high importance of the internal stabilization of the state, without setting up priorities. For the sake of this task, public institutions and infrastructure systems are set up and operated, managerial and legal systems are established which are necessary to the functioning of the society, these are often partially or entirely taken over from working states. During the stabilization, this task can often be carried out only with the help of external economical and human resources. In the rest of this article, I analyze how the external peacekeeping forces assist and take part of the stabilization process and tasks of the state during the peacekeeping operation. From the aspect of the functioning of the state, one of the most important elements is the protection of citizen rights: right to life, to work, to religion, right to the protection of property, etc. These are ensured by national laws and regulations and are guaranteed by judicature and law enforcement bodies that are independent of the state governance. Peacekeeper forces can assist this process by the training and preparation of members of law enforcement bodies, by the establishment of conditions of work, provision of equipment, and by the operation of consultant groups during the early phase. If active mutineer groups are present in the state, the protection of national lead officers must be attended as well, as they can be the potential targets of these groups, and if local forces are not able to ensure their protection, peacekeeper forces should take over this duty. [12. p. 5] The operation and protection of public institutions and the assurance of the security of the critical infrastructure establishments are important elements of the functioning of the

¹⁸ Yang Jen Fu, Taiwanese political science's teacher.

¹⁹ The RAND Corporation is a nonprofit institution that helps to improve policy and decision-making through research and analysis. The RAND is a research organization that provides solutions to public policy challenges and helps its communities to make the world safer and healthier.

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

state. These institutions are targets of ceaseless threats and attacks during a mutineer war against a young democratic state. Offices and officers of international organizations supporting the state also become targets of attacks quite often.²⁰ During the asymmetrical warfare and effect-based operations of our days, the most highlighted methods of rioter groups are terrorists' acts against public institutions and locations visited by multitudes. The appearance of these crimes in public media escalates fear and panic among citizens. In the triplet of tasks defined for peacekeeper forces by the Peace Stabilization Program Published by the Canadian Government, the part of establishing security contains these duties. As part of its internal stability, the state has to operate important systems, the operation of which can only be ensured by the state itself, like the system of public utilities (electricity, water supply, etc.), public transportation, health care system, public education system, social system (pensions, subsidies, etc.), the determination and assurance of sources of revenue of the state (taxes and fees), and as an emphasized task during the establishment of stability, the formation and operation of communication systems and media. International peacekeeping forces can assist the state in these duties with expanding the tasks listed by 'Casimir Pulansky foundation' with the provision of industrial artifacts and technological appliances, the configuration of infrastructure and the assurance of its operation, the training of experts and the delegation of specialists and consultant groups. While examining the peace operations of the last few years, we can find that the best example of peace operation assistance is the reconstruction of the Afghan state. Before the start of the reconstruction, the state pursued a successful war against Soviet military forces and underwent a militarist and radical governance (Taliban system). In August 2003, NATO took over the high command of ISAF, and the establishment of the new democratic system of the state was started under its guidance. A few data from the beginning of the reconstruction: total population was 33 million, economical value was approximately 2 billion dollars, GDP per capita was 80 dollars.²¹ Main, non-agricultural activities consisted of smuggling and drug trafficking. The ratio of illiteracy was 80 %, and the rate of undernourished was 70%. The life-span expected at birth was 40 years, the number of homeless was 1,2 million, and the scale of school attendance was 39% in case of boys, and 3%²²in case of girls. This was the situation in which the international assistance activities led by ISAF began. The assistance of training of armed forces and organizations. It was carried out with the engagement of international military advisors and trainers, and by the handover of equipment. Today, Afghan governmental forces dispose of a national police force of 70 000 members, which can be increased to 80 000 in case of full mobilization. The main duties of Afghan reconstruction were defined at the Conference of Berlin, February 2002, including the method of assisting the future Afghan Police. Personnel were trained within the framework of Afghani-

²⁰ A terrorist attack in Afghanistan at the office of "Save the Children" International Assistance Organization in Dzsalamalabadi on 24 January 2018. Bomb attack against a Turkish government building in 2016. In the terrorist act, 9 people died and at least 26 were wounded.

²¹ In 1979 it was still \$ 200 / person.

²² Source: World Food Program, UNDP, Business Week (2001).

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

stan Police Program. ANP, and was further trained by international preparation teams, called POMLTs (Police Operational Mentor and Liaison Team). In the northern regions, the same job was carried out by German, Dutch and Swedish trainers. The Afghanistan National Army (ANA) represents a military force of approximately 90 000 members, as planned, this number can be increased in a few years to 260 000 in case of full mobilization. Training was carried out by an international mentor team (Operational Mentor and Liaison Team, Operational Advisor Liaison Team OMLT²³), similarly to police training. The Hungarian advisor team executed this action in Afghanistan²⁴, together with the members of OHIO National Guard. Up to today, Hungarian mentors have supported and are supporting the preparation of aviators and flight control experts of Afghan Air Force, and there are logistic mentors working in Kabul as well. The main duties of the Afghanistan Border Police (ABP), an organization of 23090 members, are the protection of the border of 5529 km and of the 19 border crossing points, the impeding of cross-border crimes, drug trafficking and smuggling of arms, and the struggle against illegal migration. This organization supervises airports as well. [14. p. 6]

Provision and support with timely and modern equipment. International forces, organizations and nations support the military forces of new states by handing over technical devices and with the preparation for their usage. During the withdrawal of ISAF forces, numerous devices and weapons were handed over to new governmental forces, only the USA spent 76 B-n (?) dollars on the equipment and armament of Afghan security forces²⁵, approximately 5000 Humvee vehicles were delivered to Afghan national military force (source: June 4, 2014, US NEWS). According to the data of European External Action Service (EEAS) from 17.11. 2017, the European Union has supported the Afghan national police with more than 510 million euros since 2002, with the aim of fostering the formation of this organization, the establishment of professional and basic service, and the improvement of public confidence and security. In 2007, the European Union gave birth to its EUPOL mission, in order to support the Afghan government in their police service reform endeavors. The reform of the police is a substantial element of the Afghanistan reconstruction efforts. It contains the assistance of the establishment of a working system of constitutional state, including the supervision of the penal code and the thorough reform of the justice sector, the creation of legal information centers, the formation of computer-based administration, training of counsels and judges, and infrastructure and equipment support. In the framework of national bilateral support, German Minister of Home Affairs Klaus Dieter Fritsche handed over the Police Training Center of Kunduz to Afghan Ministry of Home Affairs on 21st of August 2013. After the withdrawal of ISAF forces, international advisors and their assistants have supported the consolidation of the Afghan democratic state by providing trainings and compiling training programs. The study 'Social and Economic Areas of Development in Afghanistan', written by Ferenc Molnar has outlined main tasks and

²³ In 1993, a cooperation agreement was signed between the Hungarian Defense Forces and the National Guard of OHIO State to deepen military relations. In the agreement of one of which is the Joint Operations Advisory Group in Afghanistan.

²⁴ In BAGHLAN province, the OMLT helped the 3. Battalion of 2. Brigade of 209. Afghan Corps. assisted the training of eight hundred soldiers of Baghlan.

²⁵ Source: CBS News August 10, 2017.

developments which UN planned during the Afghan stabilization. These were executed with the help of PRTs (Provincial Reconstruction Teams). Besides the upbuilt of infrastructural establishments, the Hungarian PRT was responsible²⁶ for the support of educational, medical, public service and agricultural system. 'As a result of the activities of PRT on its areas of responsibility, energy sector was extended by approximately 10 kilometers of length, providing energy to 15 000 citizens by the end of function in Afghanistan. Road system was enlarged by 55 kilometers of length with bridges and traffic objects, the contribution to medical service was 9 hospitals and 13 medical stations, and educational system was supported with the buildup of 9 elementary schools. Governmental work was aided with equipment and by recovering buildings and making them safe.'²⁷ Naturally, stabilization activities are the common endeavors of not only peacekeeping forces, but other organizations and groups as well. These groups can be international, caritative and national organizations (IO NGO GO) and civilians. This mutual endeavor was worded by former Secretary General of UN, Dag Hammarskjöld: 'Peacekeeping is not a job for soldiers, but only soldiers can do it.' Mutual work can significantly accelerate the stabilization process; however, an erroneous decision or activity can result in an intense setback. One example of today's negative cases is the current sex scandal of OXFAM²⁸ aid organization, or that UN aids were delivered by caritative agencies in exchange for sex. As the goal is common, the erring of any participant, let it be a member of international, home organizations or peace operation forces, will have an influence on the work of the other party. Local inhabitants often associate the work of peace operation forces and caritative organizations. The members of aid organizations often do their job under the patronage of peace operation forces, and the building of peace is often led by them, without knowing the abilities and tasks of armed forces. Therefore, an error affect both parties. A noted negative example was the burning of Koran²⁹ in Afghanistan, as a result of which collaborators of multiple caritative/civilian organizations became targets of protesters due to the mistake of peace operation forces (ISAF). In Mazar-E Sarif, seven UN colleagues were killed by Muslims during the protests, and offices of several other organizations became targets of invasion.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The peace operation I have examined has enriched peace operation knowledge with several results and much experience, it can help to improve the efficiency of peace operations, and by avoiding the already exposed defects, peace stabilization in crisis areas can be accelerated. I have found that the recommendations of UN and independent organizations studying peace stabilization can be nicely applied and aid stabilization, for example the tasks and areas defined by Casimir Pulaski Foundation. However, peace operations and stabilization in Afghanistan have not ended yet, and the examination and analysis of opera-

²⁶ October 01 has worked since 2006. The Hungarian PRT base taken over from the Dutch, northern Afghanistan province of Baghlan Pol-e Khomri city.

²⁷ Source: Hungarian Defence Force complete report on the PRT mission in Afghanistan.

²⁸ British aid organization founded in 1942. In 1995, it became an International non-profit foundation, comprising 14 International organizations, and took over the OXFOM name with 3000 partners in more than 100 countries.

²⁹ In the prison complex at the air force base in Bagram Korans (saint documents) were burnt, which were suspected to be used for transmitting messages among the prisoners.

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

tions is augmenting continuously, eg. at the Conference About Afghanistan, Brussels, 4-5.10.2016, the status of Afghanistan and further steps of stabilization were discussed with the participation of 75 countries and 26 international organizations and agencies. The Afghan military force set up for the external protection of the stable state has not got involved in conflict with its neighbors, nonetheless, Pakistan cannot be ignored, which dislikes the establishment of a modern Afghan military force along the 'Duran line'³⁰ at their borders, and count with Afghan forces as potential enemies. The Afghan military forces often carry out law enforcement duties and fight against militants of the former Taliban government. It can be stated that these forces gain combat experience in the war against Taliban rioters and their training and equipment is evolving successively. Their work is continuously supported by international advisors and trainers.

Despite the ceaseless improvement of Afghan police and internal law enforcement forces and their provisioning of technical devices, the excessive corruption prevents these organizations from executing effectively their function; thereby military is often forced to carry out internal law enforcement tasks. The modernization of the legal system led by Italy is ponderous, and due to the social, religious, and cultural complexity, the formation of a unified legal regulation has not been terminated successfully yet. The principles of habits and traditions are often stronger than written law. Peter Dely analyses modernization and its tumblers in detail in his article 'The Analysis of the Afghan Police', published in National Security Review. Social order and civil service in Afghanistan has been established unevenly. Representatives of numerous fiducially groups of society were missing from the Conference about Afghanistan of 2002, as a result, decisions were made without them. American foreign secretary Rex Tillerson stated during his visit in Afghanistan in 2017, that 'Talibans also have a place in the Afghan government'³¹. The time of the withdrawal of ISAF forces driven by political decision was considered too early and is issued as a severe mistake, as a result of which mutineer groups have managed to increase their influence in the regions (source: HVG.HU;2017; UNAMA³² report 2015), there has not been sufficient stability in the country. Part of public administration institutions and social establishments can only operate with the support of international and caritative organizations. For example, the hospital built by Hungarian PRT is standing empty, due to lack of crew, in 2012 the northern railway line constructed with international support has not operated yet as there was no operator staff³³ and regional leaders threatened employees, that they would be attacked during train service usage (it was against their economic interest, as unlike road traffic, railway transport did not offer the possibility of collecting tribute-money).

³⁰ The border was established in 1893 by the British colonial government and Afghan leaders, and was named after the British Foreign Minister Henry Mortimer Durand.

³¹ Available at: <https://mno.hu/kulfold/tillerson-a-taliboknak-is-helyuk-van-az-afgan-kormanyban-2423045> (downloaded: 05. feb. 2018.)

³² United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan.

³³ Available at: http://medicalonline.hu/cikk/ures_korhazat_epitettunk_afganisztanban (downloaded: 05. 03. 2018.)

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

In my opinion, the evaluation of of Afghan stabilization as good or erroneous would be too early, however, some definite mistakes can be identified, which influenced it in a significantly negative manner. I assess the use of Afghan aids as such a failing, as according to the report of KKI, only 38 cents of every dollar of subsidy get to those in need. [13.p.4] This was already highlighted in 2008 by Jozsef Bali in his article, according to which: 'However, the establishment of functioning economic and political structures will take years, especially as the use of large amounts of funding flowing into the country is uncoordinated, ineffective, and what is more, a significant part of the aid gets lost due to excessive corruption.[9.p.9]' I evaluate the speeding up of the stabilization until a certain target date (2015) as a leading error, as the substantive structures and organizations has only been shaped partially. Ethnical and religious conflicts has not been dissolved, legal harmonization and renewal is uneven, as the democratic values supported by EU and elements of the traditional religious order (Saria) are mixed up in the legal system. There has not always been harmonization and connection between forces and organizations participating in the stabilization. The importance of this was pictured by the article of ARCANUM³⁴ about peacekeeping: 'Conventional peacekeeping is more and more replaced by complex, integrated operations, which require the careful harmonization of political, military and humanitarian activities. This explains why great numbers of police forces, electoral observers and other civilian experts join soldiers under the banner of UN, to fight for peace with their own individual means.' In numerous cases, humanitarian operations caused latencies in military actions against Talibans the coordination was complicated and uneasy. The deceleration of the stabilization process was occasioned by the lack of cognition of members of peace operation forces about the country's culture and religion (burning of Koran, trampling on prayer-mats with boots etc.).

What are the experience and conclusions that can be drawn from the stabilization operations of Afghanistan up to now? Since the was of 2001 of Afghanistan, during which the talib regime was defeated, international organizations and states have spent billions on the Afghan stabilization, which called forth the considerable improvement of the health care and education system of the state, the abrupt growth of its population, some significant improvements of the equipment and formation of Afghan governmental forces. However, the rollback of drug production has not been not successful, establishment of democratic social system and public administration has not been completed, and the religious and ethnical reconciliation and the harmonization of the legal system have had dubitable results. The number of corruption cases and violent acts is high (especially after the withdrawal if ISAF forces), as a result, the abandonment of residence has increased, and the migration has escalated. The withdrawal of peace operation forces from Afghanistan was early; the internal peacekeeping tasks were partially taken over by the military, for which they were not prepared for.

³⁴ Digital Science Database.

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

Suggestions based on operations in Afghanistan, for the sake of making stabilization activities of peace operation forces more efficient:

- The phases of the stabilization process should only be defined, and peace operation forces can only be revoked after a thorough evaluation of the characteristics of the stable state in every case.
- The cooperation and coordination between international, governmental and charitable organizations should be made more efficient. In Afghanistan, most parts of ISAF forces were rotated after 3 or 6 months of service. The service time of coordinator or connective personnel should be extended to 12 months at least, similarly to African operations.
- Cultural and anthropological knowledge of peace operation forces should be extended and amplified both during national preparation and arrival to the operation area (newcomers).
- A stabile, functioning state can only be established with the cooperation of religious and ethnical groups living on its territory, by support and not by direction, and during peace operations CIMIC and PSYOPS forces have emphasized importance.
- The activities of international governmental and charitable organizations and the cooperation with these cannot influence the operational security or the success of the operations.

In my article, I aimed to summarize the main experience and knowledge I gained and studied during the Afghan stabilization and peace operations, taking into consideration the not public, controls of certain documents.

REFERENCES

1. Bali József: A NATO afganisztáni szerepvállalásának keretei, a bővüléséhez vezető tényezők, *Hadtudomány*, 2008/3. 4–9.
2. Bekes Katalin: Magyarország többnemzeti feladatokban való részvételének áttekintése feladatvállalási háttér szerint 1994-től napjainkig. *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 7 (2014/2). 87–94.
3. Bihari Mihály: Politológia, Nemzedékek Tudása. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest Internet, Aviable at: http://ofi.hu/sites/default/files/schoolbook/documents/40137_Betekintdc14.pdf (downloaded: 12. december. 2017.)
4. Boda József: A Rendvédelmi Békefenntartás Kialakulása fejlődése, helye szerepe a XXI században. Doktori (PhD) értekezés ZMNE, Budapest, 2006.
5. Dely Péter: Afganisztán Nemzeti Rendőrsége II. A rendőrségi rendszer felépítése, és a szervezetiépítés nehézségei. *Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle*, MMXV. III (2015/4).
6. Farkas Ádám: A fegyveres erőszak az államról és a jogról alkotott fogalmaink körében. *Államtudományi tanulmányok* (Budapest Nemzeti Közsolgálati Egyetem National University of Public Service Budapest), 2016/3.
7. Fukuyama Francis: Államépítés, Kormányzás és világtrend a 21. században. Ford. Kitta Gergely. Századvég, Budapest, 2005.
8. Horváth Tibor: Az ISAF Északi Regionális Parancsnokság felépítése, törzse és működése. Budapest, 2014.

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

9. Huntington Samuel: A Katona és az Állam. Zrínyi kiadó, Budapest, 1994.
10. Kiss Álmos Péter: Háború a nép között – Esettanulmányok a negyedik generációs hadviselés történetéből. Zrínyi Kiadó, Budapest, 2016.
11. Kiss Zoltán László: Magyarok a békefenntartásban. Zrínyi kiadó, Budapest, 2011.
12. Komjáthy Lajos: Hatásalapú műveletek előkészítése a felkelők elleni tevékenységek során. *Honvédségi Szemle*, 144 (2016/3). 64–74.
13. Komjáthy, Lajos: Training of Experiences, Method and Peculiarities of the Training of Law Enforcement Organizations of Young Democratic States During in Peace Operations. *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 10 (2017/4). 98–111.
14. Komjáthy, Lajos: The Nature and History of Cooperation of Military and Police Members and their Tasks during Crisis Management. *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 10 (2017/2). 193–206.
15. Lamm Vanda: Az emberi jogok nemzetközi védelme és az államok szuverenitása. *Magyar Tudomány*, 2013/4. 401–411.
16. Magyar Értelmező Kéziszótár. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1989.
17. Molnár Ferenc: Segélyezés és fejlesztés Afganisztánban a nemzetközi közösség esélyei. Internet, available at: [http://www.mat.hu/hun/downloads/docs/SVKK_Nezopontok_2011_2_Segélyezés és fejlesztés Afganisztánban%20\(MolnárF.\)pdf](http://www.mat.hu/hun/downloads/docs/SVKK_Nezopontok_2011_2_Segelyezés_és_fejlesztés_Afganisztanban%20(MolnárF.)pdf) (downloaded: 20. december 2017.)
18. Pál Kata: A Békefenntartás legújabb aspektusai: A Rendvédelmi Békefenntartás a XXI. században. Budapesti Gazdasági Főiskola Külkereskedelmi Főiskolai Kar, Szakdolgozat, Budapest, 2005.
19. Papp Imre: Az állam szervezet felépítése. Budapest, 2015. Internet, Aviable at: http://alkjog.elte.hu/wp-content/uploads/2015_Allamszervezet_eavazlat.pdf (downloaded: 12. december. 2017)
20. Soós István: A lengyel anarchia, Lengyelország felosztásai. In Poór János: A kora újkor története. Osiris, Budapest, 2009.
21. https://www.tankonyvtar.hu/hu/tartalom/tamop425/2011_0001_520_a_kora_ujkor_tortenete/ch01_s07.html
22. Szabó József – Gabriel Győző – Horváth Ferenc (szerk.): Hadtudományi Lexikon I–II kötet. Magyar Hadtudományi társaság, Magyar Honvédség, Budapest, 1995.
23. Wagner Péter: Donorkonferencia Brüsszelben: biztonság és segélyezés Afganisztánban. Külügyi és Külgazdasági Intézet, Budapest, 2016.
24. Arcanum: Békefenntartó erők a világban. Internet, available at: <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/TenyekKonyve-tenyek-konyve-1/nato-16647/bekefenntartas-17A4D/az-iforsfor-erok-magyarorszagon-es-szerepek-a-magyar-nato-csatlakozasban-17A4E/bekefenntarto-erok-a-vilagban-17A59/> (downloaded: 05. március 2018.
25. A Civil/katonai választóvonal a békefenntartásban és azon túl. *NATO Rewiew*, 2007. Internet, available at: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2007/issue3/hungarian/analysis1.html> (downloaded: 05. március 2018.)
26. Government of Canada: The Peace and Stabilization Operations Program 2017. Internet, Aviable at: http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/response_conflict-reponse_conflits/psop.aspx?lang=eng (downloaded: 06. februar 2018.)

HADTUDOMÁNYI SZEMLE

2018. XI. évfolyam 3. szám

28. A stabilitás építése Afganisztánban. *NATO Review*, 2006. Internet, available at: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2006/issue1/hungarian/art2.html> (downloaded: 19. február 2018.)
29. Az igazságszolgáltatási reform folyamata Afganisztánban: mindenkinek érdeke. *NATO Review*, 2009.9 Internet, available at: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2009/Afghanistan-law-order-elections/Judicial-Reform-Process/HU/index.htm> (downloaded: 05. március 2018.)
30. RAND: Stabilization in Afghanistan Trend in Violence, Attitudes Well-being and Program Activity. Internet, available at: https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/working_papers/WR1100/WR1192/RAND_WR1192.pdf (downloaded: 06. március 2018.)