

ZRÍNYI MIKLÓS NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY

**Theories of solving conflicts In Hungarian security policy
Paying special attention to the works of, István Bibó**

PhD Dissertation

Author's Abstract

**Consultant: Dr. Ferenc Szabó A.
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Budapest, 2006.

ZRÍNYI MIKLÓS NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY

Dr. Stefánia Bódi
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**Theories of solving ethnic conflicts in Hungarian security policy
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SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS, NEW SCIENTIFIC RESULTS AND USABILITY OF THE DISSERTATION

I. Formulating the scientific problem

The aim of my dissertation was to give a comprehensive analysis of István Bibó's international conflict theories, the reasons for the development of debates and the possible means of solutions. I have been studying the works of István Bibó for years and during my research I have achieved the following scientific results:

II. Research aims

1. I intended to analyse and present the international conflicts analysed by István Bibó in a complex way

I have analysed and presented in a complex way the international conflicts analysed by István Bibó. In my dissertation I have comprehensively analysed all the ethnic and national conflicts studied by Bibó, the solutions recommended by him and the causes of the debates.

My aim with the parallel analysis of the four conflicts was to fill the gaps in order to proceed with the present conflicts and to present the problems. There have been studies presenting the different conflicts separately in this field. No, or very few brief studies have been published in Hungarian legal science to compare and contrast the individual international conflicts. By analysing the issue I have prepared educational materials as well, to help students and researchers wishing to get deeper knowledge in this field understand these conflicts more easily, learn about the historical reasons of the development of the conflicts, obtain knowledge of the theories of Hungarian authors on the characteristics of our region and study the works of István Bibó; which I consider a scientific result.

2. I have proved that the right of self-determination as a means of solving debates is essential in the life of the international union of states

I have justified that the conflicts being unsolved may be attributed to the inappropriate application of the principle of self-determination. I have proved

that the unsettled border issues have been the sources innumerable debates and they may raise new conflicts today as well. I have presented that the debates were characterised by the influence and intervention of the great powers in every case including the Central-Eastern European region as well. I have illuminated in my analysis that a universal attitude is required to solve the national-ethnic conflicts, as solving the debates mentioned would greatly contribute to establishing international peace and stability. In my dissertation I put special emphasis on presenting the characteristics of the Central-Eastern European region and I stated that the world and unifying Europe are interested in stabilising the region characterised by tension arising time to time.

3. I have presented the means of solution in order to close the debate in the future

I have presented the means suggested by István Bibó by the appropriate application of which the conflicts would be solvable. In my analysis I have pointed out that each method i.e. referendum, relocation, exchanging population, applying arbitration court rise several problems so they are to be applied in exceptional cases and only in a well thought, consistent way. I have put special emphasis on the analysis of Central-Eastern Europe, and with the help of the collection of studies: *Our Place in Europe* I have presented the opinions and suggestions of many Hungarian authors related to the stability of the region. In his works István Bibó paid special attention to the research of the anti-democratic nature of the region. Among the authors I have presented the works of unknown writers, politicians, geologists and I have collected the theories of the best Hungarian and foreign thinkers of our age.

4. I have proved that the analysis of the conflicts is essential to solve the problems of the changing and globalising world

I have pointed out in my dissertation that the achievements and values of the western civil society and democracy that have been developing for centuries must not be put aside because these are universal values to be spread all over the world. I have proved in my analyses that the certain groups of the eastern culture intending to expand through violence and

applying means of terrorism can not provide suitable alternatives for the lasting values of the organically developed western culture. I have justified that the unifying Europe is coming up but it has not been able to become an equal competitor of the United States - in many aspects especially because of the ethnic-national differences analysed – playing the role of the gendarme of the world worldwide. Having realised the leading status of America the European states cooperate not only economically but in politics, defence and culture as well; the complete development of the European United States – the Union – has been started. In my dissertation I examine the different debates in an international environment and I present the views of the most significant thinkers in security policy i.e.: Kissinger, Huntington and Brezinski in the line of comprehensive conflict theories. I think that my dissertation is especially current not only because of the unstoppable acceleration of globalisation but as a result of the solution process of the Arab-Israeli conflict today as well.

III. Usability of the Dissertation

Statements and conclusions related to security policy, legal and political issues are mixed in my dissertation. I have presented the assessment of Bibó's views during the preparation of the change of political system. Following the change of political system the works of István Bibó have come into the focus of interest in Hungary, his writings are in their umpteenth renaissance. The views of István Bibó constitute part of legal education i.e.: constitutional law, theory of law which fields were in the focus of my earlier research work. The dissertation may be used in the future to prepare lecture notes and may be good background material for researchers of this field as well. It has valuable information for those who worked in diplomacy in the Arab region. The unsettled nature of each conflict would require a more comprehensive book with the deeper analysis of the different aspects, paying special attention to the Central-Eastern European conflict which has extensive literature however the region has news today as well.

IV. Research Methods

My dissertation is of complex nature in terms of approach as I apply a legal and political science viewpoint in presenting thinkers in security policy. Bringing István Bibó into the focus I have found the main motive with which the task has been compleable. Focusing on the right of self-determination is especially useful in examining the bordering fields of legal and security political disciplines. Thus the dissertation is of interdisciplinary approach.

V. Structure of the Dissertation

Following the introduction in the *first part* of the dissertation I presented István Bibó's theory of democracy. Special attention is paid in the dissertation on the Central-Eastern-European region and the situation of Hungary. We can also state that the most confused political philosophies have spread out in this region. The root of the unbalanced nature therefore lies in the uncertainty of the national framework too. Accordingly the views of István Bibó's theoretical precedents and contemporaries in Hungary are presented. In the following *second part* of the dissertation deals with the analysis of the principle of self-determination and it has a major role in the dissertation both in terms of content and length. The principle of self-determination goes through the dissertation linking the different chapters. The right of self-determination of nations would have been applicable to secure order in Central-Eastern-Europe but the principle was not carried out consistently. Bibó arrives to the conclusion that a good border either represents linguistic borders or meets some historically established status quo. Borders must be clearly defined because only those borders may remain permanently stable that brings emotional satisfaction for the nations involved. In order to achieve this aim even an economically and geographically irrational border is acceptable. The *third theoretical unit* of the dissertation is the detailed presentation of certain conflicts presenting the causes and suggestions of solution. In this part I also point out the present situation of the conflicts and I present comprehensive theories that analyse today's global conflicts.

VI. Conclusions Summarised and New Scientific Achievements

I have justified that the conflicts being unsolvable may be derived back to the inappropriate application of the principle of self-determination. I have proved that the border issues being unsettled have been the source of innumerable debates and they may raise new and new conflicts today. In my dissertation I have shown some future means of settling the debates, possible difficulties in applying those means regarding certain conflicts, I have also pointed out in my dissertation that the achievements and values of the western civil society and democracy that have developed for centuries may not be put aside because these are universal values valid all over the world. In my analysis I have proved that certain groups of the eastern culture willing to expand in a violent way applying terrorist tools may not be an appropriate alternative for the permanent values of the organically developed western culture. I have proved that the unifying Europe is improving but has not been able to become an equal competitor of the United States in many aspects, primarily because of its ethnic and national diversity that I analyse as well. Europe has different values than the United States but it has not become strong enough to be equal with it in every respect. Anti-globalisation therefore brings up the problem of Anti-Americanism, because until we Europeans do not get stronger we will not be able to achieve any significant economic result and all the political, economic, or other events related to America will significantly affect our lives. We have to realise that it is not only economic dependence but a competition between the different systems of values as well.

Another scientific achievement is that I have provided educational background material for students and researchers who intend to obtain deeper knowledge of the field, to understand the conflicts more easily, to study the historical reasons of the development of the conflicts, to obtain knowledge on the views of Hungarian authors on the characteristics of our region and to study the works of István Bibó. The dissertation may provide valuable information for those, who have worked in diplomacy in Arab territories.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Publications related to the field of the PhD. Dissertation:

- 1) Bódi, Stefánia: (2005/1) *Interpretation of the Central-Eastern European Conflict on the Basis of the Theory of István Bibó*. Kard és Toll, published by: HM Humánpolitikai Főosztály (Ministry of Defence, Department of Human resources) and ZMNE, 2005/3, ISSN 1587-558 X
- 2) Bódi, Stefánia: (2005/2) *The Process of Globalisation and the Formation of International World Order*. Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Közlemények (National Defence University Publications), 2005. IX. No.: 5., Budapest, Edited by: Prof. Dr. Szabó, Miklós Member of the Academy, Rector of Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University, ISSN 1417-7323
- 3) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/1) *National Diversity, Multi-Ethnicity and Border Conflicts: Interpretation of István Bibó's Central-Eastern European Conflict Theory. National Diversity – Multi-Ethnicity – Multiculturalism. Towards a More Secure Europe*, Kutatási füzetek (Research Papers), ZMNE, UNDER PUBLICATION
- 4) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/2) *The Interpretation of the Central and Eastern European Conflict based on the theory of István Bibó*. AARMS, UNDER PUBLICATION
- 5) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/3) *The Process of Globalisation and the Development of International World Order*. AARMS, UNDER PUBLICATION

- 6) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/4) *The Analysis of the Conflict in Northern Ireland with Special Attention to István Bibó's Interpretation*. Collega, UNDER PUBLICATION
- 7) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/5) *The Central-Eastern European Conflict, its Origins with Special Attention to István Bibó's Theory*. Magyar Rendészet, UNDER PUBLICATION
- 8) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/6) *The Analysis of the Arab-Israeli Conflict on the Basis of István Bibó's Theory*. Magyar Rendészet, UNDER PUBLICATION
- 9) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/7) *The Facts and Interpretation of the Cyprus Conflict with Special Attention to István Bibó's Conflict Theory*. Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Közlemények (National Defence University Publications), UNDER PUBLICATION
- 10) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/8) *The Analysis of the Arab-Israeli Conflict with Special Attention to István Bibó's Conflict Theory*. Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Közlemények, (National Defence University Publications), UNDER PUBLICATION

Other Publications:

- 1) Bódi, Stefánia: (2001/1) *Right of Petition in International Conventions*. Collega, Journal of Accursius Association of Jurists, November 2001, V. No.: 5., ISSN 1417-8079
- 2) Bódi, Stefánia: (2002/1) *Conditions of the Legislation of the Right of Petition in Hungary; Comparison of the Hungarian, German, and Dutch Regulations*. Collega, Journal of Accursius Association of Jurists, November 2002, VI. No.: 5., ISSN 1417-8079

- 3) Bódi, Stefánia: (2004/1) *Right of Petition in France, Germany and Holland*. Acta Humana, Publications on Human Rights, 2004. 15. No.: 3., published by Hungarian Centre for Human Rights Foundation, ISSN 0866-6628
- 4) Bódi, Stefánia: (2005/1) *The History of the Regulations of the Rights of Association, Assembly and Petition in Hungary*. Collega, Journal of Accursius Association of Jurists, February 2005, IX. No.: 1., ISSN 1417-8079
- 5) Bódi, Stefánia: (2005/2) *The Right of Petition in Germany, Holland and the Czech Republic*. Magyar Jog (Hungarian Law), June 2005, 52. No.: 6., HU ISSN 0025-0147
- 6) Bódi, Stefánia: (2005/3) *The Development and Changes of Meaning of the Concept of Human Rights*. Kard és Toll, Published by HM Humánpolitikai Főosztály (Ministry of Defence, Department of Human Resources) and ZMNE, 2005/2, ISSN 1587-558 X
- 7) Bódi, Stefánia: (2005/4) *Overview of the Constitutional Development of the Czech Republic*. Collega, Journal of Accursius Association of Jurists, October 2005, IX. No.: 4., ISSN 1417-8079
- 8) Bódi, Stefánia: (2005/5) *The Development and Changes of meaning of the Concept of Human Rights in the Socialist Era with Special Attention to Political Rights*. Collega, Journal of Accursius Association of Jurists, December 2005, IX. No.: 5., ISSN 1417-8079
- 9) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/1) *Political Rights in the Socialism and the period of change: study on Hungary and Czechoslovakia*. AARMS, UNDER PUBLICATION

- 10) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/2) *Conceptual and their Relation to Democracy* Társadalom és Honvédelem (Society and Defence), UNDER PUBLICATION
- 11) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/3) *Examination of the Constitutional Development of the Czech Republic with Special Attention to the Rights of Association, Assembly and Petition.* Társadalom és Honvédelem (Society and Defence), UNDER PUBLICATION
- 12) Bódi, Stefánia: (2006/4) *Geistesströmungen und ihre Beziehung zur Demokratie.* Magyar Rendészet, UNDER PUBLICATION
- 13) EDITOR AND LECTOR: Társadalom és Honvédelem (Society and Defence). Since May 2005.
- 14) EDITOR AND LECTOR: ANNALES English-German Journal, ANNALES UNIVERSITATIS SCIENTIARUM BUDAPESTINENSIS DE ROLANDO EÖTVÖS NOMINATAE, SECTIO JURIDICA
- => 2002. XLI-XLII. szám
- => 2003. XLIII. szám
- => 2004. XLIV. XLV. szám
- 15) EDITOR AND LECTOR: Hallgatói Közlemények

Scientific Conferences:

- I have been a lecturer at the **National Children's Rights Conference** held in the Hungarian language since 2001 in fields related to violence within the family, children's rights and women's rights.

Public-Practical-Scientific Activities:

- I am a member of the Art of War and Security Politics Association and I participate in HABE TIT activities.

- I have been a registered a candidate lawyer, then an individual lawyer of the Budapest Bar Association since 2000.

Educational Activity:

- a. I have been a visiting lecturer at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences since 2001. In this job I supply teach for seminar tutors and I have started a special course: "Political Rights in International Conventions".
- b. Since 2005 I have worked as a visiting lecturer than as a full time assistant lecturer at Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University. I work at the Department of Legal Studies lecturing on Criminal law, Legal Knowledge, Constitutional Law, Public Law, and Administration of Municipalities.

Budapest, 20th April 2006.

Stefánia Bódi

OFFICIAL JUDGEMENTS

Dr. Ferenc Szabó A. scientific consultant's opinion

On Stefánia Bódi's PhD dissertation on "Theories of Hungarian Security Political thinking Regarding the Solution of Ethnic Conflicts with Special Attention to the Works of István Bibó"

The candidate has undertaken a pioneering but difficult task by choosing this field as the legal approach is still out of focus in security policy. By bringing István Bibó an excellent legal philosopher, international jurist, law historian and apolitical scientist into the focus she has found the main line with the help of which the task may be performed. The choice of field is therefore laudable as it may enrich the approach of political security especially because the author is educated in legal sciences. Focussing the theory of self-determination is especially applicable to examine the borderline of the disciplines of law and security policy. Therefore the interdisciplinary approach is a virtue of Stefánia Bódi's work.

In my view more excellent Hungarian jurists might have been represented among the precedents of Bibó. I miss the presentation of the works of Barna Horváth. The dissertation might have detailed the development of international law after World War II. and the growing field of peace research in spite of the well known limitations of length. I would not have omitted Francis Fukuyama from the presentation of comprehensive conflict theories.

After the critical notes we have to talk about the virtues of the dissertation, the confident systematic skills, the clear style, the concise but expressive picture of the views presented. We need to speak about the technical details of the dissertation as well. Footnotes are exact, the bibliography shows a widely-read person, the list of scientific publications is already respectably long and proves that the edited journals dealing with security policy and the art of war (Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Közlemények, AARMS, Kard és Toll, Magyar Jog, Acta Humana, Collega) have accepted her for publication,

articles both in Hungarian and foreign languages practically recognising her scientific achievements.

Budapest, 3rd April 2006

Dr. Ferenc Szabó A. University Professor