

**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE**  
**Doctoral School of Military Sciences**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation

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**THE RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICS AND MILITARY  
AFFAIRS IN FRENCH MILITARY THEORY 1945-2012**

Author's words to the PhD thesis

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*'...we can only understand the present, if we understand the past...'*

(DAVIDSON, Basil: *The People's Cause. A History of Guerrillas in Africa. (Gerillaháborúk Afrikában.)* – Bp.: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1984. – p. 36.)

A problem of Hungarian military sciences, a certain degree of one-sidedness is in my opinion reflected among other things in the fact that – primarily due to military policy reasons – only particular discourses of military sciences and military theories are emphasized: before the change of regime the Soviet-Russian, and since the 1990s chiefly the American resources have been analyzed and put to use predominantly. As a result of this, other discourses are acknowledged to a lesser degree, and thus respectable French military scientific and theoretical schools have been left out of account or have been paid little attention to. For this reason I consider discussing research results of recent modern French military sciences (1945-2012) in a doctoral dissertation (PhD) essential. In my paper – taking into account resources available in Hungary as well as the limited scope of my dissertation, and by mostly discussing historical works as well as works regarding security policy and military theory – I mainly attempt at revealing and presenting correlations, in many respects with the help of historical references, in order to explore the relationship of politics and military affairs considering the time range between 1945 and 2012.

## STATING THE SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM

I can – on the basis of my research results so far – assert that from a scientific point of view partly it is problematic that access to resources of French military science as regards the Cold War period is limited in Hungary, as opposed to tendencies since the 1990s, and also that all in all processing these resources cannot be regarded complete, either. By way of excuse, considering the field of French foreign and security policy the case is somewhat more favourable. Publications from the era of the Cold War are mostly easy to access. Moreover, since the changes in the 1990s as well as the spread of the Internet it has been much easier to obtain relevant knowledge through the worldwide web. In what concerns scientific sources available in French and English, above all, France on a global scale comes among the first ones in my view. During my research in relevant literature I had to recognize that all

these sources had so far only been partly processed in Hungary, which itself sets a scientific issue.

Owing to the above-mentioned I consider processing the available resources on French military theory as well as foreign and security policy to be quite a challenge of military science. In the absence of exploring all this in a comprehensive detailed method, hitherto the idea that there is a significant interconnectedness between the proceedings and developments of military affairs and politics in France at all times has not been demonstrable, not unlike the fact that the post-1945 development of French military science, following global developmental tendencies in military science, moved towards indirect warfare. In addition, neither was it demonstrable that all these developmental proceedings were influenced by local guerrilla warfare as well as changing trends in post-1990s security environment. Also closely related to the above-mentioned is investigating the notion and features of the so-called exception française, during which the interconnectivity of military affairs and politics has not yet been considered. In my view this typical French phenomenon had and has had an impact on the symbiotic proceedings of military affairs and politics in the Cold War and subsequently, also influenced by France's economic constraints and limitations of all times.

## RESEARCH PURPOSES

1. Elaborating on and analyzing priorities of French foreign as well as security policies between 1945 and 2012. Meanwhile proving the manifestation and impact of exception française and the country's economic limitations as well as – if possible – the interference of military affairs and politics.
2. Demonstrating the universal military theory of the Cold War, with special emphasis on resources of indirect and guerrilla warfare. Moreover, presenting and analyzing the most essential achievements of the opus magnum of Carl von Clausewitz as well as its influence in France.
3. Straight-forwardly delineating changes in military theory that occurred following the alterations caused by the Cold War.

4. Presenting and analyzing major French resources of military science from the Cold War era as well as regarding the ones in the post-Cold War period up to 2012.
5. Verifying the impact of universal developments in military science and the graining ground of indirect aspects of military theory in French military scientific research and proving that this process was further influenced by local guerrilla warfare along with challenges brought about in the altered, post-Cold War security environment.
6. Elaborating on writings and views of French military theoreticians – in particular about French nuclear deterrence and the NATO – in order to demonstrate the appearance of France’s ambition for a unique role together with the interaction between military affairs and politics.
7. With the help of case studies, verifying that researches carried out in France in military science and military theory between 1945 and 2012 along with theoretical schools emerging on this theoretical basis developed in close harmony with French foreign- and security policy. Also demonstrating the influence of exception française and economic constraints on this process.

## HYPOTHESES

1. *Post-WWII French military theory schools, following the universal developmental tendencies of military science, were primarily progressing towards indirect warfare, in such a way that this progress was also influenced by colonial and local guerrilla warfare along with the post-1990s altered security environment.*
2. *Between 1945 and 2012 French military science developed in close harmony with France’s foreign and security policy.*
3. *Interaction between political and military dimensions was to an ever greater extent influenced by economic constraints and limitations, which interaction is also – typically of France – permanently imbued with the state’s own vision of its uniqueness, i.e. exception française.*

## RESEARCH METHODS

In my dissertation I applied a method of induction, i.e. descriptive research in order fully to explore the specific field of research as well as exploratory research in order to analyze the interrelatedness of various pieces of information, consulting both printed and online resources. Furthermore have I also applied deduction, the method of analogy, which I applied to analyze and process primary and secondary resources in Hungarian, French and English.

During my research I collected literature in Hungary. My resources were partly printed material I came upon when searching in library catalogues, or were collected – chiefly for exploring post-1990s changes in military theory and also partly for studying priorities of French foreign and security policy – on the Internet. Resources from the Internet were indispensable so that my research could be grounded on most current details, which are chiefly accessible electronically. While sourcing, the online site of French National Bibliography was of great support, like the various websites that are listed among *Works Consulted*. In the course of writing my thesis I also consulted pre-1945 publications for information and inspiration, since in my view with the help of those texts significant conclusions can be drawn as regards the recent past and the present.

## BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF CHAPTERS IN THE STUDY

*Chapter 1* provides an outline of main aspirations of France's foreign and security policy in the period of 1945 and 2012. The first part of the chapter enumerates and analyzes priorities of foreign and security policy in the French Fourth Republic (1945-1958) as well as that of the Fifth French Republic from 1958 to 2012. For the sake of transparency this latter session is further divided into presidential terms according to the periods of France's presidents in succession. In the chapter the aspirations of and alterations in French foreign and security policy in international context are surveyed and elaborated on, such as Europe-policy, French-German relations, French nuclear deterrence, France's Atlantic relations, French oriental policy as well as relations with one-time colonies and the rest of the world. In the chapter – also in line with my hypothesis – special emphasis was placed on demonstrating France's maverick conduct and the exception française, and also on

the fact that all these aspects alongside with France's economic constraints and limitations indeed influenced measures taken in French foreign and security policy during the period in question. In addition – when detectable – interference between French military affairs and politics were also demonstrated. By analyzing the French White Papers as well as alterations in French military concepts I also attempted at finding evidence for interconnectedness of French military affairs and politics.

In *Chapter 2* I elaborate on the rebranding of universal military theory and in this regard French military theory, by first taking a closer look at the post-WWII Cold War era, and then the post-1990 period. In the introductory part of the chapter, for the sake of theoretical grounding, I clarify relevant concepts as well as present and analyze the most significant accomplishments of Clausewitz's masterwork and their impact in France. Then the spread of indirect aspects of military theory during the Cold War is demonstrated as well as the development of the same era's guerrilla- and partisan warfare's theoretical system. In the following subsection post-Cold War changes in military theory are surveyed, in which I discuss a period of reflection in modern military affairs and military theory as well as terrorism, which by now has become a universal problem for military theory. The last two sub-chapters aim at outlining and elaborating on works by significant French military theoreticians in order to explore military theory of the French state in the Cold War and after. In the chapter – also in line with my hypothesis – I sought to prove the gaining ground of indirect aspects of military theory in French military theory, not unlike the fact that guerrilla warfare in local wars together with changes that occurred in the security environment after the 1990s further influenced the scene. Moreover, mainly by introducing and discussing writings connected with French nuclear deterrence as well as French views on NATO, I was intent on demonstrating France's aspiration for a unique role, and also the interaction between military affairs and politics.

In *Chapter 3* titled *French security and military theory* I discuss the alteration process of military theoretical schools in France – outlined in Chapter 1 – according to changing concepts of foreign and security policy, with the help of three case studies. By considering research methods of national and universal military theory, through examples taken from military history as well as recent events I prove my hypothesis that French military theory and also foreign- and security policy in the period 1945-2012 developed in close harmony, and also that this process was

influenced by the exception française and the country's economic constraints. In this regard, the following events have been discussed in the chapter: the French Indochina War and the Algerian war, as forms of irregular warfare. In addition, France's involvement with the fight against piracy along Somali coastline is also discussed as an example for post-1990s peacekeeping operations. Although the 1956 Suez Crisis as a sufficient example of regular warfare would also have fitted in this chapter, for reasons of space it is only discussed in Chapter 1.

## SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

In the course of the presentation and analysis of French foreign- and security policy between 1945 and 2012 we could observe how France – being one of the victorious states and yet at the same time in disastrous conditions owing to WWII – managed to rise above hardships and became one of Europe's most powerful political factors as well as a significant contributor to European integration. In order to demonstrate what I raised in my hypotheses – France's own vision of itself, its aspirations to become a great power, in the context of the exception française – French foreign- and security policy maintained in Europe as well as in Asia, Africa and even the Americas is also related here, hugely influenced by France's economic constraints. The global presence and impact of two superpowers did not quite make it possible for other political objectives to gain influence, let alone gain strength, which obstacles France also had to face. French Fourth Republic did not prove to long-lived, nevertheless, during this period the country's economic prosperity and Western-European integration showed remarkable signs of progress, for the sake of which integration France was even prepared to give up their anti-German foreign policy. Nonetheless, in the very same period the country progressed towards the Atlantic alliance, behind which in my opinion France's compelling post-WWII economic conditions were determining factors. Regardless of their opportunities, France's goal was to ensure their unique role in NATO established in 1949, for which they tried to make good use of the Western-European integration. The interaction between military and political aspects was manifest in a – later failed – French concept, according to which the establishment of a Western-European defence partnership could help strengthen France's armed forces. French foreign-

and security policy then regarding colonial areas – clearly expressing France’s great power aspirations, also influenced by their economic restraints – by setting up the French Union and – as a continuation of their policy – by often applying by no means humane military and policing measures, no more proved to be efficient measures to subdue decolonization, and the Algerian war already meant the end of French Fourth Republic.

In the Cold War era, by establishing French Fifth Republic, France’s foreign- and security policy managed to find its new place, resulting in a balancing country, apart from the two power blocks, yet still standing close, actively participating in the process of appeasement, with a Europe-policy in the central position – still a country which, with its nuclear potential, strives to stay independent. All three French White Papers, discussed and analyzed in my thesis, are exceptionally concerned with the question of an independent French nuclear deterrence. These analyses alongside with alterations of military policy concepts prove interconnectedness of military affairs and politics. Charles de Gaulle, both founder and first president of French Fifth Republic, aspired to restore France’s role as a world power – then a middle power –, thus when specifying foreign- and security policy measures he reached back to the *exception française*, which is linked to the Great French Revolution. Accordingly, the concept that France was predestined to a leading role in the world had a significant impact on their Europe-policy, a main priority in French foreign- and security policy. France’s aspiration for a leading role in Europe also appeared in the stabilized relations with West-Germany in the 1960s. The two states’ cooperation materialized in the Elysée Treaty, owing to which to a great extent the French-German team can even up to today be considered the driving forces of the European integration. Presidents succeeding de Gaulle, as regards measures of their foreign- and security policy, proceeded along priorities set forth by the General President, which only were altered with difference of emphasis due to other presidents’ personality and political orientation as well as changes in the international environment and economic factors. In my view, this is obviously perceptible France’s relation with NATO. However, French connections with the USA could always be regarded ambivalent in the period covered by my thesis. Additionally, French politics determined by their economic pressures in African territories as well as in the Middle East and the Mediterranean ever increasingly had to confront

American interests, and therefore French policies regarding these regions just needed reconsidering in many cases. With the Cold War over, former guidelines of French politics melted into thin air and, consequently, the state had to redefine itself as well as its foreign- and security policy, notwithstanding that their priorities in this regard did by no means change. On top of this, globalization got underway, other major powers appeared, new conflicts showed up and French politics strived to adjust itself to all these new aspects, in a way it still kept maintaining the concept of the *exception française* and France's maverick role. During Jacques Chirac's presidency and that of Nicolas Sarkozy it became rather clear how narrow – partly because of economic reasons – the margins of French politics were. Objectives drawn up by the latter president, namely breaking away from Chiracian times, could bear some fruit, a number of initiatives were launched by France, especially in the context of European integration.

In order to elaborate on and prove the hypotheses set up in my thesis, I found it indispensable to survey and discuss universal military theory in and after the Cold War era. In doing so, I first surveyed indirect and guerrilla warfare, followed by the changes in universal military theory, because these aspects will provide a frame of reference if we effectively focus on changes in military theory occurring between 1945 and 2012. As I see it, when discussing Liddell Hart's indirect approach – greatly influential on Western military theory in the post-WWII period but universally acknowledged only after the Cold War – one might have to reach back over centuries for authors like Thomas More, Machiavelli, Montesquieu and Sun Tzu, in whose writings early traces of indirect warfare can be detected. Guerrilla warfare had been applied prior to the Cold War, thus theorizing about it also started earlier, yet its importance grew by the appearance of local wars in the context of nuclear weapons and confrontation of superpowers in the Cold War era. Guerrilla warfare – its partial appearance in Europe – was perceptible in the far-right colonialists' anti-de Gaulle activities led by Raoul Salan French Army general. New – economical, political, social as well as environmental alongside with the still important military – aspects of security showed up in the post-Cold War world unveiling on the basis of changes that occurred in the international environment in the beginning of the 1990s. Military conflicts presented themselves in altered forms and growing numbers, which theory had to react to, too. Terrorism can be regarded

as today's universal military theory issue, notwithstanding the fact that in my opinion neither this phenomenon or the asymmetric warfare nor global security challenges, risks and threats in today's world have been universally responded to in a unified approach. Besides this, when one is to reveal the interconnectedness between military affairs and politics in a certain country's military theory, Clausewitz's masterpiece titled *On War* cannot be ignored – a text which is by now a reference point in the literature for research in military theory. In his work the Prussian military theoretician elaborated on the relatedness of war and politics, which later on was to be referred to and agreed on by military theoreticians several times as basic principle. Yet they did so without studying in detail post-WWII French military theory, which in my dissertation I executed – as regards the Cold War era – mainly by discussing theoretical works by André Beaufre. Nevertheless, works by Raymond Aron – whose two-volume monograph reflects Clausewitz's influence in France – and David Galula also needed to be included in my list. Clausewitz was, however, also influential for post-Cold War French military theoreticians.

Duality so characteristic of Cold-War French military theory is partly reflected in their seeking independent ways and oftentimes criticizing American theoretical views. On the other hand, it could not always and in all respect become independent since France belonged and still belongs to the Western states in terms of the military, economy and politics. Among French military theoreticians General Pierre Gallois is known for the military elaboration of de Gaulle's political concept of the independent French nuclear deterrence, which later was scientifically formulated by Beaufre. The concept of concentric circles of defence of the French nuclear deterrence, which came into existence in the 1960s, was developed by General Charles Ailleret. In his writings, apart from his views on the *raison d'être* and concept of the *force de frappe*, French opposition against contemporary official American political and military concepts can be observed as well as his opinion of European validity of the American doctrine called flexible response in effect from 1961, which I think is a manifestation of the *exception française*. Lidell Hart's indirect approach theory had a great impact on Cold-War French military theory, yet researches in direct warfare also continued. Beaufre as one of the most significant French military theoreticians of the Cold War gained international acknowledgement, however, his writings have only raised modest interest among

Hungarian researchers – I especially found his commentaries on limited war stimulating. Yet there is no less attention paid to the traditional warfare in the Cold War era, which was still present in local wars of the time, and attempted at a synthesizing of the theory of wars between nations. Beaufre's philosophical works as well as his commentaries on France's relations with the NATO are by all means remarkable and worth our attention. As for the latter one, the writings I found were written after France's leaving in 1966, the arguments of which might refer to NATO's possible reformation. All these are linked to the issue of Europe's defence, and the aspiration to gain a leading role in Europe and also to place special emphasis on the exception française, in its peak-period under de Gaulle's presidency, is rather detectable. Furthermore, General Beaufre in his theoretical works – most memorably in the ones discussing French-Atlantic relations and NATO's reform – was at all times supportive of de Gaulle's viewpoints, which exemplifies French military theory dimension being interlinked with foreign- and security policy. Moreover, as regards Cold-War French military theory, works by David Galula need discussing. His book on warfare against rebellions is especially worth our attention because – as we saw – it was by all means utilized by the American army concerning new types of conflicts after 1990, as in that book detailed possible methods of tackling rebellions are discussed. There is considerable French literature regarding the post-Cold War period, yet much of it is difficult to get hold of if at all, in Hungary at least. During my research I came across a number of useful resources, like publications by IFRI (Institut français des relations internationales–French Institute of International Relations), the IFAS (Institut français d'analyse stratégique–French Institute for Strategic Analysis) and the IRIS (Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques–Institute for International and Strategic Affairs); within the framework of which institutes the majority of French researchers officiate. Although all these research centres operate a high-standard Internet site, their publications have a limited availability in Hungary. As regards publications from the era I have read, I especially regarded high the ones discussing asymmetrical warfare, most notably writings by François Géré in connection with how to deal with them, but also in this regard works by Philippe Moreau-Defarges and Vincent Desportes. Further, detailed disclosure and analysis of asymmetrical warfare could provoke a great deal of interest as regards recent French involvement in Africa as well as the Middle-East, which I – for reasons of space – did not discuss. We could also see that in this period

French ambivalence with NATO was palpable, according to Frédéric Bozo's study, as well as – connected to this – the search for France's leading role in Europe and the reflections of the *exception française* along with promoting NATO's reform, nonetheless the country has been again taking part in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since 2009. Excellent studies in French are available in the topic of cyber-warfare, which in my view are of such high standards that useful conclusions could be drawn from them for Hungary, too.

In Chapter 3 I first presented the French Indochina war, followed by the Algerian war, as an example of Maghreb states searching independence. As I pointed out, France's attachment to colonial territories was delayed – historically speaking –, as opposed to other colonizers, yet chiefly due to their economic pressures it was also understandable. French politics being reserved in the beginning from decolonization could already be observed during the Brazzaville Conference (30 January – 8 February 1944), which would then not change in the case of the temporary government later, either. In order to tackle colonial independence activities following WWII, the French state chose not to negotiate but fight back in a military way, in which politics and military affairs appeared to be correlated, not unlike in the interest of keeping Indochina, in which context France agreed even to join the NATO and accept American help, with economic constraints in the background. The economical background of France's attachment to Indochina was mostly assured by banks and other companies' interests in mining and farming, and also in cheap local labour-force. Leaders of the territory were willing to accomplish their breaking away mostly by negotiating, and serious armed fighting only started due to French aggression. By keeping Indochina France also – according to de Gaulle's perception – intended to maintain their former greatness of the country. Their being a colonial empire ensured them their being a great power state (their *grandeur*), behind which with the *exception française*. It remained typical of their behaviour even in the last part of the war, regardless of the fact that their situation was by no means favourable then. The Indochina War – in the larger context of the People's Republic of China established in 1949 and the onset of the Korean war – became one of the era's proxy conflicts, in connection with I could demonstrate the interacting aspects of French military science and military affairs, namely that indirect warfare gained ground during that war, which on France's part also meant proceeding towards a military culture that

was more economical about materials. I think this approach was manifest in measures taken such as establishing a puppet administration in South-Vietnam and the vietnamization of French troops. The latter one rather had a significant political effect than in a military way.

In the background of the Algerian war there were both political and economic reasons. On the one hand, the lobbying of Algerian settlers had a substantial influence on the political context of the home-country, whilst among the economic reasons were France's agricultural and mining investments as well as Saharan gas- and oil fields discovered in the 1950s. In this area huge stocks had been estimated, and by exploiting such opportunities an independent French oil policy could have been implemented. The Sahara, what is more, in terms of political and thus military decisions was also important in another respect – i.e. to conduct nuclear testing there. In my view, French politics failed to recognize the indispensability of decolonization for the very reason that at the time their objective was to retain their colonies – which were viewed as integral regions of France's territory, the so-called overseas counties, inc. Algeria – all in the spirit of *exception française* so that the French state would again belong together with other great powers. Peace movements in the home country against the war in Algeria mattered more than against the Indochina war in the sense that in North-African country there were chiefly enlisted French soldiers fighting rather than Foreign Legion men. As I see it, the war in North-African area along with the 1956 Suez Crisis led not only to domestic political crisis – causing trouble in terms of the economy and finance, shortage of labour, inflation and ethical issues – but also affected France's foreign trade and prestige in international context by and large. The French society, settlers in Algeria and soldiers were all deeply divided about the war, which then greatly enhanced de Gaulle's chances for a return and for creating the Fifth French Republic. In de Gaulle's return into politics it also the *exception française* that can be detected in the sense that the general public regarded him as the person who could most remarkably represent the country's historical grandeur and the nation's interests. For the General-President, however, the war in Algeria already counted as an obstacle that stood in the way of setting forth the kind of foreign policy that would result in restoring France's position as a great power, which for settlers in Algeria who supported him in his return came as a disappointment. Due to the business interests of another circle of his supporters, the

French high finance, the negotiations between France and Algeria were further prolonged. However, in my view, the exception française is again reflected in de Gaulle's opinion regarding the Evian Accords in the sense that he considered the treaty such a move that served French interests of the time, instead of seeing it as a result.

The wars of independence in Indochina and Algeria the guerrilla warfare applied by the rebels demonstrably influenced the French Cold-War military theory as well. Its appearance was depicted by authors such as André Beaufre and David Galula. These two authors' concepts were based on experiences directly gained in local wars, since both of them – though in different ranks – participated in a number of France's wars overseas. All in all, as for the independence processes of Indochina and Algeria, France's losses could have been reduced by approving of these independence movements and also by concluding more favourable contracts.

The reasons why I discussed the fight against Somali piracy and France's participation in it are the following. After the millennium the European Union as a new participant appeared in the international crisis management. EUNAVFOR launched in December 2008 is considered to be one of the European Union's largest military operations up to today. The success of the foreign- and security policy of the integration can principally be measured in terms of this operation, in which France has actively been involved since its beginning, and also on the basis of French literature I consulted and available resources it can be established that France considers itself one of the most dominant countries taking part in the operation. France's aspiration for a leading role in Europe is the reappearance of the exception française as is the way their military moves become the continuation of their political ambitions. Besides the operation of the European integration France is also acting in this region on its own, e.g. in the framework of the ALINDIEN, which involves both military and diplomatic measures. Moreover, within the EUNAVFOR France has on several occasions taken the initiative, which steps have so far proved successful, demonstrating just how much the French state is (also) keen to take its courses of actions independently from their European partners. As an example for the country's latter inclination: the communication channel launched in December 2001 for ships as well as naval vessels and their crews in the region of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, which civilian-military cooperation was designed to avoid or efficiently

handle potential dangers in the region. This served as a model for the EUNAVFOR when MSCHOA was introduced for the same purposes and has been actively and successfully in operation ever since. Another initiative proving useful was the so-called Mission EPE Seychelles launched by the French on 1 July 2009 at the request of a group of ship-owners. Both its field of operation and the number participating countries have increased over the years, thus with the help of shippable protection team EU fishing ships in the region can be protected on board. In the French operations against Somali piracy one can detect a kind of military culture that is more economical about materials in that it shows signs of indirect warfare aspects, which is further influenced by an asymmetric challenge in the altered security environment, i.e. modern-time piracy. In the multi-national naval operation of the European integration not only military but also diplomatic and legislative measures are taken, in which France also engages its naval forces – due to the nature of the operation –, oftentimes employing specific methods when tackling this new challenge in an altered security environment.

## NEW SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

1. **I demonstrated** that the post-WWII French military theory – in accordance with developmental tendencies in universal military theory – primarily progressed towards the indirect warfare, which process was also influenced by the guerrilla warfare of the country's colonial and local conflicts as well as later influenced by the altered post-Cold War security environment, as sufficiently reflected in the studies written by French military theoreticians.
2. **I proved** that between 1945 and 2012 French military science developed in accordance with French foreign- and security policy.
3. **I examined and demonstrated** in the context of interconnectedness of military affairs and politics the manifestations of the exception française as well as influences of economic processes. **I demonstrated** that the exception française – a concept reaching as far back as the Great French Revolution, represented by Charles de Gaulle and firmly reflected in French political thinking – can be considered a decisive factor in the context of the interaction between military

and political aspects, and their mutual development have at all times been influenced by France's economic constraints and limitations.

## SUGGESTIONS

Resources of French military science written during and after the Cold War require further research as well as presenting and analysis. This, in my view, could take shape in a separate thesis.

It would highly contribute to the demonstration of France's post-1945 engagement in the African continent, with special emphasis on the activities of the so-called African secretariat of the Elysée Palace. Further interesting commentaries could be made in connection with the French-Russian as well as French-Chinese relations, and also with regard to France's involvement in the Balkan conflicts.

In order to further and profoundly discuss this topic, research work carried out in France would be required.

Publications by IFRI, IFAS and IRIS are also worth presenting for the Hungarian public in Hungarian.

My research topic could also be further developed by analyzing François Hollande's presidency (2012-2017) and also by discussing relevant French military operations of the time in detail.

In my opinion, France's involvement in the fight against terrorism (within the country, too) would prove to be professionally useful to research. The French state has repeatedly been victimized by terrorist attacks, starting on 7 January 2015 with the attack against Charlie Hebdo, followed by the series of attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015, making France a popular target with terrorist groups.

On the basis of most recent literature, France and cyber warfare could additionally make a promising research subject as well.

## PRACTICAL USABILITY OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

In my opinion my dissertation provides valuable analysis and resource by presenting and examining research results as regards French military science and military theory between 1945 and 2012.

The present paper may prove to be useful reference work for researchers and students of future generations and can serve as starting point and source of inspiration for further analyses.

My dissertation may prove to be a useful source of information for Security- and Defence Policy majors studying at the National University of Public Service.

My thesis might also assist students specializing in international relations as well as in humanities, most particularly those studying French history.

## PUBLICATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE THESIS

1. FÁBIÁN, Éva: *French navy versus Somali piracy: History of ten years – 2007–2017. (Francia haditengerészet kontra szomáliai kalózkodók: Tíz év története – 2007–2017.)* – Forthcoming in: *Defence Review* 2017/2.
2. Participating in the competition: *At the gate of science: NATO Poster-competition* issued by the PhD Students' Union of NUPS, the National Association of PhD Programs and the Hungarian Association of Military Science's Kápolnai Pauer István Youth Club. 14 June 2016. – Conference proceedings are being peer-reviewed and to be published.
3. FÁBIÁN, Éva: *Indochina and the French Fourth Republic: The first Indochina war (1945–1954): Part II. (Indokína és a Francia Negyedik Köztársaság: Az első indokínai háború (1945–1954): Második rész.)* – In. *National Security Review*, 2016/2. – p. 49–71. – ISSN 2416-3732
4. FÁBIÁN, Éva: *France's European security policy under Georges Pompidou's Presidency (Franciaország európai biztonságpolitikája Georges Pompidou elnöksége idején.)* – In. *Szakmai Szemle*, 2015/1. – p. 82–96. – ISSN 1785-1181
5. FÁBIÁN, Éva: *Indochina and the French Fourth Republic: The first Indochina war (1945–1954): Part 1. (Indokína és a Francia Negyedik Köztársaság: Az első indokínai háború (1945–1954): Első rész.)* – In. *National Security Review*, 2015/2. – p. 35–55. – ISSN 2416-3732

6. FÁBIÁN, Éva: *The downfall of the Fourth Republic of France. (Franciaország Negyedik Köztársaságának bukása.)* – In. Hírvillám, 2013. Vol. 4/1. – p. 95–103. – ISSN 2061-9499
7. FÁBIÁN, Éva: *How Tunisia and Morocco Became Independent (Tunézia és Marokkó függetlenné válásának története.)* – In. Sereg Szemle, October-December 2012. Volume 10/4. – p. 121–131. – ISSN 2060-3924
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