

**ZRÍNYI MIKLÓS NEMZETVÉDELMI EGYETEM  
KOSSUTH LAJOS HADTUDOMÁNYI KAR  
HADTUDOMÁNYI DOKTORI ISKOLA**

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***ACTUAL QUESTIONS OF PREVENTION OF TERRORISM,  
WITH PARTICULAR VIEW ON  
CIVIL AVIATION SECURITY***

**(PhD) dissertation**

## INTRODUCTION

### Drafting of the scientific controversy

My strict confidence, that a scientific level and quality literary work need not definitely have to invent something brand new. It can be the very same important to collect and sort a pile of information by new viewpoints, or if you wish to accommodate it into a new dimension, from which direction that particular scientific controversy or subject of research has earlier never been exposed, systemized. That was the goal I wanted to reach.

The waves of terror attacked America on 11 September 2001, opened brand new Chapters in the book of counter-terrorism in several means. Beyond the *never seen before* level of aggravation of aviation security, the international battle against terrorism has reached political levels. Both the level and the quality (depth) of professional contacts between the national security agencies have converted, furthermore the international efforts on stabilization after the Afghanistan and Iraq campaigns, compound the elements of the traditional peacekeeping with the marks of the battle against terrorism.

In my scientific dissertation I tried to track the international events after 11 September 2001 in the hope, that to range and sort those massive terror attacks into a single, continuously traceable stuff, it may offer the reader a quite wide range of useful information and observations. These experience I earned here, gave my final conclusion of the dissertation. In the period after 11 September 2001 – that's true – we haven't experienced so brutal, claiming the lives of thousands, changing dramatically the lives of further ten thousands type of terror attack, which occurred in the USA on that day. But in the same time, beyond the selfish punishment, suicide bombing slaughtered the social confidence in the public transport, as occurred in Moscow on 6 February and 31 August 2004, in Madrid<sup>1</sup> on 11 March 2004, or in London 7 July 2005. Never before happened so outrageous mass hostage taking, as occurred in Dubrovka Theatre in Moscow on between 23-26 October 2002, where the perpetrators captured and took 763 innocent as hostage on a cultural (mass) event, and never happened before that a military group took mostly children as hostages, like occurred in Beslan, North Osetia.

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<sup>1</sup> The Madrid case turned to be that later in Leganés, where the perpetrators on 2 April 2002 – as the local police has encircled them – blew up themselves with the piled explosives in their safehouse, which caused the loss of life one from the special force as well.

However I have indicated in my previous publications, that history has repeated itself in several times. I have indicated also, that it's no need to celebrate after an unsuccessful terror attack even in case, that one leg of the side by side engaged defence systems with conscious effort (mean: not the blind luck has played the main roll to avoid the attack) has prevented the bloodshed, and not even then if after the successful investigation the liable and their conspirative network have been sent behind bars.

Since however the averting party pulled out the perpetrators from the further conspiracy, the basic idea stands still, so if an other group feels the theory performable (mostly avoiding the errors of the previous wave, which caused the deconspiracy of the previous group), then for sure some other time, some others will try it again. We must not forget the 2006 August Heathrow plot, whose protagonists intended to blow up US transatlantic commercial flights. Only few know that this type of symbolic mass destruction originally came from Ramzi Yousef in 1994 (who is presently spending his life inprisonment in the US). His brigade were unsuccessful at that time, because their errors while accomplishing the mission caused their deconspiracy. New group wanted to accomplish the old theory in 2006. However Ramzi Yousef was the one who with his 9 member group first wanted to blow up the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York on 26 February 1993, when a car bomb went off in the parking lot of the Northern complex. Six died and 1042 further wounded in the massive explosion. Their plan was to blow out the basement of the Northern skyscraper, which will shatter on the Southern tower, causing the total destruction of both buildings. Fortunately they were not successful in completing that task. Not that time. But not even 10 years later the plan came to alive – however accomplished with using different approach and tools – resulting much higher loss in human life in both sides, but finally came to alive: both symbols have collapsed. One of the symbols collapsed was the Western type society, the capitalism, the monetarism, the globalism which all emblematically fell of with the flaming towers. The other – much more painful – symbol was the fake myth of the invulnerability of America

Having a slight overview of the known terror attacks in the past five years, we can consider that despite the type of the action itself, the nationality, the religion, the gender, the motivation of the perpetrators, and the difference of selecting the target, there is a easily identified common focal point: the discreteness (individuality). This is true mostly for the implementation, the type of the targets, which all have been – if I can use this phrase here at all – pioneer choice. There was no such like that before.

And as using their spectacular defensive systems, the organizations responsible for the prevention of the terror attacks, successfully block the ideal targets of terrorism, (pushing the terrorist groups turning towards other, sometimes less important, meaning: less defended targets), this method forces the groups for a detour. With this, the defence system itself will unintendedly appoint the new targets.

The conscious, purposeful and deliberate work of collecting and systemizing the raw pile of information, my primary aim was to focus on the fact, how a *firefighter job* is, what we can do while combatting terrorism. Mostly if a country continuously or for a long time makes itself believing, not to be a target country. Each country IS a target country, since as the terrorists come to realize, that for example the Myanmar (Burma) or Lao Embassy of the Peoples' Republic of China is less defended than in Tokyo or in Seoul, they positively will commit the attack there. And if the attack will claim Burmese or Laotian victims, then the country, whose territory was used in the attack, whose border guarding system was unable to filter and stop the perpetrators, the weapons and the explosives used, becomes instantly a target country with this. I really don't want to wake panic, but we all have to prepare for that. On time and effective!

The effectiveness of the civil aviation security must be enhanced and upgraded at the Hungarian international airports (far not only at Ferihegy). We have to improve, enhance and upgrade, because however the professionalism of the security sphere working at our international airports, we still have lack of effectiveness. But if Ferihegy will be a *strong castle* of defence due to the relatively high risk of deconspiration, then the balance of terrorism will be put onto our Debrecen or Sármellék airports. As strengthening these last mentioned further *bastions* as well (and in case the terrorists still stick on punishing Hungary), then the new target expected to be the destroying or endangering the smooth functioning of the public utilities and/or attacking the public transport.

### **Aims of the research**

1. Tracking and/or mapping the present vectors and the expectable directions of the attacks of international terrorism, attempt to determine the possible attacks, and to determine a kind of *forecast*.
2. Overview of the present status of the Hungarian civil aviation security, estimation, evaluation and comparison with the present security level of the international standards, and with the actual directions of developments.

3. Estimate new, *never implemented before* civil aviation security directives, inspect the effectiveness of those in both domestic and international environment. To define the category of the “Reliable Passenger” is just like that.

## Methods of the research

I feel, my dissertation is fairly unconventional in several aspects, since it gives the reader a global overview of terrorism, and offers opportunity for conclusion through real case studies, researched scientifically by the author. This is how the possible directions of the future terrorism may be forecasted. This is why I did not call to assist the classical scientific research elements to my dissertation – relying on the kind agreement of my reviewers. Instead of those mentioned above, I used the methods as follows:

1. personal, on scene experiment in the internal sphere of the Hungarian civil aviation security, with the support of the Ferihegy passenger security agency.
2. Very rich and repeated experience at 37 European<sup>2</sup>, African<sup>3</sup>, North American<sup>4</sup>, Middle<sup>5</sup> and South Eastern<sup>6</sup> international airports, and their passenger security systems. My experiences in this field had already been published in articles, and not one of them has already appeared in one of my books as well.
3. Wide research in – mostly foreign language – printed and electronic literature, dealing with relevant international terrorism issues.
4. Research and collecting the personal data of figures appearing in this dissertation.
5. Personal meeting in Washington D.C. with Dr. Peter Bergen, the leading terrorism and Middle Eastern expert of CNN, author of several books on al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden.
6. On scene study of the society of the Middle Eastern area and the Arab World, mostly feeding with the experience of spending 25 months on the Egyptian and Israeli border. As responsible officer my job is to frequently visit Middle East (Israel, Palestina), Afghanistan, (Kabul, Mazar-e Sharif, Pol-e Khomri), and Egypt (Cairo, El-Gorah, Sharm el-Sheikh), logging my new experiences continuously for my publications, reports and research.

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<sup>2</sup> **Austria** (Vienna), **Belgium** (Brussels), **Denmark** (Copenhagen), **Cyprus** (Larnaca), **France** (Paris Charles DeGaulle), **Greece** (Athens), **Madeira** (Funchal), **Malta** (Valletta), **Great Britain** (London Heathrow, Gatwick), **Germany** (Frankfurt), **Italy** (Milán), **Portugal** (Lissabon), **Romania** (Bucharest) and **Spain** (Madrid).

<sup>3</sup> **South African Republic** (Johannesburg), **Egypt** (Assuan, Cairo, Luxor, Sharm el-Sheikh), **Ghana** (Accra), **Morocco** (Casablanca), **Mozambique** (Beira, Maputo, Pemba), **Zimbabwe** (Harare).

<sup>4</sup> **United States of America** (Dallas, El Paso, New York, Seattle, Washington), **Canada** (Kingston, Toronto).

<sup>5</sup> **Israel** (Tel-Aviv), **Afghanistan** (Kabul), **Bahrain** (Manama), **United Arab Emirates** (Dubai).

<sup>6</sup> **Cambodia** (Phnom Penh), **Thailand** (Bangkok, U-Tapao).

7. Personal meeting with legal specialists, law enforcement and counter-terrorism experts of the states of New York, Texas and Washington in the USA.
8. Personal meeting and directed consultation with the US Federal Law Enforcement bureau<sup>7</sup> and civilian Secret Service<sup>8</sup> officials in Hungary and in the USA as well.

## **The structure of the dissertation**

### **Chapter 1**

I intended from one hand to define ‘terrorism’ in the first sub-Chapter – trying to categorize the different acts of terrorism – and from the other hand I attempted to give a historical overview flashing on the famous – so called: classical – acts of terror.

I attempted to brake the perpetrational behaviour of these social-political symptoms (terrorism) into its components, and through a kind of systemization, I tried to get to the sharpest definition as close as I could. Unfortunately many real person – as perpetrator or as victim – wrote him/herselves into the cronicles of terrorist acts, and in the hope of understanding more of the motives of the mission or the roleplayers’ logic of chosing the target of the act, this Chapter contains many personal datas of the affected persons.

Evaluates the terrorist actions before September 11 – 2001 and draw a parallel between the accurate status of the international security environment and the attacked target.

### **Chapter 2**

Chapter 2 direct us to the reactions of the international community, and the given military answers of the coalition forces in Afghanistan and Iraq for the September 11 attack. I did not argued with the destiny and the unavailability of the military slash back but I did attack its inevitability from several directions. The produce (output) of those campaigns are very contraversy: with chasing the Taliban regime out of power, the USA – even having the Western-friend Hamid Karzai government on board – still was not able to stabilize the situation and the security background in Afghanistan.

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<sup>7</sup> Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau (ATF), Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

<sup>8</sup> (US) Secret Service.

The Pastun guerillas – strongly supported by Pakistan – (came out from local Pastun communities, in many cases only for a single action) continuously attack the international units, while in South (Kandahar area) the support of the Taliban are growing and seems: they can re-form themselves at the other side of the Pakistani border.

It was a *success story* to move Saddam Hussein out of power in Iraq, but in the same time – crushing the Iraqi Army and the Air Force, certainly the US broke the fragile balance in the region (between Iraq and Iran), and from the other hand, with squeezing the internal security stability of Iraq, they *concreted* the US (and the coalition) army into the Mid-Eastern county. However the war is officially over – with the victory of the coalition forces of course – the allied list of the casualties is far not complete, since the latent war, the asymmetrical campaign (guerilla type war) is still on, and who knows for how long.

It is to be feared (which I strongly agree with) that after this, suddenly pulling out from Afghanistan or Iraq motivated or initiated by political means, may cause so huge global security disaster (with the real danger and possibility of turning instantly both Afghanistan and Iraq an uncontrolled hub of the international terrorism) which will be incomparable bigger, than the one the coalition wanted to avoid moving into those two countries.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> part of the Chapter introduces Pakistan, the leading Islamic power of the region from its political aspects, which country officially has never made clear its approach (a friend or foe) to the terrorism. However Islamabad assured Washington with its wide and sincere assistance in the Afghanistan campaign – right after the US announced *pretty juicy* commercial-military support for Pakistan – and gave green light for the coalition Air Force to use the Pakistani air fields for the initial air strike. In the same time it is widely known, that:

- 1). The key figures of the ex Taliban government – supported by a pretty big portion of armed militias – found a safehaven in Pakistan near the South Afghan border, and live unharmed in Baluchistan, re-forming their rows for the soon return;
- 2). Islamabad supports – doing nothing against – the terrorist training camps operating in Northern Pakistan. Well known, that the perpetrators of the London metro bombing received their ideological and tactical trainings in the country, mentioned in Chapter 3.

3). In the opinion of the vast majority of the International Forces and analysts working in Afghanistan, Pakistan has no interest to know a safe and secure Afghanistan in his neighbourhood. Certainly the chaos and instability can be experienced in Afghanistan never will be the officially announced interest of Islamabad, however it's suspicious, that the *highly flammable* Pashun feeling against the international community work in Afghanistan is feeded by Pakistan. The tragical loss of the Hungarian EOD, MSGT. Gyula Kovács (postumus LTN.), occured in a Pashun area as well, near Baghlan-e Jadid.

This is why, due to the abovementioned, if I would have to answer for that poetic question can be read as a title of Chapter 3 asking *if there is a mean (middle way) for an Islamic Republic dealing with terrorism* – my answer would be: markedly yes. Pakistan stands off and on *craftily* and its dubious attitude<sup>9</sup> towards the support of terrorism can be easily balanced with the common secret service work with Britain in the 2006 USA planes bombing plot. Pakistan of course is *not only living for today's advantage, but thinks about tomorrow* as well. My strict opinion, that Islamabad sent a covered message to Washington and London while cooperating with the British secret service. In this message I read the following: *“Pakistan is elemental part in the Global Security Policy, independently from the fact who and how judges the policy of the country, or what kind of relation tighten that particular country to Pakistan, to this Islamic power nation. As a nuclear weapon bearer, and as a keen cooperative country with the Western civilian secret services, Pakistan is unavoidable both in military and civilian aspects. It's highly recommended to count with us, because we can be a very useful ally, but in the same time it's highly recommended to cooperate with us, because if we let the 2006 August Heathrow bombing plot going off, it could easily pale even September 11's loss and memory.”*

### Chapter 3

As a kind of an outlook, Chapter 3 deals mostly with case studies, since I judged that we can not find any similar study or publication (mostly not recently finished) which contains the post September 11 terror attcks in this detailed form, enlighting the background circumstances and the political aspects. I thought to be important to spot (or make to be spotted) the direction in which the international terrorism turned towards, from the viewpoint of selecting the appropriate target, despite the Global counter-measures guaranting the civilian aviation safety and security.

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<sup>9</sup> The fact, that the secret service of the Pervez Musharraf led government *was not able* to prevent the assassination of his political counterpart, Benazir Bhutto.



I considered to be important to show it's not only the predomination of the easier deflexion's theory, but beyond the new targets (endangering the surface or underground public transport), but with selecting non-traditional scenarios (mass transport vehicles, railway stations), or by selecting non-traditional mass programs (Moscow: Dubrovka Theatre, Beslan: opening ceremony of an elementary school), the perpetrators turned towards a brand new, non-conventional direction as well.

## **Chapter 4**

In Chapter 4 I attempted to introduce the present level of the Hungarian civil aviation security, through my personal experience at Ferihegy passenger security service. However I tried to highlight that the tendency mentioned earlier in the previous Chapters, namely that the Global matching of the aviation security measures have diverted the main stream of the international terrorism from the civil aviation mostly towards other mass targets. Still the so called "theory of easier deflexion" – which theory I strongly support – on this field may overwrite the abovementioned. This means that the international terrorism – occasionally – can return to the never really forgotten civil aviation as target, in the case if it detects, that the Hungarian defence systems – which for instance are seemed to be not on compatibly high strategic defensive level – maybe attempts to break through the aviation security. Anyhow, a desperated perpetrator can always appear, and we must calibrate our security defence sharp enough, that particular perpetrator surely be filtered.

Taking into consideration the abovementioned, prevention plays key role, but as a deterrence is not a concrete enough base, this must not be our single defensive line. This is why – taking into account mostly the fast and dynamic development of passenger traffic at Ferihegy and at our other regional airports – what I suggest in Chapter 4 is the continuous safeguarding and adoption the developments of the international aviation security, enabling that our second (still not the last) defensive line would be a kind of compatibility with the other international airports' security measures.

## Chapter 5

However Chapter 5 mostly built on the final conclusions and recommendations, driven from my theory, that *terrorism moves on its self chosen orbit*, still my opinion is that *always the given counties' security environment gives the guideline to the selected targets*. This is why the Chapter deals with the possible opportunities of civil aviation security measures (which can be implemented in Hungary as well). First in line I can mention the introduced category of the “Reliable Passenger”, which on the level of the basic thought is not mine, however as a possible counter-measure converted specially on aviation security, is purely my idea. Walking on with this, I mapped out the human resource development areas, targeted the implementation of this primary aim. I gave ideas on technological elements, making the identification of the Reliable Passenger possible, I mentioned the Worldwide compatibility and the Global reach of the RP database, needed for this. Beyond this I was dealing with several questions of this category, mostly with the voluntary based approach and training as well. I listed the technical development areas connecting to the aviation security measures (first of all CCTV), and the importance of the passengers information flow. I mentioned the strategic development areas, the necessary merchant-political steps (mostly at airports), and further necessity of aviation security tasks, like – at far not least – involvement of outsider supporters.

Beyond the abovementioned, theoretically I still consider dangerous to underestimate the endangerment of Hungary, believing truly that our homeland is not a target country. This tendency if believed, can easily put to sleep both the development of our aviation security, and alertness of the decision makers, responsible for investment and security policy as well.

I consider very important to mention as in the final conclusion of my dissertation – the brand new phrase I have composed: the *technorist* – which category hides far not the only emotionally motivated terrorist, but the *technologically aware*, the creative enemy, who employs the latest achievements of the age.

Unfortunately the terrorism itself can compare with both warfare and with some element of the secret service works in many ways. Remember the “asimmetrical warfare” as a military terminology, which is one of the main pillars of the terrorism. This guerilla-type of warfare is being faced (compared) with the conventional warfare.

Very well known element of the secret service works is to employ the “sleeping agent”, who infiltrate into the target system (organization, institute or even to the society) years before the planned attack. These “agents” are activating themselves right before (or for instance: during) the mission and harm the system internally, while nobody from the defence side is suspicious about these “reliable” persons.

This tendency I recognized in the activity of the young generation of today’s terrorists, who – see f.e. London bombing in 2005 – second generation immigrants (who actually already born in the chosen country), hiding behind their parents (the first generation immigrants, being useful citizens of their host country). Vast majority of those young terrorists are highly educated, qualified, intelligent professional, who could be even useful citizens of their host country.

## Chapter 6

Chapter 6 is dealing with the newly defined scientific results in my dissertation and the areas of utilization. The invited professionals appeared in the argument of my dissertation accepted my proposals as new scientific results as follows:

1. *I seeked and opened up coherency between terrorism* – as far as I know and I hope **at first in Hungary** – *and the new direction (turn) of terrorism, after the severe restriction of the civil aviation security* (meaning: the terrorism itself is not equal with the attacks against civil aviation security) **and** I projected the experience of “theory of easier deflexion” on the **terror threat of Hungary**, which I think is more realistic danger, then it is estimated officially.
2. I defined strict list of **recommendations** in the field of civil aviation security, fed from terror attacks and attempts in the examined time period, and furthermore from the viewpoints of my fairly rich personal field experience. These recommendations are mostly dealing with the **human resources, and the technological, operational-strategic developments**.
3. I proposed a **recommendation of the “Reliable Passenger”**, which idea arised only as a basic theory in a very close range and contained no aviation security aspects before. I suggested this category as part of the Global defensive system of the aviation security, completing this with the involvement further coating of cooperative partners (f.e.: spotters).

Dunaharaszti, June 26 – 2008

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