

DISSERTATION SUMMARY

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**Fourth generation warfare – a new method of interest
advancement**

Summary of PhD dissertation

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Budapest, 2012.

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

In the past seventy years significant changes took place in warfare. Built upon experiences of World War II and economic development of the nineteenfifties and sixties by the beginning of the new millenium conventional war is banned from the socio-political framework of the developed world. Although this peace was the enforced pseudo peace of the cold war nuclear arsenal, western hemisphere have hardly had such a long period of peace. During the time of bipolar world liberalism and consequent human rights became the official ideology of the west. On the other side of the world the Soviet Union installed puppet states and leftist dictatorships. Both superpowers supported decolonization even if for different reasons. In the shade of nuclear weapons a different kind of war has thrived, since war is chameleon, as Clausewitz has put it. While the colonial system was dissolving proxy and liberation wars became norm in certain areas of the world.

Based on this experience John Keegan, in his book *A history of warfare*, has come to the conclusion, that warfare as we westerners know it, concentrating on decisive battles decided in hand to hand combat, was created in Ancient Greece and became dominant in a geographically fairly well describable area. Yet even in this territory the original form of waging war, guerilla war has not become extinct. This method, where there is no distinction between warriors and adult males, cannot be overcome by regular armies no matter how well equipped or well trained its soldiers are. Due to a number of contemporary factors guerilla warfare is becoming a significant phenomenon of our times.

Twenty years have passed since the collapse of the Soviet Union, yet no sign of a new international system is to be seen, as western countries continuously lose influence to emerging powers collectively known as BRICS countries (Brasilia, Russia, India, China, South Africa).

After the immense destruction of World War II international organisations such as the United Nations have completely changed the way countries, or to be more precise nation-states can advance their interests. The United Nations Charter have basically limited the use of military power to self defense. Other international organisations as International Monetary Fund, or General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, later renamed to World Trade Organisation limit sovereignty further, thus empowering non-governmental actors such as international crime organisations, warlords, private military companies, and even human rights, or environmental groups.

At its beginnings globalisation, a phenomenon recognized in the eighties, have exerted its influence mostly in economics. Following the free flow of ares, capital and ideas immense changes took place worldwide. In its wake a formerly unimaginable crossdependency

ensued, which manifests in such extreme cases where is the biggest financier of the US foreign debt is China. This situation further decreases the probability of a conventional high intensity military conflict since preserving the calm became an imperative. Not surprisingly side effects of globalisation such as information technology boom or the widespread use of internet have all contributed to the fact, that currently the tiring and collapse of opposing actors with all available resources is pursued instead of enforcing a military defeat on them.

Recognising the above phenomena a number of military or warfare related theories have been formed, which tried to describe, formulate, and define security challenges of the contemporary world. In my opinion most have failed to completely encompass the vast changes, since almost without exception have failed to consider non-military aspects of the 21st century.

Based on the above there is only one theory which deals with all of these factors, it is called the Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW), or more precisely Generations of modern warfare. This concept rests on acknowledgement of political, military, economical and social factors and states that for the beginning of the 21st century a new way of interest advancement has come to life, which is a completely new approach, since it combines phenomena from military, social, economical, political and perceptual areas.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

Based on the above I search answer for the below questions

1. Which factors form the global security environment of the 21st century?
2. What theories have been created to describe contemporary phenomena?
3. How can be the theory of Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW) modified to include justifiable critics on the original theory?
4. What kind of possibilities does Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW) hold for NATO countries and especially Hungary?

The first hypothesis of the dissertation is that after WWII international system have changed significantly. Due to the effects of Cold War, weapons of mass destruction, widespread use of gerilla warfare, and the coming of international organisations, **conventional ways of resolving conflicts especially in a military way is less and less viable.**

Second hypothesis states that due to social-technical-economical-information technology related developments non-state actors now have access to effective ways of interest

advancement, comparable to nation-states. **This method is called Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW)**

And finally third hypothesis states that while these methods are only acknowledged by a small number of western experts, they see widespread use in developing countries. **Therefore contrary to the original Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW) theory these instruments can be used by nation-states as well.**

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the dissertation I intentionally refrained from using latin or other foreign expressions in order to pursue clarity, except where mirror translations would only hinder my efforts or widely accepted definitions exist.

I have followed inductive reasoning, and in places analogies in my researches of Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW) from the aspects of international relations and ways of interest advancement. I have used the concepts strategy, and war-warfare in an extended, and not necessarily military meaning, like it is customary in contemporary public and academical speech. I have ejected the critique of Clausewitz from the theory since his observations are valid in all forms of warfare including guerilla warfare, while logically they cannot be applied to non-violent methods.

I also had the opportunity to subject my conclusions to practical tests: in 2010 and 2011 I conducted three Command Post Exercises that modeled fourth generation challenges. One exercise was conducted at the 25th Infantry Brigade of the Hungarian Defence Forces, and two were conducted at the Command and General Staff Course of the Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University.

I published partial results of my research in Hungarian and international peer-reviewed professional publications and during scientific conferences.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

In **Chapter One** I discuss **the changes in international relations** since the end of WWII. I describe in detail one of the major obstacles prohibiting high intensity military conflicts: weapons of mass destruction, especially the psychological effects of nuclear weapons. I review the effect of international organisations on conflicts. I present the modern history of guerilla warfare, whose methodology was molded during the collapse of the colonial system. As a typical example I introduce Operation Desert Storm and the effects it has exerted on military theory. I give a short overview on the ongoing Afghanistan, and the recently finished

Iraq operations, the economical effects of globalisation, and the latest developments of the 21st century. Finally I discuss two theories which tried, and in my opinion failed, to present recent changes in military environment, Revolutions in Military Affairs and Hybrid Warfare.

In **Chapter 2** I give a **detailed presentation of Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW) theory** along with its short historiography, its declaredly western and nation-state centered focus, as well as its cornerstones the generations of modern warfare, and their underlying military theory, military technology and socio-political aspects. I also present in detail the original theory's characteristic features, objectives, and methods, alongside of its critiques, which contributed to the modified theory of Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW), discussed in the next chapter in detail. Finally I compare the Hungarian military theorists Jenő Kovács's military cultures with generations of modern warfare..

In **Chapter 3** I discuss the **modified theory of Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW)**, based on my own researches, and the critiques of recent years. I present in detail its subareas such as global guerilla warfare, information warfare, financial maneuvers and an ideological, human rights and other perception based operations, their use by state and non-state actors. In case of information warfare I discuss in detail the attacks on state-owned networks, since other aspects of information warfare, are fairly well covered in conventional information operations, such as psychological and electronic warfare. Since the author is not an expert on economics I briefly discuss globalization's financial maneuvers, interest advancement through financial means, and the destruction caused by such maneuvers. I give a detailed overview on changes of guerilla warfare in the age of globalization, along with new methods, new ways to financially support these kind of organisations, the use of modern business concepts by guerilla organisations and their independence from formerly indispensably foreign support. I also discuss the battlefield of ideology the issue of media maneuvers, blackmail campaigns, the ever increasing importance of secondary ideologies, and the role of non-stop news channels. At the end of the chapter I argue that contrary to some experts the time of Fifth generation warfare has not come yet.

In **Chapter 4** I take a look at the **possibilities and the limits of nation states** in Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW). I present the cold war era phenomenon which has recently resurfaced the proxy war and its main supporter Iran, along with its activities in Lebanon and Iraq. I also discuss in detail the experiences of past and present peace support operations. I take a closer look at China's and Iran's efforts to neutralize the United States' military supremacy with non-military assets.

Chapter 5 serves as a capstone of my dissertation. I summarize the **findings** of my researches, summarize the **new scientific results** and make **recommendations** for their utilization by NATO and especially Hungarian Defense Forces. I also identify areas that require further research.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

I have taken a detailed look on the non-military aspects which limit military actions in resolving conflicts and verified my first hypothesis stating in **current international and interstate environment resolving conflicts with military tools is becoming less and less feasible**.

I have presented more theories, which tried to process the experiences of the past decades, and have given a detailed presentation on Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW), which I found as most apt in describing the observed changes. While researching the theory I acknowledged some of the critiques and at the end created the modified theory of Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW). During researching the above I have verified my second hypothesis stating there is a **new way of interest advancement, which fits in the category created by the generations of modern warfare theory, therefore called Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW)**.

Finally I presented methods of interest advancement, as described by the theory of 4GW, carried out by nation-states circumventing strenghts of their adversary thus verifying my third **hypothesis stating the methods of Fourth Generation Warfare are viable not only to non-state actors, but to nations-states as well**.

Yet I find it imperative to state that the **age of conventional warfare has not ended yet**. In my thesis I looked for asymmetrical or non-military methods mostly, alas for example the 2008 russian-georgian war has shown, that high intensity military conflicts are still viable, especially on the peripheries of spheres of influence. No state can create deterrence without a modern, well trained and equipped, and joint operation capable army.

MAJOR FINDINGS

1. I identified the major changes which characterize the Fourth Generation Warfare as well as the identities and the differences between the first three generations of modern warfare and the military cultures of Jenő Kovács.
2. I identified and gave a detailed description on the modified theory of Fourth Generation of Warfare (global gerilla warfare, information warfare, economical warfare), against which conventional military solutions cannot be applied.

3. I verified that non-conventional, non-military ways of integrated interest advancement can equally be used for offensive and defensive purposes as well, by state actors alike. These methods have already been used by state and non-state actors as well at least partially replacing ways of conventional, or military interest advancement.

AREAS OF FURTHER RESEARCH

Underlining that during my research I discussed Fourth Generation Warfare from the viewpoint of the side with military supremacy, **I have found it necessary to rethink the role of military means as a way of interest advancement.** By seeing so many adverseries playing to circumvent the obvious why is it compulsory to bereave ourselves from the simplest way?

There are other thinkers who have come to understand the need of a change in paradigms, which underly the concept of Fourth Generation Warfare. In numbers of Honvédségi Szemle (Defense Forces' Review) March and September 2010 there is an exchange of ideas regarding **light infantry.** In my opinion light infantry units are the most suitable in solving contemporary security problems these articles show that other people have come to the same conclusion even if with different background. At least theoretical examination of forming light infantry units from a TRADOC point of view requires further research especially given the **Home Defense Brigade's** coming formulation within the Volunteer Reserve System of the Hungarian Armed Forces.

Latest events in Europe especially the revolts in France 2005 (sometimes mentioned as French or Parisian Intifada) or the civil unrest in Eastern-Slovakia in 2004 may deem necessary to apply **findings of global guerilla warfare, and information warfare, especially when applying military means to reconcile the situation.** Beside training for peace support operations could also be extended with general theory of guerilla and information warfare, as well as training for irregular warfare.

Understanding **information warfare, especially perception based operations,** based on human rights or environmental issues, as well as comprehensive approach on conflict resolution in mental or even transcendental areas requires further research. We only came to realize the vulnerability of modern nation-states to this issue. If there will be once a Fifth Generation Warfare in my opinion it will contain those areas which we cannot measure or grasp today.

Since the author of current thesis is not an expert on economical issues, **economical, financial aspects of Fourth Generation Warfare need definite further researches**. As economic security is normally not a military task among the blurring dividing lines of the 21st century further research might be needed to clarify possible connections and threats.

Not only military operations related, but perception based struggles are currently ongoing. Therefore **research in past and present ideology based operations** like (Vier Pfoten – Négy Mancs) are needed to bring the theoretical findings of 4GW to life. It would be highly desired to **compare the theory with the experiences** in the area of CIMIC és psychological warfare with the Hungarian Armed Forces' Civil-Military Cooperation and Psychological Warfare Center.

Finally I think it is important to state, that the findings of present dissertation, using applied scientific researches methodology, are the results of basic research. Apart from the above listed areas a number of applied researches needs to be done in the framework of Fourth Generation Warfare to make the findings applicable in practice. This has to be done with modelling the subareas' interaction to create a force multiplier similar to effects based operations methodology.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The possibility of a conventional second or third generation war cannot be completely dismissed. Therefore **balanced, joint operations capable, highly trained and motivated armed forces are indispensable to deter conventional attacks**. Yet these force have to include components which are not regularly attributed to military or paramilitary forces. In my opinion present dissertation can be used in the following areas.

1. Light infantry units trained in guerilla warfare, created either as territorial reservist or newly created units in emergency

Beside their multiple use, creating light infantry units is a cost effective solution able to fulfill a number of missions. Creating such units as part of the territorial battalions in the Volunteer Reservist System, would bring soldiers used in areas, which they know enhancing their abilities.

2. Cyber warfare capability

Based on the new NATO strategic concept steps have been already made toward Hungary's cyberdefense capabilities, and creating a cyberdefense doctrine. Based on findings

of this research in future expansions of the Hungarian Armed Forces cyber capabilities should be seen as priority.

3. Passive defense (alternative means of civil administration)

Based on the researched Iranian example in case of a major environmental catastrophe or a strong, decapitating attack civil administration has to be maintained, thus preventing the collapse of control.

4. Educational / training material

The findings of present dissertation can be used in the education of military/police personnel, as well as for lecturers of contemporary security policies, in the area of security theories and the history of global security environment.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Somkuti, Bálint – Kiss, Álmos Péter (2009): Are we there yet? A critique of 5GW. Academic and Applied Research in Military Sciences 8, 2009/2 263-274 pp.

SOMKUTI Bálint: Falludzsa, 2004, In: Honvédségi Szemle 2010 március, 64. évf. 2. szám, 56-74 pp.

Somkuti Bálint: Győzelem vagy vereség?, In: Hadtudományi Szemle 2. évf. 2.szám, 2010/2, 1-6 pp.

Somkuti Bálint: A 4. generációs hadviselés, In: Hadtudományi Szemle 1. évf. 2.szám, 2009/2, 42-52 pp.

Somkuti Bálint: Groznij két ostroma, Biztonságpolitika.hu honlap,
http://www.biztonsagpolitika.hu/documents/1336342971_SOMKUTI_Balint_Groznij_ket_ostroma_-_biztonsagpolitika.hu.pdf

Somkuti Bálint: Egy modern városi felkelés és leverésének katonai-politikai tanulságai, Budapest, 1956, Biztonságpolitika.hu honlap,
http://www.biztonsagpolitika.hu/documents/1336342667_SOMKUTI_Balint_egy_modern_varosi_felkeles_leveresenek_tanulsagai_Budapest_1956_-_biztonsagpolitika.hu.pdf

Somkuti Bálint: A Római Birodalom hatalomgyakorlásának puha és kemény eszközei, Biztonságpolitika.hu honlap,
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http://www.biztonsagpolitika.hu/documents/1277413606_somkuti_balint_a_francia_hadiflott_a_a_18_szazadban_-_biztonsagpolitika.hu.pdf

4GW és a Csillagok háborúja, Biztonságpolitika.hu honlap,
http://www.biztonsagpolitika.hu/index.php?id=16&aid=712&title=4GW_%C3%A9s_a_Csillagok_H%C3%A1bor%C3%BAja

Europass curriculum vitae

Personal information

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E-mail(s) sokubalint@t-online.hu
Nationality(ies) Hungarian (by birth)
Date of birth 25 May 1972

Desired employment

Work experience

Dates	Sept 2010 – today
Occupation or position held	Publicist
Main activities and responsibilities	Military traditions and war graves
Name and address of employer	Ministry of Defense Hungary
Type of business or sector	Public administration
Dates	February 2005 – Sept 2010
Occupation or position held	Entrepreneur
Main activities and responsibilities	General manager
Name and address of employer	Somku & Bernek Kft.
Type of business or sector	Clothing wholesale and retail, translation services
Dates	Sept 2000 – Feb 2005
Occupation or position held	Truck Fire Specialist
Main activities and responsibilities	- managing partnerships of major truck fleets and distributors - organising promotions and trade shows
Name and address of employer	Goodyear Dunlop Tires Kft.
Type of business or sector	Automotive industry

Dates **June 1999 – Sept 2000**
 Occupation or position held **Key account manager**
 Main activities and responsibilities **- managing key accounts such as MÁV, Magyar Posta or M
 - develop new key account partners** **ATÁV**
 Name and address of employer **Recht.**
 Type of business sector **Construction industry**

Education and training

Dates **2008-2012**
 Title of qualification awarded **PhD student**
 Dates **2004-2008**
 Title of qualification awarded **Master of Arts in History**

Personal skills and competences

Mother tongue **Hungaria**

Other languages

	Understanding		Speaking		Writing
	Listening	Reading	Spoken interaction	Spoken production	
English (ETS Academic Exam, 2008)	C1 near native	C1 near native	C1 near native	C1 near native	C1 near native
German (Hungaria state language exam)	B2 independent user	B2 independent user	B2 independent user	B2 independent user	B1 independent user
Spanish (Hungaria state language exam)	B1 independent user	B1 independent user	B1 independent user	B1 independent user	B1 independent user
Russia (under development)	A2 basic user	A2 basic user	A2 basic user	A2 basic user	A2 basic user
Farsi (modern Persian, 2 versions, under development)	A2 basic user	A2 basic user	A2 basic user	A2 basic user	A2 basic user

(*) Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) level

Social skills and competences

- quick wit
- re-orientated and creative thinking
- dynamic work (in teams as well as independently)
- adaptability to multinational social environment

Organisational skills and competences

- strong leadership skills
- ability to motivate
- excellent problem solving skills

Computer skills and competences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - highly competent use of Microsoft Office - SAP experience - extensive internet research experience - intermediate hardware skills
Other skills and competences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - excellent communication and negotiating skills - highly developed presentation skills gained in preparing and delivering lectures and presentations in multinational environment - basic latin knowledge
Driving licence(s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - valid up to 3,5 tons grossweight (class B)
Additional information	Membershp: College of Security Policies