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THESES

Anna Puskás:

Protection of cultural property in conflict zones

Ph.D. Dissertation

Consultant: Dr. habil. Éva Remek

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Research problem	2
Research aims and questions	4
Hypotheses.....	5
Research methods	6
Summary of the analytical chapters.....	10
Results of the research.....	12
New scientific results.....	15
Practical application of the research results, recommendations	16
List of the author's related publications	17
Short academic biography of the author	19

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The material and spiritual values embodying the culture and history of a people are the main sources of collective memory. Due to their symbolic importance, their destruction has been an accompanying element of efforts to eradicate a community all along history. However, the period since the Cold War – ending with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact in 1991 – has been providing particularly many systematic examples in this regard. The deliberate damage/destruction (whether for ethnic or religious purposes) of cultural property was an element of every phase of the Yugoslav wars – overshadowing the history of Europe in the 1990s – which, in addition to the territorial acquisition and political goals, implied aims to break the enemy's morale and psyche by erasing the evidence of its history and culture. Then, the explosion of the Buddha statues in the Bamiyan Valley in Afghanistan in 2001 by the Taliban drew attention to the issue again, which – as a symbol of the Shia Hazara minority – became there an element of the political and military campaign of the Taliban conquest, during which thousands were killed or forced to flee.¹

When I started my research, the barbaric destructions committed by groups linked to al-Qaeda in the northern part of Mali in 2012, and by ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant) between 2014 and 2016 in the territory of Iraq and Syria shocked the international public through the media. But in the years that have passed since then, we have seen that in the case of other armed conflicts emerging around some form of identity issue, the deliberate destruction of certain elements of cultural heritage became a tool of psychological warfare as well (although in a less spectacular way and to a somewhat lesser extent).

The activities of ISIL have drawn attention to another international security challenge too: namely, that various terrorist organizations – by joining the cross-border networks of organized crime – can also benefit significantly from the global black market of artefacts, which has been continuously on the rise in recent decades.

These problems are not unique to our time, but – as the thesis aims to highlight – the growing number of sub-state armed conflicts experienced in the post-Cold War period, as well as the widespread use of modern communication technologies by terrorist groups which latter (and their growing intertwining with organized crime) have been posing an increasingly significant security challenge since the 2000s, brought a new quality both in terms of scale and degree of

¹ Bevan, Robert: *The Destruction of Memory, Architecture at War*. London, Reaktion Books, 2006. 126.

targeting. Thus, the deeper analysis from the perspective of security policy of either the illicit trade in cultural property or the targeted attacks against built heritage has never been so relevant.

The dissertation focuses on two regions: the Middle East and Africa. This choice is justified by the fact that the ethnically and religiously diverse African continent, in many cases divided by artificial borders inherited from the colonial period, has become the other main scene of global jihad in the last decade, in addition to the Middle East, which had long been on the top of terrorism-related statistics. The social tensions, coupled with the high degree of poverty and the weakness and inadequacy of the state institutional systems in many countries, provide a favourable ground for the spread of various extremist views,² which, due to the region's proximity to Europe and its historical intertwining, must also be given an important place in European global politics.

In addition to exploring the security policy relevance of targeted attacks against cultural property in the context of armed violence, the research carried out in the framework of the dissertation puts also under scrutiny the existing and desirable military-security-policy-diplomatic instruments for prevention, mitigation and retribution at an international and national level. In the light of the above security developments, from the 2010s onwards, it can be observed that the international community has progressively included the issue in the international peace and security agenda, establishing a broadening toolkit involving military elements and touching upon the activities of peace and crisis response operations. In addition, in many cases, operational personnel are under increasing pressure from the public to respect and even proactively promote the observance of international law on the protection of cultural property, which draws attention to the unavoidable place of these criteria in operational planning.

The literature of security studies or military sciences, either Hungarian or international, has hardly if ever, dealt with the topic comprehensively. Thus, a wide-ranging theoretical analysis seems timely, which, in addition to expanding the palette of military sciences research in this direction, can also provide support in practical application, due to the international embeddedness of the Hungarian defence structure. There is no recipe for the complete elimination of related security policy threats: but in order to be able to develop response

² Marsai Viktor – Treszkai Ákos: Radikális iszlamista csoportok az afrikai kontinensen. In: Marsai Viktor (szerk.): *Afrika a globalizált világban. Lehetőségek és kihívások*. Budapest, Dialóg Campus Kiadó, 2019. 267-294.

mechanisms suitable for preventing, treating and mitigating their potential consequences, it is essential to understand the wider security policy context of the phenomena.

RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The *research aims* to be conducted in the framework of the dissertation:

1. Identification of the security challenges in relation to cultural property arising in the field of societal security as defined by the Copenhagen school as part of the sectoral approach to security.
2. Unfolding the security relevance of the targeted damage/destruction of immovable (built) cultural property in armed conflicts (driven by propagandistic goals or ideological reasons) and the illicit trade in movable cultural property, in addition to their connection with international terrorism and organized crime.
3. Examining the exposure of the African continent and the Middle East region from the point of security challenges related to cultural property in the light of the impacts of international terrorism in the last decade, as they include ethnically and religiously diverse, as well as economically and socially strongly fragmented countries.
4. Taking stock of international legal provisions, strategies, military and diplomatic instruments and other international projects relevant to security policy at the international (global or regional) level to respond to these security challenges, as well as examining their effectiveness in the framework of certain international security organizations; international organizations working in the field of crime prevention/law enforcement and customs; and within specialized international governmental and non-governmental organizations.
5. Examining the implementation of the international legal instruments and tools in the Hungarian legal system and their implementation in practice, as well as comparing it with Poland, which latter possesses the most significant relevant mission experience and dedicated institutional and legal frameworks in the V4 region. Based on the analysis and comparison, formulating proposals for the future.

In order to reach the above research aims, two *research questions* have been raised, which have been divided into five sub-questions:

1. *To what extent does the changed security environment of the 21st century pose a greater threat compared to previous centuries as regards cultural property in conflicts and crises?*

- 1.1. What kind of relation exists between the „new wars”, media-oriented terrorism, organized crime related to terrorism and fragile statehood and the threats to cultural property?
- 1.2. To what extent the African continent and the Middle East region is more exposed to this issue due to their religious, ethnic diversity?
2. *In what way can effective actions be taken in order to prevent, mitigate and retribute attacks on cultural property?*
 - 2.1. How has the international legal framework developed in this area?
 - 2.2. What toolkit do certain global/regional international security organizations and international non-governmental organizations have in order to address these security challenges?
 - 2.3. What tasks do the latter impose or what opportunities do they provide for (member) states?

HYPOTHESES

To respond to the research problem and research questions, the thesis is building on the below five *hypotheses*:

- H1. The examined international security challenges (“new wars”, media-oriented terrorism, and terrorism-related organized crime and fragile statehood) represent a major threat in terms of the destruction of cultural property or their illicit trade.
- H2. The ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse African continent and the Middle East region are particularly threatened in terms of the targeted destruction of cultural property and their illicit trade. This can be attributed, on the one hand, to weak state institutional frameworks, and, on the other hand, to internal armed violence often evolving along ethnic-religious fault lines, but religious-ethnic diversity alone does not justify greater exposure.
- H3. The development of the international legal framework specifically for preventing, mitigating and retributing attacks against cultural property during armed conflicts can be divided into three stages, which are determined by the Second World War, the Yugoslav wars and the terrorist activities in Mali and Iraq-Syria.
- H4. Since the 2010s, certain global/regional international security organizations have gradually started to securitize the issue of cultural property protection in conflicts and

crises, and at the same time they have been developing a more comprehensive diplomatic and security policy toolbox for action in this field.

H5. In relation to what was stated in hypotheses 3 and 4, in the light of changes in international law and international regimes, the majority of the relevant international legal regulations have been incorporated into the Hungarian legal system, however, their integration into practice both in terms of education, training and the institutional framework requires further development due to the country's international embeddedness.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research is carried out in the field of security studies, social sciences, and given the interdisciplinary nature of this field, it also uses methods and tools of the related fields of science.

The thesis is based on mixed methods research – collecting and analysing both quantitative and qualitative data – in order to examine the specific research problems as comprehensively as possible. I use the embedded type of the designs described by Alex Etl in the Hungarian literature based on the mixed methods research defined by John Creswell, giving priority to qualitative methods and using quantitative tools as a supplement.³ The thesis is primarily based on a wide range of primary and secondary sources in Hungarian, English, French and (in connection with the chapter concerning Poland) Polish, as well as the results of the empirical research described below. In addition, I have participated in several international courses, lectures and conferences closely related to the topic, the most important experiences of which I also included in the thesis.

The chapters are based on different research methods in order to examine the related hypotheses the most efficiently and thoroughly possible.

The statements made in hypotheses 1 and 2 are elaborated in chapter 2. Following the theoretical foundations set up based on the literature review, case studies are compiled using the process-tracing method that has become widespread in social sciences research (especially in the field of international studies). In my opinion, this method is suitable for a scientifically founded explanation of the relationship between new types of security challenges and attacks

³ Etl Alex: A biztonságpercepció elemzésének kevert módszere és a magyar biztonságpercepció vizsgálata. *Doktori (PhD) értekezés*, Budapest, Hadtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2021. 64-67.

against cultural property in conflict zones, while the case studies to be presented shed light on the exposure of the African continent and the Middle East region.

The purpose of the *theory-testing process-tracing method* based on deductive principles used in this dissertation is to examine in one or more specific cases the validity in practice of the causal mechanisms laid out at the theoretical level based on known literature and logical reasoning. Process-tracing makes it possible to reveal well-founded causal relationships regarding the implementation of certain processes in real cases. The focus of the analysis is not the investigation of the causes or the outcomes themselves, but the verification and study of the existence of a causal mechanism triggered by the causes and leading to the consequences – that is, the presumed causal process between the two endpoints.⁴ Theory-testing process-tracing is excellent for describing processes where, in the case to be investigated we can identify a (presumed) cause and a specific outcome/result and we assume that they are causally related. The analysis helps bring us closer to understanding how and why the given cause leads to the experienced consequence, with the help of which we can reveal a well-founded, generally applicable theoretical mechanism.

The analysis in this method of process-tracing consists of three elements: after setting up the theoretical concept for the mechanism, the mechanism is operationalized, and then, through the case study, it is supported by concrete facts and observable manifestations of the mechanism in practice. The case study investigates whether the assumed mechanism was present in the specific case and, if so, whether it worked as predicted. The casual mechanism is composed of parts that do not in themselves explain the path from the cause to the outcome, but are integral, non-omissible elements of the whole picture. These parts usually consist of entities (such as people, organizations and systems) and actions that are related to them.⁵ *Figure 2* of the thesis shows the process schematically.

⁴ Beach, Derek: Process-Tracing Methods in Social Science. *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, 25 January 2017. <https://oxfordre.com/politics/politics/abstract/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-176?rskey=UWrnSc&result=8#acrefore-9780190228637-e-176-div1-1> (Downloaded: 2022.03.22.)

⁵ Beach, Derek – Pedersen, Rasmus Brun: *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*. University of Michigan Press, 2019. 14-16., 23-67.

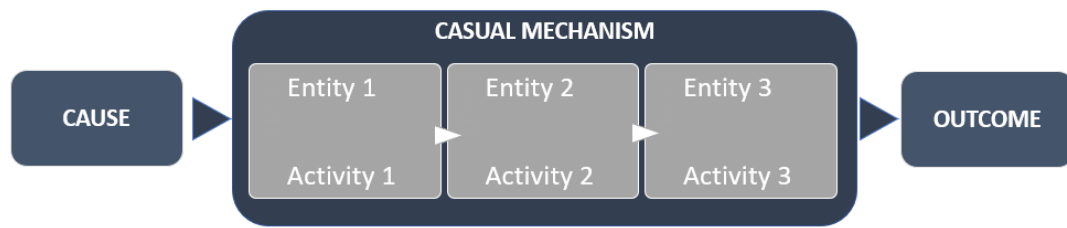


Figure 1: Model of the method of process-tracing (ed. by author)

In order to comprehensively present the international legal framework and outline its dynamics, chapter 3 – examining hypothesis 3 – is primarily based on document analysis (international conventions, related manuals on legal interpretation and application, criminal court judgments) and the processing of the relevant (primarily international) literature.

Reflecting on hypothesis 4, chapter 4 examines the securitization process taking place within the framework of certain global and regional international organizations in connection with cultural property protection in armed conflicts, based on three tools. Firstly, it analyses the strategic documents and other related, publicly available primary sources (legal acts, reports, guidelines, manuals, etc.), as well as uses the limited secondary sources on the subject. Secondly, it builds on a political discourse analysis research (regarding the United Nations [UN] and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]), carried out in the framework of the New National Excellence Program (ÚNKP) scholarship in the fall of 2019. Thirdly, it applies the results of an international questionnaire survey also carried out within the framework of the ÚNKP.

Based on the concept of securitization described by the researchers of the Copenhagen school and serving as one of the theoretical frameworks of the thesis, I examined through a qualitative discourse analysis the handling of the issue as a problem threatening international peace and security and the increasing international intention to set up new, more effective tools in this regard. In order to clearly define the data set, the analysis was carried out by the examination of the English language press releases published on the official websites of the United Nations (<https://www.un.org/press/en/>) and UNESCO (UNESCO main page [<https://en.unesco.org/news/>] and UNESCO World Heritage Centre's page [<https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/>]) between 1 April 2013 and 30 November 2017 (under search terms "cultural heritage" or "culture" and "Iraq" or "Syria"). The beginning of the time frame is justified by the establishment of ISIL (under this name) in April 2013, and its endpoint is explained by, on the one hand, the recapture of most of the territories previously controlled by

ISIL,⁶ and, on the other hand, the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 2347 (2017), presented in detail in the thesis. The latter, as the dissertation argues, can be seen as the culmination of the securitization process within the UN, which process can be interpreted especially in the light of the devastation caused by ISIL. A total of 41 press releases for UNESCO and 11 press releases for the UN were identified and analyzed, which contributed to the identification of the main themes of the related organization's narratives.

The questionnaire survey conducted throughout the spring of 2021, entitled "*International organizations' standards and experience in cultural property protection in operational environments*" examined the strategies, standards and activities of four international organizations defining European (Euro-Atlantic) security and defence architecture (and being identified by the National Security Strategy of Hungary) as regards cultural property protection in conflict prevention, crisis situations or post-conflict environments. The questionnaire was sent by e-mail to the heads of the relevant organizational units of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), European Union (EU) and Council of Europe (CoE). The representatives of the below units submitted a filled questionnaire:

- CoE Culture and Cultural Heritage Division;
- European Commission DG for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture in cooperation with DG HOME and EU EEAS;
- NATO Civil-Military Cooperation Centre of Excellence;
- OSCE Transnational Threats Department, Border Security and Management Unit.

The questionnaire examined the below six groups of questions:

1. Introduction (the definition of cultural property applied by the organization);
2. Relevant strategic documents & framework regulations;
3. Relevant operational experience of the organizations;
4. Cooperation & partnerships;
5. Recommendations or requirements for member states/member countries/participating states;
6. Education & Training.

⁶ 95 percent of the territories had been recaptured by December 2017; the prime minister of Iraq declared victory over ISIL on 9 December 2017. Source: Wilson Center: Timeline: the Rise, Spread, and Fall of the Islamic State. 28 October 2019. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/timeline-the-rise-spread-and-fall-the-islamic-state> (Downloaded: 2022.04.29.)

Within these groups, a total of 12 questions were defined according to the following distribution of types: 7 open-ended, 2 selective semi-closed and 3 alternative semi-closed. It can be seen that open-ended questions predominated, and in the case of closed-ended questions, the "other" category or the possibility of explaining the "yes" answer was ensured. This methodological approach was justified by the nature of the questionnaire, its distribution in a narrow circle, and its purpose: the survey wanted to obtain a comprehensive picture (rather than quantifiable data) to serve as an authentic basis for a qualitative comparison. The broader aim of the questionnaire survey was to investigate with empirical data that:

1. What role CPP has in security policy or defence strategies, guidelines and in the operational experience of the examined organizations.
2. What standards exist within the examined organizations as regards CPP that member states/member countries/participating states⁷ shall conform with either during the training of the security forces personnel, the establishment of regulations for special legal order or as for the deployment of personnel in peace operations.
3. What objectives and priorities the examined organizations have in the development of CPP within their activities for the future.

The provability of hypothesis 5 is elaborated in chapter 5, also partly based on document analysis (relevant legislation, possibly existing guidelines), as well as on consultations with specialists involved in practice in the domestic context, in order to be able to detect the awareness of cultural property protection from a national defence point of view, the priorities and already existing toolkit, as well as the possibilities for the future.

SUMMARY OF THE ANALYTICAL CHAPTERS

After the introductory thoughts and literature review, the first chapter of the thesis outlined the theoretical frameworks applied (societal security, securitization, soft power) and laid down the geographical-conceptual scope, with a special emphasis on the differentiation between the term cultural property used by the dissertation, and the broader concept of cultural heritage.

The second chapter of the thesis, after reviewing the historical antecedents, covered those security challenges rooted in the post-bipolar era, which significantly contributed to the increase in threats to cultural property on a global level in recent decades. Within this framework, new

⁷ The EU and the Council of Europe uses the terminology "member state", the NATO "member country", the OSCE "participating country" for describing their members.

types of armed conflicts, media-oriented terrorism, as well as fragile statehood, organized crime and its connections with terrorism were analysed in separate subchapters. The analysis of the security challenges was respectively accompanied by case studies concerning the armed conflicts of the last decade on the African continent and in the Middle East region (Mali, Iraq-Syria, Libya).

The third chapter reviewed the international conventions that, starting from the beginning of the 20th century – and developing continuously – ensure the protection of movable and immovable cultural property during armed conflicts, as well as the international legal framework for actions against the illicit trade in artefacts. In addition, the chapter listed the past experiences and effective legal frames of criminal prosecution through the jurisprudence of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and the International Criminal Court (ICC).

The fourth chapter examined how, as a result of the increasing level of international terrorism, a certain securitization process can be experienced in the protection of cultural property at the international level and how individual different (security, law enforcement, cultural) organizations have developed their tool system, which ultimately leads us to the establishment of the still-forming "cultural peacekeeping" concept. In terms of global organizations, the UN and UNESCO were presented, among European/Euro-Atlantic security organizations, NATO, EU, ET, OSCE, and outside Europe, the African Union, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Arab League and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) were analysed. As regards crime prevention, law enforcement and customs duties at an international level, the activities of INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization), Europol (European Police Office), WCO (World Customs Organization) and UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime) were discussed in the thesis. Finally, among the international non-governmental organizations, Blue Shield International (BSI), International Council on Museums (ICOM) and International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) were presented.

The fifth chapter examined the national-level incorporation and possibilities of practical implementation of the international legal frameworks and tools outlined above concerning Hungary and Poland. This was supplemented by a brief comparison of the two Central European countries' relevant legal and institutional systems, as well as their related foreign policy priorities. Due to the regional connectivity and historical parallels on the one hand, and Poland's significant mission experience in the field of protecting cultural property in conflict

zones on the other hand, as well as because of its dedicated national-level institutional and regulatory framework, it can set an example for other countries in the region as a relevant best practice.

Finally, the thesis was closed by the sixth chapter, which summarized the results of the research carried out in the framework of the thesis and reviewed the fulfilment of the hypotheses formulated in the introduction. In addition, it articulated the new scientific results and their practical applicability, as well as further possible research directions.

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

The research carried out in the framework of the thesis sought to answer two research questions, broken down into further sub-questions. On the one hand, after a brief historical introduction, the analysis of the security challenges that have become decisive in the 21st century, based on a review of the security policy literature, and the case studies from the African continent and the Middle East region, aimed to reveal what impact today's changed security environment has, and to what extent it poses a greater-than-before security threat to cultural property in conflicts and crises. The research established that the examined security challenges – namely new types of armed conflicts ("new wars"), (media-oriented) terrorism, fragile statehood and, in this context, the intertwining of organized crime and terrorism – represent an increasing threat in relation to the preservation of built or immovable heritage.

This can be attributed, on the one hand, to the close connection of these challenges with (religious/ethnic) identity, so that certain (built) elements of cultural heritage can become strategic tools of psychological warfare due to their powerful identity-forming function (and with it the visually "spectacular" nature of the attacks). The motivation for this may be to break the morale of the enemy, to represent cultural, moral as well as physical superiority, to attract and intimidate the attention of local or international public opinion (due to the news value of these attacks), as well as to highlight the lack of capacity of political or institutional actors. In extreme cases, attacks against cultural property can be a predictor or an accompanying element of ethnic cleansing, as evidenced by several examples in recent decades. As a result, politicians increasingly use the terms of "*cultural cleansing*" or "*cultural genocide*" – which otherwise lack a legal basis. Given the central role and primary threat of (community) identity, the security challenges related to cultural property can be interpreted within the concept of societal security formulated by the Copenhagen school reflecting on the processes of the post-bipolar era. At the same time, these trends support the *raison d'être* of setting out societal security from the sectoral

approach and making society an independent referent object of security. And although – as the literature and the case studies revealed – the fault lines within a society along identity do not in themselves lead to the escalation of social tensions into violent conflict, they have a significant mobilizing power when connected to other (for example, economic, political) differences and grievances.

On the other hand, due to the change in the nature of armed conflicts, and in it, the increase in the number of non-state actors and the significant scale of their cross-border activity – also benefiting from the achievements of globalization (for example, the use of modern information and communication technologies in trade) – the illicit trade in cultural property is also a growing security challenge. Since the 2000s, the intertwining of transnational organized crime and terrorism can be observed, which, together with the exploitation of fragile statehood, requires complex international solutions, because the illicit trade in artefacts can also facilitate the financing of the operations of armed and terrorist groups, as well as posing a decades-lasting problem due to the characteristics of the market. This was most clearly illustrated by the example of ISIL in Syria and Iraq, but as the Libyan case study has shown, that is not an isolated example. Although expert opinions are divided as to whether its role in terrorist financing really represents a significant problem, or it constitutes only a negligible segment of the black market for artefacts – nevertheless it proved to be a good "buzzword" for increased international mobilization.

As regards the two issues under analysis (targeted attacks against built heritage and the illicit trade in artefacts, its correlations with terrorism), the African continent and the Middle East include particularly sensitive regions. This can be attributed, on the one hand, to the religious-ethnic diversity present in the case of most countries of the regions, and, on the other hand, to the particularly large exposure to fragile statehood, terrorism and organized crime, as underlined by different international statistics. The case studies selected from the last few years' events by their volume and attention received from the international community, also shed light on the place of this problem area in the wider security policy context of the regions.

The current international legal foundations for the protection of cultural property during armed conflicts were created after the Second World War, while the first international convention on global action against illicit trade was established in 1970. However, the changing security environment since the 1990s laid the need for reforms in both areas. From the 2010s onwards, international terrorism became more and more dominant, and in this context both the targeted destruction of built heritage reaching new volumes and the illicit trade in artefacts

called for new international legal responses. As a result, the Nicosia Convention was adopted in 2017 – to which Hungary was the first Central European country to join – but we do not yet have information on its effectiveness in practice. At the same time, the intentionally directed attacks on cultural property have also appeared as a war crime in criminal prosecution at the international level. The ICC's commitment to the topic can also be a reason for confidence regarding the future, although the limited number of ratifications of the Rome Statute makes the possibility of an investigation almost impossible in some cases.

Since the 2010s – as a result of the destructions of Ansar Dine in Timbuktu, and especially that of ISIL in Iraq and Syria, as well as the related threat of the increase in the illicit trafficking in artefacts – the protection of cultural property has been gradually included on the international peace and security agenda of the UN and the examined European/Euro-Atlantic security organizations. This securitization process can be well described, for example, through the rhetoric of the leaders of the UN and UNESCO, the latter encouraging the process on a global level from a professional point of view, in the light of the decisions and a dedicated soft power instrument system, often promoting multilateral actions. As the culmination of the securitization process, the integration of some aspects of cultural property protection into peacekeeping has become a priority issue for the examined global and European/Euro-Atlantic international organizations in recent years, although the first manifestations of this – not yet institutionalized or explicitly included in the mission mandate – could be already detected in the nineties (for example, KFOR [Kosovo Force]). MINUSMA (UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali), which has been operating in Mali since 2013, is the first UN peacekeeping operation that included in its mandate the performance of tasks related to this area. At the regional organizational level, we can also see a similar example in the case of the EU in relation to Iraq from 2017. The cooperation between the heritage protection and military sectors has become particularly important, in order to integrate aspects of cultural property protection into mission capacity-building, education and training (for example, regarding mission preparation). Because, as several organizations have recognized, the protection of cultural property in the operational environment also has an important (and double-edged) role in relation to strategic communication. While effective protection and support can strengthen the positive perception and legitimacy of the mission/operation by promoting trust-building, unsuccessful action can set back the results of the mission/operation and significantly withdraw the support of the (either local or international) public.

Examining the international embeddedness of Hungary – and especially comparing it with Poland –, it can be seen that it has joined all of the relevant international conventions uniquely in the region, and except the Rome Statute, they have also been incorporated into the national legal system. However, as far as the implementation of international legal regulations (especially the much-cited Hague Convention) is concerned, in the case of Hungary, there are still gaps at several points, and a dedicated institutional background is not available or has been eliminated. While in the case of Poland, the declared commitment regarding cultural property protection in conflicts and crises seems to be a soft power tool used on the international stage, Hungary emphasizes the protection of (mainly) Christian (whether intangible or built) heritage and its restoration in post-conflict situations rather within the framework of its international humanitarian and development activities, also as a kind of soft power, "segment diplomacy" tool.

NEW SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

1. I was the first to prepare a comprehensive, Hungarian-language analysis of the security policy and military science-related issues of cultural property protection, contributing to the integration of the subject into the Hungarian social science literature. It was conducted in relation to the most important international security challenges of the post-Cold War period, by processing a wide range of international literature.
2. Using a theory-testing process-tracing method, I verified through the examples of Mali, Libya, Iraq and Syria that some international security challenges – new types of armed conflicts; media-oriented terrorism; and the intertwining of fragile statehood, terrorism and organized crime – has led to the appreciation of the strategic-tactical role of cultural property.
3. I have systematized both the effective international legal frameworks for the protection of cultural property during armed conflicts and for the actions against their illicit trade, as well as the experiences of international criminal prosecution. At the same time, I verified that they are constantly adapting and developing by reflecting on the changes in the security environment.
4. I have established that the securitization of cultural property protection has taken place in the last decade as a counter-effect of the increasing level of international (especially Islamist) terrorism. I have shown that this security challenge, which can be interpreted

in the context of societal security, can be observed in two dimensions: on the one hand, in connection with the targeted attacks against the built heritage supporting the narrative of the opposing parties/terrorist organizations, and on the other hand, in connection with the illicit trade in movable cultural property and its potential role in terrorist financing. Taking these into account, I proved that these phenomena have caused a process of securitization of varying degrees in the framework of different international organizations – such as the UN, NATO, CoE, EU, OSCE and UNESCO – in the period following the Arab Spring.

5. By outlining two national-level – Hungarian and Polish – case studies, I proved that the implementation of the ratified international conventions shows certain shortcomings at the legal and institutional level. At the same time, the short analysis also pointed out that, on the international stage, the commitment and involvement in cultural property protection (in conflicts and crises) can also be a realistic and effective soft power tool for small countries as an example of "segment diplomacy", so that a state can become an actor beyond its power in a given area on the global scene.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Due to their interdisciplinary nature, the results of the research conducted in the framework of the thesis can be used in several areas. Regarding the security policy aspects of cultural property protection, the possibilities of international security cooperation in this regard, as well as the current status of the related international humanitarian law and its implementation at a national level, there is limited or almost no literature available in Hungarian, so the dissertation can serve as a reference point for researchers and professionals interested in the topic in the future.

The results of the research can be used on the one hand in university education, especially in the context of bachelor's and master's courses in international studies and security and defence policy, either for a broader analysis of the societal sector of security, or for a deeper understanding of the cultural dimension of peacekeeping. On the other hand, the results of the thesis can also be used in the training and mission preparation of the professional staff of the Hungarian Armed Forces, taking into account the active role of Hungary in the missions and operations of different international organizations (UN, NATO, EU) that are more and more engaged in this field. Thus, this knowledge can be incorporated especially into the framework

of officer training at the National University of Public Service Faculty of Military Science and Officer Training or the Peace Support Training Centre of the Hungarian Armed Forces in order to learn about the cultural property dimension of international humanitarian law and NATO's guidelines for the protection of cultural property. In addition, the research can also be used in training and the preparation of policy decisions in the framework of ministries responsible for foreign affairs as well as cultural heritage protection, as regards the relevant international organizations, and this special field of defence and cultural diplomacy, as well as the protection of monuments and artefacts.

Given the lack of domestic literature that covers the field from a security policy/military approach, the thesis aims to provide the widest possible range of knowledge and analysis in terms of threats to cultural property in conflicts and crises and the possibilities of its protection. Due to the broad spectrum of the research, the scope and the coherence of the thesis did not allow for a more detailed analysis of each sub-question, which nevertheless holds research possibilities for the future. Thus, some examples that may be the subject of independent research in the future: the elaboration of relevant practical experiences of particular international security organizations; or an analysis of the armed forces of nations possessing significant operational experience and, in some cases, a specialized unit in the field of cultural property protection. With regard to the geographical scope of the research, the Asian continent was not part of the research, which nevertheless may also be a relevant area of investigation due to its security dynamics and ethnic-religious diversity.

LIST OF THE AUTHOR'S RELATED PUBLICATIONS

Puskás Anna: Kulturális javak keresztútzben: a társadalmi biztonság fogalmi keretének bővítési lehetőségei. In: Szelei Ildikó (szerk.): *A hadtudomány aktuális kérdései napjainkban II. kötet*. Budapest, Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, 2022. 141-153.

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SHORT ACADEMIC BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Anna Puskás was born in 1992 in Budapest. She graduated from the National University of Public Service (NUPS) with a bachelor's degree in international administration in 2014 and a master's degree in international public service relations with a specialization in security studies in 2016. During her studies, she spent a semester in France at the Faculty of Law of the Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour as part of the Erasmus programme. Since 2021, she has been also studying at the Eszterházy Károly Catholic University for a master's degree in cultural heritage studies. During her studies, she completed an internship amongst others at the online foreign policy news portal Kitekintő.hu, as well as at the Permanent Delegation of Hungary to the OECD and UNESCO in Paris. Throughout her university studies, she received a Scholarship of the Republic of Hungary twice (in the 2012/13 and 2013/14 academic years), and in 2017, with her thesis "*Protection of cultural property in the light of new types of security challenges - Case study: Mali*", she took 2nd place at the National Academic Students' Association Conference in the International Security section.

After graduation, she worked at the World Heritage Unit of the Prime Minister's Office (2017-2019), where she participated in the implementation of tasks and projects resulting from various international conventions on cultural heritage. She then worked as an officer for world heritage management and later as an officer for strategic affairs at the Castle Headquarters Integrated Regional Development Centre Non-profit Ltd (2019-2022) within the framework of the unit managing the Budapest World Heritage site. In addition, for several years she has been participating as a volunteer for the Centre for Contemporary Architecture in the professional preparation of community-based events organized around the capital's built heritage.

She is a doctoral student at NUPS Doctoral School of Military Sciences since 2018. During her doctoral studies, she was a fellow of the New National Excellence Program two times (in the 2019/20 and 2020/21 academic years). Throughout this time, she has also participated in different international professional training courses. She holds an advanced-level language exam in English and French and has basic language skills in Russian.

She is a member of the Military Science Department of the National Association of Doctoral Students, the Civilian-Military Relations Department of the Hungarian Military Science Association and the Pulszky Society – Hungarian Museum Association.

She is the author of 8 Hungarian and 4 English publications, which are listed in the Database of Hungarian Scholarly Works (MTMT).