



**Zrínyi Miklós National Defense University
Kossuth Lajos Military Science Faculty
Doctoral Council**

AUTHOR'S SUMMARY

**Determinant significance of the national security services in the
21st century security system of the Republic of Hungary**

Miklós A. Várhalmi

Project Manager: Colonel (Ret) Docent Habil István Héjja, Ph.D.

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1. Formulation of the academic problem

The new national security risks, challenges and threats that appeared after 1990 and changed in their structure and weight, have – for the 21st century – demanded also in Hungary a more rational and task-oriented, more rapidly acting and more economical defense and interest-enforcing system, with special regard to the Hungarian national security services. The divided national security institution system established during the political change of system – and further polarized in the summer of 2010 – is incapable to satisfactorily ensure the most efficient and optimal use of the resources available for Hungary’s defense and interest-enforcement, as well as to provide an appropriate governmental strategic planning, with special regard to the changed security challenges emerged in the 21st century.

In my dissertation, I wish to draw attention – in a comprehensive way – to the fact that due to the new security challenges, risks and threats, as well as to the altered defense situation and the new structure and activity evolved in some countries, including Hungary, the tasks of the national security services (secret services) have significantly changed and they have an increasing role. In harmony with the above changes, we need a paradigm change, “a national security-conscious approach and way of thinking” and practice.

I wish to shed light first of all on the new reality that the unnecessary overlapping and parallelism existing among the national security services and the other actors of the Hungarian defense system, as well as the decentralized cooperation (which hinder a prompt and flexible reaction) demand the revision and the urgent actualization of the whole security-defense system, especially including the re-examination of the services’ activity and “embedding” in the society. I hope that my innovative thoughts and academic results – through the debates provoked by them – will contribute to creating a more stable security policy future in our country.

Within the relationship established by the national security services with each other and other actors of the defense sector and with their international partners, it is a most important factor the

flexible, prompt and easy-to-organized, rapidly reacting operative cooperation – capable of meeting the foreseeable and unexpected security challenges and suitable for adapting to the expected dynamical changes of these challenges – with all interested organizations and their members. Instead of applying after-treatments on the consequences caused by the sources of threats, it is essential to place emphasis on prevention, which can be realized primarily and more effectively by involving the national security services, taking into account that a significant part of the new challenges are latent.

2. Aims of research

In full compliance with the textual and formal requirements set forth in the Ph.D. Regulations of the Zrínyi Miklós National Defense University, and based on my knowledge gained during my Ph.D. studies, my primary aim (while elaborating this dissertation) was to call attention, in a wide and many-sided manner, to the prominent role played by the national security (secret service) activity, and to the factors negatively influencing the efficiency of our services, furthermore to the strategic importance of pursuing a system-oriented information collection and complex information management (gathering-systemizing-registering-elaborating-using the obtained pieces of information).

In my essay I intended to “underpin” and prove (as widely as possible) the important role and significance represented by the intelligence/reconnaissance and the information collection, emphasizing that this is one of the most powerful resources of the 21st century for nation-states and international alliances to ensure their viability, efficiency and their future prosperity. In this regard, it is worth quoting the opinion of Former American Defense Minister Donald H. Rumsfeld on the comprehensive nature of security in our present and future world: “A world of uncertainty, in which we have to defend ourselves from the unknown, the uncertain, the invisible and the unexpected”.

After having successfully defended my dissertation, I will publish my academic results in the form of a book, addressing all interested people, the expert politicians, the members of our services, bringing “the services’ world” closer to the citizens who want to read about this topic. Besides, it is my hope that my work will help the students in their studies pursued at the security policy and military science, police and national security-related educational institutions. In elaborating my dissertation, I tried to ensure that the innovative elements incorporated in my work be applicable in a wider spectrum of practice.

3. Hypotheses

- a. The management of the challenges posed to our country increasingly requires the activities, capabilities and procedures of the national security services, with special regard to the changes occurred in the challenges’ structure and nature, and to the vanishing “borderlines” between the different risks, as well as to the complexity of their interrelation.
- b. The currently valid legal regulation has set up and operated – in consequence of the political motivations deriving from the system change – partitioned institution system in the field of security and defense policy, and divided spheres of authority in the field of governance, which holds true also for the national security management. In order to assert more efficiently Hungary’s national security interests, it is imperative for us to improve the governmental-level cooperation in the field of security and defense policy and within

this, the national security management, especially in the field of analyzes-assessment and reporting.

- c. Nowadays, the fight against the new challenges – since they appear often simultaneously and are enforcing each other – can be more efficiently conducted through a complex cooperation among the defense administration organs and our socio-economic organizations, in accordance with the integrated security policy objectives.
- d. Taking into account the dynamic security policy processes affecting our country, it is an important task of every Hungarian government to build up and maintain a strategic system-oriented hierarchical mechanism, in harmony with the national development objectives. Based on the place Hungary occupies in the international power-relation system and on its socio-economic situation, the actualization of a comprehensive Hungarian strategy – during the elaboration of the security-related strategies – is just as indispensable as the long awaited formulation of the ensuing, mutually harmonized sectoral security strategies, among them the revision of the sectoral national security strategy. The governmental adoption of this latter document – in addition that it improves the public acceptance of the security institutions – can help the services to utilize more efficiently their rather limited financial resources.

4. Methods of research

I made efforts to underline in a many-sided way my innovative thoughts, conclusions, proposals, recommendations, academic objectives and hypotheses by utilizing the relevant literature and the available open sources.

During the elaboration of my topic, I took a general and a topic-specific approach as well, applying such academic methods that are generally used in social science, but I kept in mind also the special features of the analyzed subject. Among from the general research methods I used the historical and comparative ones to analyze the changes in the security environment and the secret service activities, with the help of the specific professional literature. Beyond the analyses based on this literature (carefully selected, gathered and studied), I systemized – by applying deductive and inductive procedures – the texts that are closely linked to my academic objectives and are necessary for the syntheses. Finally, I built up my hypotheses and objectives as well as their confirmation by resorting to many analogies. It was in this way that I succeeded to formulate my academic results.

5. Short description by chapters of the research work

The 1st chapter describes the establishment process and the main features of our national security services by outlining their legal and operational place in the Hungarian security system as a whole. Examining the services' governmental management and parliamentary control, I paid special attention to the experiences gained during the last two decades, to the issues regarding the cooperation among the national security, military and other security organs, as well as to the major attempts made after the system change to introduce institutional reforms into the field of national security management.

The 2nd chapter reviews the modification in the notion of security, with special regard to its enlarged, comprehensive nature, as well as to the new challenges that are affecting all spheres of our present life. This chapter enumerates the challenges emerged in the security environment of

the Republic of Hungary and the multiple present and potential threats that are to be faced by our national security services. As regards the global aspects, the dissertation dedicated a separated space to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the instable regions, the failed states, the illegal migration, the economic and energy security and the activities of foreign secret services against the Hungarian security interests, the challenges of the information society, as well as the environmental, social and health threats. Having assessed the regional challenges affecting our country, I dealt with the risks deriving from the socio-economic circumstances of the Republic of Hungary and devoted a separated sub-chapter to the domestic factors that threaten the Hungarian economic and financial stability, to the organized crime, as well as to the activity pursued by political extremists.

The 3rd chapter deals with the change in the notion and content of the two secret service branches: the intelligence/reconnaissance and counter-intelligence, highlighting the changes of the past decades in the services' work and the modification of the ratio between technical and human operative means. This part gives a thorough examination to the governmental expectations concerning the national security services and points out the central role of their social relation system and the internal political and economic factors influencing their efficiency.

The 4th chapter assesses – from the standpoint of the services' operational areas and tasks – the actual conclusions drawn in the most important international and Hungarian security and defense policy documents, which can be in connection (in some way) with the security of the Republic of Hungary. One of the special features of my dissertation is the assessment (made from the point of view of protecting and asserting the Hungarian national security interests) on the US document forecasting the global security policy trends for the next 25 years. (This document has not been published yet in Hungarian translation.) This chapter places stress on reviewing the basic security and defense policy documents adopted in the past one and a half decade; on examining the areas connected with the national security services' activities and determining the necessary and possible updating of these areas. It is perhaps the most innovative part of my dissertation in which I made recommendations concerning the updating of our national security strategy and the formulation of the ensuing sectoral strategies, whose elaboration was stipulated in the national security strategy, but they have not been adopted until now.

The 5th (last) chapter summarizes the conclusions I drawn in the preceding chapters and the new academic results obtained through my research work and analyzes, on the basis of these results. I made recommendations on their practical application as well.

6. Summarized conclusions

6.1. Owing to Hungary's continuously increasing international commitments, we have to face numerous global or regional challenges that may affect even our country. The effective management of their majority – in view of the global or regional factors that trigger the threats – points far beyond (on many occasions) the nation-state's possibilities and range of action. However, it is an important task of every government to minimize the number of threats. It is a significant aspect of the greater parts of global and regional threats affecting also our country (and described in detail in my dissertation) that they appear in such a way to mutually influence or strengthen each other. All this – within the Alliance's dimension – makes it necessary for nation-states to manage in a complex manner the political, military political, economic, social and environmental dimensions of the threats.

6.2. The notion of security has been enlarged with such a comprehensive content during the last two decades to encompass among others: the comprehensive preservation and defense of the

country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the exercise of fundamental human rights, the multi-party representative democracy and the constitutional institutions, as well as the enforcement of our country's political, economic and military interests. The dynamically changing international processes and their social and economic effect (experienced also in our country) clearly indicate that Hungary's security means not only a static stage, but a system of objectives necessitating a dynamic adaptation to the new situations, which cannot be achieved without a continuous and innovative activity pursued by the government. The government is able to avert the negative effects of the challenges only if it has appropriate pieces of information for taking the necessary counter-measures.

6.3. The successful management of threats posed to our country can not be realized without a continuous development of the institutional systems, including the national security one. For the national reaction to security challenges to be successful, it is indispensable to take coordinated governmental measures, supported also by the society, and to purposefully develop and renew the available resources and capabilities. All this – in view of the strongly divided Hungarian national security institution structure – raises the issue of creating an all-governmental analyzing-assessing and coordinating body belonging to the Prime Minister's Office or to the Ministry of Administration and Justice. This body could constitute also the central element in the strategic-level planning of medium and long term tasks to be carried out by the Hungarian intelligence and security services.

6.4. It increases the importance of security and defense coordination at national level that the current legal regulations have established and maintain – due to historical and political reasons – a partitioned institution system in the field of security and defense and divided spheres of authority in the area of governmental management. Within the Hungarian defense management, the last years have set such new expectations – and accordingly new national security tasks – that make it even more necessary in the future to further develop the task-oriented working relations among the civil and military national security services, the military, and the other security (police) organizations. In forming these relations, it is a fundamental principle for the organizations, which have collected the security-related diplomatic, intelligence etc. information, to send it in time to those competent organs that can use it really efficiently in the all-governmental work.

6.5. In order to make more efficient the work of the organizations that take part in preparing governmental decisions and executing security political tasks, the multi-channel defense administration system raises the question of strengthening the institutionalized coordination in the field of information assessment and reporting, as well as setting up an integrated defense database (knowledge-base). It is but natural that we cannot allow the above concrete organizational measures to endanger the efficient operation of the existing reporting channels built up among the national security and other security (police) organizations and the governmental institutions that utilize the information.

6.6. In consequence of the security challenges that cross national borders and touch upon in some way also the Hungarian international commitments, it constitutes a decisive task in the times ahead to strengthen further our partner relationship with the national security services from EU and NATO member states. It should be underlined that the strategic objectives set by NATO or by EU (in its common security and defense policy) can be only achieved if the ambitions are in harmony with the member states' intelligence capabilities. In this regard, the Hungarian services can provide a real added value – relying on their historical relations and operative activities continued during the last two decades in certain directions – by utilizing their information and assessments deriving from these directions.

6.7. For the Hungarian national security services pursuing strategic cooperation with international and regional security services from the Euro-Atlantic alliance system, it remains a priority task to keep an eye on the events evolving in the crisis-zones of our neighborhood and in other instable regions, with due regard to ensuring our successful participation in peace-making and peacekeeping missions, as well as to preventing or managing the crisis that endanger the stability of Hungary's geopolitical environment. Hungary is strongly interested in convincing NATO about the necessity to preserve its role in the maintenance of security in the South-European area and develop its existing strategic partnership with Russia. In the future, the tasks stemming from the above areas will continue to constitute the primary elements of the Hungarian national security services' activities.

6.8. In planning the international dimension of defense policy, every Hungarian government should take uninterruptedly into consideration that our country – for its allied policy and geopolitical situation – has been situated from security aspect in the point of intersection of opposing effects. It has to simultaneously face in its environment favorable and unfavorable effects. In classical term of national security activity this means that in some cases it cooperates with certain countries (for example in the fight against terrorism and organized crime), but at the same time, confronts them in political, economic or military fields. Owing to historically inherited or newly emerged confrontations, the Hungarian security services have to count even in the long term with this duality, while continuing international partnership cooperation or defending our country against the secret service activities by some states from our region.

6.9. The new-type challenges make it compulsory for our national security services to continuously develop and intensively coordinate their human and technical capabilities, in the field of information collection and analyses/assessment alike. It is rather evident that during the last decades, also in the secret service activities, the use of technical means has become dominant, thanks to the sweeping spread of information equipment, to the aim to minimize the risks and overcome more easily geographical distances. Among others, taking as an example the experiences gained during the fight on terrorism or organized crime (and considering that the use of modern telecommunications devices is, for security reasons, avoided by some ethnically closed organizations), we have to emphasize that the direct human intelligence and network building, the agent work and the human resources cannot be completely replaced by technical methods in the 21st century either.

6.10. The security risks, threats, challenges and sources of threat, which have been changing since 1990 in their structure and weight, demand a more promptly reacting and more economically functioning, more task-oriented defense and interest enforcing system. Within this system, the national security services have a decisive role; however, their efficient functioning cannot be imagined without a strategic-level planning that takes into account our fundamental national interests and the all-governmental objectives set to protect them. With the purposeful achievement of the objectives set forth in the national security sectoral strategy, the utilization of the financial resources available for the national security tasks can be optimized. Repeatedly postponing the formulation of sectoral strategies (stemming from the national security strategy) can exercise negative effects on the several security sectors, even in such a way to hinder to create a unified concept in the field of national security as a whole.

6.11. The efficient functioning of our national security services is inconceivable without a satisfactory support provided by the society. Their successful functioning is significantly limited by the fact that the scandals connected with the atrocities committed by their legal predecessor: the III. State Security Directorate of the Interior Ministry, and the unlawful use of the former services for party purposes have continuously been on the agenda of home political struggle. Progress in this area has become even more difficult, because the governments that followed each

other after the political system change have had no substantial PR-policy that could develop the relations between our services and the population. An open decree on the issue could faithfully inform our interested citizens about the real nature of our services' main activities, helping the citizens to identify themselves with the aims published in the decree. There is a need to make the society understood that the information-centric activity pursued under democratic circumstances is not other than a valuable governmental provision aimed at ensuring protection and security and contributing to the political and social decision-making processes. In strengthening the national security-conscious thinking of our citizens, the government has to call their attention to the fact that in the era of information revolution and information society, the pieces of information, which help asserting our national interests, have become valuable competitive factors. In this aspect, we must highlight that any information assisting decision-taking plays just as a principal role in the today's world as the material and the energy.

6.12. The government should determine the main tasks in the sectoral national security strategies by taking into account the actual security, social and economic situation in our country, as well as the consideration that the strategy should remain valid through several governmental cycles. It should clearly indicate – besides the general aspects and tasks – the activity which our country (based on its historical experiences and geopolitical possibilities) plans to undertake; for example such an activity as its commitment to help stabilizing the Balkans.

6.13. The successful accomplishment of the tasks set forth in the sectoral national security strategy cannot be imagined without suitable financial resources. The high qualification, probity and professional requirements, the limitation of civil rights of the services' members should be proportionate to their social and financial appreciation, ensuring them a stable career and a decent life. The unfavorable Hungarian economic processes of the last years have shed the light on the fact that in a crisis period, when the state financial situation is exposed to dangerous tendencies, the cost of collecting information for setting the economy on a restoring course and defending our country against foreign financial speculations, does not make up even a small part of the losses suffered by the country. And not mentioning the other unfavorable economic and social effects deriving from the deterioration of the budgetary situation!

6.14. In view of the dynamically changing security policy processes and based on our social and economic situation, every Hungarian government must consider it as an important task to set up a system-oriented strategic hierarchy-mechanism that is in full harmony with the national development objectives. The harmony among the strategic-level documents worded during the succeeding governmental cycles must be ensured also under the conditions of "party-rotations" characteristic of the democratic political systems. The updating of national security strategy is as an important part of this process as the formulation of the long-awaited sectoral strategies (that are built on the national strategy and have to be in harmony with each other), among them the sectoral national security, police and crisis management strategies. The existence of the sectoral strategies may help the national security services to spend more efficiently their available financial resources. Taking into consideration the fact that it is a decisive aspect of a strategic document to be able to adapt flexibly and promptly to the changing processes, it constitutes a primary task for the government and the services to follow with attention the security policy factors specified in the document and, if necessary, actualize the objectives included therein.

7. New academic results

Before summarizing my new academic results, I find it important to emphasize that **I have introduced some new professional terminologies, which express my innovative approach.** From among them, I should like to mention the terms of **national security values, national**

security-conscious approach and thinking, as well as national security database (knowledge-base). These “notional building stones” have had a determinant role in formulating my new academic results gained from the summarized conclusions of my dissertation.

7.1. *I have revealed and proved:* The new challenges facing our country have revaluated – compared to the former period of time – the defense and interest-enforcement role played by national security services, as well as the further development of their relevant activities in the fields of their social and administrative linkage and embedding.

Explanation and justification: The governments dynamically adapting to the changing international conditions recognize the revaluation and usefulness of their secret services in facing the present and future domestic and foreign challenges, being well-aware of the reality that this constitutes a competitive factor and a viability indicator. Accordingly, there is no an appropriate, high-level secret service activity without a national security-conscious approach and thinking. The complex challenges affecting our country – the majority of which requires a selective approach – have revaluated the interest-enforcement capability of our national security services and the necessity to develop further this capability. All this calls for a more marked national security-conscious thinking and activity to link better the services to the society, and even to embed them in it. Furthermore, the services, in addition to preventing dangers and gathering information to elaborate governmental decisions, have to make major efforts to influence and enforce those circumstances that help the accomplishment of these decisions. However, to do so it necessitates also in the area of national security activities a paradigm change, which places to the front the innovative strategic-level planning. The aim to improve the interest-enforcement capability makes it imperative for the services to create a more organized and coordinated, a more purposeful and program-harmonized cooperation with the social, economic, scientific etc. fields. This would significantly help reducing the detrimental effect of the global security policy, political, social and economic risks, while we could strengthen certain elements of our complex development.

7.2. *I have analyzed and verified:* A well-considered governmental communication, which promotes the services’ positive popular acceptance and increases their efficiency as well, could provide an exact and professionally objective picture of the main tasks of the national security services, facilitating for the Hungarian citizens to identify themselves with the strategic objectives set for the services.

Explanation and justification: The many-sided cooperation of our national security services with the society has a decisive role in their efficiency and in the utilization-degree of their results. The services – under democratic conditions ensuring press freedom and publicity – can expect a critical attitude towards their activity, due to their unfavorable historical inheritance. An effective governmental PR-campaign promoting the realization of the services’ interests (including the elaboration of a national security strategy and its edition in an openly published decree), and a visible interest-enforcing work of the given offices could provide the citizens with objective, professionally exact and motivated information on the main aspects of national security activity, facilitating for the citizens to identify themselves with the aims determined for the services. We must make it clear to the society that the information-centric activity pursued under democratic circumstances is not other than a part of the governmental provisions aimed at protecting the citizens’ interests, ensuring defense and security and helping decision-taking processes.

7.3. *I have analyzed and formulated:* The institutional background of our defense management system needs further development, in the course of which the creation of an institutionalized coordination – that could assume also a role of preparing governmental decisions – cannot be imagined without an integrated national security database (knowledge base), operating on the basis of a unified security approach and practice.

Explanation and justification: The defense capability is an important feature of the international respect of all states. A primary indicator of this is the way in which the government organizes and directs the defense and security activity also in peacetime. In our country, the institutional background of defense management – despite the governmental efforts to strengthen it during the last two decades – needs further development. Consequently, the creation of an institutionalized coordination that could assume also a decision elaborating role cannot be imagined without the establishment of an integrated defense database (knowledge base), which must be operated on the basis of a united, common approach and practice. The actors of the defense structure participating in crisis management and in the protection of critical infrastructure would be able to cooperate – both during the daily operative activities and the strategic crisis management planning – more promptly and efficiently if they were linked to this database.

7.4. I have revealed and proved: Due to the current partitioned defense institution system and the ensuing divided spheres of authority, a more efficient and “nearby-to-the prime minister” management of the new security challenges makes it necessary to set up an analyzing-assessing and coordinating body within the Prime Minister’s Office. This body would help determining the medium and long-term tasks for the military and security organizations, and would participate in the strategic-level planning of the main directions of the security service activities.

Explanation and justification: The current legal regulation in force has created and maintained – in consequence of historical and political reasons – a partitioned institution system in the field of security and defense policy, and divided spheres of authority at governmental level. In the last period of time, new expectations and new national security tasks have emerged in the Hungarian defense management, which will make it even more necessary in the future to develop further the task-oriented working relations among the civil and military national security services, the military, as well as the security (police) organs. All this raises (for example) the necessity to create an analyzing-assessing and coordinating unit belonging to the Prime Minister’s Office or to the Ministry of Administration and Justice, which could participate in determining the medium and long-term goals of the military and security organizations, as well as in the strategic-level planning of the main tasks for the security services.

The creation of an institutionalized mechanism (already outlined in a legal regulation) has been already postponed for one and a half decade. In order to make more efficient the work of the organizations dealing with the preparation of governmental decisions and the execution of the security policy tasks, the multi-channel Hungarian defense management system calls for a much better institutionalized coordination in assessing the pieces of security policy information and reporting them to the governmental organs. However, during the realization of this aim, it must be a guiding principle that this new cooperation has to be organized in such a way that the intensive governmental-level utilization of security political, intelligence, diplomatic, police etc. information should not disturb or endanger the efficient functioning of the cooperation channels currently operated by national security and police organizations.

7.5. I have examined and verified: The experiences gained in the last decades by the former, retired officers and experts from defense, and especially from national security organizations, represent a very significant national value. Therefore, there is a need for utilizing – in appropriate organizational frameworks – the knowledge and experience of the prominent retired leaders and experts.

Explanation and justification: An important “yardstick” of Hungary’s defense capability is the degree in which it is able to utilize the accumulated professional knowledge in the management of the current and future security challenges. In this respect, it is a decisive issue for the services to draw the knowledge and experiences gained by the retired national security experts and

professional officers into the work of the national security services with the purpose of improving efficiency. In this area, it represents a cardinal question; how intensively can the services' leaders rely on the experiences of their predecessors, in the form of personal consultation or through the establishment of an advisory body?

8. Recommendations

When elaborating my dissertation, I made efforts to ensure that my innovative thoughts and conclusions, as well as my academic results built on them can be widely used also in practice. To this effect my recommendations are the following:

8.1. More parts of the dissertation can be used at the Military Science Faculty of the Zrínyi Miklós National Defense University during the Ph.D. education, especially in the national security, security and defense policy professional fields.

8.2. The data in the dissertation can be utilized at those high educational institutions where their faculties dealing with political science or international relations continue security policy and defense policy education as well.

8.3. I sincerely hope that the chapter comprising my academic results and their practical application can be utilized by several institutions of the Hungarian national security management, among others the Parliamentary National Security Committee, and by the competent ministers and their deputies, as well as by those members and leaders of the national security services, who are responsible for strategic planning.

8.4. I plan to publish my academic results in an open volume, addressing experts, researchers, expert politicians, and in addition, all interested citizens to instill and enforce the idea in them that since 1990 the guiding principle of our services is no longer to preserve the power of the governing party, but to defend the security and national interests of our country.

9. Applicability of the academic results

9.1. By placing to the front the national security-conscious approach and way of thinking outlined in my dissertation, the governments dynamically managing the international and internal events can make better use of their national security services, recognizing the competitive factor inherent in them. They can achieve this (at governmental level) by improving the administrative, social linkage and embedding of the national security services and by taking such measures that give an impulse to the services' more conscious and program-harmonized cooperation with economic and scientific sectors.

9.2. If the government intends to improve the social support to our national security services through a better governmental communication, it has a brilliant possibility to do so, by elaborating and publishing the relevant sectoral national security strategy in an open decree. With the help of the media, it can give a faithful picture of the services' main tasks, facilitating for the Hungarian society to identify itself with the strategic objectives set for the services. In the course of this, large strata of our population can familiarize with the main aspects of the services' activity, recognizing that our services scrupulously observe the rules of law, honestly protect the citizens' interests and our country's security, efficiently contribute to taking appropriate social and political decisions, practically rendering in this way provisions to the population. With making use of the possibilities offered by mass communications, the government has to underline that the right-

limiting measures taken by the services – with the purpose of defending our country and asserting our national interests – are always proportional to the constitutionally motivated tasks.

9.3. One of the main areas aimed at developing the institutional background of the Hungarian defense management can prove to be the establishment of an integrated defense database. With the help of such a database – which would be able to help harmonize also the different operative measures and could be on a constant duty, moreover it could assume also a decision-preparing role – the organizations concerned with the implementation of our security and defense policy tasks could more promptly and successfully cooperate in the strategic-level management of the crises threatening the undisturbed functioning of the critical infrastructure.

9.4. The current loose defense management system, which has been evolved in the last two decades and has further polarized after the 2010 parliamentary elections, raises the issue of a more purposeful cooperation among the civil and military national security services, as well as among the other police and military organs (authorized to collect information by secret means). This could be successfully achieved by setting up an assessing-analyzing and coordinating body – similar to the State Secretariat led by Béla Gyuricza – belonging to the Prime Minister' Office or to the Ministry of Administration and Justice. This body could play a coordinating role in determining the medium and long term tasks for the Hungarian national security services and other competent security organizations, as well as in planning the main strategic guidelines of the national security activities. For this idea to become a reality, it is necessary for the “founding” governmental institution to set up and operate a body (a National Security Coordination Center), which has an appropriate assessing-analyzing capability and the composition of its personnel encompasses the whole defense sector. This body, in addition to preparing materials for those cabinet-meetings that have on their agenda security and defense issues, would be able to help planning long-term strategic documents on the main direction to be followed by the national security services.

9.5. The creation of the institutional background of a national security reporting system (provided already in a legal regulation) has been keeping us waiting for one and a half decade. In order to make more efficient the functioning of the organs responsible for preparing governmental decisions and carrying out security policy tasks, the multi-channel defense management system raises the necessity of strengthening the institutionalized coordination also in the field of assessing security policy pieces of information and reporting them to the government. The full utilization (in the all-governmental work) of the security policy pieces of information – related to diplomatic, intelligence and police etc. topics – is a fundamental principle in establishing the above institutionalized coordination. This should be ensured by setting up such a reporting system that does not disturb the efficient functioning of the presently available, direct reporting channels of the national security and police organizations. In accordance with the chapter no. 5.4.4., in view of the strongly partitioned governmental structure (from the standpoint of the services' control) formed after 28 May 2010, it would be expedient to create an institutional background for the governmental-level coordinated reporting activity within an assessing-analyzing and coordinating body to be set up at the of the Prime Minister's Office or at the Ministry of Administration and Justice. The analyzing group – which would assume also the role of a coordination center in the field of national security management, and would consist of members from the national security services and other cooperating security organizations, as well as of highly educated governmental security policy experts – would be responsible also for operating a united security policy governmental reporting system, focusing its activity on strategic areas. It is but natural that, if a National Coordination Center were institutionalized and set up, the already mentioned basic principle must be strictly observed, according to which the central coordination reporting activity cannot endanger the efficient functioning of the (sectoral), reporting channels of the national security, other security and military organizations.

9.6. In view of the dynamically changing security policy processes affecting our country and with due regard to its foreign relations, as well as its social and security situation described in detail in chapter no.4., it is just as a cardinal issue for the government to actualize the national security strategy as to frame the ensuing partial (sectoral) strategies and harmonize them, including the sectoral national security strategy, whose appearance has been keeping us waiting for a long time. It is fundamental requirement during the elaboration of our national security strategy that the objectives incorporated therein should be in harmony with the actual provisions set forth in the conceptual EU and NATO documents. In the course of revising the 2004 document, it is also an important requirement that the new text has to concentrate – while determining the objectives – on the really relevant areas that are instrumental in enforcing our national interests. Since the prompt and flexible adaptation capability to the new processes is a fundamental consideration in the elaboration of a strategic document, it represents a primary task for both the government and the services to follow with attention the implementations of the task and provisions included in the national security and the sectoral documents, as well as the factors on which the tasks had been built, and if it seems necessary, modify the objectives.

9.7. The establishment of an “elders’ advisory body” helping the Director General’s work would certainly produce successful results, since this body could utilize the knowledge and experience gained by those experts and officers who retired from the national security services, but continue to consider the national security activity as their vocation. This body, performing its duties as a consultative forum, could contribute not only to successfully handling those tasks that require former experiences, but could assist in developing and operating the education and training at the services. Furthermore, these advisors could constitute valuable contact points between the national security sector and the civil society, and could gather and keep together – even in the form of an association – the ex-members of the services, who have an academic or a higher social background. Such a body would be suitable not only for improving the mental and spiritual life quality of the retired officers and experts (who as ex-members of a national security organization lead a rather closed life), and not only for making use of their experiences and social contacts, but for preventing these former “secret bearers” from joining – owing to their hard living conditions – circles undesirable from a national security standpoint.

10. Literature (in Hungarian language) selected by the doctorand

10.1. Books, comments, textbooks (4) and CDs in home edition:

- Book (560 pages, in two editions in 2002, 2x2000 copies, in open publication): About the Hungarian national security services in another manner and to everybody (1990-2002 and the future). The changed role and values of the national security services in defending Hungary’s security.
 - In addition: comments of Dr. Iván Pataki on the book: Book on the national security services (Military Science, 2003);
- Life work CD 1994-02. 26.2009. The above book’s third electronic edition in 100 copies (for the use of the ZMNDU) and additional publications.
- Open CDs with text (100 copies) comprising my publications and interviews: The Hungarian secret services as guarantors of our future, and their becoming national values since 1990. Publisher: LIBRI
- National Security Manual – 2010 (1,050 pages). It was prepared on the basis of 3rd version/30. 06. 2010 of the dissertation, with the title: Determinant role of the Hungarian secret services in the 21st century security system of the Republic of Hungary.

10.2. Revised, academic articles (4) appeared in relevant reviews:

- About the communication of the Hungarian national security services (MIO Intelligence Review, 12 pages, October 2007).
- Role and significance of intelligence, reconnaissance for the 21st century EU (Hungarian Military Science Review, online, 15 pages, 03. 2009).
- Role and significance of intelligence, reconnaissance for the 21st century NATO (MIO Intelligence Review, 15 pages, 03. 2009).
- The Hungarian Secret Services are the Guarantors of Our Future (appeared in English, in the AARM review and online, 9 pages, 01. 2010).

10.3. Non-revised short articles (12) selected from papers and from the Internet

- Together with the significantly renewing national security services for the security our future and for the future of our security (3 pages, 1998).
- About the Hungarian national security services (MAGYAR NEMZET, 1 page, 1998).
- Clue to secret; there is a need for a long-term national security strategy (BIZTONSÁG, 2 pages, 2004).
- Proposals to the new government program of Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány (1 page, 2004)
- Supplementary proposal to the debate on the article “The New Hungarian Social Democrats” written by Dr. István Hiller (1 page, 2004).
- Our country’s security cannot be considered as given (NÉPSZAVA, 1 page, 2004).
- Recommendation on the rationalization of the Hungarian defense-security activity (BIZTONSÁG, 2 pages, 03. 2006).
- Miklós Várhalmi’s letter, with his professional recommendations addressed to Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány with regard to the police abuses (3 pages, 18.05. 2007).
- Miklós Várhalmi’s warning, thought-provoking opinion on the establishment of the Hungarian Guard and the handover of national security documents – v. civil security, addressed to Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány as well (5 pages, 05. 08. 2007).
- How can we make profit from the Russian-Georgian conflict? (BIZTONSÁG, 3 pages, 2008/5).
- We don’t appreciate our secret services at their real value (BIZTONSÁG, 4 pages, 2008/6).
- Again a slap in the face by the Hungarian Socialist Party to our national security! (internet: www.varhalmi.hu (4 pages, 25. 12. 2009).

10.4. Interviews (on 12 occasions) made by expert journalists with security policy expert Miklós Várhalmi

- Do the secret services employ provocateurs? (HVG, 02. 11. 2006). He was one among the interviewed persons.
- Secrets and services (NÉPSZABADSÁG, 27.12. 2006). He participated in elaborating the recommendation made by the National Security Working Group (mentioned in the article) on the fusion of the national security services.
- National security reform-allergy, www.hirszerzo.hu (28. 12. 2006, 2 pages).
- The doctorand’s draft reply to the article: National security reform-allergy (4 pages, 01. 01. 2007).

- It was not Szilvássy against whom the national security (politicians) experts of the Hungarian Socialist Party intended to attempt a putsch (www.hirszerzo.hu, 1-2 pages, 02. 01. 2007). A short version of the doctorand's 6-page reply to the article; National security reform-allergy.
- The reorganization of national security (HVG, 04. 01.2007), Miklós Várhalmi was one of the interviewed persons.
- His open letter addressed to military policy expert, Péter Deák, Doktor of Military Sciences, as a reply to the latter's article; A dilettante debate and the reality (3 pages, 14. 01. 2007).
- Join our forces for a more efficient national defense, an excerpt from Várhalmi's open letter addressed to Deák (1-2 pages, NÉPSZABADSÁG, 22. 01. 2007).
- The National Security Office can easily have the same lot as the Police (HVG, 29.05. 2007). Várhalmi was interviewed by the periodical.

10.5. Participation in Hungarian scientific conferences (on 5 occasions)

- Delivering statement at the national conference on “The necessity for reforming the national security services”, (and assisting in its organization). (11 pages, 02. 12. 2000.) The statement was published in a book and can be found also on the Internet.
- Statement (12 pages and 60 slides), and participation in organizing the conference on “The necessity for elaborating a National Security Policy of the Republic of Hungary”, (10. 11. 2001), the material was published in a book entitled “Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary” and it can be found also on the Internet. Furthermore, the decree on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary adopted in 2004 took over a number of suggestions from the relevant material written by Miklós Várhalmi.
- Statement (4 pages, 18 slides) at the conference on “The communication of the Hungarian security services” held in the framework of the Hungarian Association of Military Science and organized by its Intelligence and National Security Department (06. 06. 2007). The statement was published also in the MIO Intelligence Review (10. 2007) and it can be found also on the Internet.
- Statement” on the topic of “The increased role of the national security services in our 21st century defense” delivered at the international scientific conference on “SOCIETY AND ECONOMY – new trends and challenges” (19. 09. 2008, 49 slides). The text was published also in the edition of the conference.
- Statement delivered at the above conference on the subject of “Security risks posed to the info-communication public utilities and the information war” (19.09.2008, 54 slides). The text was published also in the edition of the conference.

10.6. Studies (20)

- Study: Applicable values (possibilities) of the Hungarian secret services for our more secure future and for the security of our future (9 pages, 1944).
- Study: A possible theoretical model of the new organization, command and control of the Hungarian secret services (210 pages, 1994).
- Study: Outlines about the (sectoral) strategy of the national security services, comprising also the more important details (7 pages, 2001).
- Study: Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary (2001, 12 pages).
- Study: Preparatory considerations regarding the strategy of the national security (secret) services built on the National Security Strategy (9 pages, 2002).

- Linkage of the Hungarian defense structure to the security challenges (2 pages, 15. 03. 2002).
- Study: United solution to the data and information protection of the whole Hungarian administration, with special respect for the governmental organizations (5 pages, 2003).
- Study: Analyses and proposals related to the amendment of the national security act, with special regard to the more effecting operation of the national security services (36 pages, 21. 09. 2003).
- Study: The future of Hungary's security under the shade of the American and Spanish tragedies (6 pages, 2004).
- Study and proposal on the comprehensive rationalization of the whole Hungarian defense and security activity (5 pages, sent to Prime Minister Gyurcsány in 2006).
- Study: Communication of the Hungarian national security services (9 pages, 08. 2007).
- Hungarian and English literature on national security issues – ZMNDU library (12. 2007. The documents can be found in digested form).
- Manuscript of the doctorand's study: Role and significance of intelligence/reconnaissance for the 21st century NATO (98 pages, 10. 06. 2008).
- Manuscript of the doctorand's study: Role and significance of intelligence/reconnaissance for the 21st century EU (79 pages, 12. 06. 2008).
- Increased role of the Hungarian secret services in our 21st century defense – statement made at the academic conference: “Society and economy” – new trends and challenges” (Baja, 19. 09. 2008, 5 pages).
- Security risks posed to info-communications facilities and the information war – statement made at the academic conference: “Society and economy” – new trends and challenges” (Baja, 19. 09. 2008, 11 pages).
- Theoretical and practical issues of the national security defense and control (30. 11. 2008).
- Effect of the new security challenges on national security (31. 12 2008).
- National security aspects of terrorism, with special regard to the Hungarian aspects (20 pages, Internet: www.varhalmi.hu, 10. 04. 2009).
- Concept on the most suitable defense system for facing the current and future challenges posed to the Republic of Hungary (01. 09. 2009).

10.7. Own homepages (3)

- The documents enumerated above can be continuously found on the homepages as from 2004.
- On the own homepage www.varhalmi.hu all the doctorand's publications can be found (more than 16,500 visitors; 307,900 results, as from 2005).
- On the homepage www.nemzetbiztonsag.com: the doctorand's national security-related materials can be found (more than 6,200 visitors, as from 2004).
- A collection of several hundreds homepages about Hungarian and international national security (secret service) issues in thematic order can be found on the homepage: www.nemzetbiztonsag.lap.hu (more than 64,100 visitors as from 2004. The homepage is regularly visited from more than 50 countries).

10.8. TV interviews, reports (5)

- TV2: National security risks posed by the Hungarian Guard (approx. 8 minutes, 07. 02. 2008):
http://www.partfuggetlen.hu/VAM2/tv2_1.html
- ECHO TV: National security risks of the Russian-Ukrainian gas dispute (approx. 8 minutes, 01. 09. 2009):
http://www.partfuggetlen.hu/VAM2/echotv_1.html
- ECHO TV: Anti-terror exercise at the Ferihegy Airport with Israeli cooperation (approx. 8 minutes, 27. 02. 2009):
http://www.partfuggetlen.hu/VAM2/echotv_2.html
- ECHO TV: Concept on the most suitable defense system for facing the current and future challenges posed to the Republic of Hungary (approx. 8 minutes, 07. 09. 2009):
http://www.partfuggetlen.hu/VAM2/echotv_3.html
- ECHO TV: A former expert of the Hungarian Socialist Party criticizes the nominations (approx. 8 minutes, 30. 12. 2009):
http://www.partfuggetlen.hu/VAM2/echotv_4.html