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The new challenges and possible answers of the communication in the time of transformation of the military into a professional force

summary of the PhD thesis

Reasons for topic choice

3 November 2004 marked a crucially important event when the Hungarian Defence Forces switched from a conscription army to a professional one. This event can only be compared to the change of the political system in 1989, which completely changed the whole system of defence and the way it was viewed. The Royal Hungarian Defence Forces, which were based on compulsory military service, were formed in 1868. Although limited in its independence, it managed to achieve national aims.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was also influenced by international trends, that is why the system of conscription served the purpose of establishing the mass army. This was the trend in the decades following the 2nd World War, both in theory and practice, together with significant quantitative reduction. In some countries, no matter what social structure they may have, this trend still exists. The existence of recruitment system in a given country depends on the level of threat as well as on its traditions.

Conscription-based defence forces, together with all the contradictions, undoubtedly influenced public thinking, the national culture, the defence sector and its principles. That is why switching to a professional army is not only a need for those who live in a modern republic, or a simple act of public administration, but it is a crucial decision, which changes fundamentally, among other factors, the structure of the HDF, its function, structure, its communication with the society and the relationship with society.

The change of the system, which was partially an effect of the crash of the bipolar system, those who live in the modern republic changed the nature of the dangers and it started democracy together with market economy in Hungary. Similarly to the Western trends, the importance of the military became somewhat reduced, and the need for smaller, professional army appeared. In the past decade the thought of switching to a professional army was welcomed by many political parties and civilian organizations.

In their arguments, they pointed to the contradictions of the military obligations, the bad feelings of the young people concerning compulsory military service. Changes in the public thinking, the security guarantee of the NATO membership, as well as lower security threats, all these factors together made it possible to eliminate compulsory military service. But the question is still there whether this decision also eliminated all those general human, cultural, social and military- professional values, which were gathered during the history of the compulsory military service.

The Hungarian Defence Forces used to be comprised of 150.000 people, together with their organization, structure and military doctrine. This organization was reduced to 40.000 people ready to cooperate within the

alliance system, which can be easily financed and ready to follow the development pattern of the modern democratic armies.

The contradictions of the continuous transformation of the military arise from the ambitions of the young but inexperienced leaders, from the deficiencies of concepts, in some cases from the opposing political intentions, the novelty of the process itself, the scarcity of resources, most importantly. That is why there were lots of impurities in the process of the transformation. The concepts concerning certain stages of the transformation could not succeed in certain areas, although the voluntary will denied this fact on all existing channels. The above- mentioned contradictions characterized actions aimed at elimination of the compulsory military service. These contradictions were connected to the time limit which had its roots in the political hesitation and the\c impurity of the concept, as well as slogan-type declarations.

Starting from the 90s the number of those supporting compulsory military service was gradually declining. Together with this, the time of the military service, in accordance with social expectations and the change in financing, became shorter. The need for professionalism became stronger, which showed itself in the growing rate of contract soldiers. From the end of the 90s the presence of the military on the labour market- as it was declared in the media- became permanent. By 2001, according to the public opinion polls the transformation of the military to professional was supported by the majority of the Hungarian society. The defence department, in accordance with the government program, considered one of the main goals of the communication as to raise the public support of the professional army. One of the permanent elements of the transformation was always linked to the change in the nature of the international security environment, with the appearance of new global and regional threats, with the change in the nature of the old threats, with our NATO membership, with the continuous expansion of NATO, and with the changing tasks of the HDF. From the point of view of the communication it showed the need for new conditions and capabilities.

In practice, however, the communication process of the transformation of the military —and so much more because of the decisive nature of the political interests— was characterized by information—and arguments for the elimination of the conscription. Less attention was paid to the informational and public actions supporting the birth and the social support of the professional army. From the viewpoint of the communication, this process is full of contradictions, because the majority of the public opinion accepts the elimination of conscription, so there is no need for the support of the media. On the other hand, there is a smaller but quite significant layer of the society that would support the peacetime military service or rather, with the support of certain political parties would establish the quite ambiguous institution of the national guards. It can be noticed that the creation of the professional military which continues to be a national institution, did not get much attention from the media.

If we take into consideration that the bridge between the HDF as a national institution and the society was connected by the conscript soldiers themselves, this function should be overtaken by the media, especially in the case of the military. In my opinion, this professional element should not be treated as a peripheral one.

The Hungarian public reacted sensitively to the events of 9/11 and the acts of terror following it. Not being a primary threat state, the feeling of security among population is strong, that is why it is less acceptable for the population to guarantee peace by the presence of the Hungarian soldiers in far- away places. Public attitude becomes complicated further by the negative experiences of the WW2, when Hungarian soldiers were deployed beyond the border of the country, together with bad feelings about Hungarian soldiers serving abroad within the conscription system.

The next contradiction that can be solved with the help of communication is that while, due to our NATO membership, we became part of global dangers, with all the tasks and responsibilities, however, the public opinion cannot step over the boundaries of provinciality. In 1999, after joining NATO, the government media set the continuous task to serve as the channel for communication concerning the tasks and actions, however, this communication task slowly disappeared.

At the same time with our NATO membership, the Republic of Hungary obliged to raise the military budget by 1.81%, in accordance with the national GDP. This system of finance insured- taking into consideration the change in the defence challenges as well as the need for technical and organisational modernisation - the way for the transformation to the voluntary defence force. Instead of the original concept, which was time- consuming, the politicians decided to choose a different solution. Perhaps it would be beneficial to examine the fact that the establishment of the voluntary military is the consequence of the need and legitimacy.

The change in the system in the military requires radical change in the attitude from the military media leadership. The transformed military and its media institution, no doubt, used the knowledge and professional experience of its former experts, leaving out the ideological elements. In the following years changes in the system of communication were slow, however, they preserved all those communication procedures and methods that were used in the system of conscription, and consequently, influenced the communication of the organisation. In this time period, all those traditions of the past 40 years were present with all the elements pertaining to each individual and all the small military groups. These traditions, partially, are the remnants of the previous leadership, where certain leadership categories were not placed properly. While the number of officer staff was reduced, the number of NCOs

was increased together with the change of their responsibilities, which would consequently influence the military culture. The fact of switching to professional army in peacetime is also a military culture- modifying decision. Hence, the formation of the voluntary defence means new tasks for the communication, together with the new organizational tasks, which leads to the need for the establishment of a new communication system. Its stability can be guarantied only by professional knowledge and the requirements of the alliance. The most imp9ortant requirement of the near future in the field of communication will be the effectiveness and the speed with which it can help the process of the voluntary force building.

The voluntary army, which was forecast for 2010-2012 became reality by November 3. 2004. However, at the same time it became evident that the reduction of the military budget in accordance with the GDP cannot be fulfilled. The radical decrease in the finance of the defence portfolio changed not only the maintenance and development expenses, but also the DPQ (defence planning questionnaire) as well as the reduction of the staff to 35.000, but also the influence on the communication process, since it is the media that pictures the events.

2. The methods

From the above-mentioned, the analysis of the challenges of the communication were based on theoretical aspects, on the one hand, and on the foreseeable changes on the other hand, based on the previous 50 years of the history, with special attention paid on the last 15 years. The aim of this analysis is to establish the communication strategy, and the long-term practical applications, based on theoretical analysis As the ultimate aim we can say that the communication of the defence must be able to fulfil the role of aiding the professional military.

- Which are those significant communication factors which are unavoidable both with the development of the professional forces and with the PR-based organisational communication?

How would the change of the military culture due to the changes in the society affect the changing elements of the communication of the defence sector?

What is the aim of the PR based organisational communication, its possibilities, its operational viewpoints, with special attention on the balance of inner and outer communication?

In the examined period of the defence sector were there any communications activities planned and then realised, on strategic basis, which can be an example to follow?

By the previous examination of the topic and based on the questions asked, there is a presumption that:

-Switching to professional military was an unavoidable step for the Hungarian Republic, at the same time this process went together with contradictions on social, political and financial level. The conditions of the change did not help to clarify the basic functions, the place, role of the defence forces in our national institutions, that is why its operation, application, development, the basic questions concerning its weaponry and technical supply, the financial side, often depended on the current state of the political situation.

-In the times of switching to professional force the Hungarian military – due to the lack of strategic planning- was not able to fully operate and define its communicating subsystem. That could be the reason that the communication system of the defence sector of the recent times has not become active, but event - following, deformed in its rate.

With the end of the conscription system, the system of the communication in the Defence Forces has not appeared yet, and the necessary tasks were not formulated.

-The switch to professional forces was not preceded by - similarly to the analysis of other doctrinal or military, professional issues- the analysis of the aims, possibilities, organizational and operational issues of the communication, as it was fulfilled before our accession to NATO.

The establishment of the professional military fundamentally changed the military culture, which will be influenced for a long time by those elements acquired in the past 50 years. One of the moat important elements of the new culture, which is based on the requirements of our alliance partnership and the new phase of the development, is the PR-based organisational communication that is of strategic level.

-I consider the most important task, in the sphere of the strategy- based communication, the summary of those communication- theory results and grouping, from the point of view of the problem-solving task of this paper, which, in my opinion, can be considered of crucial importance, both from scientific and practical point of view.

While working on each problem, besides general and problem - introduction description, using comparison and sociological analysis, pertaining to the topic, I tried to focus on the less applied relations of the organisational culture when analysing the organisational communication. I also made the analysis of the elements of military culture of the past 50 years, their integration into the society, their change in different time periods.

I did not analyse and introduce separately plans concerning problem-solving For each communication issue, because that analysis was aimed at examining tasks concerning conflict communication, and also because I consider my main task to be to call attention to the theoretical and strategically, non-project based communication.

There was a period in the transformation of the HDF – and this is the time for the preparation for NATO accession - when there was a possibility for professional, not tactically limited communication work. In the communication strategy analysis, which is a broad integration compared to the information in this paper, my personal involvement is important, because it can be both an example and scientific living picture of the communication strategy of the professional military, in the time of planning and execution.

During the description of certain problems I often use the term of organisational communication and Public Relations. Without exchanging and substituting these terms, when I speak about organizational communication, I mean, mainly, communication processes of the leadership of the defence forces, where the PR is an important element.

3. Results

As the result of my analysis, I consider important to show the relationship between the PR-based organisational communication and the military culture its social and political importance. In the process of the professional military building, the change in the military culture, on which the strategically-oriented communication is vitally important.

In my opinion problems mentioned in this paper together with their consequences can be a good basis for the formulation of the system- based approach, and they can offer a more important insight into the organisation of the leadership work, both for the organisation of the actions, and for usage in the educational process.

The times following the change of the system the communication can be characterised by using scientific research and its role is more and more important in the relationship within an organisation and its environment. The past also gave a lot of experience for the examination of the problems in hypothesis: the communication of the service is not firmly based, did not become an element of military-based feeling of security, like, for example the art of military strategy or the military education. All this happened in spite of the fact that the most modern military theories consider communication as a vital part of military activities. This idea if accepted will provide stability for this profession, because the required changes depend on the development of the scientific results and not on practical organisational procedures.

In my opinion, the examination of the communication processes described in the paper fortified those questions raised in the hypothesis and they will provide assistance for the unavoidable culture change and communication renewal in the process of the professional army building, which can provide the basis for the portfolio level communication strategy.

When analysing the chosen topic, we established that communication of the defence forces needs new approach, new methods, all in all, it needs new way of thinking.

This paper, due to the limits of its length, could not deal in full with the whole analysis of the PR and communication of such important national subsystem as the military. With our research and their results we wanted, primarily, to stress the importance of the service of communication, both in the military circles, and in the society, with the help of the dialog.

In the analysis of the topic, we tried to stress the notion of the military culture, the relationship between the PR-based communication and the military culture. The reason for the choice the years following the end of the WW 2 was that the elements of the military culture of that time are still present in the HDF and in the establishment of the new military culture the attitude towards them must still be established. The other reason for choosing the time was the fact that the modern-time interpretation of the communication theories and procedures, in world-wide scale, which enabled the analysis of the PR-based communication.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of some of the elements of the communication process and its system, after summarising all the conditions and circumstances, we can conclude that:

The need for the establishment of the professional military, which was supported by the public opinion, politics, confirmed the political decision. At the end of 2004, a new law on switching to professional military was accepted, which was basically the consequence of the need for it, together with its legitimacy. In the world - with Hungary in it- in the changes of the security system, the end of the bipolar world system, the appearance of the asymmetric threat, the change in the guarantees concerning nuclear arms control, as well as, in connection with the situation in Europe, due to its unification, influencing politics and economy, all this changed the theoretical and practical attitude to the military. In many countries a certain tendency could be noticed, the need for the reduction of the military personnel and, where possible, the switch to professional military.

Such radical change of the military was opposed by certain political and civil parties, because the change was expected to last for about 10-12 years. This

opposition stemmed from worries about the lessened defence capability of the country, for example a radical reduction in the number of reserve officers, as well as elimination of the so-called backing institutions, as the National Guard. Judging from international opinions the timing of the professional military establishment was perfect, regarding the security situation. The worries, however, should not be ignored, but with the aid of right communication they can be handled.

Organisational culture, as a constant factor of the military organisations, is defined in this paper, with reference to Prof. Szabo Janos, as military culture. In many chapters of this paper we defined that during the global process of the change to professional military- in military- professional, in human and communicational, in material and financial factors, we need to take into consideration those general human, cultural, social or military- professional values, which were gathered during the 136- year history if the forces together with all the contradictions within, which help the new military not to suffer from identification problems. Similarly to other important steps, all these can be achieved with professional attitude, scientifically, with objective attitude to our past and future.

We consider one of the key questions the introduction of the military culture, to familiarise the personnel with it, perhaps even its introduction in the process of education. With this, hopefully, we can avoid the\ appearance of conflicts, based on the lack of information on understanding these processes. We cannot spare the elements of communication, which appeared during the peace time activities, the adaptation to the new circumstances, working on conditions of the new socio- technical environment, since even in this paper we tried to prove that the relationship between the defence and the society is the communication. All the opportunities should be used to keep the military memories and traditions alive, since the attitude of the civilians towards the military depends on traditions and it is a basic national interest, and it also influences the political attitude to the development of the military.

Preservation of the military traditions is important not only due to the importance of the national culture, but this is the only way to keep certain military branch traditions alive, since Many elements of the conscription are only a memory now. We consider very important the preservation of the continuity of identity, because many people still remember vividly when in the years following WW2, placing the military culture on a totally new basis led to several legal problems, by trying to establish cult-type leadership, without any traditions. The soldiers still tried to preserve traditions of their fathers, with more or less success, for example, songs and medals, with the silent approval of the leadership or for their annoyance. Due to false identification and negative attitude towards conscription, the social acceptance of the military was low.

The comparative analysis showed that the political, economic and social conditions present at the time of switch to professional military, the modification of the defence law, the basic functions, the place, the role of the military could be defined only legitimately. That is why its operation, application, weaponry and technical parameters need further communicational development and they remain a future task. Especially those questions need special attention that pertain to the application of the forces, to be able to keep national identity in spite of strong ties to the alliance, and the required tasks.

Probably it is the consequence of the earlier elections that the establishment of the professional army was not preceded –similarly to several other military, doctrinal and professional analyses - the analysis of the strategic aims, structure and functions of the communication, as it was done before our NATO accession. This accession at the time was not considered as the change in the military system by our government but still a strategy was developed for the harmonization of the activities in several ministries and other governmental organisations, strategies for communication among them. Preparation of similar analysis and strategy would have been also important since the reforms of the past years, which were always declared as final, had worn out the military staff, which instead of real changes only experienced reduction of the force these difficulties could have been avoided by proper governmental and social communication. Of course, it does not mean the critic of the whole work of the previous defence sector, but the rearrangement of the elements into a stream, which can enable to use the existing assets more effectively, as well as the foundation of the communication of the voluntary forces.

The support of the society towards the establishment of the voluntary army cannot be denied, and this is can be a great motivation for the next steps. Our road is new, we need to analyse international examples, but it is not enough to build up the communication of the HDF. The careful analysis of the security hazards, applying the results of the scientific research, keeping and building old traditions into the new military culture can give answers to the questions asked.

This paper tried to give ideas for the long- term planning of the organisational culture of the establishment of the professional military, to do the theoretical and practical analysis of the communication, which can be a basis for its strategy. To accomplish this task can be fulfilled by such professional team whose members represent all connected branches, as was the case with the establishment of the NATO communication strategy, and during the period of demolishing of the symbols of the one-party system and building up the new ones.

Our other aim was to give our contribution to the further development of the institution of the PR- based communication system, to its functioning and its decision - supporting role.\e

5. Possible directions of further research

Due to the thesis that switching to professional military also means the change in the system of defence, the speed of the change in one of the most important elements of the military culture, namely, the organisational communication should be equally fast. In the transformed social and professional environment, the importance of the role of the precise and genuine communication is crucially important, both for the operation of the military forces and maintenance of the defence capability. This is also a requirement, since the link between the society and the military, after the end of the conscription, is the communication itself. The interactive communication is essential, both for recruitment, and to avoid disconnection from the society.

The professional environment, to which the HDF belong, with its past present and the possible future, with all the traditions, supposes some kind of consensus. Since the HDF means stability and security for the society, all the elements of the communication, including personal and organisational communication, the visual and contextual, must convey the expectations of the society. That is why, in the process of communication, using the most modern theories and methods, we cannot forget the conservatism, which is so typical of the military (not in the political sense of this word), so we cannot chose differently, for example, marketing- type communication. Another requirement is the attitude to traditions, to rely on the more than 100- year-old cultural roots, which is still a great value. So, with the establishment of the new force, we need to establish its new face, with the continuality and renewal.

The central part of the organisational culture of the defence forces, which is aided by the communication, should include the following:

- -strengthen the defence capability of the country
- -development of the defence commitment of the population
- -acquire civilian support for the defence aims
- -responsibility of the defence staff towards the protection of the homeland
- -to strengthen the attitude of the staff concerning their tasks
- -maintenance of inner the cohesion strength of the units

Together with these aims, the communication aims and methods have to comply with the change in the nature of the communication, with the speed of life. It is true to say that the majority of the population gets information through electronic media, i.e., TV.

Previous research proved that certain groups in the society, mainly the less educated, those living in the countryside, mainly women, watch only specific types of programmes, e.g. soap operas, serials. So, sending information to them needs special empathy. From the point of view of the communication these facts can also mean that in organising communication the main stress should be on the electronic media, since besides effectiveness this is also economical. The Internet, though not largely accessible yet, do not mean the ineffectiveness of the system, presumably in the nearest future this type of communication will be the most widespread means of the communication in the military. The situation today is that it is easier to reach electronically a Hungarian officer serving in Naples than a soldier in one of the military units in Hungary.

The establishment of the Intranet the computer-based communication system has been an important aim for many years. The basis already exists and the higher leadership has been using it, bit it does not include all the elements of the organisational structure, that is why it cannot be used for the entire communication yet. The already existing systems e.g. systems used with the finance and the human resources serve specific needs. The harmonisation of these communication means is very important for the establishment of the communication system in the professional forces.

One of the not yet exploited means of communication is the mobile phone. Today all soldiers in leading positions own a service mobile phone, which can be used for receiving centralized SMS messages. With the application of proper security measures, the capabilities to use this equipment are endless. At the same time, the modern centres and the new types of the conventional phones provide new opportunities, for example, the arrangement of telephone conferences instead of the summoning-type meetings. The 8 subsystem SIEMENS centres can be easily established, without any special permission for as much as 30 people working simultaneously.

In case of special needs or media events of great importance it is possible to provide a satellite video conference.

The new and modern types of the electronic communication means and their application can provide the new communications of the new Military. Communication of this type can not only ease the process, but can symbolise the commitment of the new leadership towards the new communications.

The usage of the most modern means of communication is very important today, since the tasks of leadership, the operational work, information warfare can be done best by using the achievements of computing. Modern warfare and the culture of the voluntary forces can only be an operational unit if the

hardware of the organisational communication is linked to the communication of the military leadership. On the other hand. It can also be said that one of the most important questions of the renewal is the establishment of the compatibility of the military leadership and the organisational communication. And all this should be achieved so that the balance between the technical resources and the organisational communication should remain within the limit of possibilities, with optimal resources.

The intention to use the most modern technical resources does not imply that the inner and outer communication would leave out traditional, classic methods. It can be established that still, the most frequent method of communication within an organisation, both group and personal is the on-paper communication (publications, newsletters, military press), video films and DVDs. As for the outer communication the best means are still the open military events, with public involvement (unit celebrations, days of the branches, the day of the HDF), with the accompanying road shows. It would be a good idea to include the day of the voluntary forces, November 3, to the list of the military celebrations. This day can commemorate the change of the system, with the central participation of the contract soldiers. This event could be the symbol of the birth of the new military culture.

During the work on the organisational structure of the ministries, which organise and lead the communication of the voluntary forces, the experience of the organisational modifications following the democratic transformation of the society should not be ignored. One of such experience is that the importance of communication is best shown by the fact that if a leading department is a subunit of the defence minister, it shows the fundamental theory of the communication that the communication of an organisation is the immanent part of the leadership practice.

During the performance of the communication and its distribution, on the ministry level there is a practice that one of the organisational elements serves the media and its needs. Its organisation and culture became stronger during the years; it can provide the direction for the development. There is a constant dilemma of the order of the provision of information on military matters that influence the politics to the public and the media. The PR-based management stresses the importance of belonging to the organisation and the priority of preparing the public, which can be vital for the operation of the military organisation. The task and responsibility of this element is the selection of the communication officers for different international missions. Since there is a government decision about 1000 participants in international missions, this activity is the constant task of the organisational work of the communication.

The other leading branch of the communication deals with the organisation of informational communication. In my opinion the importance this element became vitally important in the time of the establishment of the voluntary

force. According to our previous thought, the connection between the military and the society, after the abolishment of the conscription is established by the communication, both with the young, the taxpayers who finance the military, with different civilian organisations, which is crucially important for the normal functioning of the voluntary forces.

The complex PR attitude needs research (for example, opinion polls, theory of communication, international information and its exchange), the use of the results in everyday work and in communication training. In the PR-based communication the main stress is on communication goals, the distribution of the tasks in the inner and outer communication is a question of method, the optimal organisation is of secondary importance, it depends on needs, traditions and financing, on the professional staff, their number and expertise. It is very important that the communication would not experience any difficulties due to the lack of organisational or financial resources, since communication cannot be replaced.

One of the most important, but at the same time, the most insecure elements of the communication is the information- officer net working at units. The importance of this task is shown in the relationship between the unit and its environment, since each unit is deeply rooted into the society. In a given unit the employer in the barracks needs services provided by the civilian population, at the same time the soldiers are an important part of the community, the residents are taxpayers and voters. The contact between the population and the unit is provided by the liaison officer. This task was difficult due to the constant reduction in the personnel that is why the experts of this field had to deal with different tasks (human resources, CIMIC).

The professional communication of the professional forces needs a lot of flexibility, especially in the beginning of the establishment of the voluntary force, in the organisational structure and in the system of commandment, in the relationship with the new elements, e.g., warrant officers1. This is an important step in the carrier model of the OC and the commanding NCO. Step by step an NCO communication channel can be established and it can enrich the communication with new elements.

Another new element of the voluntary force is the new training system, which can be another important element, the fact that the subunits of the international missions are not composed of selected soldiers from different units, but the members of the units, together, prepare for peacekeeping missions. This change provides for the strengthening of the cohesion of the personnel. The new training system can be a socialisation scene of the new military. The importance of international cooperation became very important with our NATO accession and the participation in the PfP program. The familiarisation with military cultures of other countries is very important for the Hungarian officers, for their professionalism. This individual experience can be important for the voluntary military.

The culture of the voluntary force influences such important spheres as the change of the role of the soldier in the society, the public openness of the defence sector, civilian attitudes, conflict management, recruitment, the relationship of the soldiers with the society and the minorities, the place and the role of family, that is why the responsibility of the commander in the communication is high. This kind of responsibility can only be performed by a well-trained specialist and with high quality. There is a good reason to employ the post of the information officer on the leadership level, on higher levels (brigades), units (regiments and independent battalions). For their work, besides training and consultations are important.

For the work of the defence sector, at all times, including the times of the Hungarian People's Army there was a background institution element which could provide methodological aid and communication products. The continuous change of the defence force did not save this institution either, its structure, personnel, capabilities were reduced, too. The inspection had the aim of reduction and abolition of branches not closely related to military missions, such as protection, catering, maintenance. With regards to the fact that acquisition of the means of communication is easy from the domestic and even EU market, the overview of the organisation is advisable.

One of the most important and irreplaceable means of the voluntary force the legacy system , since all the scientific research, expertise, leadership requirements are synthesized in it from the segmentation of the communication to the tasks and responsibilities. At the same time, there is a need for new regulations, which reflect the needs for new system of conditions.

Taking into consideration the increased role of the HDF in international missions, the practical aspects of communication in the Alliance should be minded. Experts who deal with the planning and organisation of the communication cannot leave out the Portfolio Defence Planning System, (PDPS), which is actually planning based on capabilities and the task and deals with the main directions of development, tasks and priorities and the financial aspects based on these. With the help of the PDPS it would be possible to channel the priorities, permanent elements and aims of the communication into the financial system of the portfolio and this can provide stability for the subsystem of communication. This way it would be possible to plan the investments or the PR-based organisational needs, which also calculate with the growth of influence of public opinions.

List of the author's publications:

1. Young people talk about the carrier in the military, police and border-guard.

(Kiss Ida-Hajós Dezső) (Honvédségi Szemle 1987/12)

Recruitment
 (Kiss Ida-Hajós Dezső)
 (Belügyi Szemle 1988/6)

- 3. Mobility and the military (Új Honvédségi Szemle 1991/7)
- 4. The situation, perspectives and attitude of the young towards the military service (ZMKA 1992)
- 5. Change in the social situation of the young and how it affects the military service (MH MK 1992/3)
- 6. The special features of the mobilization process in our country and in the military (ZMKA 1993)
- 7. Change in the social structure and mobility in Hungary (ZMKA 1994)
- 8. They will be officers in 1999 (MH 1995/25)
- 9. A Hungarian platoon in Fort Polk (MH 1995/33)
- 10. Louisiana preparation. (MH 1995/34)
- 11. Hungarian platoon in operation (MH 1995/35)
- 12. Cooperative Nugget"95 (MH 1995/36)

- 13. Cooperation, dialogue, collective defence forces (Hajós Dezső-M. Tóth György) (MH 1997/20)
- Cooperation dialogue, collective defence forces (Hajós Dezső-M. Tóth György) (MH 1997/21)
- 15. Cooperation, dialogue, collective defence forces (Hajós Dezső-M. Tóth György) (MH 1997/22)
- 16. Cooperative Lantern '98 (MH 1997/43-44)
- 17. The changing NATO (Hajós Dezső, Egry Enikő, Amaczi Viktor) (MH 1997/50)
- 18. The final planning conference Krakow, February 24-26 (MH 1998/10)
- 19. Meeting of the defence ministers: Our place in the organisation (MH 1998/40)
- 20. Partnership for peace after Washington summit (NATO Defence Academy 2000)
- 21. Communication in the British defence sector (MH 2000/48)
- 22. About the communication of the NATO accession (Új Honvédségi Szemle 2005/3)