

**Synopsis of
Zsolt Kéri Nagy's PhD thesis:**

**Analysis of risks and challenges affecting the security and stability of the Republic of
Hungary and the Hungarian nation from the perspective of improving the national security
strategy**

I. CHOICE OF SUBJECT MATTER

The political events of international politics at the end of the 20th century – against the backdrop of accelerating globalisation – had influenced the international system to an extent whereby it was necessary to radically reconsider the existing conditions and processes of security policy theories. The paradigm change in security policies had fundamentally been brought about by the nature of the altered international system, the development of factors affecting security and stability, and the changes in their character and impact mechanism.

The attempts made by the western world at globalisation and modernisation have, by today, created an ever more complex and sensitive system of relations within the international system, which has brought about a situation characterised by unipolar and unpredictable risks and challenges based on the hegemony of the United States after a period of relative “stability” of predictable threats and dangers. In this new international political arena, the opportunities for a multitude of forms of non-military risks and challenges have soared in numbers parallel with the gradual retreat of threats based on the application of direct military force. However, the recognition, definition, detection, and tackling of the former is much more difficult a task than handling purely military-type threats.

In view of the fact that the recognition and analysis of non-military risks at global and regional levels as well as the applicable countermeasures adopted with a view to prevention and protection is the fundamental interest of the given states and alliances while the excavation and analysis of risks may only become full-blown with the synthesis of an increasing number of scientific fields, my choice of subject matter seems relevant under the increasingly fast changing conditions of the international system. My choice of subject matter is also justified by my desire to synthesis my wide ranging experience gained in research of particular factors of security policies and the possibilities open for their use in everyday planning processes.

During the processing of the selected subject matter I fundamentally relied on events prior to October 2004, which was also the deadline for the first draft version of the thesis; however, in the period leading up to the workshop discussion and the submission of the thesis for peer review certain segments had been revised and new segments had been inserted.

2. SUMMARY AND AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

During the research of the topic and with a view to protecting the national values and interests of the Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian nation, I had set myself the aim to reveal and give an objective analysis of the specific types of potential risks and challenges affecting the present and future of the nation under the conditions of the international system, as well as to define and the possibilities open to the national governments to react and act within their room for manoeuvre. During the research and in the analysis I had always striven to interpret and assess all the particular phenomena and processes in an objective and impartial manner.

The following tasks had been set as the aims of the thesis:

1. **the dynamic reconsideration of the security strategy of the Hungarian nation** in a period of curtailment of national government influence and roles expressed as a function of government task management based on a radically altered global and European security system of conditions,
2. **the global and local expansion of security policy strategy** with a theoretical approach,
3. the necessity to **dissect comprehensive sub-strategies in practice** and raising awareness of the importance of emphatically voicing such need,
4. the **presentation** of non-military **security policy risks** directly or indirectly affecting the security policies of the Republic of Hungary through special correlations, which are given special emphasis within the geopolitical dimension due to the particular geographic, historic, economic, cultural and social characteristics of the Republic of Hungary,
5. the **revelation of regional risks** arising due to global challenges within the security policy analysis embedded in the general environment of military science,
6. the analysis of the policy of the Republic of Hungary concerning her neighbours in specific relation to the **policies concerning Hungarian minorities outside Hungary's borders and the stability of the region**,
7. the presentation of the correlation between the **Hungarian economic potential** and security,
8. the revelation of the mechanisms of implementation of **other regional challenges stemming from the effects of globalisation**,
9. and finally, the **revelation and analysis of phenomena and correlations** under an increasingly radically changing international system, whose understanding and effective management is indispensable in order to **help Hungarian security policies progress to full maturity**.

In the interest of the attainment of the proposed aims, the essence of the applied **research method** in relation to the **basic research** was the comparison and contrast of already known social, political, economic, and natural phenomena and necessities with the organic changes of certain specific components of security policies. During the course of basic research I had to familiarise myself with the research results of a number of special fields that may also be identified as resultants of security policy challenges in order to identify the relevant points of relation in terms of the thesis, to prove the existence of an increasingly strong system of interdependence of the various dimensions of the security

policy challenges, as well as to allow the desired effects to be realised with respect to by-processes during risk management.

During my activities performed as part of the basic research, when analysing the security policy challenges facing the Republic of Hungary, I had come to the generalisable conclusion that the various dimensions of today's Hungarian security policy challenges may fundamentally be traced back to two global and one regional phenomena. In the short term, the **process of globalisation**, and the ecological global changes stemming to a large part therefrom, as well as the emergence of the new form of **international terrorism**, as well as the geopolitical position of the country at a regional level and particularly the **non-coincidence of the Hungarian nation and the borders of the Hungarian state** can be identified as the resultants of all the revealed security policy challenges from among the global challenges. In the middle-run, risks are imposed by the potentially developing tensions within the migration of labour power, and the global and national distribution systems stemming from global demographic trends. The thesis primarily examines the above resultants of security policy challenges but it ultimately aims to look at the complex interdependence of risks and challenges, with main emphasis placed on the analysis of the relationship of the above starting points and components.

With regard to the **applied research** the results revealed during the basic research are utilised when drawing final conclusions and making proposals alike, while under the framework of the **development research** recommendations are made to improve the existing national security strategy.

When applying the alternative forms of **scientific research** the examination of the correlations of specified projections of the security policies, the revelation of the driving forces behind the policies, and the system of relation of the impact mechanisms were placed in the focal point using a **comparative method**. Relying on the merits of **historical method** an analysis of the historical development and the factors affecting development with respect to certain projections of security policies are given.

3. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH RESULTS AND THE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

In the discussion of research results I divided the paper into separate chapters in consistency with the nature of the risks threatening the security and stability of the Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian nation on the basis of the impacts at global and regional levels.

In the analysis of global factors threatening stability **in the first chapter I looked at the global international arena**, treating subjects like the complete change in the international system parallel with the development of a unipolar world order, as well as the related changes in the security policy-theoretical approaches. Within the changes of the international environment, I look at the character of system of alliance including the Republic of Hungary and particularly the effects of the expansive forces within these alliances on Hungarian national interests. In an era of political, economic, and military integration I present the steadily narrowing room for manoeuvre of the nation state as it is gradually losing its influence over the three power potentials against the new security

policy risks and challenges, and I also shed light onto the intensifying interdependence therein when giving an analysis of the specific dimensions of the security policy challenges.

Of all the relevant global factors affecting the stability and security of the Republic of Hungary, **I had first treated the state and impact** of economic, ecological, political, technical-technological, as well as ideological-cultural dimensions of **globalisation** as a form of external environmental bequest from the perspective of affecting the security of the nation. **Secondly, I emphasised the risks of ecological processes** from among the impacts of the specific dimensions of globalisation in view of their novelty and the underestimation of their importance in theory and practice. Still focusing on the global challenges, **as a third step I gave an analysis of the risks emerging with the development of the new form of international terrorism.**

In the second chapter of the discussion, in the analysis of the **regional factors** affecting the stability and security of the Republic of Hungary, I **attempted to unravel** processes that are construed within the narrow geo-political space of the Republic of Hungary in a particular way, i.e. those that – as part of the global system – produce the complex collection of processes and impacts within a narrow system of space. Under this framework I treat the subject of risks presented by the large Hungarian population living outside the borders of the country in terms of security policies, the risks stemming from the Hungarian national economy, the challenges stemming from demographic and migration trends and organised crime, as well as the question of technological and environmental security, and finally the risks of international terrorism.

The third chapter of the thesis the theoretical and practical **system of requirements** of a dynamically revised and reconsidered **strategic creation** is **described** as one of the objectives of the research. This is accompanied by **recommendations** made with a view to **improving** components of the Hungarian national security strategy. In line with the research objectives the **expansion** of the **strategy-theory** is implemented by the analysis of global and local risks and challenges not or not sufficiently treated by the Hungarian national security policies, and this is coupled with recommendations concerning the more comprehensive definition of the strategy. **In compliance with the objectives of the study,** I wished to direct attention onto the independence of the Hungarian national strategy, being the theoretical basis of the Hungarian national security strategy, of politics and economy, onto the importance and principles of constant revision of the Hungarian security strategy, the appropriate weighting of the components thereof, the division of strategy into sub-strategies, and the need for systematic supervision of the implementation. The thesis intended to reflect on the issues that may at first sight seem inherently part of the national strategy and which are designed to ensure the future of the nation by defining and expressing the values and interests of the Hungarian nation, which, however, seem to be fully or partially sacrificed on the altar of everyday political and economic power struggles in an ongoing process of globalisation.

In chapter four of the study, the correlations revealed during the research are **summarised,** containing the latest research results and recommendations.

4. SCIENTIFIC OUTPUT AND RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING FUTURE USE

With the thesis I directed attention onto the completely or partially new risk factors and challenges affecting Hungary and the stability and security of a completely altered international system. By analysing the subject matter, I believe I had pioneered in **providing a more comprehensive complex analysis of security policies by placing real processes and trends into a peculiar system of relation by taking a wide spectrum of anticipated risks into consideration** when analysing the specific factors. The following results I consider to be of scientific value:

1. The **matrix-type mapping of interdependence** existing between risks and challenges **affecting certain security policy factors**, as well as **the presentation of impacts** affecting certain factors of the matrix and the **system that induce the changes** implemented on certain processes by these impacts.
2. I had also made recommendations for **further analysis of processes not sufficiently treated or present** within the national security strategy of the Republic of Hungary but potentially capable of fundamentally rocking the future of the nation (demographic processes, Hungarian minorities outside and ethnic minorities inside the borders of Hungary, ecological changes), as well as for the development of components within the Hungarian national security strategy characterised now by the **division of strategy into sub-strategies** and a system of **supervision** and reporting procedures – the principle of **rolling planning** – whose practical implementation may **give the Republic of Hungary a relative advantage**.
3. I also **revealed the role of nation states** as they are gradually losing their power potential over **control** of certain factors of security policies; while in terms of the attainability of long-term national values and interests I directed attention onto the **increased importance of decisions** belonging to the scope of power of the nation state.
4. I concluded that it is necessary to **involve** a wider spectrum of Hungarian **society** and **the civil sphere** in order to be able to determine national values and interests more effectively, which ultimately leads to more **effective contribution** to the handling of security policy challenges and the shaping of national strategy by increasing the role of society in the definition of foreign and security policies.

In view of the amplification of the entire system of relations based on the complex analysis of security policies, I hereby **offer** my study to the Zrínyi Miklós National Defence University with a view to providing a basis for more complex understanding of the problem issues and for **further research** of the nature of the expressed relationships, and also to **all actors participating in the process of theoretical and practical improvement of the national security strategy** to help them provide better and more effective protection for Hungarian national values and interests. Based on the research findings expressed in the study, it is recommended that **government decisions** take the interdependent nature of the factors of social-economic-defence policies, and the importance of the integration of environmental, economic, and social policies into consideration in order to **ensure sustainable development**, and to protect the interests and values of the Hungarian nation.