

**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE**

**Doctoral School of Military Sciences**

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**AUTHOR'S WORDS**

to the PhD thesis

**STRATEGIC QUESTIONS  
OF FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY  
IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

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## INTRODUCTION

The challenges of the recent past with a gradual effect on the external and security policy of Hungary have been changing in our present days, justifying the need for re-evaluating the approach to national security. The safety of our zone – the Carpathian-Balkan region<sup>1</sup> – will not be influenced by the threats originating from the lack of military balance between the individual countries or regions, but by the instability and imbalance of the individual countries, be that internal or external (driven by political, social, economic, ethnic or religious motivations). These negative factors pose a threat in the Near- and Middle East, generate proliferation crises and build crisis zones in Southern Europe, Middle Asia as well as North and Middle Africa. They strongly influence security. The rise and expansion of the Islamic State, the revolutions linked to the Arab Spring, the Georgian, Libyan, Syrian, Russian-Ukrainian, most recently the Turkish crisis and the financial world crisis after the fall of Lehmann Brothers after 2008, together with the Fukushima catastrophe, spectacularly illustrate it. *“Their spill-over and contaminating effect, as a matter of fact, circumscribe the very same phenomenon. It means that these conflicts often destabilize whole regions and may become sources of global dangers, epidemics, terrorism and flows of migration.”*<sup>2</sup> Local conflicts appear in several shapes; along power-based, economic or religious interests, among nationalistic, ethnic, religious, national minority groups or in forms of protracted civil wars. As Viktor Friedmann formulated it: *“Contemporary conflicts get a regional aspect, they gain force from the resources of the international underground economy and become subjects of disputes on humanitarian interference.”*<sup>3</sup> As a result, the present day conflicts are linked to certain geographic regions. The ability to judge their object is indispensable when it comes to understand the regional conflict-complexes as Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg put it in their definition.

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<sup>1</sup> In my paper I have a closer look the Carpathian-Balkan region and I use the notion of our region and our area as synonyms depending on the context. According to Ferenc Gazdag: *“It is worth devoting some attention to the ‘natural’ sphere of interest of the analyzed country, in which the aims and means of the national assertiveness are in harmony and more favorable opportunities are at their disposal than at the disposal of other regions. At the same time, on this ‘ground of interest’ comparative types of advantages can be taken. For Hungary the so called Carpathian-Balkan region can be regarded as a natural sphere of interest, where partially the cultural connections (the Hungarian ethnic minority living in the neighboring countries), partially the economic role (investments) or the international role (presence in SFOR, IFOR, KFOR) have laid the foundations for a wider representation of the Hungarian interests.”*

GAZDAG Ferenc: *A biztonságpolitikai kihívások természetéről*. In: Grotius. 2012. p.5.

[http://www.grotius.hu/doc/pub/CEKOFW/2012\\_35\\_gazdag\\_a\\_biztonsagpolitikai\\_kihivasok\\_termeszeterol.pdf](http://www.grotius.hu/doc/pub/CEKOFW/2012_35_gazdag_a_biztonsagpolitikai_kihivasok_termeszeterol.pdf) (2016.04.23.)

<sup>2</sup> FRIEDMANN Viktor: *A konfliktuskezelés új terei – Az államon belüli konfliktusok regionális, inter- és transznacionális dimenziói* In: Kül-Világ, 2007. IV. évf. 3-4.sz. (vol.4, no. 3-4.) p.76.

<http://kul-vilag.freeweb.hu/2007/0304/friedmann.pdf> (2016.01.16.)

<sup>3</sup> FRIEDMANN: i.m. p.98.

Conflicts can be evaluated in their complexity only with regard to the events and relations clustering in the region. The individual agents or the processes themselves cannot be defined within their framework, as the actors of most conflicts operate reaching across the borderlines.<sup>4</sup>

## **FORMULATING THE SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM**

Today's foreign and security political events have led us to the conclusion that we are standing at the borders of a multi-pole world after having stood on a single-pole field of force dominated by the Atlantic powers. The time interval discussed in this paper has kept its Anglo-Saxon character. We can ask which forces are going to dominate the international arena in the medium term, until 2030, regarding behavioral patterns. We can wonder whether the new orientation, which seems to shift conspicuously towards the Eurasian field of force, will be able to handle the unsolved international problems or not.

Within the framework of the changing international system, the new threats seem to widen due to their complex nature. If the processes escalate, they can destabilize huge areas economically, politically, sociologically, militarily or in terms of intelligence service. To those changes other, negative, enhancing social phenomena can attach themselves. The demographic fall in Europe, the financial crisis, the weakening of the welfare systems, unemployment among the youth as well as the migration pressure are tackled ineffectively resulting in citizens' distrust of the states' crisis handling ability. Can these processes lead to paradigm shifts in present days' foreign and security politics and delineate the connected national security tasks?

It is obvious that the continually changing and complicating challenges cannot be addressed using the old tools, the old set of relations. The new ones haven't been developed yet. That is why, adjusted to the topic of the paper, I am looking for the answer to whether we can take measures against the new threats more effectively within the regional boundaries.

Taking into account all those above, the aim of this dissertation is to present and evaluate today's security situation in the light of the new threats, and to offer a regional cooperative form devised to address and to solve them.

## **RESEARCH HYPOTHESES**

In my thesis paper I will analyze the circumstances that extort strategic changes in terms of security politics (meaning both the security of the nation and national security) in four countries

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<sup>4</sup> WALLENSTEEN, Peter — SOLLENBERG, Margareta: *Armed Conflict and Regional Conflict Complexes*, 1989-97. In: *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 35, no. 5, p.623.

situated in the Carpathian-Balkan region. I will also analyze the effect mechanisms of the predominating tendencies. The timeliness of the topic is given by the migration situation of 2015 and 2016, when the external and security policies needed to be transformed. It is inevitable for these four states to outline a system of strategies adapted to the new circumstances with content that creates the base to the upcoming practical solutions as well. Relying on these points I formulated the following hypotheses in my research:

1. I presuppose that the foreign political thinking and the succeeding political steps embodied in concrete actions have delineated new goals and a new set of tasks for the national security services. I believe that the central element is the planned, directed information and prognostic activity. The aim is to reveal and research new phenomena by using information and to direct the attention of the political decision makers both to the old topicalities and to the new tasks and circumstances.
2. One of the most important supportive elements of a country's foreign policy and diplomatic relations is the activity of the national security services. I suppose that this type of activity has expanded due to the changes and complex challenges in the international system of interests. New components have gained defining roles such as the empirical experience, the constant growth of the assertive power and the cooperation through partnership.
3. In the thematic focus of my paper there is the complex set of challenges affecting the national security which, as I assume, has led to a paradigm shift in today's foreign- and security policy, and consequently, to a new definition of the tasks of the national security services as well. The treatment of the intensifying crises presupposes a proactive attitude on behalf of the national security sphere, which in the theoretical regional cooperative system envisioned in this paper, could be able to react more effectively than the systems operating on the national level due to the geopolitical and geostrategic position it possesses.

## **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

In my treatise I intend to reveal those questions of the national security sphere which are closely connected to the risks endangering our foreign and national security policies that have emerged in the 2010s in our country, our region and in Europe. My aim in this project is to reach the following results:

1. I intend to outline and analyze *the most important developmental directions that can clearly be drawn*. In the actual segment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century *we have to take into account* the shift of the power relations. We need to examine the possible changes in the state of the international security policies, we need to formulate those foreign and security relations which can affect national security, in other words, which can indirectly influence the political decisions on the activity of the national security sphere.
2. I wish to cast a light on today's changes, on the trends and processes that affect the national security sphere either directly or indirectly.
3. I intend to research, analyze and compare the Hungarian, Slovak, Austrian and Croatian national security system in order to devise a differentiated and efficient future cooperation.
4. I will examine the national security components and priorities of the strategic cultures of the four countries.

## RESEARCH METHODS

After the overview of the topic I applied an exploratory method; I analyzed and processed a significant number of Hungarian and foreign language documents, laws and measures, all theorizing the national security sphere, I did so in order to establish the system of relationships.

Doing my basic research I chose investigation and comparative analysis which helped me *explore the principles and interdependence* of foreign, security and national policies. In my reasoning I followed a research strategy of inductive logic, that is, I attempted to explain the concrete phenomena on the basis of already developed theories, general rules and scientific items.

The scientific approach used for the third and fourth chapter of my paper was one of the most widely used processes in the empirical social scientific research; I relied on the traditional approach of the case-based comparative method. The method has at its foundation the definition formulated by Adam Przeworski – Henry Teune<sup>5</sup> and Charles C. Ragin, according to which “[b]ecause the comparative method has this character, statistical criteria are less important to this approach. This means that the comparative method does not work with samples of

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<sup>5</sup> PRZEWORSKI, Adam – TEUNE, Henry: *The logic of comparative social inquiry*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1970. p.15. [http://online.sfsu.edu/sguo/Renmin/June1\\_logic/The%20Logic%202\\_Prezworski.pdf](http://online.sfsu.edu/sguo/Renmin/June1_logic/The%20Logic%202_Prezworski.pdf) (2016.05.26)

populations but with all relevant instances of the phenomenon of interest.”<sup>6</sup> Based on the “Most Similar Systems” design method my research concentrates on the four countries mentioned above, where the similarity criteria is the geographical proximity, the shared history and culture as well as the economic, social and political system, all of that together give an analytical-evaluative character to my thesis paper.

During my research I took part in conferences, tutorials and lectures, which supported me in developing my topic. Parallel to doing my research, my conclusions, position and my suggestions were summarized and published in form of scientific papers and appeared at national scientific contests.

## **SURVEY OF RELEVANT LITERATURE**

Besides studying and processing the vast amount of primary and secondary foreign language literature, my predominant sources were the international strategic documents, governmental documents and resolutions, foreign policy yearbooks and laws.

From the vast amount of international data resources it is that of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), that of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), that of the Food and Agriculture organization of the UNO, that of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which are worth mentioning. From the domestic resources I would like to point out the Central Statistical Office (KSH) that provided recent and reliable data. A similar importance can be assigned to the discussed four countries’ yearbooks published by the individual national security bureaus. The stronger bulk of the secondary literature relies on the military scientific, the foreign and security political printed and digital literature, including biographies, essay collections, periodicals and press materials. Other forms of the processed material included university lecture notes, thesis papers and doctoral dissertations, as well as lectures and tutorials at various forums.

A special emphasis, apart from the English language professional literature – as a completion – was given to the Slovak, Czech, Croatian and German language publications and to the quotations from the individual original languages. The translations were carried out by me.

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<sup>6</sup> RAGIN, Charles. C.: *The comparative method: moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989. p.15-16.

## DURATION OF RESEARCH

Though the research concentrated on today's matters in terms of duration, the chapter discussing the national security systems and the strategic culture of the four nations, so as to guarantee understandability, will consider the events beginning from 1990.

The research activity was closed on 31st July 2016, so the discourse is based on the occurrences before that date.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISCOURSE

*My treatise, following the Introduction, contains four thematic chapters, at the end of which I summarize the results of the research work and I formulate partial conclusions.*

In the **first chapter** I present the substantial developmental directions of the international situation, which – I believe – can have significance on the medium turn until the year 2030. These trends hinge on the further development of the theoretical-methodical bases of futurology and on the use of the theoretical and practical set of knowledge accumulated based on the complex social and economic predictions. In the first part of the chapter, by contrasting the different theories existing at the birth of a new world order, I am trying to find the answer to how would the structure of the world power relations look like in the discussed period. I also used views formerly hardly ever or never published in our country (Ven Chia-pao, Parag Khanna, Milan Zelený, and materials from the Frankfurt Peace Research Institute). The second part of the chapter contains the pragmatic summation of these theories, within the renewed intellectual framework of the 21<sup>st</sup> century geopolitics, represented in Hungary by significant scientist like Ferenc Gazdag, Ágnes Bernek, József Bayer, István Szilágyi, László Botz, Gergely Ablaka or Ágnes Szunomár, among others. I examined the seven most powerful figures of the international life and I sketched those foreign and security political relations that can have impact on the national security.

There have been socio-political changes going on at a global scale that have re-drawn the strategic map of the world, also re-defined the geopolitical processes and security challenges of Europe and our region. The **second chapter** consists of two thematic units. In the first one I will present the amount of challenge repositories; in other words, I defined the relevant centers of gravity in terms of national security tasks appearing in our days that have a mid-term effect. I deviated from the overused “global-regional-local” point of view and from the “hard and soft challenges” system so frequently alluded to in the national security strategy. The evaluative system that I have devised relies on a problem centered model in which the relevance of the

relationships is dominant in way that the country-specific tendencies are presented, too. The second part of the chapter discusses the destabilizing processes directly affecting Europe, some even tear Europe apart from within, and some arrive from the international zone either from the south or the east, endangering security. The states of the examined regions struggle with the overdue statehood and with the national self-definition, in some of them the religious and territorial division has touched bottom; the state organizations work with low efficiency, the state itself is at the verge of falling apart. The reach of these problems is not restrained to the local space, which became conspicuous after 9-11-2001. These states do not pose as challenges only for themselves or their own regions, but for the entire international community.

All of that entails the security sphere with such new burdens that it has not met before. It brings about the need for developing intelligence skills, which – based on my suggestions – could be carried out on the cooperative level among the four countries. It could become the new foundation on which the relationships among the individual countries could be changed; a regional union could be created to handle the new challenges, because measures against them are impossible to be taken on the national level. *“Despite all the national strivings one can expect success only if there is a narrow international cooperation based on trust”*<sup>7</sup>, which is definitely of a narrower range than that the Club of Bern (BC), or the Middle European Conference – MEC<sup>8</sup>, or the NATO Special Committee<sup>9</sup> – with Austria not being a member – and far from doubting the significance of these formations – they all go beyond the limits of bilateral cooperation.

To achieve this goal we need to familiarize with the national security systems of the discussed countries and the changes they have undergone, which will be presented in the **third chapter**. In my view, strategic culture has a reference definition *“that makes the examination of the wider relationships behind the national security and defense political decisions possible and reveals the motivations and characteristic traits.”*<sup>10</sup> Strategic culture this way is capable to

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<sup>7</sup> KIS-BENEDEK József: *A nemzetbiztonsági szolgálatok nemzetközi együttműködése*. In: *Hadtudomány*, 2013. XXIII. évf. 1-2. sz. p.101. [http://www.mhht.eu/hadtudomany/2013/1\\_2/HT\\_2013\\_1-2\\_mhht.pdf](http://www.mhht.eu/hadtudomany/2013/1_2/HT_2013_1-2_mhht.pdf) (2016.04.14.)

<sup>8</sup> The Club the Berne (BC) has as its members the 28 EU member states, Norway and Switzerland. The Middle European Conference- MEC according to data from 2008 consists of 34 services in 24 countries. Unionpedia: *Berner Club*. [http://de.unionpedia.org/i/Berner\\_Club](http://de.unionpedia.org/i/Berner_Club) (2016.04.24.)

<sup>9</sup> The NATO Special Committee is the oldest intelligence cooperation organization. The North Atlantic Council brought it to life on 3 December 1952, the member states are represented by the commanders of the security services of the member states, or the nations are represented by appointed commanders whom the Intelligence Community entrusted with the task. The Council makes proposals to the NAC in topics like espionage, terrorism and other, non-military threats.

KIS-BENEDEK József: i.m. p.109-110.

<sup>10</sup> VARGA Miklós: *Egy közös uniós stratégiai kultúra kilátásai – elméleti megfontolások és gyakorlati akadályok*. In: *Külügyi Szemle*, 2012. XI. évf.3. szám. (vol. 11, no.3) p.101

cast a light on connections developed along historic, social, political and value-based relationships. To closely examine the set of problems, I devised a theoretical framework that illustratively presents the national security environment of the discussed countries in the past 25 years, the foreign and security political priorities that have emerged, and have been adjusted to the challenges and their effect on the national security sphere. I believe this chapter will address the strategic, foreign political complex set of relationships and will delineate the action fields of the national security sphere.

These objectives are presented through the comparison of the national security systems of the observed countries, discussed in **the fourth chapter**. The comparison reflects the circumstances existing in July 2016, the time when the Counter Terrorism Information and Criminal Analytical Centre (TIBEK) was formed with the amendment of the law 125 of 1995, as the newest national security service of the Carpathian-Balkan region. At its base there is the compilation of laws in force on the services and in the case of the civilian national security services there are the yearbooks at disposal, except the Hungarian system.

13 individual items constitute the central elements of the examined network and the number ensures the presentation of a comprehensive, qualitative picture revealing similarities, likeness, parallelisms and differences. We need to take into consideration the assumption that comparison can only be successful if the subjects are comparable in their nature and function, and if the civilian and that the military services are clearly separable. Illustration no. 5 hopefully will help understand the similarities and differences between the states and that recognition will constitute a solid base for cooperation to meet the challenges affecting security. We need national security organizations that are effective, innovative in terms of research and development, are in the possession of special abilities, can respond to various challenges and threats, and are capable of renewing and satisfying the needs of the information society.

## **SUMMARY OF RESEARCH RESULTS**

To reach my research goals, when doing my thesis, I started out with the assumption that the former security mechanisms did not guarantee solutions for the transformed situation in terms of security. In the immediate neighborhood of Europe crisis zones have emerged which resulted in effects difficult to tackle. The pressure on Europe has been constantly growing, the decisions on common solutions are limited and the chasms between the individual states are getting larger. The reaction time for forming a suitable security system is slow and cumbersome, the methods and mechanisms formerly developed do not offer a solution. In our days we have to

start out from the new situation in which the symptoms of the crisis and the effect mechanisms show themselves in a different shape.

To that result we need to familiarize with the global-regional system of relationships as the frameworks of the long distance development that keep transforming in the present. *In the first chapter I outlined the most important developmental directions of the international situation which, in my opinion, we have to take into account. I found it important to present the problematic nature of globalization and sovereignty in the context of the world order theories. Out of the theoretical points of view, pointing beyond the mainstream wings, I used scientific works not yet published in Hungary.*

*In the geopolitical context I examined the upcoming possible changes until 2030 inclusively and I formulated those foreign and security political relations that can have an effect on the national security.*

In the second chapter of my paper I explored and presented the changes in the tasks of the national security services, with a special interest in the factors affecting the foreign and security policy. *I analyzed and evaluated those characteristic features which bring about considerable changes in the national security activity, tasks, tools or methods.*

*I explored and presented those destabilizing processes and plexuses along which crises and conflict bearing changes can occur, and I pointed out that our region is exactly in the intersection of them. Apart from describing the horizontal dimension that presents the threats coming from the south and the east, I indicated the effects of the foreign and security political shifts on the vertical dimension as well.*

*I arrived at the conclusion that in the analyzed states of the Carpathian-Balkan region we have to take into account the challenges presented, because due to their geopolitical position they constitute the gates of the transit ways leading to Europe (the West-Balkan route).*

In the third chapter as a continuation of this theoretic line I marked *the boundaries of the analysis and narrowed it down to Hungary and its three other neighbors, Slovakia, Austria and Croatia with an emphasis on the importance of the commonality of their interests arising from their geopolitical position with regard to the present day decay of the security environment.* That served as a base when I attempted to present the historic development of the national security services adjusting themselves to the foreign and security political challenges. It also served as a base for the analysis of the national security sphere in the four countries.

In the fourth chapter of the paper I listed a set of criteria generally usable for comparing the given national security services. I evaluated the national security system of the four countries and I also provided an international outlook on the matter.

To sum it up, *based on the assumption that having common geopolitical circumstances, the challenges also touch these countries with the same intensity we can conclude that the status of “small state” provides us with stronger and more intensive bonds, stronger than when there are significant differences between the members of the cooperation.*

## **CONFIRMING THE HYPOTHESES**

Starting out from those discussed above I am sharing the following findings when confirming the original hypotheses of my research.

1. *I suppose that the national security sphere has been given a new set of aims and tasks by the foreign political concrete measures originating from the foreign political thinking, triggered by our days’ complex challenges. I think that the central element of that is the planned and directed information and foreseeing activity, which targets the exploration, research and analysis of new phenomena through the received information as well as directs the scope of attention of the political decision makers towards the new happenings or new directives and tasks.*

The political world situation seems to be changing together with the position of the superpowers. The ever changing and transforming challenges of the present which come from an international environment put additional tasks onto the our foreign policy. Foreign policy itself converges to the security policy, to the internal politics, to the development politics and to the economy politics. The “warranty” of the previously defined foreign policy expired, and the change can be proved and justified in the case of Hungary and the three other countries as well. There is a need for a reformulation and a new interpretation of it, and that in return has an effect onto the activity of the national security sphere, as a new scope and target of its activity is given. Beyond the safety of the country, it is the enhancing of governing efficiency, the raising of the international position of the country and ensuring political, economic and diplomatic growth that gives a new complexity to their actions. The national security activity thus requires more efficient open and covered information gathering, it needs the expansion of the information channels and the strengthening of the qualitative analysis as well. And as a consequence, it requires the fast and targeted use of the gained information.

I consider the statement formulated in my hypothesis confirmed.

2. *One of the most substantial supports of the foreign policy and diplomatic relationships of a country is the activity of the national security services. I presuppose that the changes and challenges that have emerged in their complexity in the international interest*

*relations and the national security activity gained a new width; serious roles are now played by components such as empirical findings, experiences, growing assertive skills and partners' cooperation.*

As I have proven it in my paper, professional measures need to be taken, the kinds that have at their base a systematic decision preparation mechanism which is in the possession of the information gathering, processing and usage powers. I chose to present methodically four countries – Hungary, Slovakia, Austria, Croatia – which have a common historic past, being former countries of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire; they share a similar cultural civilization, and, geographically, they are situated next to each other in the Central European region. Their economic and political developmental model used to be very different during the bipolarized world order, but after the fall of socialism, a common set of values has been dominant. Important criteria for selection were the foreign political parallelisms characterizing these countries (the expansion of the EU, the Western Balkans and the Eastern Partnership). However, the fact with the highest relevance was the regional similarity of interests which links and directs the interactions among the societies discussed. Within this commonness of interests, the satisfaction of a common need – which is maintaining security – the participants are tied with several opportunities for action, as *“in this world that has lost its center, the regions serve as complex government spaces of power, cooperation and identity.”*<sup>11</sup>

In terms of the synergies envisioned in my paper, they resemble the defense cooperation devised in 2012 by the Benelux States or the Nordic Defense Cooperation (NORDEF). Only those countries are capable to harmonize their interests which have the same load, are able to form a common platform and cooperate even in the operational field, recognize the advantages of their growing political and economic common weight, and make the stronger powers unable to force their will upon them. One cannot ignore the economic benefits and savings as results of forming common competences.

In terms of structure, the model is a way of cooperation which does not have an institutional system, is decentralized, and it is led by international experts through coordinated mechanisms.

The course of the cooperation, however, touches upon a sensitive point, because the national intelligence services are important elements of the national sovereignty. Each

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<sup>11</sup> Európai Unió: *Közös jövőkép, közös fellépés: Erősebb Európa. Globális stratégia az Európai Unió kül- és biztonságpolitikájára vonatkozóan*, 2016. p. 26. [https://eeas.europa.eu/top\\_stories/pdf/eugs\\_hu.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/pdf/eugs_hu.pdf) (2016.07.30.)

individual country protects information existing in its possession, its informants, and its information devices. The conditions are even further strengthened by the Lisbon Treaty, which states that the intelligence services and in the complex sense the national defense activity are conferred to the scope of the national authority. As a contrast, in the recommendations formulated in my research paper the responses to be given to the challenges originating from the geopolitical and geostrategic position of the discussed countries need a common handling through the creation of a strong and effective cooperation scheme which needs to be formed pragmatically and effectively to support the cohesion of the zone and to represent the interests of the Carpathian-Balkan region within the union. Based on all that, the statements formulated in my hypothesis have been proved.

3. *In terms of topic, at the center of my paper there is the complex system of new challenges faced by the national security sphere, which have led to a paradigm-shift in today's foreign and security policy and along with that, in the designation of the tasks related to the national security.*

The geopolitical processes in Europe and within it, Hungary, changed fundamentally by the 2010s. The security challenges of our region have been reformulated. For their closer examination I devised a set of generally usable criteria. Connected to that I cast a light on the possibility of handling the problems aroused within a new interpretative framework only, and that is the system or regional cooperation.

Based on all of the above I devised the framework of cooperation in which I focused on the examination of systems by choosing the national security element of the strategic culture, on the other hand I presented the similarities and differences between four countries. To this end I consider the statement contained by my hypothesis proven.

## **SCIENTIFIC RESULTS**

1. I could prove the existence of paradigm shift in the first part of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in foreign and national security politics. I explored, using a problem-centered model, the relevant focal points in terms of national security tasks to define the new roles for the new challenges.
2. As a result of the basic research I devised a complex method for comparing national security services, which help reveal the national specific features, at the same time similarities and linking points can be presented, too.

3. I demonstrated how the strategic cultural set of theories work applied to the national security sphere. Further developed, connected to the changes of the foreign and security policy I presented the cyclic effects induced by the foreign and security political changes onto the national security sphere.

## **POSSIBLE FIELDS OF USE OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. The foreign and security political challenges of our days have reached a critical point where we need to think over the theoretical and consequently, the practical perspectives of taking measures against them. This new situation extorts – through the presented security and defense political challenges – the strategic renewal of its treatment, as well as the modernization of the national security sphere. This doctoral dissertation can be a guideline for decision makers and personnel actively taking part in the decision making process.
2. Though several documents have delineated the accentuated elements of the national security tasks – Hungary’s National Security Strategy (2012), Hungary’s National Military Strategy, National Cyber-Security Strategy of Hungary (implemented in 2013) as well as the Foreign Relations Strategy of Hungary (in force until 2020) – the complexity of challenges has produced a new environment in which those tasks need to be reformulated at the decision making level as well. My paper aims at supporting that.
3. My dissertation is also an attempt of path finding, as today we cannot see clearly and there are no views that can be mirrored. The lawmaking and the system of strategies cannot keep up with the pace at which the world develops, that is why I recommend the further research of the topic through the sketched theses.
4. The two chapters discussing the comparisons of the four countries can be good bases at the undergraduate and master courses taking place at the National University of Public Service. The same holds true for the doctoral school which could incorporate my findings into the courses named “Foreign national security services” and “Practical studies of foreign national security services.” And they can be used at the Faculty of Law Enforcement in the research field known as “General theoretical studies of law enforcement, history of law enforcement, national security and law enforcement.” At the Faculty of International and European Studies it could be supplementary material for courses connected to foreign and security politics.

5. The paper could give methodical support for comparing and individually examining several countries, regions or crisis zones in terms of national security.
6. The vast amount of processed, explored and systematized foreign language professional literature contains significant factual information; it could serve as a base for further research.

## PUBLICATION LIST OF THE CANDIDATE IN THIS TOPIC

1. *Az elmúlt négy év éwertékelő beszédeinek kül- és biztonságpolitikai kérdései.*  
In: Hadtudományi Szemle, 2013. VI. évfolyam 1. szám. 57- 65. old. ISSN 2060-0437.
2. *Szlovákia biztonság- és védelempolitikájának alakulása az elmúlt 20 évben.*  
In: Hadtudományi Szemle, 2013. VI. évfolyam 2. szám. 101- 111. old. ISSN 2060-0437.
3. *Gondolatok” A nemzetbiztonság stratégiai kérdései a XXI. század kül- és biztonságpolitikai kihívásainak tükrében” című kutatási témához.*  
In: Társadalom és Honvédelem, 2013. XVII. évfolyam 3-4.szám. 344-356. old. ISSN 1417-7293
4. *Az állambiztonság és a külpolitika kapcsolata Magyarországon 1945-1990 között.*  
In: Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle, 2014. II. évfolyam 2. szám. 111-139. old. ISSN: 2064-3756
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## SCIENTIFIC-PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY OF THE CANDIDATE

Name: Márta Benedek  
Date of birth: 18. 06. 1973.

### Education:

2003 – 2006 Corvinus University of Budapest: expert of foreign affairs  
 1999 – 2002 Zrínyi Miklós National Defense University: expert of security and defence politics  
 1992 – 1998 Comenius University of Bratislava: German-Latin teacher

### Present studies

2013 – National University of Public Service, Military Science Doctoral School

### Language skills:

German: advanced level  
 Slovakian: advanced level  
 Latin: advanced level  
 English: intermediate level

### Professional experience:

2006 – Special Service for National Security

### Professional's conference abstract published in conference proceedings

- „A haza szolgálatában” konferencia: *A nemzetbiztonság stratégiai kérdései a XXI. század kül- és biztonságpolitikai kihívásainak tükrében.* 2013. október 25. Budapest, Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem
- „Hadtudomány és a XXI. század” elnevezésű konferencia: *A nemzetbiztonsági rendszer fejlesztésének és korszerűsítésének lehetőségei a XXI. század kihívásainak tükrében Magyarország, Ausztria, Horvátország és a Szlovák Köztársaság stratégiai rendszerének vizsgálata alapján.* 2016. február 24-25. Budapest, Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem

### Application:

- 2nd prize: a Nemzetbiztonsági Szakszolgálat által kiírt tudományos pályázaton: *Az NBSZ stratégiai célkitűzéseinek megvalósítása a jelentkező kihívások tükrében.* 2013.
- 1st prize: a Belügyi Tudományos Tanács, az NBSZ Tudományos Tanács és az AH Tudományos Tanács által kiírt pályázaton: *Magyarország, Szlovákia és Ausztria biztonság- és katonapolitikai nézetei, avagy a biztonság értelmezése Közép-Európában.* 2014.

Presentation:

- Kiss Károly Hadtudományi Klub: *Környező országok együttműködési lehetőségei, avagy a szomszédság a titkosszolgálatok között.* 2016. február 25.