

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

**THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY
AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE
HUNGARIAN DEFENSE FORCES**

by

Lieutenant Colonel István Biró
Hungarian Armed Forces

Doctor Marybeth P. Ulrich
Project Adviser

The views expressed in this student academic research paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

Report Documentation Page

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.

1. REPORT DATE 18 MAR 2005	2. REPORT TYPE	3. DATES COVERED -			
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The National Security Strategy and Transformation of the Hungarian Defense Forces		5a. CONTRACT NUMBER			
		5b. GRANT NUMBER			
		5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER			
6. AUTHOR(S) Istvan Biro		5d. PROJECT NUMBER			
		5e. TASK NUMBER			
		5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER			
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, PA, 17013-5050		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER			
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)		10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)			
		11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)			
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT See attached.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 33	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT unclassified	b. ABSTRACT unclassified	c. THIS PAGE unclassified			

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Lieutenant Colonel István Biró

TITLE: National Security Strategy and Transformation of the Hungarian Defense Forces

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 18 March 2005 PAGES: 33 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

Hungary has developed tremendously since the wall has fallen. It joined NATO and the European Union in the first rounds of their enlargement. Hungary is far ahead in democratization and has developed its economy significantly. Hungary also has played a key role in regional stability because of the patience of the Hungarian people during the two Balkans crises. Hungary was not involved in the crisis itself, but it played a role in stabilizing the region.

As the post-cold war situation and security environment changed, it had an impact on the Hungarian Defense Forces (HDF). It was clear that major reforms would be required. After the Communist regime collapsed, Hungary had relatively big and unaffordable armed forces that needed to be reduced and reformed. Later Hungary was invited for full membership in NATO and the path of reform became clearer. Hungary began the process of reforming its armed forces in order to meet NATO's requirements. Hungary transformed its armed forces from the Warsaw Pact to NATO successfully. However, the process of reform is ongoing because the new challenges and security environment continue to bring new requirements. In addition, six years of NATO member experiences tell us we need to continue reforming the armed forces in order to meet the 21st century requirements.

In this study I intend to summarize the Hungarian National Security Strategy and I point out its military consequences. I will then focus on the defense review and its outcomes. Furthermore, I will summarize the ongoing transformation of the HDF. I also will point out the strongest and weakest points of this process. Finally, I will make recommendations for implementation of the transformation and some points for consideration

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
PREFACE.....	vii
THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE HUNGARIAN DEFENSE FORCES	1
HUNGARIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY ASSESSMENT.....	1
GLOBAL STRATEGIC ASSESSMENT OF HUNGARY	1
DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT OF HUNGARY	2
HUNGARY'S GRAND STRATEGY ACCORDING TO THE NSS	4
THE EFFECT OF EXTERNAL ASSESSMENTS ON THE HDF	4
DEFENSE REVIEW OF HUNGARIAN DEFENSE FORCES	6
AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE DEFENSE REVIEW.....	6
PROCESS OF DEFENSE REVIEW	7
RESULT OF THE STRATEGIC REVIEW.....	7
TRANSFORMATION OF HDF.....	9
TASKS THAT NEED TO BE ACCOMPLISHED FOR SUCCESSFUL TRANSFORMATION	10
CHALLENGES TO EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION	12
POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	13
CONCLUSION	14
ENDNOTES	17
BIBLIOGRAPHY	23

PREFACE

Conducting a comprehensive defense review was necessary because the global and internal security environment has changed dramatically and had a big impact on the Hungarian Defense Forces (HDF). Hungary has made a big effort to reform its armed forces to accomplish its given mission. However, there were several shortfalls to the plans. In addition, several announcements and critics have pushed forward to reform the armed forces to make significant changes that enable the HDF to meet 21st century challenges. These efforts began after the new government took responsibility in 2002.¹

The national security environment and strategy has changed since the multi-party system was established and it always has had a significant effect on the armed forces' size, capabilities, missions, and tasks. The national security strategy has adapted to these changes in the post-Cold War era.

First, I would look back to the early 1990s when the Iron Curtain had fallen and the bipolar system had collapsed. Hungary had two options to move in a new way. The first option was to become a neutral country, which had several advantages and disadvantages. If Hungary chose the neutral way it could become isolated from the European Union or European countries and could be faced with difficulties to provide assistance to the Hungarian minorities living in neighboring countries. In addition, this could generate additional tension in the region. Moreover, neutrality is an expensive alternative. However, the neutrality approach would not tie Hungary to the international organizations, providing more freedom and sovereignty to implement the country's national interests.

The alternative strategy was to integrate into different international organizations and contribute to the peaceful environment in the region. Joining international organizations like the EU and NATO² provided more advantages for the country to achieve its objectives in the new environment. The forums of the EU and NATO support those interests and help to bring stability to the region. Collective defense contributes stability to the region, since it is not required to maintain big armed forces that the nation cannot afford. In addition, collective defense provides a better shield for its members. The European Union contributes to reunified nations without any conflicts and strengthens the economy. However, some restrictions can limit a nation's sovereignty to make decisions in certain areas.

Both options provided the advantages and disadvantages as pros and cons. The nation had chosen its way, and now as a result of those decisions, Hungary has returned back to Europe and is playing a key role in the stability of the region.

The facts described above are followed by several changes or transformation of the HDF in order to be able to secure Hungarian territorial integrity, sovereignty, and meet new environmental requirements. During this stage, it was clear that Hungary sees its future in the integrated collective defense environment within NATO³ and the EU. Therefore, the transformation of HDF was planned to meet this requirement. Of course, this is a long process and it will continue to adjust in the future as the country's national security strategy changes.

This paper will point out the transformations of HDF as requirements for 21st century and consequences of changing security environment. Therefore, in first part this paper will focus on analyzing the national security strategy and assessment of security environment. After analyzing the Hungarian NSS, it will continue with the defense review of the HDF and try to point out its strengths and weaknesses.

The link between the NSS and NMS is clear. The transformation of the HDF comes from an assessment of security environment. The outcomes affected the military's role. The first step of the defense review was to set the desired end state regarding foreign security policy and national security strategy. The second step was to conduct basic planning necessary to restate the missions and tasks of the HDF and pre-plan or allocate the military forces' required linking these with the determination of those forces' minimum capabilities. In the last steps, the

responsible staff calculated and allocated all necessary resources needed to achieve the minimum requirements and prioritized the various alternatives.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE HUNGARIAN DEFENSE FORCES

HUNGARIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY ASSESSMENT

Hungary has been living in peace since 1956. Hungary also managed the peaceful transformation from Communist dictatorship to a plural party system and developed democracy, thus returning to Europe. The Hungarian NSS reflects this feature. Therefore, Hungary's National Security Strategy is a consolidated and sequenced paper that the country wants to follow. It has made clear for all neighbors that Hungary does not claim its detached territory but will defend the rights of the Hungarians living in neighboring countries using all diplomatic means.¹

Hungary has a relatively good reputation in Central Europe. Hungary is the most stable country of the region. It has advanced in democratization and its economy is improving and. The Hungarian NSS is not aggressive and is more likely friendly to all neighbors and other countries as well. Hungary also made clear that no nation could violate its territorial integrity² because Hungarians will respond to it quickly and precisely using all available means.

After 9/11 the entire security environment has changed. A defense review noted the new requirements of the 21st century requiring the Hungarian Defense Forces (HDF) to transform for the future. The first step in this phase was to review and analyze Hungary's global and internal environment.

GLOBAL STRATEGIC ASSESSMENT OF HUNGARY

After the wall fell, the bi-polar world disappeared and the direct threat to Hungary's territory ended. However, there remained some differences between points of views of certain nations, which have threatened the peace in the world. Not all of the transformations were peaceful throughout Europe. There are still a few hot spots where the peace is so weak it threatens the stability of Europe. In such places like the Balkans, the multinational forces were able to stabilize the situation under the United Nations and NATO umbrellas.³

After the Warsaw Pact collapsed, its formal members started to search for other collective defense organizations and approached NATO to apply for alliance membership because they wanted to enjoy the advantages of collective defense. Ten years later, the first group joined NATO, and five years later, the next wave followed them.⁴ In addition, the expansion of NATO has not ended. Therefore, the Trans-Atlantic link is still strong. The enlargement of the European Union is also ongoing, with the first group of former Warsaw Pact states joining it in May 2004. So, the reorganization and regrouping of the European states is continuing.

The European Union's economy is stable and the Western countries play a significant role supporting the region. Their main effort is focused on development of the Central and East European countries, and part of the Balkan countries. The functioning of the region is supported by several treaties and bilateral or multinational agreements, which promote stability because the countries are complying with them. The various international organizations have undertaken the significant role of development of the region by the means to open the door to join them. The United Nations and the European Union play active roles to democratize, stabilize and develop the economy in Central and East Europe and the Balkan.⁵

Numerous non-state actors have a big influence on the security of Europe but the present activities of various extremist, terrorist groups (such as ETA, IRA and al Qaeda)⁶ can be noticeable. At present, the main concerns are the extreme Russian/Chechen separatists who are threatening the stability of Eastern Europe. The local and multinational organized crime groups are also threatening the region and its economic stability, and it is hard to control them. Extreme nationalism is also appearing in the region. Such activities are gaining support and may imbalance the countries' values and interests.

Although terrorism is threatening the stability of the world and the region, Europe is quiet safe and secure. The countries respect each other's sovereignty. They also pay attention to human rights of the minorities and contribute to democratization of the region. Unstable economic and democratic countries like some of the former Soviet republics are a potential threat to the stability of Europe. Possible conflict in the Caucasus can escalate and make the situation unstable. The main threat remaining is the uncontrolled Soviet atomic and biological weapons (WMDs).⁷

DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT OF HUNGARY

The democratic development of Hungary is incontestable and has been continuous since the fall of the wall. It can be observed because Hungary joined NATO in the first round and became a member of the European Union.⁸ The governmental system meets the democratic model requirements. The multiparty system ensures the support of various group interests. The structure of the Government and Local Governments and their activities ensure the positive judgment of the country in the international environment.

The economic development of Hungary is expanding because the multinational companies see the country as a potential target where they can extend their interests, and the government is supporting them by giving privileges like favorable taxation.⁹ International monetary organizations also support the country's development. Agriculture is strengthened,

and the infrastructure is improving. No matter whose party is ruling the country, their main effort is to strengthen the economy although it seems that the economy has been stagnant in the last one-two years. Nevertheless, based on the economic analysis it will move forward within a short time.

Various interest groups are visible in the country but they have not had much influence on the future democratic development of the country. The multinational organized crime groups are also appearing in the country and they are trying to gain more success and power to influence the economy. Their presence can be noticed in the economic and monetary areas, and their focus is money laundering. National extremist groups are not considerable because a majority of Hungarian people do not support them. However, they do show their presence occasionally. Those Hungarians who live in neighboring countries are counted as major interest groups for the government and the country as well.¹⁰ These minorities are supported by the government, which provides several privileges to them within the boundaries of international legality. In addition, the government intent is to maintain the rule of law in Hungary.

Development of freedom of speech and a free media is obvious. Numerous new media sources appeared within the last ten years and they ensure independent information to the citizens. Both the government and opposing parties have opportunities to brief, and share their views with citizens providing them with wide-ranging information. The image of Hungary has improved because of the media strategy and improved tourism.

The social situation and living standards have also improved, although the rate of change is sometimes slower than expected. The government social policy supports people with various social policies within its capabilities. The high taxation has a big effect on citizens. The unemployment rate is decreasing and is currently around 5.5%. The average was 7.9% in the EU in the analyzed period.¹¹

The Euro-Atlantic integration process has been taking place since the regime changed. Hungary has become a member of several multinational organizations such as NATO and the EU, and the stability of these organizations is based on common values, democracy and the rule of law, as well as respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Member states are willing and able to help each other in order to protect the latter.

Hungary's security situation is stable; the basic guarantee of its security is the co-operation taking place in the framework of NATO and the European Union. Hungary is not threatened by military aggression, and the risk of any other traditional type of threat is minimal. At the same time, new challenges and threats have emerged that can only be effectively addressed through a governmental stance that coordinates our national efforts, and a well-focused development of

our capabilities and their flexible application, as well as through wide-ranging international co-operation.¹²

HUNGARY'S GRAND STRATEGY ACCORDING TO THE NSS.

The National Security Strategy builds on the Basic Principles of the Security and Defense Policy of the Republic of Hungary and is in line with NATO's 1999 Strategic Concept and the European Security Strategy adopted by the European Union in 2003.¹³ The NSS identifies values and interests and lists certain risk factors that need to be taken into account. The key values and interests are to preserve the fundamental values of peace, national and regional security and stability, sovereignty, democracy, respect for human rights, and fundamental freedoms. These national values and interests in turn influence the HDF missions and tasks.¹⁴ Hungary's interests are to fully integrate into the European Union and NATO within a short period and are tied to the Euro-Atlantic security system, which will extend stability beyond the Euro-Atlantic region. Solving the Hungarian minority issues in neighboring countries and supporting these countries to become members of those organizations remains the main aim.¹⁵

THE EFFECT OF EXTERNAL ASSESSMENTS ON THE HDF

In the first part of the assessment, I had focused on changes in the external security environment and developments in Hungary's democratic transition and the effect of internal security environments on national security strategy. Now, I will discuss how these developments have affected the defense review and the transformation of the Hungarian Defense Forces.

The first point is the global war on terror (GWOT) that has been conducted since 9/11 with the U.S. playing a leading role. The GWOT has engaged more than 184,960¹⁶ U.S. troops to deal with terrorism all over the world. In addition, it provides a good example for Armed Forces all around the world because the U.S. Armed Forces are simultaneously conduct major operations while carrying out ambitious transformation to fight against terror successfully and meet the new century's challenges.

The other issue is United States NATO policy. It was a mistake to refuse the NATO support that was offered after 9/11. It can be observed that because USA has gotten less support for the second Gulf War against Iraq in the fight against proliferation WMD and has difficulties maintaining the coalition. In addition, it contributed to divide the alliance concerning the fight against Iraq. However, USA endeavors to maintain the strong Trans-Atlantic link¹⁷ and provides support for ideas to enlarge NATO. Furthermore, the U.S. assists the new members to integrate their Armed Forces to the alliance.

NATO and its changes are worth analyzing because they have also affected the HDF. NATO has been transforming since the 1990's and has been carrying out several changes with both success and failures. NATO has been enlarged in two steps¹⁸ and has responsibilities to integrate the newcomers. Furthermore, the new threats and requirements are challenging the organization. In addition, the robust military organization has a difficult and slow decision-making process that needs to reform. Additionally, there are not enough rapid reaction forces to respond to pop-up crises within or out of the NATO Area of Responsibilities (AOR).

The second push forward to accelerate transformation was the change of the Secretary General. Lord George Robertson's focus was to identify the shortfalls¹⁹ of the alliance. His sharp criticism helped to wake up and provoke members to fix them. However, major work remained for his successor who is responsible to implement the renewal of NATO. He also plays a key role to maintain the strong transatlantic link.

In November 2002 the NATO summit meeting was held in Prague and members agreed that NATO has to have quick reaction forces (20.000 troops) which will be able to respond to any crisis within or outside its AOR. These troops have reached initial readiness and elements of it (Example; Hungarian Long Range Reconnaissance company (LRR COY) are already engaged with the NATO led International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.²⁰ The Prague Summit also initiated the concept of niche capabilities. This means it is not required for members to have all capabilities, especially small countries, but they can specialize in one or two essential capabilities like NBC, Engineering, Logistics support or acquire those capabilities together (example: strategic air transport capabilities). In addition, they agreed on the NATO command and control system and the members' armed forces must be more deployable and sustainable in the future. Besides those issues, the one biggest challenge remaining is to integrate the new members into the NATO decision process and improve interoperability. The new types of threats like terrorism and proliferation of WMD have also affected the transformation of the alliance and complicated the process. The most difficult challenge is to find common agreement on those kind of issues.²¹

NATO has had a difficult period since 9/11 because it needs to carry out the transformation itself and take responsibility to contribute to the stability of the world. NATO and its members are determined to execute this mission in order to meet the 21st century challenges and to deter any aggression against members.²² While there have been significant advances in these areas there is still a lot to do.

The other motivation to achieve defense reform was the surrounding countries' intent to reform their Armed forces. I would highlight the two countries that joined NATO at the same

time. Poland and the Czech Republic have been doing transformation since they joined NATO and they have had as difficult a time as Hungary. Poland is at a more advanced stage in the process and plays the most active role in the GWOT currently.

These circumstances and requirements had an impact on the HDF and led to the will to carry out reform. The government has been resolute and strong carrying out the defense review and beginning to implement transformation of the Armed Forces for the 21st century.

DEFENSE REVIEW OF HUNGARIAN DEFENSE FORCES

After the election in 2002 the new government made the decision to carry out fundamental reforms of the Armed Forces in order to meet the 21st century requirements and fulfill the assumed obligations to the Alliance. After assessing the global and internal security environment the second task was to translate the assessment into the military language, determine the missions, tasks, roles, and review all spectrums of Hungary's self-defense capability. The main aims, objectives and review areas were listed and specified in the Minister of Defense Directives number 65/2002.²³

AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE DEFENSE REVIEW

The main aim of the defense review was to analyze the HDF capabilities and determine the measures necessary to build up modern, deployable, well-equipped and financially able armed forces for the 21st century. Additional goals were to adjust the armed forces to the national interests and adapt the HDF to alliance concepts. Planners had to state missions, determine the expected capabilities, and allocate all available resources to transform the Armed Forces. The review also aimed to establish effective Armed Forces, able to carry out conventional homeland defense and respond to any security challenges of the 21st century simultaneously.

As soon as the defense review started, it became clear that the main mission of the new HDF had not changed. It remained to defend Hungary's territorial integrity using the advantage of a collective defense system. In addition, as a NATO member, Hungary needed to contribute to the collective defense of the Alliance and take part in operations or campaigns of the Alliance or other coalitions, such as US or European Union led coalitions.

The aim and objectives were well-determined and provided clear direction to the analysts because of the guidance from the new government. The methods used to conduct the review ensured that the outcome was not manipulated and led to the review's timely completion.

PROCESS OF DEFENSE REVIEW

The defense review was carried out between the summers of 2002 and 2003. The result of a previous defense review was taken into consideration as the basic, starting point because of the world security environment has changed in the intervening two-three years. During the process the entire spectrum of the HDF was reviewed from structure, capabilities, current size and sustainability of the HDF. Besides the Hungarian expert groups, foreign advisers were consulted to involve unprejudiced experts in HDF reform.²⁴ Some of the advisers had experiences from the previous reforms and their experiences were key to carrying out the HDF review.

The key to the review success was that it focused on increasing transparency of the HDF and pointed out those areas that are necessary to reform. The analysts were intent not to stick to their ideas but to provide several options to make the HDF better. As the defense review finished the Ministry of Defense made suggestions to the Security Committee in order to prepare proposed legislation for those changes that needed approval by a legislative body.²⁵ The responsibilities for the implementation are shared between Parliament, Ministry of Defense and General Staff. The Ministry of Defense was responsible for preparing legislative proposals and supervising the implementation phase. In addition, the MOD allocates and provides all necessary resources for the execution as planned. The General Staff under the Ministry of Defense control has transformed the result of analysis of the security environment and provided different courses of action for reforming the armed forces.

RESULT OF THE STRATEGIC REVIEW

On the one hand, the Hungarian force structure could not be maintained and it would not have been effective in the 21st century. Therefore, the review recommended its reform to become more deployable, capable and interoperable to carry out its assigned mission. On the other hand, reducing the force posture must be a priority because this will result in reduced military expenditures. The savings could be used in other areas, such as modernization of forces or the reconstruction of military infrastructures.

The biggest challenge was the integration of the MOD²⁶ and the General Staff. This had been postponed for years due to sharp disagreements between MOD and General Staff. Furthermore, The other issue here is the Budapest centered HDF that has to be reduced. The parallel departments are established in MOD and General Staff level that deals with the same areas. These contribute to huge number of staff that can be reduced with well-considered restructuring that tasks both the MOD and the General staff or shares responsibilities between

them. The Minister of Defense's aim is to carry out the reform of the MOD and the General Staff, but he is facing barriers that he needs to overcome. This process is very painful and requires sacrifices from both organizations.

The current force structure still has capabilities that are not necessary for the future armed forces. Maintaining those capabilities may not be required in the future. The current force posture is wasting the available resources. Heavy equipment such as T 72 MBTs, BMP AFVs, and heavy guns are old and useless. This equipment is hard to keep in minimum operating condition and wastes national resources. In addition, the existing forces cannot fulfill their assigned missions and tasks because of lack of reliability and interoperability of the equipment. According to the defense review, the current heavy mechanized forces are not adequate or necessary for future missions.

The current force structure and composition cannot be financed even with increased defense expenditures because the budget has to be spent to maintain the equipment. The effort put in to maintaining these units cannot guarantee the real capabilities needs of the country. Furthermore, heavy armed forces will play less of a role in territorial defense in the future. The HDF is not flexible and deployable, still has difficulties with interoperability, and lacks the Special Forces required by the Alliance to fight against terrorism effectively.²⁷

The present conscript forces are not adequate for 21st century Armed forces because the short duty period is inadequate for training soldiers to use advanced technology. Additionally, conscript units cannot deploy abroad because of a legal barrier. Therefore, the review recommended transforming the HDF to the professional Armed Forces using contract soldiers and eliminating the conscripts system while preserving a reserve component.²⁸ Of course, it is not as simple as it sounds and requires approval by 2/3 vote of Parliament. Additionally, it needed to find the contractors for filling the gaps that remained after the last conscript soldiers left the HDF. Transformation of the HDF from conscript to contractual/professional forces will guarantee that the HDF becomes well trained and motivated. The result of analyses tells us it is worthy to do because the reward will not be only saving money, but having an armed forces capable of executing complex military tasks.

The HDF has huge elements of supplemental institutes, organizations including command levels, administrative commands, and background organizations that have an effect on defense expenditures. In the past, the organizations had a division level of command, but in the future organization the Land Force command and Air Force Command will be able to carry out command and control of their assigned units. The creation of a Logistics and Support Command also contributes to the unity of effort in support of HDF units and reorganizes the support

concept of the armed forces. Another area in need of reform is property management and the handling of redundant and excess equipment and material and the reduction and concentration of store bases. Delaying these areas of inevitable reform will be expensive. The education system - especially education of officers in specialized area such as doctors and lawyers - must also be reviewed. The result of the 1999 Strategic Review noted that, there are several parallel background organizations such as financial, investment departments, logistical and research institutes that remain unchanged that can be found at still both the MOD and HDF levels.²⁹

Although, Hungary has purchased some modern equipment, units are equipped with Russian model armament that is old and not interoperable with the Alliance. Additionally, this equipment is very difficult to maintain and requires tremendous human effort to keep in working condition. Therefore, it is not worth keeping them. In addition, units are overwhelmed with materials that were withdrawn during the previous reorganization of the HDF. Storing and controlling of this equipment and materials increases the workload of the officers and NCOs.

TRANSFORMATION OF HDF

The implementation phase is divided into three major phases and it will conclude in 2014.³⁰ In the first phase, until 2006 the main effort will focus on passing the legislation needed to allow the HDF to carry out those changes. The Ministry of Defense, National Assembly and the General Staff must also develop Courses of Action for the new force structure including command and control. The decision is based on the given missions and tasks of the HDF. Furthermore, the available resources, basic garrisons infrastructure for the C2, training facilities of the troops, and addition accommodations for officers, NCOs and soldiers. The first phase will be concluded in 2006 but the transformation from the first to the second phase will not be a clear cut. Phase one will merge into phase two. When changing the structure, reducing the numbers of troops and concentrating of units is done, the HDF will have done the major and very hard part of the transformation. In the second phase, the main effort will be focused on the future development of living and working conditions. There will also be an emphasis on enhancing combat effectiveness by using effective training programs for individuals and units. Priority is being given to training and equipping of the designated units that will be offered to NATO and EU missions. In the third phase, modernization of the Armed Forces will continue until 2014. This will be the main part of this phase and it has been planned according the nation capabilities. The transformation will be carried out within ten years. The government responsibility is to ensure the necessary resources undisturbed for the phase's transformation. If

the process had no delayed and every phase had completed according the plan, it would save money for other areas.

TASKS THAT NEED TO BE ACCOMPLISHED FOR SUCCESSFUL TRANSFORMATION

In the early phase of the defense review, the Hungarian leadership realized that reforming the HDF is necessary and cannot be delayed. The transformation of the HDF will contribute to preparing forces for the future in order to become a more deployable, and interoperable armed forces. In addition, it was obvious that the effort must be comprehensive and affect all of the HDF.

As the defense review was concluding, several options came to the mind of the review leaders. The changed security environment allowed for a reduction in peacetime strength. The review concluded that there was no foreseen threat within the next twenty years regarding the maintenance of the size and structure of the HDF.³¹

The HDF will be built in accordance with the new challenges. Besides the basic task of homeland defense, its troops will be structured in the direction of modular defense. A country as small as Hungary cannot acquire all the necessary capabilities of big armed forces, but must specialize or focus its effort in certain areas. In addition, it will contribute to share the responsibility between members of alliance. For example: The core of Land Forces will consist of 7-9 maneuver battalions and necessary combat support and combat service support units that mainly will have war fighting capabilities and will be able to carry out their assigned mission either under national or multinational command. This force will also be used to fulfill the obligations to NATO or the European Union as well as peace support, peace enforcement and peace keeping missions. Therefore, armor, artillery and combat support units will adjust to these needs. This modular system also supports the idea to tailor units according to the requirements of missions and tasks. The participation in different peace support, peace enforcement and peace keeping missions within the international environment remains one of the capabilities that Hungary wants to develop because Hungary wants to contribute to the stability of the region. Therefore, it is important to match these requirements with Hungary's capabilities. For example, Hungary is likely is to develop combat support, and combat service support capabilities, and offer those kinds of capabilities to its alliance and coalition partners.

The other main characteristic that needs to develop is mobile operations and territorial defense. As stated in the NSS, Hungary has no claims over its detached territory. Therefore, the National Security Assessment says that border violence is not expected in the near future and the previous concept of defending or controlling of borders must change. Instead of deploying

thousands of troops along the border, Hungary should develop a mobile capability to respond quickly and precisely to any events that breach Hungarian territorial integrity.³²

The future structure requires a more concentrated posture of units in order to reduce maintenance expenditures and use the savings for other areas. The restructuring and reorganization of enhances the combat effectiveness of troops. In the future, those units will be kept on high combat effectiveness in peacetime to meet NATO requirements. The reform will start with those units that have NATO or EU missions and they will reach their readiness within a couple of years. The high combat effectiveness and effective training of units will enable the units to respond to any threat immediately and deploy abroad with short notice.

The restructuring will require disbanding or reducing units with unnecessary capabilities that have no future role like armor and fire support units.³³ In addition, the following major changes will be carried out:

- The Air Force will be concentrated at three air fields;
- The quantity of training center number will be reduced to the one with the most suitable training facilities;
- Mechanized units will be transformed to light infantry;
- Engineer units will be prepared for NATO missions;
- Logistic support beside the generic support tasks will be able to fulfill the task of Host Nation Support and National Support Element.

The next main challenge is to establish a personnel management and recruiting system that is able to feed the Armed Forces with contract soldiers. In addition, it has to be synchronized with the training system of those soldiers. Beside these issues, it must make the soldier's life more attractive in order to have enough attendants and the Recruiting Centers could make choices between quantity and quality and must be competitive with manpower markets of civil society and the EU. The Recruiting Offices must also develop a training and activating plan for the reserve component.

The new personnel management system or policy will need to support the management of recruiting soldiers and also deal with the management of active military personnel. The personnel system is responsible for preparing courses of action for downsizing of the HDF. Although the downsizing of the armed forces will be carried out in three phases, there is some work has that must be done immediately. At the end of the first phase, the HDF will be reduced to thirty thousand and will continue to decrease to twenty-eight thousand by 2010. By the end of the last term, it will reach the final figure at twenty-six thousand personnel.³⁴ This project needs to be well planned in order to create a good balance between officers and NCOs. As the HDF

reach its desired state, it must maintain a good balance between officers and NCOs.³⁵ Furthermore, the MOD and General Staff must deal with those officers and NCOs that lost their jobs due to disbanded units. In addition, quality of life issues must be addressed. The living and working environment must be improved to make the HDF a more attractive place to work. A plan must be developed for providing benefits when soldiers return to civilian life either when they retire or go to the reserve component.

The transformation will also affect the education and training system of the HDF and will extend to all areas from the education of officers, and NCOs to the training of individual soldiers, and units. It will reduce the necessity of additional preparation and training prior to deployment either within the country or abroad. It will play special attention to individuals in order to develop independence, good physical condition and special knowledge. Unit training units will be focused on company and battalion level and it will enable them to cooperate or work under multinational command. The preparation of armed forces must be balanced between war fighting and peace support operations.

Modernization will be continued throughout all phases of the transformation and it is planned according to the readiness requirements of the assigned units. How far and fast it is done depends on the changes in the security environment, engagement of the HDF and the national capability to provide resources to do the reform. The biggest issue is modernization of the HDF because it will have a big impact on the budget. Therefore, it has to be planned according to the country's capability. The modernization will cover all spectrums of the armed forces from personnel equipment to complex defense systems. Additional tasks include the disbandment of armor and artillery units and modernization of forces. Technical equipment and unnecessary materials need to be withdrawn concentrated, stored and disposed.

CHALLENGES TO EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

During the next few years, several challenges will be show up. The first is that in order to carry out the transformation and ensure the continuity of reforms the government needs to provide all necessary means. It seems the military expenditure will support the process because the country promised to keep military expenditure at a minimum between 1,7-1,8 % of GDP³⁶ when it applied for NATO membership. Hungary has already received several critiques from NATO concerning this issue. The pledge to spend 1,7-1,8 % of GDP on defense has not been kept. Hungary only spent 1,3% of GDP³⁷ in 2004 which falls short of the requirement and does not sufficiently support the reform of the armed forces. The pledged amounts are needed to comply with national obligations. Political will is not enough to carry out the reforms. It is

necessary to provide all necessary resources as well because during the previous reforms, one of the shortfalls was that the will and economic means for reform did not come together.³⁸

The second challenge is sustaining continuity of government will. During the next ten years, a minimum of two governmental elections will be held that can affect transformation. The point of view might be different from one government to another. However, it is likely that any acting government wants strengthened armed forces capable to defend the national interests and values. The implementation of the ongoing transformation will depend on their policy and will. Therefore, a key to success is the governing party's commitment to the transformation without big changes.

The third challenge is the security environment and engagement of the HDF. If the security environment does not change and no threats show up, then transformation can continue on course. But if it is getting worse the consequences of this will have to be considered. Furthermore, it depends on how many forces are deployed because this affects military expenditures. However, any deployment will strengthen military capabilities because it provides experience that cannot be learned in the training fields Hungarian soldiers (from officers to soldiers) are in need of this kind of experience.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Some important issues still need to be clarified. The first is the National Security Assessment. Does it provide a right picture? Hungary has no border disputes with its neighbors but still has several issues concerning Hungarians living in neighboring countries. Hungary lost 2/3 of its territory after World War I and more than two million Hungarians are living in neighboring countries. Hungary intends to support them within its capabilities and give them privileges like dual citizenship. However, these kinds of steps might provoke those countries and stir up feelings of dissatisfaction by opposing nationalists. As a result of this minorities may be targeted and create tension between neighbors. How Hungary will deal with this issue is not clear. Hungary endeavours to reach consensus with its neighbors and help them to become members of the European Union.³⁹ If the points of view are not coming closer, international organizations such as the (UN) are available to solve the problem. Furthermore, an exaggerated trust of success in political areas and military capabilities can show the country's weakness. In addition, the trust in collective defense system can have a negative impact on a country's image and the initiative can be lost. An incorrect and unbalanced assessment of the national security strategy and transformation of the armed forces, with no harmonized mission and tasks can lead to the lowering of defense capabilities.

The other concern is related to the defense review's cutting or reducing the number of troops. In the last decade, the HDF has gone through several reforms focused on peacetime strength, command and control and structure of the force. I agreed with most of them because they enhanced the armed forces' capabilities. In addition, the security environment remained stable. However, the possibility exists that the HDF might be short of units to respond to the suddenly changed security situation. The HDF must be ready to run several engagements at the same time. For example, the HDF might take part in peace keeping missions or missions and, in addition, have to fulfill the obligations of an alliance operation. However, during the defense review, the number of troops that can deploy at the same time was set at 1000 personnel.⁴⁰ In addition, the troops can be ordered to redeploy a in state of emergency. If Hungary exceeds its capability and overspends its military expenditure it can make the economy weaker and create a big debt that the government cannot handle.

It is also clear that it is not necessary to deploy numerous battalions to secure and control the border. This can be done by mobile or helicopter units. Furthermore, since heavy armored and fire support units not required for such a task, their role has declined during the last decade. The European Armed Forces intent is to have lighter, deployable forces that can be used in multipurpose roles. However, the experience of the two Gulf Wars proves the opposite of this statement because heavy mechanized forces were successful during the operations and played a great role in urban areas as well. The good example is the Fallujah, Iraq fight where the heavy mechanized forces were able to clean the town from insurgents. The conventional formation of a fighting battle group such as mechanized infantry reinforced with armor and supported by heavy artillery is needed for GWOT if the Iraq War is an example of counterterrorism operation. Such units are weak for effective warfighting and their capabilities are limited. On the other hand, the light infantry units are more useful during the peace support or peacekeeping missions, but might not be adequate for peace enforcement operations. Disbandment of the heavy units may result in insufficient support for warfighting in the future. Disbanding that kind of units creates a gap between requirements and eliminates a tradition of these units that will be difficult to restore later.

CONCLUSION

The changing international environment and the surrounding countries' armed forces are undergoing sweeping changes. Hungary started the preparation of its Armed Forces to "a classically characterized" NATO that was carried out within the PfP framework. In the spring of 1999 Hungary joined the transforming organization. Hungary gained experience in these first 2-

3 years, but the sharp critiques of fulfilling Alliance obligations and the circumstances that I described above led to the defense review.

The National Security Strategy determined the size and mission of the armed forces. The military strategic overview was completed at the end of 2003. The outcome determined that the armed forces needed reconstruction in order to meet 21st century challenges. The review consisted of several area assessments and one of them was the National Security Strategy. The review concluded that transformation has become necessary, because the current and future situation does not require such a large armed force, and the country cannot afford to maintain such a heavy equipped force.

The review also indicated that the world, including the security environment and the role of armed forces, has changed fundamentally in the 21st century. Armed forces that are heavily equipped, and less deployable and focused on territorial defense, cannot overcome a mostly invisible enemy like terrorists, even if they have significant artillery equipment, numerous armored vehicles and anti-armor capabilities. In addition, the Prague NATO Summit also proved the necessity of transformation. The core of this program is that NATO would focus on the development of fewer, but realistic and applicable capabilities.

Finally, the defense review phase has been concluded and a decision has been made to carry out the reform of the armed forces. Maintaining the present structure of the Hungarian Defense Forces will not meet the 21st century requirements. The expense of maintaining the present structure would be so high that there would be no resources left to increase military capabilities. Those conclusions have initiated the necessity of transformation. The government is determined to carry out defense reforms. We will see the first outcomes within 2-3 years that will either reinforce the review's intent or alarm Hungarians to adjust it. Hungary is in the middle of the first phase of transformation and the process is ongoing. I strongly believe that the transformation will be successful because a majority of Hungarian people support it and some development can be seen. However, it requires sacrifices and compromises⁴¹ from everybody to carry out the reform of the armed forces. Furthermore, the challenges that the paper describe will also be present and Hungary must find the best way to overcome these and carry out for the reform for the good of the nation.

WORD COUNT=6579

ENDNOTES

¹ Ferenc Juhasz Minister of Defense "Interview"; 26 July 2002; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=10263&next=110&archiv=1&next=110> Internet>; Internet; accessed 15 October 2004.

² "Speech" by Dr. Janos Martonyi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary at the Deposition of the Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the Accession of Hungary Independence MO; 12 March 1999; available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1999/s990312c.htm>>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2004. Hereafter referred to as Speech by Dr. Janos Martonyi.

³ "Shaping an Armed Forces for the 21st Century" Booklet issued by HU MOD and produced by the Communication Directory of the Ministry of Defense 2004. Hereafter referred to as SANAF for the 21st Century.

See also: "Interview" with Ferenc Juhasz.

¹ On the 31st of March 2004 the Government of the Republic of Hungary adopted the new National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary (Resolution No. 2073/2004 (III.31.)). It entered into force on the 15th of April and thus replaced the former National Security Strategy (Resolution No. 2144/2002 (V.6.)) "The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary 2004"; available from <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/Kulugyminiszterium/EN/Ministry/Departments/NATO/National_Security_Strategy.htm>; Internet; accessed 10 February 2004. Hereafter referred to as NSS of the Republic of Hungary.

² Ibid.

³ "Initialing of the General Framework Agreement in Dayton, Ohio and NATO" Update of NATO 08 Jun 1999; available from <<http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-rem.htm> ; and <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/1999/0602e.htm>>; Internet; accessed 10 February 2004.

⁴ The NATO enlargement was carried out in two steps. In the first round the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary joined. In the second round Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia joined to NATO; 03 March 2004 ; "NATO Update"; available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2004/03-march/e0329a.htm> and <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/1999/0310e.htm>>; Internet; accessed 22 November 2004.

⁵ The EU is by far the single largest assistance donor to the Western Balkans as a whole. Since 1991 and including 2001, through its various aid programs, the European Union has provided more than €6.1 billion, while for the year 2001 over €845 million has been made available for the aid programs. The EU also leads on the ground. In Kosovo, some 36,000 troops (80 per cent of the total force) and 800 civilian police from EU member states serve alongside other international partners. "Overview" October 2003; available from <http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/>; Internet; accessed 22 December 2004.

⁶ Deadly train bombings in Madrid has lent the EU's efforts to forge a unified counter-terrorism policy and making progress on combating terrorism. "Terrorism Tops Agenda at EU Summit" 25 March 2004; available from <<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,1564,1151753,00.html>>; Internet; accessed 22 December 2004.

⁷ Before its collapse in 1991, the Soviet Union had more than 27,000 nuclear weapons and enough weapons-grade plutonium and uranium on hand to triple that number. Since then, severe economic distress, rampant crime, and widespread corruption in Russia and other former Soviet countries has fed concerns in the West about loose nukes, underpaid nuclear scientists, and the smuggling of nuclear materials. And security at Russia's nuclear storage sites remains worrisome; only 40 percent of them are up to U.S. security standards. There have been no confirmed reports of missing or stolen former Soviet nuclear weapons. Still, there is ample evidence of a significant black market in nuclear materials. "Loose Nukes" 2004; available from <<http://cfrterrorism.org/weapons/loosenukes.html>>; Internet; accessed 03 January 2005.

⁸ Speech by Dr. Janos Martonyi.

And see also: The majority of Hungarians support the initiatives to member of EU (66%) "EU Accession Study 2002 ,Multinational Study from 11 Candidate Countries" November 2002; available from <http://www.modus.hu/kut_ered/eu.php>; Internet; accessed 1 November 2004.

⁹ The Hungarian Government supports the foreign institutions that want to invest in Hungary with favorable taxation." APEH-utasítások" 2004; available from <<http://www.apeh.hu/cgi-bin/lap.php?id=informacio>>; Internet; accessed 08 November 2004.

¹⁰ The NSS of the Republic of Hungary.

¹¹ "The NAPI ONLINE"; 8 January 2004; available from <<http://www.napi.hu/?cCenter=article.asp&nID=185075>>; Internet; accessed 2 October 2004

¹² The NSS of the Republic of Hungary.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ulrich, Marybeth Peterson, Associate Professor U.S. AWC; Achieving Military Capabilities in the 'New NATO': Assessing Central Europe's New Allies Unpublished paper, July 6-8, 2004

¹⁵ The NSS of the Republic of Hungary.

¹⁶ According to the article "Fast Track Deployment," snapshot the US Army was deployed 184,960 troops worldwide as of 29 December 2004; Also additional troops are deployed from other services as well that increase the total number of troops from U.S. Armed Forces. "Army Times"; 10 January 2005.

¹⁷ Foreign Ministers of the 26 NATO countries agreed to move ahead with expanding NATO's role in Iraq and Afghanistan and to maintain its commitment to the Balkans The meeting reflected "a strong transatlantic consensus" on the key issues on the Alliance's agenda. "NATO Update"; 12 December 2004; available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2004/12-december/e1209c.htm>>; Internet; accessed 09 January 2005.

¹⁸ "NATO Update" 03 March 2004; available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2004/03-march/e0329a.htm>>; and <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/1999/0310e.htm>>; Internet; accessed 22 November 2004.

¹⁹ This article describes the conditions leading to the reform of armed forces. It well summarized and sequenced and provide clear picture of way the other nations or international organization do reform of their armed forces. "A haderoreform nemzetközi környezete" Új Honvédségi Szemle; 01 December 2003; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=14959&next=70&archiv=1&next=70>>; Internet; accessed 22 November 2004.

²⁰ Hungary offered a LRR COY to NATO Reaction forces that had deployed to Afghanistan under NATO command at end of Jun 2004, "News in briefly (Hirek R öviden)" Magyar Honvéd; 28 July 2004; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=17073&next=130&archiv=1&next=130>>; Internet; accessed 27 November 2004.

²¹ Prague Summit 2002 selected documents and statements. "Prague Summit 2002 Selected Documents and Statements" 2003; available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/0211prague/speeches-e.pdf>>; Internet; accessed 22 December 2004.

²² "We, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, met today to enlarge our Alliance and further strengthen NATO to meet the grave new threats and profound security challenges of the 21st century. Bound by our common vision embodied in the Washington Treaty, we commit ourselves to transforming NATO with new members, new capabilities and new relationships with our partners. We are steadfast in our commitment to the transatlantic link; to NATO's fundamental security tasks including collective defense; to our shared democratic values; and to the United Nations." 2002; available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/>>; Internet; accessed 20 December 2004.

²³ "Minister of Defense directives on Defense Review of HDF number 65/2002"; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/ved1.doc>>; Internet; accessed 22 October 2004.

²⁴ The CUBIC effort is focused on the development of a viable solution for implementation of the decision of the Defense Review of 2003; "Unpublished Report of CUBIC role in Hungary" April 2004.

²⁵ To make any changes concerning HDF mission, posture, structure etc. required two-third of approval of National Assembly (Parliament). "Act XX of 1949 The Constitution of the Republic of Hungary"; available from <<http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/getdoc.cgi?docid=94900020.tv&dbnum=62>>; Internet; accessed 22 September 2004.

²⁶ The article provides an overall picture about the problematic integration of the MOD and General Staff and highlights recommendations on integration of the two elements. Kassai, László "Adalékok és széljegyzetek a Honvédelmi Minisztérium működési egységének erősítéséhez" 27 October 2004; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18036&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>; and also see: <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18760&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>; Internet; accessed 20 December 2004.

²⁷ SANAF for the 21st Century.

²⁸ Deák, Péter "Reform of Armed Forces and voluntary" (A haderoreform és az önkéntesség) 01 March 2004; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18729&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>; Internet; accessed 04 January 2005.

Also see: "Tájékoztató a Magyar Köztársaság Alkotmányáról szóló 1949. évi XX. törvény módosításáról, valamint a honvédelemről és a Magyar Honvédségről szóló törvényről" 18 November 2004; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18186&next=10&archiv=1&next=10>>; Internet; accessed 10 November 2004.

Also see: SANAF for the 21st Century.

²⁹ Strategic Review MOD 1999 (Analysis and Recommendations) Unpublished document produced by CUBIC Applications, Inc. September 1999.

And also see: SANAF for the 21st Century.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "Human Strategy for Establishing Professional Armed Forces" (Humánstratégia a professzionális hadero kialakítására 2003-2013) 26 February, 2004; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=15241&next=80&archiv=1&next=80>>; and <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=13781&next=150&archiv=1&next=150>>; Internet; accessed 2 October 2004.

³⁶ The article provides a picture of the member's military expenditure where Hungary is in the end of the column. "Defense Budget Trends Within the Alliance" 25 September 2000; available from <<http://www.nato-pa.int/archivedpub/comrep/2000/at-254-e.asp#3>>; Internet; accessed 25.November 2004.

See also: "NATO-bírálat a védelmikiadás-csökkentésért" 25 October 2004; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18006&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>; Internet; accessed 25.November 2004.

³⁷ "Interview with the Minister of Defense" 16 December, 2004, available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18655&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>; Internet; accessed 16.December 2004.

³⁸ "Achieving Military Capabilities in the 'New NATO': Assessing Central Europe's New Allies"; available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/>>; Internet; accessed 29 November 2004.

³⁹ The NSS of the Republic of Hungary.

⁴⁰ "Interview with Lieutenant General Zoltán Szenes, Ph.D. Chief of Defense Staff Ministry of Defense, Republic of Hungary" 16 December 2004; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18656&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>; Internet; accessed 16.December 2004.

⁴¹ On Thursday, 6th January 2005 Lt. Gen. Zoltán Szenes, Chief, MoD HDF Defense Staff asked Defense Minister Ferenc Juhász to resign due to a conceptual disagreement about the command and control of the Hungarian Defense Forces. 7 January 2005; available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18767&next=>>>; Internet; accessed 07 January 2005;

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "A Haderoreform Nemzetközi Környezete Új Honvédségi Szemle." 12 January 2003. Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=14959&next=70&archiv=1&next=70>>. Internet. Accessed 22 October 2004.
- "A Védelmi Felülvizsgálat Után." *Magyar Honvéd. 1.,2. rész.* Zrinyi Kiado, Budapest. 22 September 2003.
- "A Védelmi Felülvizsgálat Után." *Magyar Honvéd. 3. rész.* Zrinyi Kiado, Budapest. 06 October 2003.
- "Act XX of 1949 The Constitution of the Republic of Hungary." Available from <<http://net.jogtar.hu/jr/gen/getdoc.cgi?docid=94900020.tv&dbnum=6>>. Internet. Accessed 22 September 2004.
- "Adalékok és Szélgjegyzetek a Honvédelmi Minisztérium Muködési Egységének Erosítéséhez." Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18036&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>. Internet. Accessed 20 December 2004.
- Deák, Péter. "Reform of Armed Forces and voluntary." (A Haderoreform és az Önkéntesség). 2004. Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18729&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>. Internet. Accessed 04 January 2005.
- "Defense Budget Trends Within the Alliance." 2000. Available from <<http://www.nato-pa.int/archivedpub/comrep/2000/at-254-e.asp#3>>. Internet. Accessed 25 November 2004.
- "Defense Chief Lt. Gen. Zoltán Szenes to Leave His Position." 05 January 2005. Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18767&next=>>>. Internet. Accessed 07 January 2005.
- "Fast Track Deployment" Army Times. 10 January 2005.
- "Foreign Ministers Agree on Expanded NATO Roles in Iraq, Afghanistan." "NATO Update." 09 January 2005. Available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2004/12-december/e1209c.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 09 January 2005.
- Gabor, Csaba. "*Hungary in NATO: A Solid Bond of Common Values and Shared Interests.*" 2004. Available from <<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/ECE/csaba.pdf>>. Internet. Accessed 9 October 2004.
- "Human Strategy for Establishing Professional Armed Forces (Humánstratégia a professzionális hadero kialakítására 2003-2013)." 2004. Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=15241&next=80&archiv=1&next=80>>. Internet. Accessed 2 October 2004.
- "Hungarian Defense Forces after the Strategic Review" (Magyar Honved. A vedelmi felulvizsgalat utan). Zrinyi Kiado, Budapest. 2003.
- "Initialing of the General Framework Agreement initialed in Dayton, Ohio and NATO." 08 Jun 1999. Available from <<http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-rem.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 2 October 2004.

- "Interview with Lieutenant General Zoltán Szenes, Ph.D. Chief of Defense Staff Ministry of Defense, Republic of Hungary." 16 December 2004. Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18656&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>. Internet. Accessed 16 December 2004.
- "Interview with Minister of Defense." 16 December 2004. Available from <http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18655&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>. Internet. Accessed 16 December 2004.
- Jenkin, Bernard. "*The War Against Terrorism, The EU's Response, and the Future of NATO. Heritage.*" 7 March 2002. Available from <<http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/HL735.cfm>>. Internet. Accessed 17 November 2003.
- "Külföldi Befektetési Jegyek Hozamának Adózása." 2004. Available from <<http://www.apeh.hu/cgi-bin/lap.php?id=informacio/kulfbefj>>. Internet: Accessed 08 November 2004.
- "Kutatási Eredmények." 2004. Available from <http://www.modus.hu/kut_ered/eu.php> Internet: Accessed 1 November 2004.
- Lord Robertson. "*Speeches by NATO Secretary General.*" 2003. Available from <<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/library/>>. Internet. Accessed 9 October 2003.
- Manfred, Wörner. "Memorial Lecture." "Update of NATO" June 2 1999. Available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/1999/0602e.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 2 October 2004.
- Ulrich, Marybeth Peterson Associate Professor U.S. AWC. "Achieving Military Capabilities in the 'New NATO': Assessing Central Europe's New Allies" Unpublished paper. 6-8 July 2004.
- "Minister of Defense directives on Defense Review of HDF number 65/2002." Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/ved1.doc>>. Internet. Accessed 22 December 2004.
- "Napi Online." 2004. Available from <http://www.napi.hu/?cCenter=article.asp&nID=185075>>. Internet. Accessed 2 October 2004.
- "NATO after Prague, 2003." Available from http://www.nato.int/docu/0211prague/after_prague.pdf>. Internet. Accessed 9 January 2004.
- "NATO Enlargement, 2003." Available from <<http://www.nato.int/issues/enlargement/index.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 12 February 2004.
- "NATO-bírálat a Védelmiadás-Csökkentésért." 25 October 2004. Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18006&next=0&archiv=1&next=0>>. Internet. Accessed 25 November 2004.
- "NATO's Response to Terrorism 2001." Available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2001/p01-159e.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 9 October 2004.
- "NATO Update." 2004. Available from <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2004/03-march/e0329a.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 22 November 2004.

- "NATO Update." 1999. Available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/1999/0310e.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 11 November 2004.
- "News in Briefly 04." Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=17073&next=130&archiv=1&next=130>>. Internet. Accessed 27 November 2004.
- "Prague Summit 2002 Selected Documents and Statements." Available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/0211prague/speeches-e.pdf>>. Internet. Accessed 22 December 2004.
- Shaping an Armed Forces for the 21st Century, Booklet issued by HU MOD and produced by the Communication Directory of the Ministry of Defense. 2004.
- "Speech by Dr. Janos Martonyi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary At the Deposition of the Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the Accession of Hungary Independence, MO" 12 March 1999. Available from <<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1999/s990312c.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 23 November 2004.
- "Strategic Review MOD." 1999 (Analysis and Recommendations). Unpublished document produced by CUBIC Applications, Inc. September 1999.
- "Tájékoztató a Magyar Köztársaság Alkotmányáról szóló 1949. évi XX. törvény módosításáról, valamint a honvédelemről és a Magyar Honvédségről szóló törvényről" 11 October 2004 Available from <<http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=18186&next=10&archiv=1&next=10>>. Internet. Accessed 15 October 2004
- "Terrorism Tops Agenda at EU Summit." 2004. Available from <<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,1564,1151753,00.html>>. Internet. Accessed 22 December 2004.
- "Terrorism: Questions & Answers, Loose Nukes." 2004. Available from <<http://cfrterrorism.org/weapons/loosenukes.html>>. Internet. Accessed 03 January 2005.
- "The EU's relations with South Eastern Europe." 2004. Available from <http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/>. Internet. Accessed 22 January 2004.
- "The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary." Available from <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/Kulugyminiszterium/EN/Ministry/Departments/NATO/National_Security_Strategy.htm>. Internet. Accessed 2 October 2004.
- "Tízéves Program a Hadero Átalakítására." 2004. Available from <http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=13781&next=150&archiv=1&next=150>>. Internet. Accessed 2 October 2004.
- "Unpublished Report of CUBIC role in Hungary." April 2004.

