

**MIKLÓS ZRÍNYI NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY
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**THE PLACE, ROLE AND TASKS OF NATIONAL
MILITARY SECURITY SERVICES IN CRISIS
MANAGEMENT OPERATIONS**

Summary of PhD thesis by the Author

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1. Identification of the scientific problem and reasons for the selection of the topic

As a professional officer of the Hungarian Defence Forces I have served in UN missions three times. I was a member of the Iraq-Iran cease-fire verification group during the Iraqi-Kuwait war and I also served as a member of the UN's crisis management team in South-Iraq. The experiences I gained during those missions were in line with the thinking that recent changes, occurred in the international security policy, confronted nations with new challenges, particularly from the beginning of the 21. century.

During my PhD studies at Miklós Zrínyi National Defence University I have enlarged my knowledge of military sciences related to the discussed topic. Studying both the foreign and Hungarian scientific literature I've come to the conclusion that the military national security services will have a role of utmost importance in crisis management in the future. To this end the discussion and elaboration of the question of conflict and crisis management activity from scientific point of view will be one of the most important tasks of our military national security services.

Talking about conflicts means that using the appropriate means and methods theoretically we can control them, but there is a point where a given state or states are not able to handle the problem anymore and it escalates to crises, which may bring about a civil war or a war. Obviously we can approach the question of conflict in many ways, but I think that we should not miss the investigation of the driving forces that had created the conflict situation. A conflict might have psychological reasons, when the mental or emotional relationship

between different groups of a society goes over from friendly attitude towards opposition. Crises have components, which finally bring about an undesirable atmosphere or situation.

There are elements that must not be left out of research. One of them is the mental or spiritual element, namely how **people's thinking (e.g. religious fanaticism)** influences the development of conflicts or crisis and shapes public opinion in some Islamic countries. At the rising of a conflict it is much easier to resolve the situation if a community is mentally matured to find ways and means to overcome the problem and even if their standpoint differs from that of the other party, they are able to conciliate interests and reach agreement.

Psychological factors also have an influence on the way to the solution. **What kind of spiritual status has a community that gets to a conflict** or to the formation of a crisis? Much depends on the way they handle the conflict in a given situation; and to the proper management of a situation they need an adequate frame of mind, which means not only the peace of mind and the ability to focus on the issue but all the more, far much other things.

At the conflict venues **sociological preparedness** and politology might contribute to the understanding and handling of the conflict, making it easier to perceive the lobby activity, the movement, the interests and values of certain groups.

I have emphasized these factors because I think that the laws concerning the military secret services should cover these aspects too. Furthermore I deem that the soldiers and experts participating in crisis management have to be psychologically prepared for different crisis situations since their tasks have been significantly expanded in this field. I am fully aware of the fact that most of them have the qualification required by the wider tasks.

Since the codification of the CXXV Act on National Security Services in 1995 there have been enormous changes both in Hungary and in global context, which have clearly restructured and expanded the tasks of the national security services including the military ones. Due to our NATO and EU membership the national security services have to comply not only with the national requirements but they have to live up to the expectations of the integration organizations too. In the past years the understanding of the notion of 'security' has been transformed, new security categories have been introduced, which have implications on the

tasks of military national security services too. The globalisation of international terrorism and the requirements of counter-terrorism activity have also increased the number of tasks. The sphere of activity has been enlarged by the new principles of international security and crisis management; by the UN, NATO and EU led crisis-reaction operations and by the so-called intervention operations too. In addition to that the changes in international military power-balance, the transformation of threats and the emerged asymmetric situation have implied the introduction of new military strategies and procedures and asymmetric warfare came to the forefront. The changes themselves, as I have mentioned before, raise the necessity of a revision of the Hungarian military and legal regulations and as a consequence there is a need to formulate regulations that would cover situations substantially different from present ones. And finally the scientific formulation of legal changes has also to be done.

Intervention operations coming to the forefront, our wide-ranging and effective participation in crisis reaction operations have significantly rearranged the scope of duties of the military national security services and brought new elements, new procedures and a new potential to resolve problems. With reference to the latter issues and based on my own experience I have found feasible the analysis of the changes of the existing law and the elaboration of progressive recommendations.

2. Research objectives

The most important objective of my dissertation is to **explore and analyse** –using scientific methods – if the Hungarian military national security services are able to meet the requirements deriving from our NATO and EU membership under the existing law, effective since 1995. I have emphasized the areas where our Allies expect us to show a more efficient performance in the future.

I have **examined** the issues that hinder or make more difficult crisis management and co-operation from organizational and legal aspects.

To further more efficient co-operation I have **analysed** the accumulated international experience and lessons learned in the very topic and the possibility of their integration into Hungarian practice. Within the latter issue I have scrutinized what kind of **changes** are needed and what kind of new tasks we

have to prepare for in order to enhance the efficiency of the military national security services and what are the international obligations that should be integrated into our CXXV Act of 1995 on national security.

I have **arrived** to the conclusion that there was no possibility to separate the tasks of civilian and military national security services in terms of operational area, thus the tasks, authority and reporting system of the operational area have to be regulated differently from the regulations of the national territory. To answer the questions raised, I have analysed the topics **in chapters**.

Research directions, aims:

1. **To examine** how experiences of crisis reaction operations and undertaking of combat missions restructure the role and tasks of military national security services and within that what kind of new tasks emerge.

2. **To illustrate** how the globalisation of international terrorism effect the tasks of military national security services; what kind of legal regulations are needed to be able to fully accomplish the enlarged tasks.

3. **To explore and analyse** the occurred and expected changes at international integration organizations in terms of intelligence and defence and to examine if those changes can be integrated into national regulations.

4. **To elaborate** recommendations for more efficient organizational structures so that the crisis management procedures of international security policy organisations – NATO, EU – can be integrated into the complex issue of crisis management.

5. **To define** the proposals that might contribute to the accomplishment of the tasks of the military national security services in the settlement of crises.

6. **To draw conclusions** and to establish – that on the basis of lessons learned of current operations – what kind of new intelligence procedures have to be picked up and applied by the classical military intelligence forces in the obtainment of strategic, operational and tactical information and data. Speaking about the reorganization of the national security services: what aspects have to be taken into consideration, so that these services meet the requirements of NATO and EU regulations.

3. The nature and methods of research

During my research I have strived for scientific establishment and to this end **I have studied** the legal regulations of different crisis management theories and practical procedures (NATO, EU, UN) and I compared them with the Hungarian national security act of legal force. Within this activity I have studied the New Strategic Concept of NATO (23-24 April 1999, Washington); the Defence Capability Initiative of the Alliance, the undertakings of the Alliance at the Prague Summit of NATO (21-22 November 2002); the decisions made at the Istanbul Summit of NATO (28. June 2004); the security policy of the Alliance and the EU; The Basic Principles of the Security and Security Policy of the Hungarian Republic (94/1998. /XII. 29./ OGY. resolution), The National Security Strategy (2073/2004. /IV.15./), and the draft of the National Military Strategy.

I have **examined** the changes that took place within the scope of activity of military national security services/organizations, I have **identified** the tendency of the changes and I have described their content.

I have **consulted** on the leaders of military national security services and acknowledged researchers of the topic. I took into consideration my own and my colleagues' experiences gained at different operational fields. I have **outlined** efficient structures, control and cooperation systems most adequate to the new challenges and on this basis I have explored the problems of the national regulations.

Finally I made an effort to form the **vertical** and **horizontal** relation of the thesis and to bring the aims, methods and new scientific results into cohesion.

- To explore the basis of the topic I studied intensively the **home** and **international** literature and academic results;
- To present the **analyses and conclusions** I made use of home and foreign publication sources;
- I have **mixed empirical** methods, **abstract** thinking and practical research;

- I made **consultation and interview series** with my colleagues experienced in operational fields just as with high ranking leaders and experts of military national security services;
- I have systematized and evaluated my **own practical experience** relevant to the topic;
- I have **exchanged experience** with researchers in the research area in possession of scientific results.

4. Important questions and working hypotheses that came up during the research activity and the structure of the dissertation

Important questions that came up during the research activity:

- a. What kind of new threats challenge military crisis management at the beginning of the XXI century?
- b. How NATO's, EU's and UN's way of thinking might change in terms of crisis management and how existing regulations can comply with that change?
- c. What kind of information requirements of crisis management operations might occur and how this requirement might relate to the tasks of the Hungarian military national security services?
- d. How much the planned restructuring of the Hungarian military national security services can live up to the expectations of the Alliance, with a special regard to the future tasks of crisis reaction operations?
- e. How could the Hungarian system – after an accomplished restructuring – match NATO's intelligence-reconnaissance system?

Working hypotheses:

The substance and purposefulness of my scientific research and the formulation of the research results have been motivated by the below working hypotheses:

- a) **Can we prove** that the new global situation demands the co-ordination of the foreign-, security-, defence- and development policy means in the field of conflict warning, conflict management and conflict settlement?

- b) **Can we justify** that traditional strategies working well in the past cannot assure anymore the averting of external dangers and they cannot be applied against the new, asymmetric threats and dangers?
- c) Security policy today faces new and complex challenges. **It follows from this** that a preventive, efficient and coherent co-operation should be reached both at home and in the international arena.
- d) **Can we legally back up** that the organizational structure and the scope of tasks of the Hungarian military secret services fit new challenges?

In conformity with the research objectives and working hypotheses my dissertation is divided into five main structural elements.

In the **first chapter** I highlight the changes of the international security environment and the connections of crises. **I present** the regions, and within that the situations where Hungary has an interest to engage in international crisis management. Speaking about crisis management I will elaborate on the relationship of the activity of the military national security services.

In the **second chapter I discuss** the development of crisis management thinking and capability, and the present regulations of **major international organizations (UN, NATO, EU, OSCE)**. On that basis I **evaluate**, with a special attention, the tasks that fall to the home military national security services.

In the **third chapter I present the information demand of crisis management**, grouped around **decision-making**, crisis management periods and military activities and I recommend tasks for the military national security services, which they should accomplish on home and operational fields.

In the **fourth chapter** – building on the crisis management experience of allied and home military national security services – I outline effective methods and procedures home military national security services should apply. I call

attention to the problems of present legal regulations and to possible and necessary changes.

In the **fifth chapter** – based on the foregoing – **I prove** that at the beginning of the century the role of the military national security services was upgraded, their scope of tasks was enlarged. They can meet such expectations only in case if they increase their activity, create new organizational frameworks, acquire a new mindset and have a bigger budget. All these said I answer all the questions from a professional point of view that has occurred or might occur during the planned reorganization of home national security services.

5. Summarized conclusions

- I have proved with the analyses that in information societies – and I place Hungary among them – the significance of organizations dealing with information keeps growing and this tendency will continue in the future too. This is especially relevant to the military national security services. The role of the military factor in warranting security in homeland's defence has gradually decreased and the dividing lines between the conditions of home and international crisis management have grown indistinct.
- The efforts of global and regional international security policy organizations (UN, NATO, EU, OSCE) – to make the world a more secure place – explicitly boosted the wider and tighter integration of military national security services in conflict settlement and made them unevadable. Since the international organizations have only a minimal own (organizational) intelligence-gatherer capability the information required for the crisis management must be provided by member states i.e. by the security services of the member states. The growing demand for international co-operation requires the creation of specific allied collaborations and procedures and the efficient functioning of the system of co-operating partner organizations.
- At the beginning of the XXI century armed crisis management became part of daily politics. The scope of activity, the tasks and geographical limits of

activity of the military national security services have grown wider in the so-called expeditionary operations. The conditions under which the services have to accomplish their new tasks can be characterised not only as extraordinary and asymmetric but they have to work in regions where they have only a limited knowledge of place. The lack of knowing the ins and outs of the terrain requires the fulfilment of increased information demand from the services.

- At the beginning of the century the military national security services have to prepare for new tasks since the borderline between expeditionary tasks and home defence tasks gets blurred more and more and the efficacy of old methods is weakening against the new challenges. This status of affairs brings about organizational and task related changes and implies international obligations, which should be reflected in the CXXV. National Security Act of 1995. Since there is no possibility to separate the tasks of civilian and military national security services in operational areas the integrated activity of the military services is almost obligatory in operations. To this end a distinction has to be made between the tasks, authorities and reporting system of the operational area and that of the homeland area.
- The armed conflict management – as proved by the Balkan, Iraqi and Afghanistan crises –increases the information demand not only from the political and military leadership but also from the public. The greater demand has to be met in any case but it is only possible if the services step up their pace.
- In operational areas – differently from home areas – the activity of military national security services imply significant security risks therefore the legal regulation of this field is urgent and cannot be circumvent. In home area the regulation on information exchange involves the responsibility of leadership levels but in the operational areas this part of the regulation is not realistic and to this end it has to be dissolved. Such change should be included in the National Security Act.
- To promote the co-operation in crisis management, the international security policy organizations made up a system of expectations and

demands towards the military national security services. The services have to live up to these expectations and demands and to this end they have to increase their co-operation. The compliance at Alliance level requires strengthened conditions in terms of organization, personnel and budget. The fulfilment of tasks deriving from Alliance recommendations is not only an allied interest but also a national one and this is why their accomplishment is a must. Our membership in NATO is the most important warranty of our country's security. For this reason NATO has articulated its expectations in terms of military intelligence/reconnaissance and information exchange.

- In 2002, at the Prague Summit NATO members reached an agreement that the Alliance should be further strengthened so that it can meet the new security challenges of the XXI century. As part of this objective the existent deficiencies in military intelligence both at political and organizational/leadership level have to be eliminated. The corollary is that today's NATO operations require much more intelligence support than the classical operations used to require.
- NATO missions differ a lot from one another in terms of size and aims. Large-scale missions (e.g. ISAF) need more such operational/tactical support that has an almost immediate effect on the ongoing operation or operations.
- NATO Reaction Forces (NRF) need exact, reliable and timely intelligence data, first of all when they are in the critical planning or pre-deployment phase. Besides military tasks modern intelligence has to take into consideration economic, demographic, cultural, financial, criminal and other aspects too, to be able to really support operations. (This is also the rule of the Alliance!) Conclusion: intelligence support has to move towards the intelligence-driven operations, which demands more intelligence capability. **NATO's strategic objective is that the national intelligence capabilities should support the Alliance's operations to a maximal extent.** This means for Hungary that in addition to information gathering we have to set up a national framework of information-exchange and adequate information bases, complying with NATO expectations.

- NATO's shouldering new roles require more intelligence capability and for this reason if the Alliance takes new tasks upon itself in the future member states have to contribute to them in a larger extent. The first step has been taken by Hungary; the formation of the strategic intelligence became part of the Government's program. The realization of the program will be our contribution to NATO's new tasks. At the same time it is perceivable that the repeated reorganization (with an ill-considered reduction of personnel) will make difficulties, especially if it is coupled with reduced financial resources.
- The different type missions of military crisis management demand general and specific requirements and task realization from the military national security services, because the emphasis more and more shifts from home areas to operational areas. The accomplishment of the tasks – that derive from the counter-terrorism strategy – of the Hungarian national security services raises the question of the amendment of the effective Hungarian legal regulations. The Act – that was enacted 12 years ago – has to be revised in the light of new allied 'expectations' and it has to be adjusted to new circumstances.
- The tasks in home areas or in operational areas are very different from one another, which implies the introduction of new methods and procedures for the services. The experiences of military national security services, especially those gained in operational areas confirm that we need a **regulation that could better support the functioning of the separated organizations.**
- The missions in different parts of the world and the tasks implemented in those missions raise the necessity of the revision and rewriting of the National Security Act. The present regulation does not limit the fulfilment of NATO and EU requests but it would be more practical to incorporate the exact course of the fulfilment of NATO and EU requests into the Act.
- The existent and likely events require the more efficient and global accomplishment of tasks of the military national security services, which in return requires the early warning of crisis areas and countries potentially drifting towards a crisis. This takes the expanded scope of activity and

responsibility of the services for granted. The collaboration in the operational area (supplying information and analysis) requires that the national leadership take great responsibility too. At the same time this requires the more independent functioning of the services in the operational areas.

- The growing information needs of integration organizations means that the participating nations have to set up their own information-gathering and analysing capacity in the operational areas. According to the lessons learned in current operations the classical military intelligence-gathering forces have to learn and apply new intelligence-gathering methods in acquiring strategic, operational and tactical information. Within the framework of the new training activity in home territory the field reconnaissance personnel have to be retrained as 'news-gatherers' and 'pools' have to be set up for theatre HUMINT tasks. This is the point where the stress should be placed during the training. The members of the Hungarian Defence Forces should be able – **similarly to the members of the Military Intelligence Office and Military Security Office** – to pursue HUMINT activity in any period of an armed crisis management and this should be regulated even at the highest legal level. The regulation of this issue at 'LAW' level might also ease significantly the elaboration of the framework of implementation of NATO assigned Special Forces. In fact to set up and run military diplomacy services in crisis areas is getting a more timely and important part of national level crisis management activity.
- The elimination of challenges and acute threats stemming from the globalisation of international terrorism, and pursuing **international counter-terrorism** would be impossible without the contribution of military national services. While the tasks are distributed among national security services at national level, those at the main theatres of fight against terrorism (Iraq, Afghanistan) fall **exclusively to the military national security services. NATO regulations make the counter-terrorism activity in operational areas a totally military task. With the implementation of the Police Action Plan the EU also resorts to the 'men in uniform' solution.** There is no doubt that the efforts and expectations of the integration organizations (analysed in detail above)

count upon the military national security services. This circumstance of utmost importance should be reflected during the reorganization of home national security services so that we could create the proper organizational framework required by international co-operation.

- Proliferation is high on the risk assessment list of both NATO and EU (besides crises and terrorism) and is considered one of the greatest challenges. The fight against proliferation networks requires increased activity from the military national security services because despite of the binding international agreements the illicit trade of arms (both conventional and nuclear materiel included) is growing in the ever widening global commerce. To succeed in driving back illicit trade needs not only the introduction of a new international regulation/verification system but also the exploration of the proliferation process itself. A well organised and task oriented reconnaissance is a key element, which aims at the mapping of proliferation networks, the identification of relevant organizations and persons, and the scrutiny of their intents. In this field HUMINT (data-gathering by human agents) is the most effective and most productive method, which obviously has to be complemented by technical collection of facts and by the complex employment of different secret service means. The elaboration, the introduction and the verification of proliferation counter-measures require military expertise and to this end it is the task of military national security services.

6.New scientific achievements

In my dissertation – based on my scientific research – I have **defined** that peace- and crisis reaction operations of international crisis management require the increased activity of the military national security services, which manifest itself in the expansion of tasks, new methods and in activity in less known regions. I have **proved** that the new tasks and satisfying the information-demand of both the Alliance and the national organizations have upgraded the role of military national security services in crisis management thus their reinforcement is necessary first and foremost in the field of intelligence gathering and analysis. I have **pointed out** that

the judgement of the consequences of our participation in crisis management is an outstanding task of the legal authority of national services.

Within that:

1. With the categorisation and definition of the tasks related to different crises I have **proved** that former procedures have significantly changed, the tasks and methods in home area and operational area are getting more and more different.
2. I have proved that the elimination of challenges and acute threats stemming from the globalisation of international terrorism, and pursuing **international counter-terrorism** would be impossible without the contribution of military national services.
3. I have **verified** that allied members undertake more and more obligation in sharing national information with one another and they also do more to comply with the Alliance's intelligence related decisions, (that have to do with: co-operation, intelligence doctrine, counter-terrorism and counter-proliferation, strategies etc.) under conditions where military national security services have to face growing tasks.

7. Proposals and recommendations

7.1. Proposals

- a) I have **worded my paper** on one of the main tasks of military national security services, i.e. crisis management/crisis reaction in a way that it is easily **understandable** even for those who are less familiar with military and national security issues. I thought it was important to elaborate a dissertation that surveys the topic and fruits practical results at the same time, furthermore which convincingly drives home to security policy experts just as to political decision makers that recently the role of the military national security services have been upgraded both in the Alliance and in the EU.
- b) Due to the changes during the past 16 years and to the wide range of tasks the **prevailing legal Act** on the functioning of the secret services **has to be revised**. Based on professional reasons I think that the necessary changes should deal with the **structure of tasks** rather than with organisational frameworks. The military national security services in

home area are not able anymore to perform their growing tasks without an effective co-operation while in operational fields an integrated organisational structure has to be introduced. **The national legal regulations have to follow and reflect the changes brought about by international practice.**

- c) Hungarian participation in the settlement of international crises **in the new millennium** overwrites the forms of co-operation of civilian and military national security services too, and necessitates the **introduction** of new and more **efficient methods** (in common crisis and risk analysis) that would replace present rigid regulations on collaboration. Besides regular forces so-called Special Forces might play a greater role in the settlement of crises in the future. The national regulation of the activity of such forces should be handled within the context of the carefully adopted questions of reconnaissance and intelligence gathering.

In my dissertation I have discussed the changes according to new challenges. I hope that I managed to convince not only the jury but also the readers of the study about the rightness of my hypothesis and conclusions.

I offer my dissertation to:

- the educational program of the Miklós Zrínyi National Defence University;
- the Ministry of Defence and to its subordinated organs and organisations;
- the Ministry of Finances;
- the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- the experts of the Military Intelligence Office and the Military Security Office;
- the relevant Committees of the Parliament, to the experts dealing with the reorganisation of the services;
- all experts dealing with this topic;
- all readers interested in this topic, for further use.

8. List of publications

BOOKS:

1. Dr. Horváth Pál
Mezopotámia háborúi, háború az olajért.
PolgArt, 2004

2. Dr. Horváth Pál

A béke szolgálatában, Irak, Irán, Ciprus, Kambodzsa PolgArt, 2005

3. Dr. Horváth - Dr. Huszár

Magyarok az első vonalban

“Szökőár”- ahogyan történt PolgArt 2007.

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4. Dr. Horváth Pál: A világ válasza nem késhet BIZTONSÁG 2004. 2. szám

5. Biztonságpolitika, nemzetbiztonság, Olaj

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6. AARMS. 2007. The development trend of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East and Africa and its interconnection with terrorism

7. A kultúra.

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8. Az iszlám fundamentalizmus fejlődési iránya a Közel-Keleten és Afrikában, összefonódása a terrorizmussal. KBH 2007.

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Százhalombatta Művelődési Központ

2003. Április 10.

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2003. szeptember 11.

11. Irak, Irán, Ciprus, Kambodzsa.

Vörösmarty Gimnázium I Magyar Földrajzi Múzeum, Érd Vetítettképes előadás

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13. Iraki hadműveletek.

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2003. március 20 - április 5. -között naponta

14. Napi mozaik: Stúdióbeszélgetés, a “Béke szolgálatában” című könyvről

MTV 2005. január 24.

15. Napi mozaik: Stúdióbeszélgetés, Dr. Horváth Pál dandártábornokkal

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16. Stúdióbeszélgetés, A katonai hírszerzés a rendszerváltozás előtt

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2006. január 18.

17. Hankiss Ágnes: Sorok között. Stúdióbeszélgetés," A közel-keleti helyzet "

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18. Stúdióbeszélgetés, Ali Agcának csak a Vatikántól nem kell tartania

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19. Stúdióbeszélgetés: “A Csehszlovákiai események 1968” Dr. Kun Miklós - Dr. Horváth Pál

HIR TV. 2006. január 21.

20. Stúdióbeszélgetés, Irak-Szaddam Husszein, „AGORA” Duna TV
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21. Stúdióbeszélgetés, Terrorizmus, „AGORA” Duna TV
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22. Stúdióbeszélgetés, „A XX. Század” Kossuth rádió
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A magyar kultúra napján Dr. Holló József altábornagy főigazgató mutatta be a
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26. Irak, Irán, Ciprus, Kambodzsa. Szökőár Indonézia.
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28 May 2007, Budapest

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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Present position

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Education

Military College (1965)
Technical University (1972)
Economic University (1978)
National Defence College
Stockholm (1997)

Professional licensures

Economic Doctorate (1978)
Degree:
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Rank

Brigadier General (Ret.)

Work history

1960-1991 Ministry of Defence
-1990-91 UN. UNIIMOG Irak
-1991-92 Ministry of the Interior
- 1992-93 UN. UNTAC
Kambodzsa,
-1993-94 Ministry of Foreign
..... Affairs
-1994-95 UN. UNIKOM Kuwait
-1995 Pensioner
-1995-98 Parliament Military Committee
- 1998-00 Prime Minister's Office
- 2001- MÁV Informatika. Director.
- 2006-Parliament Security Committee

Languages

English-Certificate of advanced level 1982.
German-Certifikate of positive degree 2007.

Decoration

- Hungarian Military Service Medal (11)

- UN

UNIIMOG, UNTAC, UNIKOM.
1990-91, 1992-93, 1994-95.
(3)

-Danisch military 1995.

- Palm-Cross- USA 2001.
(Irak-Kuvait)

- Service Medal USA 2001.
(Irak-Kuvait)