

**JÁNOS JÓNÁS lieutenant-colonel**

**Impacts of the Middle East on Hungary's security and the role of the Hungarian  
Defence Forces in their handling**

**candidate's review on doctoral (PhD) dissertation  
and examiners' reports on it**

**ZRÍNYI MIKLÓS UNIVERSITY OF  
NATIONAL DEFENCE  
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF MILITARY  
SCIENCE**

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**IMPACTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST ON HUNGARY'S SECURITY AND THE ROLE  
OF THE HUNGARIAN DEFENCE FORCES IN THEIR HANDLING**

candidate's review on doctoral (PhD) dissertation

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„not all threats to international security are  
of a military nature”

Boutros-Boutros Ghali

## INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of the 1990's the Regional Headquarters Allied Forces Southern Europe (Naples) has called the attention with increasing frequency for the new security risks – mostly coming from the „southern periphery” of the continent-. The allied nations of Southern Europe emphasized the adverse effects these risks might have on European security, urging the experts on security policy to „act”.

The above exposed has also given a ground for me to work on this research project.

**Accordingly to the above objectives, my research aim is** to expose the region of the Middle East as a regional security complex, to reveal the main reasons for its complexity and instability and the regional and global factors thereto (Chapter 1).

I proposed to investigate the relations between the Middle East and the international organizations (Chapter 2) which is crucial - and also a prerequisite - for the evaluation of the consequences of our nation's membership in international organizations, Chapter 3 is dedicated to such evaluation.

Most western nations have reconsidered their defense and security strategy to adjust it to the threats represented by the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern nations. These new strategies impose different tasks and responsibilities on the armies in their fight against new challenges, in the performance of their role. I review this question regarding the Hungarian Defence Forces in Chapter 4.

In the closing chapter of the present work I introduce those contributions to knowledge I revealed during my researches, making recommendations to the Hungarian political and military leadership and in the field of education.

**Pursuant to the above I have formulated the following hypotheses:**

Hypothesis no. 1. the dynamic of the security complex of the Middle East is defined by two typical oppositions nowadays: the opposition between the United States and Iran, the aspirant to regional leadership, and the other between the State of Israel and its neighbouring countries. The American-Iranian conflict is decisive for the dynamic of the Middle Eastern region's security in the present moment.

Hypothesis no. 2.: the Middle Eastern region is a security complex affecting Europe's and therefore – given our membership and our assumed roles in international organizations – Hungary's security. Through the role of the Hungarian Armed Forces undertaken in the region, we have to calculate with security risks to our country's internal security and foreign relations and the strength and number of our soldiers in the present and also in the future. Hungary is not only affected (indirectly) by the contingencies and dangers of the region through its membership in international organizations but also (directly) on its own.

Hypothesis no. 3: the NATO membership of Hungary “guarantees” that our participation in international peace support-crisis management operations remains a priority in the future just as the accomplishment of our commitments undertaken in the region of the Middle East.

Hypothesis no. 4.: Due to the experience acquired through its engagement in international affairs – and its structure, effective force and strength, organization, preparedness and ability to be trained – , the Hungarian Defence Forces is apt to perform the duties corresponding to the risks originating in the researched region and present in Hungary.

I have considered the following factors as sources of danger during the verification of the hypotheses:

- migration related problems, radicalization;
- terrorism;
- organized crime;
- armed conflicts (Palestinian (arabic)-Israeli, the Lebanon War, the Iraq War);
- the danger of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

## **METHODS ADOPTED IN THE INVESTIGATIONS**

In the investigation of the Middle East region the investigator must remain objective. My principle – as I have served two years in the region as an operational officer – is to conserve my objective attitude formulated through my personal experiences of the region as an opposite to those security policy experts who investigate the Middle East with a negative

or defensive attitude, a phenomenon mostly owing to the fact that the majority of the foreign publications available in Hungary are works of occidental authors.

The two years I spent serving in the region has meant a lot to me, it has helped significantly to impair my theoretical knowledge so far acquired with practical experiences, even though sometimes on the contrary I had to match the practice with the theory. My research work there was supported by Dr. Shafeeq N. Ghabra, professor for political science at the Center of Research and Studies of the Kuwait University. Besides his tutorials I attended conferences and lectures in the Institute several times.

During my studies at the Spanish Military Staff Academy (ESFAS/CESEDEN) besides researching the Spanish publications on the subject, we have dealt with the Mediterranean and Middle East region as a principal matter – through lectures, seminars, conferences and debates – and so I had the opportunity to have and insight of the Iberian security policy's attitude towards this region. As a researcher I have spent years at the Research Center for Strategy and Defence of the Zrínyi Miklós University of National Defence (ZMNE) where apart from studying the Hungarian and foreign scientific literature I endeavored to consult regularly the distinguished Hungarian experts of the subject also by attending conferences and lectures.

During the elaboration of the third chapter of the present work – being a very sensitive subject –, I have consulted the expert members of the special services and law enforcement's offices just as leaders of Muslim communities and Jewish parishes in order to complement authentically the scarce Hungarian sources.

## **STRUCTURE AND SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION**

The objective of my dissertation is to elaborate the matters related to the subject of “Impacts of the Middle East on Hungary's security and the role of the Hungarian Defence Forces in their handling”. I have outlined the problem through four chapters - each based one of the hypotheses.

**In Chapter 1** I have verified in two different ways that the Middle East is a regional security complex: on the one hand by a follow up on the events and a historical, political, social and military-political analysis of the region's characteristics, and on the other hand by the investigation of the interaction of the regional and global actors based on Barry Buzan's

theory on security, differentiated by geographical sections of the region, which demanded the exact circumscription of the region.

By the name of Middle East region I understood and investigated Egypt, Israel-Palestine, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Saudi-Arabia and the geographical region delimited by the Gulf States. I have discerned two centers of crisis in the region and ranked them on the basis of their effect on national security.

As a conclusion of the above I believe my Hypothesis no. 1. – according to which, the dynamic of the security complex of the Middle East is defined by two typical oppositions nowadays: the opposition between the United States and Iran - aspirant to regional leadership, and the other between the State of Israel and its neighbouring countries – to be correct. The American-Iranian conflict results decisive for the dynamic of the Middle Eastern region's security complex in the present moment.

Further I have considered the main reasons of the region's instability.

I have studied the following matters - not just reasons of the region's instability but the greatest global perils of our days - separately and also took them into consideration in the verification of my hypotheses.

Refugees and migration: by a short review of the definitions, I have explained the main difference between refugees and the non-refugee migrants: the first are forced (or feeling forced) to leave the country of their nationality against their will. But this does not mean that the migration of the refugees shall be examined differently from that of the displaced communities which move to new homes, as in many occasions the emigrants may be a kind of preventive fugitives – individuals of a society who have recognized the untenableness of their situation in time and have voluntarily tried to change it. I used statistics to illustrate the situation of refugees, which shows that about 5.5 million refugees come from and live outside the Palestinian Authority. The UN estimates the number of stateless persons inside Iraq to be 1.8 million and the number of persons who exiled Iraq to be 2 million. Each month 30-50 thousand people leave the country, heading principally to Jordan and Syria, but also to Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey, Iran and even further, to Europe.

Concerning the question of extremism and terrorism I applied a theoretical attitude to make the notions used further on clear. Considering the roots of terrorism I pointed out to nationalist, religious, cultural, social and political motivations and found that these are reasons and forms of the phenomenon at the same time. I analyzed the motivations one by one and have come to the conclusion that each of these motivations can individually complement the notion of terrorism but in most cases they constitute it jointly. I have touched upon the process

of radicalization and extremism, the historical context, the personalities from the Palestinians who played a key part in the global spread of terrorism until Osama Bin Laden and I traced the reasons which served as ground for the strengthening of the radicalism and finally led to the formation of muslim terrorism.

Possession of weapons of mass destruction: after explaining the main elements of the weapons of mass destruction and the different positions regarding the region, I have pointed out that the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is a very grave and extensive problem in the Middle East. The secrecy of the potential of mass destruction and the corresponding documents is present in each of the region's countries and is very likely to be conducive to an eventual conflict and the use of weapons of mass destruction. There is a high risk that a terrorist group may seize and use weapons of mass destruction in the region or outside the region. Due to social and political peculiarities, the proliferator countries are less sensitive to diplomatic and economic pressure which means that even keeping up drastic sanctions doesn't mean a lasting and reassuring solution.

Organized crime: I pointed out that the organized criminal network which has arrived to a global level has an effect on national and inter- and supranational economy, politics and state and even culture. Many of the local criminal groups join in one flexible global criminal network with the aptitude to changing quickly. In the background of the organized crime we shall find organizations with a special identity, national, regional and local roots and great historical traditions.

**In Chapter 2,** I presented the relations between the Middle East and the international organizations, as a logical necessity for the examination of the effects of the Middle East region on Hungary's security with an eye to Hungary's membership in international organizations I drew up in Chapter 3. I took into consideration each field of military-political, economic, social, cultural, etc. cooperation in which the international organization take a leading role nowadays, the importance of the part they play, which I illustrated with events, processes, specific action plans, etc. I summarized the outcome of my research at the end of the chapter.

**In Chapter 3** I intended to apply my personal attitude, focusing on the examination of the effects of the sources of danger exposed in Chapter 1 on Hungary's security with an eye to Hungary's membership in international organizations, for which the previous chapter proves to be very important, as I start this chapter with the evaluation of the relations of Hungary and the Middle East region.

Though Hungary's commitments undertaken in the region are obligations in the scope of its membership in international organizations, its presentation belongs logically to the presentation of the general tasks of the Hungarian Defence Forces which I explained in Chapter 4.

By reviewing the effective legal documents that determine the security policy of the Republic of Hungary I have come to the conclusion that our country is aware of the risks and sources of dangers I have unraveled: the migration in the Middle East, the islamic radicalization, the terrorism, the organized crime, the impacts of armed conflicts (Palestinian (arabic)-Israeli conflict, the Lebanon war, the Iraq war) and the danger of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

I consider the investigation of the relations between the risks and sources of dangers revealed a very important element as I have exposed theoretically and visually those connections and conjunctions which let us draw conclusions regarding interactions and overlaps very typical of the challenges of international security policy, and which also facilitates the oversight of the Hungarian references. I conducted my investigation and drawn my conclusions with the help of the graphics of István Resperger and Rafael Calduch Cervera published under the title of "Risks, challenges and their possible courses and outcomes".

For the third chapter – bearing with a very sensitive subject –, I have consulted the expert members of the special services and law enforcement's offices just as leaders of Muslim communities and Jewish parishes in order to complement authentically the scarce Hungarian sources.

In the meantime I investigated the sources of danger with an outlook on the European situation and at the end of the chapter I have formulated recommendations for the organizations appointed to handle these risks being aware of the fact that the efficiency of the organizations that operate within the Hungarian borders (MK NBH, ORFK NNI, SZEBEK, IRM BÁH) is limited.

As the Hypothesis no. 2. is partly discussed in this chapter, and partly discussed in Chapter 4, I choose to verify it at the end of the latter.



In **Chapter 4** I analyzed the participation of the Hungarian Defence Forces in the maintenance of the external and internal security of the Republic of Hungary with an eye to the unraveled risks and sources of danger through the following four aspects:

1. I detailed the commitments of the Hungarian Defence Forces in the Middle East based on our membership of international organizations. Within the frame of this I outlined the UN's mission in Lebanon, the training mission of NATO in Iraq and MFO's mission in Egypt;

2. I analyzed the possible security risks for Hungary that may arise from the role the Hungarian Defence Forces' has undertaken in the Middle East. I analyzed the actions that were lead against the Hungarian troops and the casualties they suffered in the region. I underlined that we have to calculate with a security risk in our missions undertaken, extremist groups active on the operational area may carry out deterrent attacks or may reply with attacks against symbolic or other important objects of the Republic of Hungary. I have called the attention to the presence of a new security risk to be dealt with in the upcoming times: the risks arising from the passing through, stationing of and attendance to NATO troops, e.g. the Pápa Air Base which will become the base for NATO's strategic air cargo fleet (NATO Heavy Airlift Wing) at the end of 2008.

3. Based on the effective legal documents, I reviewed the roles and tasks of the Hungarian Defence Forces in the handling of the examined risks within the borders of the country.

4. At the beginning of the chapter, as a prerequisite of the other three aspects, I reviewed the purpose and tasks of the Hungarian Defence Forces and the changes to its organization and its roles undertaken.

At the end of Chapter 4 I have verified my Hypothesis no. 2.: I proved that the Middle East region is a security complex which has important influence on Europe and also – given our membership and participation in international organizations – on Hungary. Furthermore I proved that because of the Hungarian Defence Forces' mission in the Middle East in the future just as in the present we must count with a series of security risks threatening the internal security of our country, our external interests and the strength of our armed forces. Hungary is not only concerned indirectly by its membership in international organizations, our country is also affected directly by the risks and dangers of the region.

The Hypotheses no. 3. and 4. which state that:

- the NATO membership of Hungary “guarantees” that our participation in international peace support-crisis management operations remains a priority in the future just as the accomplishment of our commitments undertaken in the region of the Middle East.

- Due to the experience acquired through its engagement in international affairs – and its structure, effective force, organization, preparedness and ability to be trained – , the Hungarian Defence Forces is apt to perform the duties corresponding to the risks originating in the researched region and present in Hungary;
- are also considered to be verified.

## **NEW SCIENTIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

1. Through the analysis of the Middle Eastern security complex I pointed out to two centers of crisis: one of them is the scene of the Gulf States where the United States is facing the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the other is the opposition of Iran and its neighbouring countries. After studying the impact of these two conflicts on the area, I have come to the conclusion that either of them could destabilize any sub-system of the region and therefore they define the dynamic of the whole of the Middle East region's security complex. Diving deeper in the influence of these two centers of crisis on regional security I found that Iran belongs to three different geographical categories at a time: it's a state of the Middle East region just as of the Middle East Asian and Middle Asian region. I found that the American-Iranian conflict really has a global, supra-regional influence which made me conclude that in the present the dynamic of the Middle East region's security complex is defined decisively by the American-Iranian opposition.

2. After having the reasons of the dangers originated in the Middles East region revealed, I examined in the frame of cause and effect how threatened the European societies - and Hungary – are and I came to the conclusion – through exact cases- that the complex security region I constantly refer to in this paper has an explicit influence on Europe and so has it on Hungary, as a member of international organizations. Through analysis of the military aspects and the presentation of the past, present and probable events of the missions in the Middle East undertaken by the Hungarian Defence Forces, I drew the inference that in the future just as in the present we must count with a series of security risks threatening the internal security of our country, our external interests and the strength of our armed forces.

On the basis of the data I refer to in the present dissertation and the correlations unraveled, I defined the dangers of the region and through these I verified those areas where Hungary is not only concerned indirectly by its membership in international organizations but is also directly affected. I have arrived to the following conclusions through my research:

- The migration – illegal migration, the Islamic radicalization, the terrorism and the corresponding occurrences, the organized crime and the effects of the armed conflicts of the Middle East can be perceived in Hungary as well and such phenomenon raise public awareness of danger;
- The possibility of the transfer trade and the hazard of the use of the weapons of mass destruction also raise awareness. In some areas of the researched region, where our troops evolve their tasks we have to count with this hazard;

3. I pointed out that with the appearance of the new security challenges, the Middle East region has become a principal stage of the federal foreign policy. After reviewing the stages of the tasks performed by the Hungarian Defence Forces in the international missions I concluded that Hungary became an active supporter of the security guarantees of the Washington Treaty and left the role of the simple consumer behind, Hungary fulfills its federal commitments knowing that it is our greatest national interest.

All the above convinces me to believe that I am right to assume that our participation in international peace support operations and the performance of our commitments in the Middle East region shall remain a priority in the future.

4. After having the tasks of the Hungarian Defence Forces reviewed I found that the Hungarian Defence Forces possesses the aptitude to perform the duties corresponding to the risks originating in the researched region and present in Hungary with no need for further resources, and I have elaborated different versions for their handling.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

- The thesis can be used in the teaching of students pursuing studies of security- and defence policy or international relations at the Zrínyi Miklós University of National Defence or other universities and colleges (included the Police College) in several subjects related to security matters of the Middle East, Europe and Hungary
- It can be a substantial and useful material, background-information for the doctoral candidates of the doctoral schools of the Zrínyi Miklós University of National Defence and other universities for their research seminars and lectures if they conduct researches on the security of the region of the Middle East, Europe or Hungary. The original ideas and security-theory regarding the risks to Hungary's security formulated in the thesis can serve as a basis for further investigations on the subject.

- The material can also be used by lecturers of universities and colleges as it contains the latest results of investigations on the risks to Hungary's security.
- The material can be incorporated in the programme of the Course for General Staff in the Zrínyi Miklós University of National Defence, because in my opinion the investigation of the risks and dangers originating in the Middle East region is indispensable for the members of the high command during the preparation phases of the implementation of strategic and field maneuvers, the planning, analysis and evaluation of peace support and crisis management operations.
- The thesis may be of great scientific value for experts of the Research Center for Strategy and Defence of the Zrínyi Miklós University of National Defence for its original approach towards the risks originating in the Middle East and perceptible in Hungary.
- The thesis can be used for the information of the Committee of Defence-, National Security and Foreign Affairs of the Parliament regarding the migration of the region, the dangers of radicalization, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction in terrorists' hands and the relations of organized crime in Hungary.
- For experts and decision-makers of the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement to be able to review the processes of the region in connection with the roles of Hungary's armed forces in the missions to Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt.
- As a useful and broad source of background information, the thesis is suitable for experts working on the operational field.
- The Operational Control Center of the Hungarian Defence Forces can make use of the thesis in the security risk-analysis of the operations in the Middle East region and it can also be incorporated as a background-material in the preparation programme of the International Military Observer Course.
- The Military Training Center can include the thesis in the theoretical curriculum of the basic- and professional training.
- The thesis can also be useful for the International Education Center of the Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement in the preparation of the police contingents planned to be sent to the region.

## **LIST OF PUBLICATIONS**

- Israel's security- and defence policy, thesis written for graduation at ZMNE, 2000.
- The US Army on the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, The New Military Review (Új Honvédségi Szemle) 2000/8.
- The impacts of the Middle East and North Africa on European security, Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Doktorandorum Bp. 2001. 1. no.
- International commitment of the Hungarian soldiers, Four years of national defence 2002-2006 (A honvédelem négy éve 2002-2006), HM Zrínyi Kht. 2006.
- UN missions I., Magyar Honvéd - 9<sup>th</sup> of September, 2005
- UN missions II., Magyar Honvéd - 16<sup>th</sup> of September, 2005
- Soldiers of the king and the crown prince (Current issues of the reform of the Spanish Armed Forces), Magyar Honvéd - 2007/18-19. 11<sup>th</sup> of May

To be published (ZMNE, Nemzetvédelmi Egyetemi Közlemények, accepted for publishing):

- The Mediterranean region and the international terrorism: a new frame for cooperation?
- The role of the armed forces in the fight against international terrorism.

### **Foreign-language publications**

#### **Published by:**

**Center for Superior Studies on National Defence, Madrid, (Centro Superior de Estudios de la Defensa Nacional (CESEDEN))**

- "La proliferación de armas de destrucción masiva como amenaza a la seguridad" (Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction: a danger for security)- 7 pages ,8<sup>th</sup> of November, 2006
- Estrategia y polemologia "Estrategia y Seguridad" (Strategy and polemology "Strategy and Security") - 11 pages,17<sup>th</sup> of November, 2006
- Análisis de conflictos "Guerra y estabilización de Afganistán" (2001-actualidad) (Analysis of conflits "War and stabilization in Afghanistan" 2001- to date)- 37 pages, 16<sup>th</sup> of December, 2006
- "Actualización de los riesgos y escenario futuros para la seguridad y la defensa" (Updating the future risks and scenarios for security and defence) – 9 pages, 6<sup>th</sup> of February, 2007
- "El terrorismo islamista" (The islamic terrorism)- 21 pages, 2<sup>nd</sup> of May, 2007

- Review “Terrorism and Counterterrorism, understanding the new security environment by Russel D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer” – 32 pages, 16<sup>th</sup> of May, 2007
- Monography “La coparticipación del Ejército Húngaro en las operaciones de la OTAN, experiencias, planes para el futuro” (The participation of the Hungarian Army in NATO operations, experiences and plans for the future) – 55 pages, 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, 2007

## **SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES**

During my internship as a security- and defence policy student I cooperated with the State Secretariat for Security- and Defence policy of the Hungarian Prime Minister’s Office

During my studies of PhD I led investigations in the Research Center for Strategy and Defence of the Zrínyi Miklós University of National Defence and I regularly attended the lectures and conferences.

During my years of research I took an assignment of one year in the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) which let me carry out investigations in the Center of Research and Studies of the Kuwait University. I attended the university’s conferences and gave lectures on the security issues of Central Europe.

During my studies at the Spanish Military Staff Academy, as member of the Academy’s association for military science I participated in the work of the institution’s section for security and strategy. I was invited several times to the programs of the Complutense University of Madrid and I also gave lectures on the security policy of Central Eastern Europe and Hungary’s neighbourhood policy. Currently I’m a member of the Hungarian Association of Military Science and the United Nations Association of Hungary and I regularly attend the associations’ lectures and conferences.

## **EXAMINERS' REPORTS**