

**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE
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**The changing tasks of the hungarian national security services in
the 21st century in the light of the information society**

These of the doctorol (Ph.D.) dissertation

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1. JUSTIFICATION OF THE CHOICE OF TOPIC, SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM

With the development of technology, the flow of information in the economy and society has accelerated and its role in preparing and implementing decisions has become unquestionable. By the 21st century, the security challenges and risks on the planet have changed significantly, to which the national security services of the world and Hungary must adapt, and this adaptation must be reflected in the planning and making of strategic decisions by the government. There is no fully accepted definition of the information society itself in academic circles, as there is debate. About the impact of a medium on a society, but it should not be understood to refer only to the spread and development of the Internet. Of course, its penetration into wider circles creates new opportunities for national security, but it also creates new security challenges: not only in terms of information acquisition, but also, for example, in terms of protecting digital data and maintaining conspiracies.

In choosing my research area, my aim was to investigate the nature of the operational, institutional and task changes that these new and evolving security challenges have brought about in Hungary's national security sector. In terms of operations, I pay considerable attention to the organisational changes in the structure of the services themselves brought about by technological developments, the extent to which Hungary's services can keep pace with the pace of modernisation of state-of-the-art services, and the way in which national security agencies cooperate as a consequence of the information society. The related policy decisions, changes, administrative transformations and the creation of new organisations are the cornerstones of the thesis. The main aim of the thesis is to examine the changes in the way the services are being organised. To this end, I will examine, in the light of security strategies, how the national security services have been affected by the growing expansion of the information society, how they have responded to the new challenges, how they have been shaped by policy and resources, and how their institutional set-up has changed.

The relevance of my dissertation lies in the evolving challenges, risks and threats that policy makers are actively addressing: national security services are increasingly supporting decision making, and are playing an increasing role in addressing security issues and protecting critical infrastructure. The intensification of hybrid and asymmetric warfare also reinforces the importance of this issue. The research findings revealed in the study of the various national security sub-areas in this thesis are intended to help in possible organisational restructuring, improving methodologies, and highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the Hungarian

national security system as a whole. The thesis is not technical in nature and does not go into detail on possible technological features, but one of the main objectives is to analyse their impact and their security and social aspects.

It can be said that the increasing involvement of the services in political decision-making made it clear that the aim was to make Hungarian foreign policy as autonomous as possible. This was not always achieved before 1990, of course, and it must be acknowledged that the development of the services was always a step behind Western models, and was usually incorporated into the system when it was already considered obvious in the West. In the case of Hungary, the evolution of the national security services has been determined by its specific historical development, and major events (e.g. regime change, scandals, emergence of terrorism) have brought about changes. The thesis will examine civil and military national security organisations, but as I will analyse the whole system in general, the elements that affect them together will be discussed. In my research, I describe the changes in Hungary's national security services after the regime change in the light of the information society. The security challenges of recent years are changing, the foreign and security policy environment has changed, which affects our country. Due to the changing circumstances, many countries rely more and more on national security services. As a result, Hungarian decision-makers have been forced to make changes to the national security system on more and more occasions. The aim of my thesis is to describe these changes and to demonstrate that the dominance of information as a power factor has been the main cause. I conclude that in each case the design of the current system of national security administration depended on government policy decisions. This requires a comprehensive examination of some elements of the Hungarian national security structure.

Paradigm shifts are present not only in warfare, but also in the life of the national security services. In the course of the thesis I will argue that the security problems of the 21st century have been influenced mainly by the emergence of the information society, the accelerated flow of information and the development of technology. These transformations have made the strategic management of national security, the development of the operational, assessment-analytical and technical sectors, as well as the national security administration and institutions, a fundamental issue in the national security defence of Hungary. The Hungarian national security institutional system has not been entirely transformed by the shifts brought about by the information society, but has followed a mixed evolutionary path, influenced by the political views of the time.

The classical model of the intelligence cycle has remained fundamentally in place in Hungary, but it has changed, and one of the main reasons for this is the shifts caused by technological developments. Decision-makers are increasingly incorporating material from national security services into their decisions. The primary 'raw material' of the services is information, and the information society is therefore increasingly prevailing. The impact is mainly characterised by information flows and the reorganisation of national security agencies, with the emergence of Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) and cyber intelligence, which is changing the cycle, but the human intelligence (HUMINT) branch remains strong due to the different security challenges.

As the new types of security challenges become more complex, the tools need to detect and counter threats are becoming more diverse and the need for integrated cooperation between defence systems has become more pressing. Information dominance is increasingly requiring the coordinated work of national security agencies, and information fusion and information protection solutions and methods are being put in place. In Hungary, these processes are similarly underway, but a truly general and comprehensive information system has not yet been established.

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

In my thesis I built my hypotheses along the following research objectives.

The research aims:

1. To describe the nature of the information society and its impact on national security agencies;
2. Comprehensive presentation of the Hungarian national security organisation system, exploring the interrelationships of the transformations;
3. To outline a strategy based on the conclusions of the analysis and to present forecasts.

In line with these objectives, the research will contribute to the following areas:

- Understanding the evolution of the Hungarian national security organisation system;
- The evolution of the Hungarian national security organisation and the evolution of the Hungarian political thinking in relation to national security and technological development;
- The analysis of national security issues;
- The domestic and international development of security and national security theories.

The main research questions of the thesis are:

1. What are the consequences of the information society and what impact has it had on the security sector?
2. Has the Hungarian national security organization developed along political, professional or mixed processes until today?
3. What changes in the tasks of the national security services can be defined along the lines of political or professional decisions?
4. How has the place and role of the Hungarian national security services in the security sector evolved after the socialist regime change?
5. What are the main characteristics of the changes in the tasks of the national security services?
6. How important is information fusion as a response to new types of challenges and for decision-makers?
7. What can be expected in the future in terms of the role of domestic services?

In this thesis, I will test the following hypotheses in order to find answers to the above questions:

H1: The information society has had a significant impact on the emergence and shaping of new types of challenges.

H2: Since the change of the socialist regime, political and professional decisions have been mixed in the evolution of the Hungarian national security challenges.

H3: The security strategies show that Hungary's state leadership has increasingly relied on national security organisations, they have become indispensable actors in the new structure as the profile of challenges, risks and threats has changed significantly.

H4: The changed security environment has become complex due to the information society, and closer cooperation between law enforcement agencies is a cornerstone of effectiveness.

3. METHODOLOGICAL BASICS

The evaluation draws on several research methods. Analysis and induction are central to the studies. Their choice is justified by the nature of the topic, which is general, theoretical, descriptive-explanatory and analytical. The investigation is mainly concerned with document analysis, strategy analysis, secondary evaluation of relevant research and literature. The reason for this is that the main component of the dissertation is state analysis. A descriptive analysis of cause and effect type is essential to draw conclusions from the events of the past to the present and to understand the why. At the end of causality, there must be a specific state of affairs which is the main object of investigation.

The doctoral thesis considers states as fundamental actors in security issues. By security we mean the security of nations, of which the state is the main guarantor. Theories of security seek to explain the world's security issues through models, showing how certain segments operate. Theories are then put into practice, but policy is the answer from a range of possible scenarios. Security and politics thus become an inseparable pair. Of the three main schools of thought (realism, liberalism, critical approach), the paper mainly follows the realist school of security, but also incorporates important elements from the other two schools. This choice is justified by the fact that the realist school also tends to follow a general direction and can provide a framework for analysis. According to realist theory, the state is the main subject of international relations. One of the fundamental aims of states is to guarantee order, public order and security for their citizens, as Thomas Hobbes explains in his *Leviathan*. States are self-sustaining and therefore often come into conflict with other states and non-state actors. Realism holds that states act in their national interest and to maintain their security. The various states are in a state of 'anarchy', as there is no common world government, they operate according to their own logic, and only a common enemy can force alliances, thus making cooperation essential. Realism is rather pessimistic and does not always presuppose trust between the parties, which is why it is justified to adopt some elements of a critical approach. From an epistemological point of view, the main tendency is to follow a positivist methodology, i.e. the one of the three approaches that is closest to rationality and the natural sciences. The realist approach also looks at human behaviour, according to which political decisions are based on human nature. The most important behavioural driver, as Hans J. Morgenthau points out, is interest. Although there are moral facts, they are not necessarily the driving force behind the state and its political goals. Rather, it is the acquisition, retention and stabilisation of power. The realist politician constantly monitors internal and external influences on his own power and

the security of the country. States maintain their own security and that of other states by preventing the threatening activities of other states or groups. Within realism, the neorealist school of Kenneth N. Waltz, including reductionist theory, provides the appropriate interpretative framework for examining changes in national security challenges caused by the information society, as it focuses on unitary variables (i.e. the state and, within it, a system). It argues that there are laws in the social sciences, including security, that actors must obey if they are to remain competitive. This requires the maintenance of practices, the guarantee of security, which forces states to compete in a constant race to adapt. The system rewards the best behaviour and punishes the worst. To use the theory, the investigation must start from three directions. Firstly, the ordering principle according to which the elements are grouped in the structure. Second, the effectiveness with which each functional specification (in our case, the national security system) is able to perform its function. Third, it is necessary to look at the distribution of the relative capabilities of the components. The fact that neoclassical realism is examined at the unit level, substituting them into a larger structure, is clearly visible. A distinction is made between external and internal equilibrium, but this is blurred in several places by technological progress. The neorealist approach is consistent with analysis and induction, since each works with variables that may be dependent or static, but seeks events that explain outcomes. They identify the specific events that led to decisive changes in the evolution of the processes. This is the aim throughout the thesis, and it is mainly in Chapter IV that the outcome is presented.

In the course of this dissertation, since I will be examining the organisational system of national security in Hungary in the light of the information society, I will often use a critical approach. This method of analysis was already used by Aristotle and Socrates in order to explore the connections, to gain insight into the clear-cut nature of things and to draw conclusions. The methodology relies mainly on the social interpretation approach. In this conception, society is primarily based on human activity, where the organisational and institutional level is always determined by the material-technical and cultural level of the time. Human consciousness and knowledge are the main driving force of development, and their level always depends on the level of development of the time. It is essentially characterised by three approaches: historicism, totality and dialectics. Historicism identifies the level of development over time; totality emphasises the dominance of the whole and the domination of the parts; dialectics seeks the source of development in the light of contradictions or interdependencies. The resulting political theory situates politics in historical-social systems. Previously concerned with a critique of the industrial revolution, it has now become a more general critique. The

approach is designed to analyse, prove or disprove the validity of evidence or point to other hypotheses on the basis that the researcher initially hypothesises a research problem and investigates it along a defined methodology. At the very end of the process, the hypothesis is confirmed on the basis of the available data and information. It is necessary to work from as many sources as possible, as legislation, opinions, documents and analyses provide a comprehensive picture and promote objectivity. The broader the scope of the analysis, the stronger the justification for the approach.

The social sciences make a specific effort to understand and describe human behaviour and to create models. One of the main elements of this is to create as realistic and rational a picture as possible. In the analysis of political decisions, the main element of this dissertation, I will apply the theory of bounded rationality, according to which the ability of a decision-maker to make rational decisions can be influenced from several sides, thus violating the principle of rationality. However, rationality may be relative according to some perspectives. One can say that an individual's action is rational if it is consistent with his worldview, values, beliefs, and the congruence places it in a logical framework. However, according to the theory of bounded rationality, decisions are burdened with weights and constraints, which makes it difficult to understand rational decisions. There are three reasons for this bias:

1. *Bias in judgement*: decisions are often based on probabilities, which are based on heuristics that may have systematic errors;
2. *Errors in problem representation*: the decision-maker thinks in alternatives, usually considering gains and losses in an utilitarian way before making a decision. Thus inconsistent preferences are created;
3. *Defects in solving the decision situation*: human nature is not always realistic, often instinctive, influenced by feelings.

The motivation is modified as a consequence, which makes the search for information and the use of information incomplete. According to Herbert Simon, the decision-maker cannot always make an objective decision, because of the possible specific nature of situations. In each case, he must be aware of all the possible alternatives and be both useful and consistent, even though they sometimes conflict. However, there is not always enough information available, but a decision is taken. In these cases, the decision maker sets up a model that makes the difficult questions easy and explains the course of action. Because the decision-maker is aware of his or her own limitations, he or she looks for alternatives when examining decisions in detail, with

the aim of heuristics and maximum satisfaction of needs. But even in this case, social norms, politics, ethics, ideologies, culture and non-optimal heuristics influence his decisions. Thus, the model of bounded rationality is born. It is important for the model to distinguish between habits and real decisions. In the case of habits, the decision-maker's past experience, habits, party political ideologies and political pressure are the determining factors, i.e. less deliberation is involved and decisions are taken according to established functions. In this case, therefore, there is no detailed impact assessment, and the politician does not care about the effects of the choice. The model is strongly linked to the neorealist school and induction. Changes since the regime change are analysed in chronological order until we reach 2020. The theory of bounded rationalities provides us with a tool to better understand the decisions of the political sphere with regard to the national security sector in the light of the information society.

The theory of bounded rationalities identifies three lines of inquiry:

1. Finding the information you need to solve the problem and the process;
2. Finding and exploiting the benefits;
3. Understanding the rules of decision-making behaviour.

I will mainly focus on the last point in this thesis. I will examine the decisions taken to transform the mission of the national security services through different 21st century security strategies, since the decision-maker prioritises the state's objectives in the strategies and assigns the means to achieve them.

The topic under consideration requires some delimitation. As the title suggests, this thesis examines the shifting tasks of the Hungarian national security services in the 21st century, but to understand these it is essential to understand the changes in the democratic structure since the fall of communism. 11 September 2001 can be seen as a watershed in the global threat landscape, bringing radical changes not only to the defence sector of most countries in the world, but also to our own. But the journey from here is not just a completely new one, but a branch of a long process that had already begun, so it is essential to review the previous 11 years. In terms of perspective, the examination is primarily theoretical and concerns the whole national security system, not civilian or military specific, yet it focuses on the civilian segment, as the scope of the dissertation is not sufficient to analyse the military segment to the same extent.

4. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The thesis consists of six main chapters, of which the first introduces the reader to the theoretical framework. It presents the structure of the dissertation, the methodology, the research objectives, the hypotheses, the literature review, the formulation of the research problem and the duration of the research.

Chapter II deals with the information society, the globalised world and the new types of challenges they pose. It lays down the basic concepts and theses that will have a key meaning for the understanding of the Hungarian system in the future. Hungary in the information society and the state of national security issues will be presented. An understanding of this complex is essential to prove the hypotheses, which will provide a basis for the scope of analysis in examining the changing tasks of Hungarian national security agencies.

In Chapter III, the different security strategies and documents are presented. I summarise the strategic goals, concepts and the tools needed to implement them. I analyse how the different security strategies provide professional and political responses to the challenges of the 21st century and the information society. This chapter, complemented by a description of the information society, provides a basis for analysis for the following chapters and helps to interpret the professional and policy choices affecting the national security sector.

Chapter IV is intended to provide a historical overview, as the chosen topic cannot do without a general overview of the history of national security services. It starts with a brief look at the secret services of the Kádár era, which makes the dilemmas that arose during the regime change more comprehensible and provides a basis for interpreting the processes. The chapter proceeds chronologically from 1990 to 2020, focusing on the most important paradigm shifts and shifts and assessing the weight of the information society in these decisions. The sequel now begins a state-of-the-art analysis. The aim is to describe the current national security organisational system, to examine the causal links and to present the final stage of an outcome process analysis.

Chapter V deals with unstable regions, migration, terrorism, organised crime, cyber activities, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and conventional weapons attacks, national security protection of critical infrastructures, information operations, information security, hybrid conflicts, the impact of new technologies and the coronavirus epidemic.

The final chapter, Chapter VI, is devoted to presenting the conclusions, research findings, and to validating the hypotheses and illustrating new research results. I conclude with recommendations.

5. THE DURATION OF THE RESEARCH

The research is a situation analysis, following the research methodology to understand the situation today. The analysis of the current situation cannot be done without referring back to the state-party system and without a comprehensive analysis of the events since the regime change. The thesis itself focuses, in large part, on the domestic transformations of the 21st century, but it is essential to look at what has happened in the three decades since the regime change. The research therefore starts in 1990 and runs until March 2022. The research itself ended on 1 March 2022, so events after that date are not the subject of the research, and the thesis is based on the processing, evaluation and analysis of events before that date. Obviously, the history of the Hungarian national security system and the information society goes back much further, but in order to remain within the interpretative framework and to shed light on the relevant contexts for today's time, it is sufficient to examine the democratic transition and the post-democratic era.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The acceleration in the processing and evaluation of information and data is affecting not only security organisations but also the systems of the various entities that cause security problems. In such an environment, national security services could not afford not to react, especially with technical improvements. The diverse use of information has led to significant changes in government decision-making mechanisms and a constant pressure to adapt. As the military has taken a back seat, security issues have not disappeared and the national security services are being given even greater emphasis. However, the Ukraine-Russia war of 2022 has highlighted that war is not unthinkable even in the immediate vicinity of our country, and we must be prepared for these conflicts in the future.

Since the change of regime, there have been no system-wide reforms, and there has always been an unitary transformation of the institutions and structure of the basic system. Modernisation and technical development have also taken place separately. The use of and commitment to a ministerial system without ministries, rather than to meet professional needs, suggests a political profile. The Orbán government has recognised the need to leave behind fears of a state-party past and to adapt national security activities to the ever-changing security environment. While some services are currently subordinated to the ministry where they can best use the work of that service, the national security working groups NIÁT and TIBEK reflect the government's desire to make the best use of information obtained elsewhere. This utilitarian

approach fits in perfectly with the decentralising, relaxing approach of the US and other European countries. Inter-agency cooperation and the development of international relations have been a constant feature of political communication, but there has been no overall coordination within government beyond foreign partnerships. Since 1990, attempts have been made to transform the atomised system into a complex whole by establishing and revising coordination mechanisms. The increase in the number of terrorist attacks in the West and the pressure this created were necessary to bring the National Security Fusion Centre into being and make it part of the organisational system. After the change of regime, the Hungarian services, while constantly adapting to international trends favouring technical means, mainly in terms of increased budgetary resources, kept the HUMINT line as an indispensable part of their work. As pointed out by Imre Dobák, Attila Urbán and Zoltán Kovács, the services mobilised considerable resources to modernise their technical equipment during the years of socialism, a process which only intensified in the following years and continued until the series of terrorist attacks in the 2000s. The new rise of terrorism has highlighted to the whole world that terrorist organisations are also familiar with information networks and that HUMINT capabilities should not be marginalised, but that the number of people working in non-security organisations should be increased. Intensive recruitment in the services is a sign of this. It can be concluded that a specific national security system has emerged in Hungary after the regime change. Until 2001, with the exception of the creation of the National Security Service, political decisions were dominant, but at the rhetorical level, technical adaptation to changing security conditions was always present. The 2000s were characterised by a functionalist-decentralist debate, but no substantial progress was made against the growing challenges, except for changes in the position of the minister without portfolio. The Nbtv. still defines technical intelligence activities as merely information gathering, while the role of influence operations is increasing at global level. It also includes the implementation of continuous technical development, which protects the system against external influences and should therefore be treated as a high priority area. Due to historical events and fragmentation, the classical architecture of the SIGINT system is not covered by the Hungarian national security services from a technical point of view, even though its effectiveness is reflected in the exploitation of the technology. It can also be used to strengthen analytical and evaluation systems, to monitor cyber activities, to provide technical expertise and to guarantee information security. The coordination of institutions is already a trend in some Western services. The increase in illegal migration and the rise in terrorist activities in Europe have motivated decision-makers to move security agencies towards more coordinated methods of cooperation. Services are therefore already committed to this in the

National Security Strategy 2020. Hungary is more and more relying on national security agencies as the profile of challenges, risks and threats has changed significantly and they have become indispensable actors in the new structure. Despite the lack of comprehensive institutional reform since the regime change, since 2010 we have seen the professionalisation of most of the responses.

The shuffling of the Information Office between ministries is a good example of political influences that cannot be overlooked. Decision-makers have recognised that the new types of threats that are on the horizon go hand in hand with changing circumstances, which the national security establishment must keep pace with. The changes in the Hungarian services in the 21st century have, in many cases, revealed that this has not only been embodied in political thinking, but has also been reflected in symbolic and practical actions. The incorporation of the services into the constitution was an emblematic, legal normative and other professionally justified decision, so that it could take its place in the highest legal document. In doing so, the government has given a symbolic expression to the fact that it is progressively taking account of their work and giving them a significant role in its work. It was only after 2010 that the government took a holistic approach and fundamentally changed the structure based on the foundations laid down during the period of regime change. The institutional architecture, structure, model and function of the change of regime did not emerge from the information society, but its role has become significant in the 2010s, as reflected in technical innovations, the development of certain coordination bodies, the increasing budget, the broadening of the NSI portfolio and technical innovation. The creation of TIBEK is particularly significant. It has created a centre capable of providing support to all organisations in the face of the modern threat of terrorism. The effectiveness of the fight will be enhanced by this institution, but legislators need to address human rights concerns. The flow of information to decision-makers is also determined by the spread of the information society and, as we have pointed out, has had a major impact on intelligence cycles, reshaping them and creating new offshoots. With the acceleration of the cycle, the flow of information must also become more vigorous in order to enable policymakers to respond to problems more quickly, relying on national security reporting. I cited the 2015 migration crisis as an example, where the emerging wave of terrorism was a turning point for the services, leading to structural and strategic changes. For the services, the changing challenges require the development of new training models for human resources. The need to increase the number of staff speaking Eastern languages has become increasingly necessary, but filling the gap is not easy because of the complexity of the recruitment procedures and requirements of the NBSZ and the labour market supply. Security strategies

have a key role to play in determining the main focus of law enforcement agencies in both the short and long term. Although most of the strategies try to avoid referring to specific institutions, they mainly list objectives and international and national values to be defended, while at the same time they refer to the need for coordination, the changing security environment and the need for services to adapt. It gives them direction and sufficient room for manoeuvre to carry out their joint, coordinated action as effectively as possible.

The changing security environment is increasingly complex, and law enforcement agencies can act effectively by working together. Information fusion and the cooperative model have played a significant role in policy thinking in the face of new types of challenges and continue to play an increasing role. As the emphasis between the HUMINT and SIGINT lines is shifting significantly, new methods of intelligence gathering are needed. Although, in some cases, technical intelligence provides sufficient data, the innovations provided by the information society cannot always provide us with sufficient defences, and so human-relations intelligence will continue to play a significant role. It is precisely on this basis that the domestic services carry out a constant and strong recruitment effort, mainly focused on the operational field. Nevertheless, technological developments must also be kept on the agenda, as this is another way of obtaining timely information that is needed to take decisions, preventive and defensive measures against cross-border threats, which may be globalised. It is important that the various national security principles, methods, rules and tools are constantly adapted. The organisational, training and technical functioning of the national security services must be aligned with the government's strategy in this area, which in turn must adapt to real threats, dangers and challenges. Innovations, modernisations and targets should be set to enable the services to operate in the most difficult situations. Domestic services faced a difficult situation during the global economic crisis of 2008, as they had to deal with both a shrinking budget and new security threats caused by the crisis, which in turn required urgent attention. In order to maintain their own stability, it is essential that the services have an appropriate scenario to deal with such unforeseen situations. Fortunately, the increase in the budget and the EU's operational, technical, procurement and development tenders provide the opportunity to further increase their response capacity. The security situations described above illustrate the need for much closer and more effective cooperation between law enforcement agencies, as threats to our country affect all areas of operation. Therefore, the national security organisation system cannot be relied upon solely for these issues. However, in the case of tasks which have hitherto been the responsibility of the Police, it is now necessary to involve the national security services. In today's network-based world, it is not the quality of information that has changed,

but the instantaneous nature of the flow and processing of data. Hence, national security services are an important component of law enforcement. National security services are seeking to integrate the new cyberspace arena into their areas of operation. As organised crime and terrorism have moved into cyberspace, hybrid warfare is changing the mindset of the military services in the same way as it is changing the mindset of the civilian services. As a result, divisions have emerged within civilian, police and military national security services to prevent, counter or carry out cyber attacks. The public and governmental sector operates on a complex network system, based on organised information technology, and it is therefore essential that the cyber domain is placed at the forefront of national security issues from a defence perspective. Government Decree No. 271/2018 (20.12.2018) defines the tasks and competences to be followed in order to enable the national security services to react quickly to changes in the security environment. Technical innovations and the ever-increasing amount of information require constant adaptation.

In my opinion, the above-mentioned developments call not only for a continuous updating of national security strategies, but also for a new law on national security based on a new basis.

7. FULFILMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

The thesis formulated four hypotheses, all of which were proven. With the first hypothesis, the thesis confirmed the theoretical framework and the method of analysis from the perspective of the information society. The information society has significantly transformed the security environment. Information has always been important throughout history, but it has become a truly dominant factor with the advent of the information society. The holder of information has also become the holder of power, and as direct conflict has become less important, organisations whose primary task is to obtain information that another party does not want to share have become more valuable. These organisations are mainly the national security services, whose activities are covert, but who have the political backing and tools at their disposal.

With the second hypothesis, I argued that since the regime change, political and professional decisions have been mixed in the changes in the tasks of the Hungarian national security system. After the regime change, a specific national security structure emerged, which mainly evolved in a pragmatic and utilitarian direction. Until 2001, with the exception of the establishment of the NBSZ, political decisions were more pronounced, which can be attributed to the search for a new path after the regime change. In the 2000s, serious professional debates

began, but it was not until 2010 that changes were made which could be said to be the result of the changes in the mission of the information society. Reforms have begun, and the fears of the state-party system have begun to be put to rest in the face of the secret services, but system-wide changes have not yet taken place. The Hungarian national security services are characterised by atomisation. Changes affecting each institution individually and the modernisation and technical developments taking place separately are essential. However, coordination and information fusion have also emerged in response to a number of security problems, demonstrating that decision-makers are aware that only a strong, cooperative national security system can tackle new challenges. Since the change of regime, the Hungarian services have adapted relatively well to the changed security environment, and the HUMINT line remains strong alongside the technical side, which could not have been achieved without political will.

The third hypothesis is that Hungary's state leadership has become increasingly reliant on national security agencies as the challenges, risks and threats have changed. However, Hungary's entry into the information society, and thus its effective responses to the changed and new types of challenges, has been hampered by changes in political position, which has hindered its catching up with the West, and as a consequence, the intentions to transform the national security system that have been initiated could not survive the political leadership. A model change took place in April 2011, when the government brought the national security services back to constitutional level, in the Constitution, carried out administrative restructuring, created a fusion centre, steadily increased their budget and gave them a prominent role in national security strategies from the perspective of national security protection. The national security strategies foresee a further deterioration of the security environment, which also makes the activism of national security organisations important. I have outlined several events that have already changed the security environment, but are not yet included in a strategy document.

In the fourth hypothesis, it was formulated that the changed security environment is increasingly forcing Hungarian national security agencies to cooperate more closely. This has also been recognised by policy makers and information fusion is seeking to strengthen cooperation. The establishment of the SZBKK and later the TIBEK fusion centre has facilitated the effective sharing of information between national security agencies in the fight against organised crime and terrorism. Cumulative reactions to changes in the security environment have been made, and fusion centres have been created that are able to provide a service in line

with international global trends and to institutionalise relatively rapid reactions to modern threats.

8. NEW SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

Based on the research results and my own research on the subject, the following new scientific findings can be formulated:

1. I firstly presented the impact of the information society on the Hungarian national security services from a comprehensive perspective, using mainly Hungarian sources, supplemented by literature in foreign languages.
2. I have shown that the changes in the tasks of the national security services cannot be interpreted in a purely political or professional context, but are a more complex issue. Understanding the context requires a complex method of analysis.
3. I have demonstrated that the institutional structure, model and role of the national security organisation after the change of regime is not due to the information society. In 2022, however, it will play a major role, as evidenced by the evolution of the coordination bodies, technical developments, increased budgets, the expansion of the NBSZ portfolio and the innovation of its technical capabilities.
4. I have shown that the shift towards information fusion and cooperative models is already present in Hungarian political and scientific thinking, and that legislation is driving the services towards cooperation. The rise of illegal migration and terrorism in Europe has prompted policy makers to create a more coordinated system of organisations to replace the existing atomised ones that respond to the threats of our accelerated world. The creation of the SZBKK, TIBEK, the KNBSZ and the National Security Task Force and the National Security Cabinet are further evidence of the emergence of a cooperative model.
5. I have shown with examples that there have been continuous institutional changes in Hungary since the change of regime, but intensive task and institutional transformations and developments have been initiated mainly after 2010. I have shown that the focus of the national security organisation on information technology has increased, and the institutional system has adapted to this, mainly through the expansion of the cyberspace tasks of the NBSZ and the KNBSZ. Adaptation to new

technologies has required an increase in financial costs, as they have an innovative impact on staff responsibilities, workflows and organisational systems.

6. Along the lines of national security strategies, I have demonstrated, by presenting several policy intentions, that the unpredictable security environment in Hungary makes it essential for the future policy to prepare policy decisions and for the services to play an essential role in the protection of national security.

9. THE USABILITY OF THE THESIS AND THE FORMULATION OF PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The dissertation contributes to a better understanding of the processes of the Hungarian national security system, its current events and the factors influencing them. It draws not only on Hungarian-language sources, but also on a considerable number of foreign-language sources. For this reason, and because of the multi-disciplinary nature of the thesis, it can be used in a variety of fields.

The thesis can also be used as a teaching aid at the National University of Public Service and other higher education institutions where courses cover national security. The general approach of the thesis allows it to be included in the bibliography of basic courses. Because of its overview of the national security management system, it can be used in a variety of specialised administrative or defence management courses. It is particularly recommended for students of security and defence policy, political science, law, political science, international administration, public administration and international studies. It is descriptive and overview, and can also serve as a guide for other research. The information society as a main factor of analysis can provide a point of view example for other disciplines. The interpretative framework can therefore be incorporated into the analyses of research institutes, academic societies and institutes in the country, in particular the National Institute for National Security of the National University of Public Service, the Strategic Defence Research Institute of the National University of Public Service, the War Studies Society, the National Security College, the Institute for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade. From the perspective of our country, the relevant parts can be put to good use by the institutions of the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, the Prime Minister's Office, and the professional training forms of the national security services.

As Nikolett Pénczváltó points out in the recommendation of the results of her doctoral thesis, an academic work cannot formulate targeted and direct policy proposals, but in my

opinion, while analysing an institutional system with strong links to the political sphere, it is essential that the author formulates recommendations and guidelines to help policy, or does not put the results of her studies on paper in order to promote rational decision-making mechanisms, as also specified in the methodology section. Therefore, the dissertation can provide guidance to policy makers on policy decisions, in particular on national security issues and changes.

In addition to its professional use, the dissertation may also be useful reading for those interested in national security issues.

10. THE AUTHOR'S PUBLICATIONS ON THE SUBJECT

1. Sáfrán József: A Fúziós Központok és alapvető képességeik. Nemzetbiztonsági Szemle 7. évfolyam (2019) 4. szám. Online: <https://folyoirat.ludovika.hu/index.php/nbsz/article/view/888/3447>
2. Sáfrán József: Az információszerzés fontossága a Szun-ce, Taj Kung, Machiavelli, Zrínyi, Jeney, Clausewitz és Jomini hadelméleti műveiben. Hadtudományi Szemle 2020. IV. szám. pp. 179-191.
3. Sáfrán József: A Forradalmi Gárda terrorszervezetté nyilvánítása. Hadtudományi Szemle 2020. III. szám. pp. 119-133.
4. Sáfrán József: Terrorist activity in online games. *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 10. évf. 1. szám, 2017. pp. 337-353. Online: https://epa.oszk.hu/02400/02463/00034/pdf/EPA02463_hadtudomanyi_szemle_2017_1_337-353.pdf
5. Sáfrán József: Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok és Magyarország nemzetbiztonsági szervezetrendszerének összehasonlító elemzése. *Felderítő Szemle*, 2018/1. szám, pp. 71–87. Online: <https://www.knbsz.gov.hu/hu/letoltes/fsz/2018-1.pdf>
6. Sáfrán József: A muszlim migráció okozta eltolódások a magyar nemzetbiztonsági szolgálatoknál. In: *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 2018/I. Budapest, 2018. pp.108-123.