

## MILITARY AND POLICE COOPERATION AND COMPETITION IN HUNGARY AT TIME OF SECURITY AND DEFENCE CHALLENGES

### A HADERŐ ÉS A RENDŐRSÉG EGYÜTTMŰKÖDÉSE ÉS VERSENGÉSE MAGYARORSZÁGON NAPJAINK BIZTONSÁGI ÉS VÉDELMI KIHÍVÁSAI IDŐSZAKÁBAN

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#### Abstract

*Military-police coordination and cooperation have rapidly improved since 2015. This paper describes the background of that and analyses the human resource scarcity as a prime challenge for the Hungarian Defence Forces and the forces of the Ministry of Interior. It also states that it leads to a competition among those organizations since those would recruit personnel with similar requirements. If recent trends in the security environment, economy, labour market, and related politics remain, fundamental changes are going to be required to provide sufficient capabilities in the field of security and defence. Some of these have already started, such as reconsiderations of the external and internal roles of organizations; reshaping the relevant legal framework for carrying out duties; increasing involvement of technical solutions and reshaping organizations' structure and working mechanisms accordingly. "A mű a KÖFOP 2.1.2-VEKOP-15-2016-00001 azonosítószámú, „A jó kormányzást megalapozó közszolgálat-fejlesztés” elnevezésű kiemelt projekt keretében, a Nemzeti Közszolgálati Egyetem felkérésére készült.*

**Keywords:** public administration, military, police, innovation, human resources.

#### Absztrakt

*A haderő és a rendőrség együttműködése és koordinációja sokat fejlődött 2015 óta. Jelen tanulmány ennek az élénkülő együttműködésnek az okait írja le, valamint elemzi a rendelkezésre álló humán erőforrás korlátozottságát, ami kiemelkedő kihívás elé állítja mind a Magyar Honvédséget, mind pedig a Belügyminisztérium szervezeteit. Mivel ezek a szervezetek hasonló jellemzőkkel rendelkezők rekrutációjára törekednek verseny alakult ki közöttük. Amennyiben a jelenlegi biztonsági, gazdasági, munkaerő-piaci és politikai trendek fennmaradnak, akkor alapvető változtatásokra van szükség a biztonsági és a védelmi képességek megfelelő szinten tartásához. A változások némelyike már el is kezdődött, mint például a biztonság és a védelem garantálásában játszott szervezeti szerepek, valamint a kapcsolódó jogi keretek újragondolása; a technikai megoldások fokozott igénybevétele és az ezekhez kapcsolódó szervezeti struktúrák és működési mechanizmusok kialakítása.*

*„The work was created in commission of the National University of Public Service under the priority project KÖFOP-2.1.2-VEKOP-15-2016-00001 titled “Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance”.*

**Kulcsszavak:** közigazgatás, haderő, rendészet, humánerőforrás

A kézirat benyújtásának dátuma (Date of the submission): 2017.12.07.

A kézirat elfogadásának dátuma (Date of the acceptance): 2018.01.18.

## INTRODUCTION

Military-police coordination and cooperation have rapidly improved since 2015 due to the high number of refugees and mass migration on the southern borders, as well as the risk of terrorist attacks in Hungary. It is because police forces faced challenges which required more boots on the ground, different technical equipment and more intelligence than Ministry of Interior had. The government required rapid and effective coordination between forces which was supported by legislation, governmental regulations and financial resources as well.

Although the high number of refugees and migrants caused a quickly evolving challenge for police and military forces, using military for domestic tasks are far from new in Hungary. At the dawn of the democratic transition (1989), the military was distanced from domestic tasks preventing its involvement to political changes [1] [2] and to marginalise its regime defence role<sup>1</sup>, which was explicit and definitive during the communist regime. While the use of military force was strictly limited to certain cases of special legal orders<sup>2</sup> by the constitution, the military was allowed to support forces of the Ministry of Interior in case of disasters<sup>3</sup>. Domestic use of military force was not a topic of discussion due to the communist past; it was mostly avoided even in professional circles. In 2010, a new government came into power in Hungary, it replaced the Constitution with a genuine new Fundamental Law, which kept the strictness towards the use of military force until 2016. The fundamental law was amended in a way that emergency cases got a new “terror threat” category; a case when military can be used domestically in peace time.

The government perceived refugees, mass migration, and terrorist attacks in Europe as a prime strategic threat and a possibility to mobilise the society. It supported the use of military force for internal security tasks which inherently required improving the coordination with the forces of Ministry of Interior (MoI)<sup>4</sup>. Being involved to border fence building, patrolling, extensive power projection tasks in cities bring to the fore not only legal but organizational and human resource challenges. Although the institutional development of the Hungarian Defence Forces (HDF) resulted in more appropriate structure, working mechanisms, training, and even culture which is able to coordinate and cooperate with civilian (non-military) actors, it has a permanent challenge to recruit and retain personnel as an all-volunteer force (AVF). However, military is not alone with the manning challenge: forces of the MoI, state companies such as railways, postal service are facing a similar one. Furthermore, as the national economy is recovering from the economic crisis, structural unemployment is becoming a nationwide problem in Hungary. Consequently, *human resource scarcity leads to a competition among organizations, especially between the military and the forces of the MoI, since those organizations would recruit personnel with similar requirements. It seems that this competition remains with us for a while but real solutions could come with emerging new ideas about how to structure and organise defence and security organizations in the close future.*

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<sup>1</sup> A legal and an institutional change guaranteed it in 1989: the Hungarian constitution was amended in a way that the use of the AFs required Parliamentary decision; the integrated MoD was separated to MoD and to HQ of Hungarian Defence Forces.

<sup>2</sup> It includes State of National Crisis; State of Preventive Defence; Unexpected Attack – when there is armed attack against the state.

<sup>3</sup> Best examples are the Red Sludge disaster (2010) and the extreme flood (2013), when military personnel and technical equipment were widely involved

<sup>4</sup> Police; prison-guard, counter terrorist, disaster management organizations; intelligence services

## THE CONTEXT: EUROPE IS CHALLENGED

### South-North

Europe's security environment is changing and migration will remain one of the key factors of changes. Demography, urbanization, climate [3] and economic change are pushing people out of poor and middle-income countries in the rich western and Nordic countries. Rapidly increasing population in Africa is a major issue.

<b>Africa</b>	<b>2005-2010</b>	<b>2010-15</b>	<b>2015-20</b>	<b>2020-25</b>
<b>Total population</b>	2,53	2,59	2,49	2,36
<b>Eastern Africa</b>	2,87	2,82	2,71	2,57
<b>Middle Africa</b>	3,2	3,15	3,04	2,91
<b>Northern Africa</b>	1,68	1,94	1,78	1,56
<b>Southern Africa</b>	1,13	1,44	1,28	1,09
<b>Western Africa</b>	2,72	2,72	2,65	2,57

**Table 1.** Population Growth in Africa (%)  
(Edited by the author based on data: UN DESA Population Division, 2017)

Furthermore, the growing number of those Asians and Africans, which became young adults – many of them urbanised – face sever difficulties to find job and livelihood. The growth of African young adult population is accelerating. There are 27 million more 25-29 year old people in 2015 than in 2000. There will be 38 million more up to 2030. The African Development Bank estimates that only one fourth of those young people who enter to the labour market can find job in Africa. [4] Those who remained without job are potential source of migrants.

Additionally, in those countries where population growth flattened many reach adulthood and ready to move to cities or to abroad. According to the Economist, every month one million Indians turn to 18. [5] Young adults are for urbanisation and education, consequently the urbanised population is growing even more rapidly than population in total. Young, literate and urbanised population is rather up to migration for better living. In East Asia, urban population grew 36% between 2000 and 2010, which means 200 million more urbanised people.[6] In total, the urbanised population grew from 579 million in 2000, to 778 million in 2010.[7] Besides absolute numbers, earlier efforts to curb population growth resulted in unproportioned genders due to sex-selective abortion.<sup>5</sup> Chinese and Indian males have difficulties to find wives, which cause further immigration due to natural reasons.

The European climate, its vast developed economy, and ageing population of the continent make Europe one of the best destinations of African and Asian migrants. The European birth rate is low and in many European countries has begun to decline. In 2016, in thirteen EU countries more people died than were born. Hungary is among these thirteen. [8] Although

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<sup>5</sup> The roots of unproportioned genders: sex-selective abortions became general in China a generation ago as a result of the strict one-child policy and the preference of boys. Determining sex became popular in Indian families during the late 1990s. Families preferred boys and it became possible using prenatal techniques. According to the UN Population Division, China's sex ratio at birth was 116 boys to 100 girls; in India the figure was 111 between 2010-2015. (The natural rate would be 105 to 100.) Data from: UN DESA Population Division

birth rate in Hungary is slowly increasing in the last few years, it is still lower than a decade ago. [9]

### **East-West**

The European Union has been witnessing not only the crises caused by refugees and migrants on its borders but Russian manoeuvres in Ukraine and Syria, which has hybrid nature. This new kind of war differs from conventional ones as involves political, economic, regular and irregular military, and criminal - including terrorist – activities carried out by state and non-state actors. As Rácz pointed out, [10] this new kind of war applied by Russia incorporates regular and irregular elements in a coordinated and coherent way. Russia uses soft and hard power, which poses serious challenges to European security.

The annexation of Crimea, causing instability in Ukraine, having vast military exercises on the border of the EU, and supporting political and economic moves weakening the coherence of the EU are certainly parts of a new kind of war.<sup>6</sup> [11] New war or hybrid war poses multiple challenges by its nature, without having clear frontlines but has definitive purpose and challenges the existing political power of a state, or a union.

Considering mass migration tendencies and the nature of this hybrid threat, both challenge Hungary's security and defence and its relevant national organizations too. *Quest for appropriate defence seems to challenge the traditional labour division among organizations responsible for external defence and internal security. Besides new requirements, such as reconsidering the legal framework of the structure and working mechanisms of these organizations, it calls for more men in uniform both in active duty and in reserve.*

### **ANSWERING RECENT CHALLENGES**

Main efforts of the HDF have aimed radical downsizing, Euro-Atlantic integration, interoperability and usability in international peace support operations for more than two decades (1989-2015). All these efforts resulted in small, all-volunteer armed forces, widely supported by Western partners, allies. Hungarian society recognised the changes and mainly supported missions of the HDF and expected its domestic support during natural and industrial disasters. Nevertheless, the low level of military participation ratio distanced defence from everyday life of the society. It is not the case when questions of security (and not defence) are scrutinised. Different aspects of security have remained top on the agenda throughout these decades. Public opinion researches, trends in privatization of security<sup>7</sup> [12] made it clear that state institutions cannot satisfy the public security requirements of the society. Although boundaries between defence and security (external and internal security) have been blurring in the 21<sup>st</sup> century due to number of reasons, it revealed for the Hungarian public when high number of refugees and migrants reached Hungary from countries<sup>8</sup> associated with international

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<sup>6</sup> The term “new war” is developed by Mary Kaldor in her disseminating book “New and Old Wars”, which emphasises the difference of traditional wars and the organized violence emerged during the 1990s, which involves blurring distinction between war, organized crime, and large scale violations of human rights.

According to my perspective, new wars (exemplified by the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina) further evolved and in a more sophisticated way became strategic tool in the hand of strong states. See: Kaldor, M. (2007)

<sup>7</sup>Private security companies protect private and public buildings, institutions, events and carry out investigations. The number of such private companies is steadily over 6000 in 2010-2015; their yearly income is more than 2/3 of the annual Hungarian defence budget. Felméry Z. (2016)

<sup>8</sup> Primarily: Syria, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Iraq. <http://www.iom.hu/migration-issues-hungary> (Accessed: June 17, 2017)

terrorism. Consequently, the government gained definitive public support for securing the borders and controlling free movement in Hungary.

The government declared crisis situation, however existing laws and regulations limited its ability to fully respond in accordance with its plan. Backup the government, the parliament amended laws related to management of mass migration<sup>9</sup> [13] and enabled the government building fence where the boom of Western Balkan route of migration<sup>10</sup> most heavily affected the Hungarian state border (Serbia, Croatia). The parliament authorized the government deploying the military to help handling a wave of migrants. Supporting the effectiveness of the organizations concerning the crisis situation, the parliament gave extended rights to both police and military organizations. As far as the military is concerned, *it gained right to participate in border control, to implement measures needed to manage migration, and to counter violent acts against state border regimes.*

Military was involved in building a fence [14] as “temporary border security device” providing its engineer capability, manpower, and at last but not least utilising its readiness for accomplishing a huge task which requires high level organization skills and persistence. Furthermore, military patrols reinforce police on the border and in critical areas such as big cities.

Although interdepartmental cooperation and inter-organizational coordination are not new, its extensiveness and intensity are unique. Cooperation and coordination had happened concerning disaster management, international crisis management missions, and contributing to NATO Stabilisation and Reconstruction capability. Nevertheless, 2015 meant a turning point, indicated by the fact that police established border-police operational staff for managing the increasing pressure on the southern border.<sup>11</sup> Earlier started *initiatives aiming more effective comprehensive measures, inter-organizational trainings and exercises speeded up.* Worth to mention a unique exercise of the National University of Public Service, “Végyvár 2015” (Fortress 2015) [15] in which military, police, disaster management, and public administration students acted in coordination in a scenario, which included mass migration and irregular armed groups as well.

In sum, security and defence organizations acted in accordance with governmental directions and quickly adapted the situation emerged in 2015. Although the recently developed cooperation and coordination mechanisms are mostly functional and usable, they face serious challenges derived from social, economic and political developments.

## THE MANNING CONTEST

Military went through a definitive transformation which made it capable in international operations<sup>12</sup> however it is a small, all-volunteer - in many ways over stretched. It is competing

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<sup>9</sup> About the debate of political parties see: <https://www.vg.hu/kozelet/politika/megszavaztak-a-menekulttorveny-valsaghelyzetet-hirdethet-ki-a-kormany-456823/> (Accessed: July 21, 2017)

<sup>10</sup> Number of illegal border crossing: 2012 – 6.390; 2013 – 19.950; 2014 – 43.360; 2015 – 764.038 see: <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/western-balkan-route/> (Accessed: July 21, 2017)

<sup>11</sup> Border guard organization was integrated to the Police in 2008.

<sup>12</sup> In international crisis management operations, military often carried out policing tasks, such as convoy escorting, crowd management, border patrols, checkpoints, negotiating with civilian representatives in war torn societies. Fulfilling the international tasks called for new capabilities at the management of the AFs (e.g.: Joint Force Command, General Staff, MoD). These new skills included negotiation, planning, commanding in international environment, as well as initiating and managing interdepartmental coordination domestically. While the earlier received strong support from western partners, allies, the later usually struggled due to the weak domestic positions of the MoD.

for volunteers on the labour market – recruitment and retention is one of the most remarkable challenges. The evolution of MoI forces - primarily the Police – served the adaptation to a democratic system and to the EU integration. New tasks, or tasks in a much larger scale than before such as defending the border, controlling mass, acting on terrorism called for extensive recruitment as well.

High demand on labour force of the security and defence organizations coincides with social, economic and political developments which are hindering to act “as usual”. The public discourse is dominated by the refugee crisis which draws attention to the ability of defence and security organisations, and the government. Consequently, the governmental expectations are high – especially since the refugee and migration crisis became the prime topic which has definitive impact on public opinion.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless it had not much effect on the labour market.

Hungarian *economic performance has been growing* since 2013 thanks to a strong performance in the service and industrial sectors [16] and an accelerated usage of EU funds, the strong economic performance of our main European partners and low oil prices. (Hungarian GDP growth: 2013 - 2.1%; 2014 - 4.0%; 2015. - 3.1%.) [17] Consequently, *the labour market has changed and a competition started for employees* – especially in certain segments of the economy. The domestic engine of economic recovery was industry and services on the production side [18] which affect the public sector since offer compatible salaries and additional benefits. The increased number of employees in the security and defence sector has been recognised by labour market statistics in 2015, when migration crisis happened. In 2016, the employment rate (15-64 year old population) has passed the EU28 average. Furthermore, in the end of 2016, *almost 86% of 25-54 year old population was employed.* [19]

The recovering/improving domestic economy, especially in the industry and service sector causes definitive challenge for the public sector, including national defence and security organizations. Nevertheless, this domestic economic development is not the only source of these impressing national numbers. National statistics incorporates *public workers* and *Hungarians employed abroad*. The features of these two categories making the recruitment challenge more severe.

The scale of Hungarian public workers is unique in Europe since it is a primary tool of the government to handle unemployment. The number of public workers is more than 200 thousand/year (5-6% of total workforce) in the last few years. It has various (economic social, political) effects on Hungary; from the security and defence organizations’ point of view, it indicates that a certain part of the labour market would be available. However, many of them have low level of education and poor physical condition. What is more, although public work program offers extremely modest income, it offers that at place where families have their supplementary labour (usually agricultural) activates activities. Consequently, this segment of the labour market *do not offer real source of recruitment.*

There is a less known dimension of the employment growth: *employment abroad*. There are various estimations of how many Hungarians work abroad. The official numbers show that it was *five times more in 2015* (371 thousand) *than in 2005* (74 thousand). [20] By and large, Hungary, have to face the negative impacts of labour market migration due to the significant wage differences and „loosing ” those who are more entrepreneurial. It is important to highlight, that this segment of the labour market has definitive relevance concerning recruitment efforts of security and defence organisations. It has relevance due to *the social composition of those*

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<sup>13</sup> The governing party’s popularity definitively increased in the second half of 2015. [https://cz.boell.org/sites/default/files/hungary\\_refugees\\_asylum\\_and\\_migration\\_web.pdf](https://cz.boell.org/sites/default/files/hungary_refugees_asylum_and_migration_web.pdf) (Accessed: May 10, 2017)

*working abroad* and the tendency in recent years when security and defence organizations have had increasing demand.

- The boom of migration started later than in other Eastern European countries (esp. Poland, Romania) after 2009. There was *a massive rise in the period 2010-2014* - consequently it affects the growing demand on the security and defence side.
- After 2009, the out-migrants are more likely those who have vocational school degree, age between 20-39 year old, and males among those who are 30-39 year old.

Although, the number of those who return to Hungary also increased (but on a lower degree), those are (similarly to other Central and Eastern European migrants) usually positively selected. They are younger and more educated than the non-migrant Hungarian population and their labour market integration typically successful, [21] consequently do not broadening the social basis of recruitment of the AFs .

The situation seems to be more serious when other *big public companies* are taking into account such as railways and postal services. As far as National Railways (MÁV) is concerned, it had already *men shortage in the end of 2015, which increased 3.5 times more in less than a year*. MÁV faces worsening situation in the coming years due to the high number of retirement (4 thousand personnel up to 2019) according to their union. [22] Prime reactions were similar than in the cases of MoI forces and AFs: increased salary (30%) and early education (Railways Academy). [23] National Postal Service (MP) has similar manning challenges, which became highlighted when unions confronted with company in 2016. [24] MP employees got 10-14% salary raise, which will be continued in coming years.

## PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONAL REACTIONS

In Hungary, *compulsory military and border guard services had tradition*. The term “armed forces” covered two organizations the military and the border guard before the Euro-Atlantic integration. Compulsory service of the border guard ended in 1998 (ten years later border guard integrated to the Police) [25], while compulsory military service was suspended in 2004. Presumably, volunteer security and military forces remain the only viable option due to political reasons in the close future. Therefore further, more intense competition for volunteers remains with security and defence organizations. Those have been looking for solutions for managing their challenging job of manning. *The consequential competition became clearly noticeable as the refugee and migrant crisis gave a pressure on the system in 2015*.

When organizations got legal authorizations for acting in a wider spectrum and more intensively on the southern border of Hungary, they had already shortfalls in manning. Staff shortages almost always existed but the situation became worse in 2011 when early retirement was ceased and high number of servicemen who have more than 25 years of service took the last opportunity to be retired. The worsening situation met the improving economy and workforce tendencies described earlier. *Security and police organizations confronted the crisis on the border which resulted extreme overstretch*. In 2015, MoI security organizations had to calculate with almost 6.9 million hour overwork and 17.7 billion HUF expense (5-6% of the HUN defence budget). In case of the military, which was running with about 5.500 men shortage, the crisis caused almost 2 million hour overwork, and 3.8 billion HUF expense. [26] Consequently, intense, head to head recruitment campaigns started.

As police started to recruit for border guarding, aiming 3000 more men in 2016, [27] it announced new conditions with primary focus on recruits with high school degree an offered significantly higher salary than before. Police offers rapid training and education with approximately 20% higher salary than the minimal wage in Hungary, which gradually increasing right after the first two months training. As the military recognised these changes and the difficult situation it could cause for military recruitment, the minister of defence

announced increased wage for rank and files with high school degree – meaning more than 20% increase [28]. Besides salary there are competing additional benefits such as schooling, travelling, housing, mentioning just a few elements of complex systems. Nevertheless these competing offers, systems have common features beyond calculus: *prepared rapidly under serious political pressure; not able to satisfy organisational needs.*

## CONCLUSION

If recent trends in the security environment, economy, labour market, and related politics remain, *fundamental changes are going to be required to provide sufficient capabilities in the field of security and defence.* Some of these have already started, such as reconsiderations of the external and internal roles of organizations; reshaping the relevant legal framework for carrying out duties; [29] increased involvement of technical solutions – primarily in border guarding (e.g.: camera and sensor systems, drones) - and the related consequences of organizations' structures and working mechanisms.

Nevertheless, human resource scarcity calls for rapid and wide range changes due to the long standing and hectic challenge of migration and the Russian hybrid warfare. Pursuing innovative solutions are key and rather a national or European business than solely a military one. *There are possible directions for overcoming the challenges at hand:*

- Systematic, strategic *technical development with primary focus on automation.* It could significantly reduce the human resource demand of security and defence organizations. One of the possible solutions for the manning shortage of the armed forces comes by the evolution of the post-industrial military. The tendency of the transition of mass armed forces to small professional militaries in developed countries caused by several reasons (e.g.: security environment, technical evolution, socio-cultural changes). This trend is significantly tide to the post-industrial society, which is still evolving. In wider economic context, deindustrialization is a complex phenomenon, which has to have effect on the military. As automation swept away thousands of manufacturing and office jobs in the developed world in the last decades, it could have an impact on the military organization and its logistics - if modern equipment and working mechanisms applied.
- *More selective tasking (only strictly speaking military/police jobs) with decisive improvement of the motivation system.* Increasing salary seems to be key however, quality housing, healthcare, and education have high level motivation potential in a well-designed system in Hungary. More convenient solutions, like retaining older generations, may provide short term success but prevent organizations from developing healthy fluctuation. It is unfortunate that the immediate adjustment of the retirement system in 2011-2012 resulted in a so-called “generation plug”. As many got last chance for early retirement at the end of 2011, which was abolished in 2012, high number of experienced men in uniform left the service, while others remained for long time. The later one prevents younger generation in stepping up in their career. More lively linkage to the labour market, as well as well managed “up or out” system could serve the better quality of defence/security organizations.
- Another possible direction is the *improved involvement of private security and defence companies* in tasks such as construction, maintenance, and guarding. It could especially support border fence related tasks, which draw away significant number of soldiers/policemen from their tasks.
- Further development of reserve forces with special focus on territorial defence should remain a lasting area of development. The evolving Hungarian system has its potential if it is able to reach out those who could benefit from territorial reservist system – which provide increasing number of opportunities to gain better positions

in the labour market. Territorial reservists could replace active soldiers in tasks such as temporary guarding, patrolling, building, etc. Important to note, that EU Commission Vice President and High Representative Federica Mogherini's report to the European Council (June 28, 2016) on European Union Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy suggests to support EU nations' efforts in the field of territorial defence. [30]

- The evolving cooperation among security and defence organizations (primarily Police and AFs) might lead to the separation of a new/old entity as Border Guard. It could support to have a specialized armed organization based on employees living at the state border. It could ease the burden on the military, as well as separating a specific defence task from the police, which would have better chance to prevent its citizen-friendly policing culture.

Further European integration could bring novel solutions either in military, police, or border guard means. In any case of developing institutional solutions call for careful examinations and fundamental political decisions.

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