The Comparison Between the Hungarian and Romanian National Security Strategies

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Abstract

In 2020 first Hungary, later Romania, two member states of NATO, EU and PESCO adopted their own Nation Security Strategies. There was a need in both mentioned countries for new defense strategies because in recent years new challenges and threats have emerged, like the annexation of Crimea, the destabilization of Ukraine, and the migration crisis. These documents describe the two countries' place in the international system, list the threats and challenges to their security, and finally try to give a solution based on their possibilities and capabilities. The strategies also carry a message to neighbors, allies, and future rivals. The document's aim is the protection of core national values. In this paper, my goal is to offer an overview of the strategic documents and to analyze first the Romanian National Defense Strategy. The Hungarian National Security Strategy, and finally to highlight the similarities and find the differences like national sovereignty, protection of Christian values, or the importance of a European army. In both security documents old and new threats appear like terrorism, climate change, migrant problems, hybrid warfare, arms, and drug trafficking. Each strategy is an official communication tool, an official policy message to external and internal actors at different levels and of different types that influence national security. To achieve my goal, I used the methods of document analysis and content analysis on the primary sources. The purpose of the research is to compare two neighboring countries' strategies, and how they react to their national threats.

Keywords: Nation Security Strategy 2020, Hungary, Romania

Introduction

A county's National Security Strategy (NSS) is a document issued on a regular basis by the executive branch that outlines the administration's plans for addressing each national security challenge. The document's content is meant to be generic and elaborate on advice from supporting documents like the National Military Strategy is how it will be implemented. All National Security Strategies stem from the United State's Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-433).[1] In the US since 1987, the NSS has been distributed yearly, but frequently, reports are received late or not at all. To convey the executive branch's vision for national security to the legislative branch, the President must provide the NSS to Congress. The NSS discusses potential applications for all dimensions of American power that are required to meet the country's security objectives. A discussion of American international interests, commitments, goals, and policies is required in the report, along with information on the military capabilities required to thwart threats and carry out American security plans. The NSS serv five fundamental purposes: "First, the central, external purpose of the report beyond the executive branch is to communicate the strategic vision to Congress, and thus legitimize a rationale for resources. […] The second purpose is to communicate the same vision to […] the governments of many nations not on our summit agendas. The third purpose is to communicate to selected domestic audiences, […] to see coherence and farsightedness in the security policies of their government: a strategy they could, as citizens, fully support. Fourth […] the report also creates internal consensus on foreign and defense policies. […] And lastly, any Presidential document, regardless of originating requirement, always must be viewed in the context of how it contributes, both in terms of substance and presentation, to the overall agenda of the President."[2]

A country's strategy documents are interlinked in the following ways: Constitution Security and Defense Policy Principles National Security Strategy National Military Strategy. A state should resolve its conflicts by diplomatic, economic, and other means, and in the last resort by military force.[3] An NSS has to offer a strategy for all dimensions of security challenges like demographic, migration, military, environmental, information technology, and energy. The purpose of the National Security Strategy is to outline a county's national interests, to analyze the country's security environment, and to identify risk factors and challenges.[4] In recent years new challenges and threats have emerged, like the annexation of Crimea, the

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[1] Historical Office: National Security Strategy.
[2] SNIDER, Don M.: The National Security Strategy, p.10-11.
[3] RESPERGER, István: Az Új Nemzeti Katonai Stratégiáról, p. 218-219.
[4] Hungary: The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary.

destabilization of Ukraine, and the migration crisis. The government must take a position that coordinates national efforts as well as the growth of the capabilities and their flexible use, as well as broad international collaboration, to effectively confront the new problems and threats that have evolved.

The Romanian Nation Security Strategy

The Romanian strategic document is called *National Defense Strategy 2020-2024*[5]. It was adopted by the Supreme National Defense Council (CSAT) on the 27th of May 2020 and approved by Parliament on the 30th of June. The National Defense Strategy (NDS) caries with the subtitle: *"Together for a safe and prosperous Romania in a world marked by new challenges."*

President Klaus Iohannis argues that "in today's dynamic, turbulent and unpredictable geopolitical context, they must have an adapted and effective response to the risks, threats and vulnerabilities we face."[6] The NDS offers guidance on how to accomplish their top priorities for maintaining the security of Romania and its residents as well as clear answers to important concerns. The development and application of public policy in the area of national security benefit the citizens. In order to strengthen NATO and make sure it continues to be the most powerful and successful collective defense organization in history, Romania will continue to operate resolutely within it. In order to ensure the security of the country, Europe, and the transatlantic relationship, the Black Sea region must remain stable and secure. As a result, they will continue to work to strengthen their nation's security posture and increase the number of allies participating in NATO structures on their soil. The President of Romania supports our nation's sustained, steadfast implementation of its promise to devote at least 2% of GDP to defense, which has had a demonstrable positive impact on our security.

The previous Strategy's (from 2015 to 2019) concept and introduction of expanded national security are carried over into this document. The Strategy also addresses other areas, such as foreign policy, public order, intelligence, counterintelligence, and security activities, crisis management, education, culture, health, economic, demographic, financial, environmental, energy, and cyber security, security of critical infrastructure, and historical and cultural heritage, in addition to armed defense, understood in its dual nature of national defense and collective defense. The policy lays out a course of action so that Romania can react to the unpredictable events in the international security environment, including battling the COVID-19 pandemic, effectively, proactively, and properly. The state has a responsibility to design effective

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[5] National Defence Strategy 2020-2024.
[6] National Defence Strategy 2020-2024.

sectoral policies to protect citizens, who are the focus of the strategy. Consequently, civic society needs to be included in security management.

The NDS suggests that the Romanian government manages issues relating to national security with an emphasis on integrated management of risks, threats, and vulnerabilities. Integrated management has two components: an internal component that aims to create a real sense of security, defense, and public order, and an international, European, and Euro-Atlantic component that takes into account Romania's obligations as a member of the EU, NATO, OSCE, UN, and other international organizations. This publication is also meant for the general public, allowing people the chance to learn in a transparent way how organizations are carrying out their duties for the good of the populace. The NDS demonstrates how Romania visualizes its security concerns and how it plans to operate in relation to the external environment: cooperative with foreign partners, in a predictable manner, and in full view of all stakeholders.

Three pillars have historically supported Romania's diplomatic and security policy: NATO membership, EU membership, and its strategic alliance with the US. The NDS in Romania must be made public six months after the presidential election. The NDS also analyzes multidimensional threats that pose security challenges for the EU and NATO based on the idea of extended national security, which encompasses the military, political, economic, sociological, and environmental domains. These include dangers associated with 5G networks, AI, and upcoming technology. China is not specifically mentioned. In keeping with NATO thinking, the NDS also recommends a holistic approach to security, including increased civilian-military and public-private partnerships, as well as a more organized and coordinated cross institutional effort to achieve strategic objectives.[7]

The key goals of Romania's foreign and security policy continue to be bolstering the nation's standing in the EU and NATO as well as expanding its strategic partnership with the United States, in line with the new strategy's requirements. In addition to maintaining defense spending at a minimum of 2% of GDP, it is anticipated that it will also support initiatives within the EU that are implemented as part of the common security and defense policy with the goal of enhancing security, including in the Black Sea region. These initiatives include developing NATO-EU cooperation (including between the nations on the Alliance's eastern flank), increasing US troop presence in Romania, and promoting initiatives within the EU. Regarding the regional situation, Romania has stated that its foreign and security policy continues to place a high priority on aiding the Western Balkans and the Eastern

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[7] SIRBU, Miruna: Romania's National Defense Strategy 2020-2024.

Partnership nations, particularly Moldova, in order to firmly and permanently ensconce the nation in European and Euro-Atlantic institutions.[8]

The NDS lists a number of domestic issues, including the threat of illiberalism seen in other parts of the world, the inability to create long-term financial plans, deteriorating infrastructure, and poor administration of European funding. However, while adjusting one or more of Romania's troublesome, frequently interrelated issues might be possible, two crucial issues—fighting corruption and utilizing academic institutions and the media to counteract foreign and domestic disinformation outlets—are likely to be left unaffected during the 2020–2024 period of the strategy.[9] "As an element of novelty, the strategy refers to a multi-dimensional concept of security, based on the relationship security - prosperity - rule of law - democracy - identity, and the balance between state and individual as beneficiaries of national security."[10] The strategic plan is frank in stating that Russia's neighboring activities are unacceptable and have the possibility for escalation of tensions in the region, but the NDS does not explicitly state that Russia is an enemy.

The policy lists possible national security threats as Russia's violent moves in the Black Sea region as well as the expansion of its military might in Romania's neighborhood. The text makes reference to Russian action multiple times, always as a factor that jeopardizes Romania's security. This specifically refers to the escalation of regional tensions related to Russia's increasingly aggressive attitude and the development of its hybrid instruments in past years, which motivates Romania to continue the extensive efforts started years ago to establish extensive defense and deterrence capabilities. The document lists terrorism, what it deems illiberal tendencies in the region, the economic crisis brought on by the COVID-19 epidemic, hybrid war and cybernetic operations, and other threats.

Another objective of Romania's foreign policy is to support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Moldova, a neighboring country with which it shares both historical and cultural links. To conclude the new NDS's objectives will remain mostly idealistic and efforts to counter domestic and foreign disinformation and propaganda will be hampered without eradicating corruption and expanding the number of independent, mainstream news media.

The Hungarian Nation Security Strategy

The annexation of Crimea, the destabilization of Ukraine, and crises on the EU's borders - recent events are evidence of the deterioration of Europe's security environment. One of the possible responses to these

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[8] CAŁUS, Kamil: Romania's new security strategy.

[9] GROSS, Peter: Romania's new defence strategy gets it; executing it is another matter.

[10] Romania-Insider: Romania's president unveils new National Defense Strategy.

developments is the establishment of defense cooperation that will strengthen the stability of our region at the level of military forces. So, the Hungarian government adopted a new security strategy, which took effect on the 22nd of April 2020. The *National Security Strategy*[11] (NSS) titled "*Secure Hungary in a changing world*" is in line with Hungary's core values as reflected in the 2002 and 2004 strategies, highlighting the importance of Euro-Atlantic values and the responsibility for Hungarians not only within the country but also beyond our borders. This approach takes into account the current security issues, dangers, and threats that are present in the wider geopolitical context of Hungary and its neighbors. It lists security concerns that pose a threat to Hungarian politics, the economy, the military, the energy sector, and culture. The key Hungarian initiatives to reduce security concerns, obstacles, and threats against Hungary as well as to its membership in the EU and NATO are summarized in the article's conclusion. The new Hungarian national security strategy's military-political and geostrategic components are the author's primary areas of attention.

The present strategy is the fourth detailed program of its kind since the regime change, but it is the first to integrate aspects of grand strategy and to lay out specific, measurable objectives for the future. Such overarching strategic components, for instance, can be found in the sections outlining the national vision. These include the upkeep of the national language and culture of Hungary, stability in the social and economic spheres, consistency, and a readiness to work together. Maintaining the current high degree of security is the primary goal in the area of public safety, but it is equally crucial to develop an efficient military force built on a developed Hungarian defense industry. In addition, the text clearly indicates that Hungary must rise to the position of becoming the fifth safest nation in the EU and the tenth safest nation in the world.[12]

This strategy's objectives include outlining Hungary's national interests, examining its security environment, and identifying risk factors and difficulties. It contends that in large part as a result of Euro-Atlantic security cooperation, neither military aggression nor the risk of any other conventional sort of threat poses a significant concern to Hungary. New issues and dangers have also surfaced, which require a coordinated national effort from the government, as well as flexible application of our capabilities and well-focused growth of those capabilities, as well as extensive international cooperation.[13]

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[11] Government Resolution 1163/2020 (21st April) on Hungary's National Security Strategy.

[12] STEPPER, Péter: Szuverenitás és védelmi képességek: Miről szól az új Nemzeti Biztonsági Stratégia?

[13] ETH Zürich: Hungary: The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Hungary.

The chapters of the NSS were concentrated on enhancing defense capabilities in Europe and improving ties with France and the UK. It is also planned to open three more military attaché offices in addition to those opened in 2019 at three embassies. The government is building a modern, effective army with devoted soldiers who are dedicated to serving their nation in light of the threat situation. Hungary, which strives for a task-based system that is even tougher, more dependable, and more professional than the one now in operation, said that maintaining peace in the Western Balkans was of utmost significance. The Hungarian army has started the creation of a central European international and regional command for special operations in addition to overseeing operations in the Western Balkans and the Baltic states.[14]

Hungary presently enjoys an extraordinary level of security when viewed historically. This is the consequence of Hungary and its Allies' successful Euro-Atlantic integration process, their solidarity and collaboration, and their coordinated response against external and global dangers. However, security threats are evolving quickly and constantly; several interconnected threads connect Hungary's security to the complex, frequently unpredictable processes taking place in a globalized world. Globalization brings both new opportunities and new risks to Hungary. Our deliberate selection of ideals and membership in an alliance built on those values, along with our regional and bilateral connections, give us a solid foundation from which to operate in the perilous and rapidly changing world. The foundation of Hungary's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security is the transatlantic alliance, which also includes the collective defense of NATO members. The collaboration and political unity within the European Union also strengthens Hungary's security. Hungary has a unique chance to more successfully address the security risks and challenges of our day in collaboration with our allies and EU partners thanks to its membership in these two organizations. In today's globalized world, Hungary's security starts far from its boundaries. Security threats and difficulties from afar can affect us suddenly and avoiding and managing them frequently involves action far from our borders. Threats from within Hungary itself may also affect the safety and well-being of its population. In addition to the obvious advantages, ensuring internal security is a requirement for Hungary to play a confident and dominant role on the global stage. Both Hungary's internal and foreign security must be seen as interconnected and linked. Given the wide-ranging definition of security, it is essential that its political, military, economic, financial, environmental, and human elements be managed holistically through the use of a whole-of-government strategy. Thus, the desire and obligation to ensure

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[14] BENKŐ, Tibor: New National Security Strategy Ready, says Defense Minister.

freedom and security for both the present and future generations inform the National Security Strategy's implementation. The government will strive to create a Hungary that is free, independent, modern, prosperous, steadfast to its principles, and powerful in the field of security; a Hungary that will support the continued strength of NATO and the European Union and be able to profit from those organizations' participation. [15]

Similarities

Both countries are members of the same international alliances: the EU and NATO, but sovereignty is also a key issue in both strategies. Such cooperations are valuable for small countries in case of vulnerable situations. Both countries face roughly the same security challenges. Resilience is a key issue in both strategic documents. As in Romania, and Hungary as well as a need for new security strategies. In recent years three strategic shocks drastically changed the European security environment: the Russian aggression in Ukraine, the migration and refugee crisis, and the emergence of Daesh, resulting in a wave of terrorist attacks also in Europe. Both strategies have a 'defense heavy' character.[16] Either document describes hybrid conflicts and grey-zone conflicts as new threats to their safety. Climate change is considered by both countries a security challenge. (NDS: par. 9, 52, 78, 82, 95. and NSS: par.1, 38, 44, 49, 129, 191, 171.).

Differences

To start with de differences, we can observe that the Romanian NDS is longer, more than double of the Hungarian NSS. While the first one has 44 pages, separated into 8 main chapters. The new NSS offers a reputable analysis of Hungary's place in the current global order, taking into account the key developments and forces affecting global security. It refers several times to a new world order (par.2, 45, 47.). Also sees its place in the World as a small country. The Romanian NDS does not present such a "realpolitik" worldview. The analysis of Hungary's geostrategic predicament also has some realist components that draw on historical lessons learned, which have not previously been properly included in Hungarian strategic discourse.

As the NDS mentions Moldova several times (par. 30, 33, 63, 136.) because many Moldavians have Romanian citizenship. The NSS includes the Hungarian communities beyond its borders (par. 13, 21, 85, 124, 127.). The DNS says nothing about the protection of Christian values, while the Hungarian Christian heritage and the protection of Christian minorities worldwide play an important role. Because Hungary has no access to the sea,

[15] SHERLOC: Hungary's National Security Strategy.
[16] CSIKI VARGA, Tamas: Hungary's new National Security Strategy – A critical analysis, p. 1.

the NSS does not mention anything regarding that area, while the Black Sea region has a strategic interest in Romania and the NDS mentions the Three Seas Initiative (par. 41, 63.) among other concepts.

The NSS makes reference to the 2014 Ukraine War into account: "*Great power endeavors that disregard international legal norms might threaten the security of Europe and Hungary*" (par. 52.). The NDS names the aggressor: "*especially in Romania's Eastern neighborhood. In this context, the actions of the Russian Federation contribute to the deterioration of regional stability with a direct adverse impact on the resilience of the states in the region, primarily the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, and Georgia*" (par. 108.). One of the eye-catching differences between the two strategic documents is, the Romanian one mentions the United States and its partnership with the US 23 times, the NATO 71 times, and the EU more than 80 times, while the Hungarian mentions the US 3 times, the NATO 37 times and the EU 44 times. Romania wants to prove that it is a solid partner of the US. In the Hungarian NSS, we can see that the Government is rather reclined on the Central European allies and its own defense forces.

The NDS lists the threats, risks, and vulnerabilities for Romania in Chapter 4. (par. 116-169.). The most important ones are:
- the militarization of Crimea and in general of the black sea basin by the Russian Federation;
- hostile intelligence actions;
- organized crime;
- distortions in energy markets;
- the so-called illiberal temptation;
- republic of Moldova's development;
- of increasing demographic decline;
- difficulties in managing European funds;
- the risk of cultural heritage disappearance;
- corruption;
- the medical system's low resilience capacity;
- the poor quality of education.

The NSS presents crucial threats and challenges to the security of Hungary (par. 124, a-q.):
- illegal immigration and the settlement of foreign population in Hungary;
- an unwarranted armed attack, and instability arising in Hungary's immediate neighborhood;
- restrictions to Hungary's national sovereignty and pursuit of national interest, hybrid attacks targeting the freedom of action of the country;

- threats in cyberspace and challenges arising from the proliferation of modern technology;
- terrorism and challenges arising from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- challenges arising from the unfavorable demographic trends in Hungary;
- threats to economic and energy security;
- challenges to internal security (organized crime, drug consumption, epidemics);
- the consequences of natural disasters and technological catastrophes; - challenges related to the effects of climate change.

Prevention, resilience, and rapid and effective response capabilities are defined as fundamental tools against these dangers and challenges, and their development is based on a whole of government strategy.

To summarize, the main differences between the NSS and the Romanian National Defence Strategy 2020-2024 are the following.

- The Russian Federation is named expressively as aggressive and a violator of international law (par. 6, 66, 104, 108, 109, 119, 121, 155.).
- The repeated mention of the rule of law (in the Foreword three times, in the Introduction, and so on).
- The emphasis of the strategic partnership with the US (par. 24, 27, 28.).
- Supporting a foreign country, namely the Republic of Moldova (par. 33, 63, 136).
- The NDS wishes to strengthen NATO, while the NSS desires a separate EU command.
- The problem of brain drain appears in par. 49 and 63, also the idea of brain gain, ideas that are almost missing from the NSS.
- The problem of migration appears in the NDS (par. 70, 82, etc.), but is not as stressful as in the Hungarian strategy.
- The rise of populism is a threat to the NDS, which is missing from the NSS.
- Turkey and Poland also appear as partners for Romania, but only at the level of the Turkey-Romania-Poland Trilateral in the Field of Security and Defence. (par. 110.).
- As a risk the "*so-called illiberal temptation*" (par. 135.) is appearing which is an unmistakable reference to the Hungarian regime.

The Hungarian National Security Strategy differs a bit from the Romanian fellow document. Unfortunately, it predicts profound changes in the global security environment, and these new challenges stem from an emerging multi-polar world order.

- Correctly points out that historically, the Carpathian Basin always formed a traditional buffer zone between great powers.
- The NSS *"puts major emphasis on the issue of national sovereignty as a fundamental value and defined as 'independence and the ability to act freely'. 'Hungarian national sovereignty is such an unquestionable value that is naturally present in the country's domestic and foreign policy. It is a primary security interest to preserve, protect and strengthen the autonomous freedom of action of Hungary in the continuously changing security environment' (par. 8.)."*[17]
- Has a strong stand on the EU's migration policy: *"Hungary deems any effort prescribing mandatory settlement of stateless persons and foreign citizens into the country's territory to be contradictory to our national sovereignty and therefore unacceptable"* (par. 9.).
- Not only the Hungarian communities outside of Hungary appear as a group for which the country feels responsible but persecuted Christian minorities in their homelands (par. 13.).
- *"It is our firm belief that Central Europe is not only bound together in terms of history and culture but also by specific joint political and economic interests."* (par. 16.). This ambition, combined with the desire to strengthen bilateral and regional cooperation, is repeated several times (par. 108, 130, 141.). The cooperation within Central Europe and among the V4 is very important. We must stress Central Europe's significance in Hungarian strategic thinking given its prioritization. NSS 2020 emphasizes that cooperation is based on shared interests, a similar geostrategic location, and a shared history.[18] The Visegrád cooperation is mentioned 6 times.
- The NSS 2020 sets clear tasks for the armed forces (par. 27, 52, 134-135)*: "Since 2018 Germany has also become the leading supplier of arms to Hungary, driving the most ambitious defense modernization program of the HDF since the Cold War, 'Zrínyi-2026'."*[19]
- It is stressed in the NSS that one of the greatest contemporary challenges relating to the supply of natural gas is Hungary's dependence on imports, which meet over 80 percent of our demand (par. 34.).
- Par. 88 specifically mentions the situation with Ukraine: *"Hungary has an interest in a strong, democratic, stable, and economically developing Ukraine with whom we can foster balanced bilateral*

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[17] CSIKI VARGA, Tamas: Hungary's new National Security Strategy – A critical analysis, p. 5.
[18] CSIKI VARGA, Tamás: Hungary's new National Security Strategy – A critical analysis, p. 8.
[19] CSIKI VARGA, i.m. 7.

relations. Legitimate efforts to reinforce Ukrainian national identity must not, however, come at the expense of the acquired rights of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia."

- The Hungarian government embraces NATO's "360-degree perspective", so it does not wish to prioritize between threats perceived from "eastern" or "southern" strategic directions but demands the fullest possible spectrum of alliance preparedness (par. 92.).
- The priority partners include the Visegrád countries, Germany, Poland, the US, Italy, France, and Turkey (par. 109-115.).
- The NSS brings up Russia twice with well-formulated messages. Par. 118 directly mentioning the country, recognizing it as a great power. This position is complemented by the NATO- and EU-conform narrative that allies need to rely on a 'dual track' approach towards Russia. Par. 52 does not name Russia directly, but the description of the events and characteristics matches developments in Ukraine in and after 2014 and their general effects.[20]
- A similar dual approach, motivated by economic incentives, is visible regarding China: the pragmatical mutually beneficial developments are complemented by a rational risk of Chinese influence in critical infrastructure (par. 119.).[21]
- The mass arrival of illegal migrants is on the first place in the list of the county's challenges (par. 124.). *"One might argue that some elements, especially international migration and terrorism are over-emphasized compared to their relative effects in Hungary."[22]*
- The protection of women and children is mentioned as one of the most important guiding principles and aspects of international crisis management (par. 139.). This is missing from the Romanian document.
- The NDS lacks the focus on foreign trade, however the Hungarian strategy as a whole has a strong economic policy dimension, and the intention to further broaden and deepen economic relations is also reflected in external relations. These economic interests are also prominent in the transatlantic alliance system in relation to the two major external powers, Russia and the People's Republic of China, which are often criticized cautiously or openly, and in some dimensions openly engage in conflictual relations.
- The NSS, opposite to some points of the Romanian strategy, cannot be described as "people-centered", it thinks in abstract categories ("nation

[20] CSIKI VARGA, i.m. 8.
[21] CSIKI VARGA, i.m. 8.
[22] CSIKI VARGA, Tamás: Hungary's new National Security Strategy – A critical analysis, p. 8.

and sovereignty") and the challenges they pose, rather than in the tangible problems of Hungarian society, also fall under the umbrella of security policy. There is no mention of catching up with marginalized and marginalized social groups, of reducing social disparities as far as possible, and especially of the problems of extreme poverty and social integration, which could be tackled not by social but by educational and economic means. The socioeconomic marginalization of the Roma population in Hungary will be a national issue of strategic importance in the 2020s even if we do not call it by its name.[23]

● It is striking that the effects of climate change are downplayed despite Hungary's exposure to extreme weather phenomena, floods, and the effects of severe drought in agriculture. This discrepancy is also shown by the fact that climate change and related challenges are mentioned 6 times, while challenges related to migration are mentioned 23 times.[24]

● The NSS reflects a more sophisticated approach for strengthening resilience. In practice, par. 132-175 are dedicated to converting static expectations referring to the future security environment of Hungary into dynamic ways and means of realizing the national goals. As the list of prioritized risks and challenges has implied, increasing the resilience of the country as a goal is present across various fields, including hybrid and cyber threats, disaster management, and the control of strategic resources, like energy (par. 34-35, 40), industry (par. 37), agriculture and food security (par. 38.) and water supply (par. 39).[25]

● In June 2016, at the NATO Warsaw Summit, cyberspace was officially recognized as an operational area of by the Alliance.[26] The NSS recognizes cyber capabilities as weapons and their use as armed aggression. Therefore, they can respond to cyberattacks in the physical domain. (par.101.) This solved a problem in the field of martial law that had not had a clear answer since the advent of information warfare. Until then, there were no clearly binding written rules of warfare that could be applied to cyber warfare. This is because, at the time of the codification of the rules of humanitarian law (1949) and the adoption

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[23] CSIKI VARGA, Tamás – TÁLAS, Péter: Magyarország új nemzeti biztonsági stratégiájáról, p. 111.
[24] CSIKI VARGA, i.m. 4.
[25] CSIKI VARGA, i.m. 9.
[26] CSIKI VARGA, Tamás – TÁLAS, Péter: Magyarország új nemzeti biztonsági stratégiájáról, p 15.

of the two Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions (1977), cyber warfare in its present form was not a reality.[27]

Conclusion

The purpose of the research was to clarify how two neighboring NATO, EU and PESCO members see their positions in the world, what security challenges they face, and how they want to react to those threats. As a result of the document and content analysis of the two national strategies, we can conclude that all government policies seek to create national and international conditions that promote the protection of core national values. Experience has shown that a prerequisite for the success of such a policy is that the leadership of the country is aware of its international environment and its place in the international system. It should also be realistic about the country's objectives, its alliance system, and its potential enemies, and take a precise inventory of the perceived or real threats to its security and the capabilities needed to counter them and meet the challenges. Each National Security Strategy is an official communication tool, an official policy message to external and internal actors of different types and at different levels that influence or can influence security.

We can observe that the two country's strategic documents are quite similar, but the gravities are on different topics in the texts, like national sovereignty, protection of Christian values, or the importance of a European army. National security plans also convey a message to neighbors, allies, allies of allies, and future rivals. Without addressing the insurmountable issue of corruption, Romania's new four-year National Defense Strategy is unlikely to address the accepted issues of the allure of illiberalism, failure to make multi-annual budgetary planning, poor infrastructure, and poor administration of EU funding. [28]

There are regional alliances that are advancing in addition to the two major alliances, NATO and the EU. The security landscape of the twenty-first century is distinct from that of the Cold War. The security environment is no longer dominated by military resistance and new threats have evolved. Instead, issues including terrorism, climate change, migrant problems, hybrid warfare, arms, and drug trafficking have taken center stage. The view of the ongoing instability in Europe is impacted by the states' locations on the continent. These strategies give out a fundamental value, the nation's role in the world and in the global value system, that defines and illuminates all foreign ties.

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[27] LATTMANN, Tamás: A nemzetközi jog lehetséges szerepe az informatikai hadviselés területén, p. 8.
[28] GROSS, Peter: Romania's new Defence Strategy gets it; executing it is another matter.

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