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**Creating of statehood of the Slovak Republic
and its military aspect,
and the process of the Slovakian military reform**

THESIS

Author's expositive

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1. Justifying the choice of subject and framing the scientific problem

At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s the paradigm shift resulting from the lapse of the bipolar opposition gave a considerable challenge on security to the Central European region. The lapse of the Soviet influence, including the withdrawal of the Soviet troops as well as the democratisation processes in the Central European region have fundamentally reformed the security situation of these countries, and have led to the complete restructuring of the region. Problems, which had been caused mainly by the dictated peace treaties after World War II¹, and were artificially repressed for decades during the Socialist times², arose, resulting in military crisis in some of the cases. The disintegration of the Federal Republic of Czechoslovakia and the appearance of the two new republics arose questions of security due to the clashes following ethnic conflicts in the region³. With the establishment of the Slovak Republic on 1 January 1993 such a new form of state came to life which had never had a statehood unlike other Central European nations⁴. Slovakia became a new player of the Central European region from a political, economic, military and security point of view, thus it had a decisive influence on the security structure of the region. Between 1993-1998, in the first phase of the Euro- Atlantic integration of the country, Slovakia implemented a foreign and security policy, prominently pro-Russian, different to that of the other countries of the region, which gave a considerable challenge to the security of Central European countries. However, due to the Slovakian foreign and security policy after the change of government of 1998, Slovakia achieved its full European and Euro-Atlantic integration⁵, which marked the end of an era in our region. Therefore it is necessary to review the foreign and security policy of Slovakia between 1993-2004 from the aspect of the security system of the region, since valuable consequences referring to the security of Hungary can be drawn with the analysis of those. Following the establishment of the Slovak Republic a new military force appeared in the Central European region, as a result of which the countries of the region had to take account of a new, independent military potential as well. Considering the area and population of Slovakia, the Slovak military force demonstrated a bigger power

¹ Including the ethnic, minority, religious and territorial problems resulting from discriminating actions against particular communities in the Central European countries and the peace treaties after the World Wars.

² The period between 1945-1989, when the politics and ideology of the former eastern countries were determined by the Soviet Union.

³ The ethnic wars following the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia meant a security challenge of high priority in the region.

⁴ Before 1993, the Slovak nation had statehood between 1939-1945, since earlier it formed a common state with the Czech nation and prior to that Slovaks used to live within the Kingdom of Hungary.

⁵ Slovakia became a full member of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 2004.

compared to the neighbouring countries, especially in the air force. The analysis of the international sphere of action of the Slovak military force, its handling of new challenges, including its participation in the war against terrorism is valuable for the Hungarian Army.

Hungary has its longest borderline segment with its northern neighbour, Slovakia. The two nations have a lot in common in their history dating back to millennia, but they both have very superficial and sometimes wrong knowledge about the other, which leads to arguments between the two countries from time to time⁶. Those historic events and personalities⁷ that have been determining elements and characters of the Slovak historical science are usually unknown to us. However, the knowledge of all these is necessary to understand the steps the Slovak government has taken in foreign and security policy.

In order to guarantee its security and to strengthen the role Hungary plays in the international community it is extremely important to know the security and military efforts of the countries of the Central European region thoroughly as well as to reveal and analyse the security challenges induced by these countries so that the decision makers can receive genuine information to be able to take well-reinforced measurements. On 1 January 1993 the Central European region was extended by new players when the Federal Republic of Czechoslovakia split up and the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic were declared. The establishment and existence of the Slovak Republic brought up numerous problems in the region.

During my research I examined the following scientific problems:

- On what conditions was the establishment of a new form of state possible in Central Europe?
- What steps did the Slovak political elite take in order to establish statehood and to justify the reason for existence of the new state?
- What changes happened in the army of a Central European country during the transformation of the security environment in the 1990s?
- Why were the main guidelines of the reformation of the armed forces modified in Slovakia?

⁶ The latest example for this was the negotiations referring to the accomplishment of mutual history schoolbooks initiated by the Minister of Education of Germany in the European Union, which ended up in a complete failure in relation to Slovakia and Hungary.

⁷ Among events the Slovak National Uprising, the activities of the Slovaks in 1848 and the history of the Great Moravian Empire can be listed, while among personalities Milan Ratislav Stefanik, Milan Hodza, Andej Hlinka or Ján Golian can be mentioned.

2. Aims of research

During my research I examined the factors that are part of the security environment induced by Slovakia. In accordance with this I determined the following research aims:

- to state the conditions necessary to achieve statehood;
- to determine the events and factors that influenced the establishment of the statehood of the Republic of Slovakia;
- to analyse the security challenges induced by the establishment of Slovakia;
- to review the effects of the foreign and security policy of the Republic of Slovakia on the Central European region;
- to summarize the experience in establishing the Slovak military force, with emphasis on potential failures and problems;
- to reveal the successes and failures of the reformation of the Slovak military force in addition to the experiences gained;
- to set up the scenario for the future of Central Europe in the field of security.

3. Research methods

In order to reach the determined research aims as well as to reinforce the basic hypothesis, I applied the following research methods:

- the analysis and elaboration of numerous documents, in Slovak and English languages in particular;
- the reviewing of the Hungarian scientific literature on the subject of the research area;
- the elaboration of international and domestic studies on statehood and the reformation of military forces implemented in the 1990s;
- personal research carried out in Slovakia (personal consultations, local research)
- participation in conferences.

In addition to theories about security policy I took the achievements of other sciences into account during the fulfilment of the research aims, those which influenced the examined factors and processes. I examined the statements of sociology, law, politics and historical science in this context. Besides studying the scientific literature from various sources (Slovak,

English and Hungarian) on the given subject, I also took local (Slovakian and archival⁸) sources into consideration during the research. I thoroughly analysed the statements as well as the revealed processes.

Following the analysis and review of the foreign scientific literature of studies on security policy and the theory of international relationships I stated that **only Central European researchers** (Austrian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, Ukrainian) **have dealt with the analysis of the establishment of the Slovak Republic and the effects of its military and security policy**. In other, mainly English speaking scientific literature there are only a few researchers who analysed the effects on security of the establishment and policy of Slovakia. The non-Central European analysts⁹ have not examined the events of each country of the Central European region but those of the whole region comprehensively. They only dealt with a country in details if it induced some kind of a security challenge in the region. **The researchers generally focused on particular areas and did not examine the security challenges induced by Slovakia in a complex way**. Following the disintegration of the federal republic most researchers who used to treat Czechoslovakia have become experts of the Czech Republic. Among Central European (not Slovak) researchers the works of the Czech Jiří Musil and Hamburger Judit about the disintegration of Czechoslovakia are outstanding. During my research into the international scientific literature I stated that **no study has been completed on the security challenges of the establishment of Slovakia yet, so my dissertation can be considered as suppletory**.

4. The structure and a short summary of the dissertation

My dissertation consists of three main chapters, which elaborate one subject matter each about the establishment of the Slovak Republic and the military and security effects of this. I have subdivided the main chapters into subchapters, which review a particular detail or field of the given subject matter.

⁸ I carried out the archival research in the Military History Archive at the Institute and Museum of Military History, where I studied the military conflict between Slovakia and Hungary in 1939. This conflict is considered to be a central element in the Slovak military tradition.

⁹ Including John A. Wiant (USA), visiting professor at Joint Military Intelligence College, Kevin Deegan-Krause (USA) professor at Wayne State University, Dr. Matthew Rhodes, professor at George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Karen Henderson (GB), professor at University of Leicester (UL) and Renée de Nevers (USA), professor at Maxwell School, Syracuse University.

Chapter One: The establishment of the statehood of the Republic of Slovakia

Taking the results of the Slovak historical science into my consideration, in the course of a historic overview I presented those events and factors of the Slovak nation which influenced the process of achieving its statehood. Based on the main stages of the sequence of these events I made conclusions about why the Slovak political elite had made those decisions which interfered with the interests of some of the countries in the region following the establishment of the country. During the historical overview I analysed the characteristics of statehood in Central Europe. In relation to statehood I stated that a complex system of conditions consisting of elements of society, history, international law and geopolitics has to be fulfilled to achieve statehood. To the social conditions I listed subsystems of society, including economic conditions. Following this I examined in what way Slovakia fulfilled the above conditions and I stated that **the Slovak nation had completely fulfilled the system of conditions necessary to achieve statehood.**

Chapter Two: Security policy effects of the establishment of the Republic of Slovakia on the Central European region

I divided this chapter into five subchapters, in which I examined the different elements of the security situation of Central Europe at the start of the 1990s. First I made a long analysis of the security processes of the beginning of the 1990s. I carried out the examination based on a descriptive matrix developed by myself. During the creation of the matrix I considered the results of several schools on the theory of international relationships, including neo-realistic and neo-liberal schools. The columns of the matrix contain dimensions of security, its lines contain levels of security, whereas in the squares the determining security factor which is experienced on the given level and in the given dimension of security can be found. Following the analysis of the security processes of the start of the 1990s I stated that the most favourable processes happened at a global level, whereas at regional, national and individual levels mainly negative effects could be identified. Following the analysis of the security situation I looked for that model in the scientific literature of security theories and international relationships with the help of which I could draw up the security structure of Central Europe most accurately. I found the theory of regional security complex by Barry Buzan the most suitable for this purpose. I applied the theory for the region and I created the Central European Regional Security Subcomplex. The subcomplex is part of the European

complex, but due to its peculiar attributes it retained its relative independence during the centuries. I stated that due to the mainly nationalistic aims of the countries of the region the subcomplex will remain in the mid-term even after the complete European and Euro-Atlantic integration of the region. After analysing the security situation of the 1990s and drawing up the security structure of the region I examined the effects of the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and the establishment of the two new states, including that of the Republic of Slovakia on security. I divided the process into four phases, because various types of security challenges could be identified in the different phases. I demonstrated these challenges based on the descriptive matrix of the security situation, in the course of which I stated that the process induced the least challenge on a global level, while at other levels of security it caused bigger and bigger problems. Following this I analysed the foreign and security policy of the Republic of Slovakia between 1993-2006, during which I examined the aims declared in strategic documents separately from the realized policy, because, in many cases, I discovered considerable deviation of the declared foreign and security policies from those implemented. During the analysis I highlighted those security challenges which had a negative effect on the security of the region, including Hungary as well. During the survey of the strategic documents I paid special attention to the differences in the consecutive strategies. At the end of the chapter I made a forecast about the possibilities in security policy of the Republic of Slovakia in the mid-term, whereby I stated that **the future of the Republic of Slovakia will be determined by the future situation of the NATO and the EU.**

Chapter Three: The establishment and reforms of the military force of Slovakia

In this chapter I presented the process, experiences, problems and results of the establishment, organisation and continuous restructuring of the Slovak military force. I verified that during the establishment and organising the military force numerous problems arose which considerably determined the defensive ability of the country. By surveying the continuous and constantly altering restructuring of the Slovak military force I pointed out those problems which prevented the restructurings (reforms) from being completely implemented in the last 15 years. I evaluated the results, failures and experiences of each reform of the military force. Following this I verified that one of the main areas of success of the Slovak military force was its international participation. Slovakia put the emphasis on specialization on missions abroad, the advantage of which I also demonstrated. At the end of the chapter I summarized the role and the possibilities of the Slovak military force in the

European and Euro-Atlantic defence system. I stated that **the future of the Slovak military force will be determined by the accomplishment of its obligations undertaken in the scope of the NATO and the EU.**

5. Conclusions in sum

Emergence of the Slovakian Republic has generated various security challenges in the Central-European region; however, despite expectations by some Western experts it has failed to bring about an armed conflict. **Dismantling of Czechoslovakia and the emergence of the two new countries,** however, raised various problems as well, with the lack of legitimacy in the focus of these problems, since it was the Czech and Slovak political elite and not the citizens themselves that made the decision on the dissolution of the federal republic. This had an important influence even on Slovakia, which country lacked the century-long experience of statehood. Although the Slovak nation had fulfilled the high priority social requirements of statehood already in the 19th Century, however, the time and the international political situation was ripe enough for the Slovaks only in the 20th Century to form their first independent state. Slovakia's statehood went through several stages in the last century. After long decades of joint statehood with the Czech nation, they managed – although historically for a short period – to form their own state with Nazi support, but the post-II. World War reorganisation and restoration brought again for the Slovaks the joint statehood with the Czechs. The next stage for them was the reorganisation of Czechoslovakia into a federal state following the 1968 events, as a result of which Slovakia – although with considerable limitations – turned into a member-state of the federation. It was the paradigm shift at the end of the 20th Century on a global scale that brought independent statehood for the Slovaks. Democratisation processes have started in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia as well, which in the federal country resulted in the dismantling of the joint state and the emergence of two new countries: the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. That was the historic moment when Slovakia finally complied with the geopolitical conditions and international legal norms of independent statehood. It was the Vladimir Mečiar-led Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) – which in the 1992 legislative elections gained 49.33 percent of the parliamentary mandates – that played an important role in the establishment of Slovakia. **The ideology of the pro-Mečiar political elite of Slovakia has focused on the reason for the existence of the independent Slovakian state** with an emphasis on statehood issue. For this reason the Slovakian political elite has

resorted to nationalism, by which it interfered with various interests in the region. As a result of this, the statehood issue always had high importance in the Slovakian society and this is the reason for my thorough examination of the necessary and vital conditions for statehood in the first chapter of the present thesis. Following the assessment I came to the conclusion that statehood requires the compliance with a complex set of conditions consisting of many social, historic, legal and geopolitical components. Among the social conditions are ranked the social substructures with – among others – the economic, military, administrative and environmental sectors. In the course of the contemporary national development, the Slovaks managed to meet the aforementioned conditions by the end of the 19th Century, and they had waited only for the favourable to them constellation in the international political arena, which took place in the 20th Century. Where Slovakia's statehood is concerned, upon thorough studying of the historic events it can be stated that – contrary to the Slovak view of history – in the last century **it was the Czechs and not the Hungarians that had represented danger to the Slovakian statehood.**

The dismantling of federal Czechoslovakia and the emergence of the Slovak Republic resulted from a global shift of paradigm at the turn of the 80s and 90s. I have made a thoroughgoing analysis of the security situation in Central Europe at the end of the 20th Century by applying a descriptive security matrix and I came to the conclusion that various differing effects exercised their influence, albeit in many cases of opposed signs, in five different security dimensions and on four different security levels. **In the early 90s the most favourable security changes took place on global scale**, with a special emphasis on the military and political dimensions, while the only negative effects could be identified in the environmental dimension owing to the changes in the global environment. On the contrary, **on the regional, national and individual level of the security mainly negative effects could be identified**, especially in the economic and social sectors, but the Balkan Wars of succession exerted a remarkably negative influence on the military component of the regional security.

Following the description of the security situation, I analysed the structure of the security system in Central Europe by applying the theory of regional security complex based on the Buzanian theory and I have come to the conclusion that **Central Europe is a single security sub-complex**, which survived even after the Euro-Atlantic integration of the countries in the region. This sub complex has its special features, which make it different from other sub complexes. **Major characteristics of the region are diversity, dividedness, its past rich in various conflicts, as well as joint history, customs and traditions shared**

by the countries in the region. Central European sub complex is part of the EU-European complex, however – for the chiefly nationalist efforts of its countries –it will presumably survive and maintain its relative independence in the mid-run. **Security structure in the region was changed, amended several times in the last century.** In the aforementioned period I have distinguished three different status of the security structure. The first status is described by outer influence, the second status is described by a continuous balancing and third status is characterised by hegemony. The most stable throughout the period was the status described by outer influence when one or several outside powers exerted such an influence on the region that the endogenous processes of the security system ceased to work or reduced to a minimum. The most unstable, and as such rather short-lived status, was the one described by continuous balancing, since owing to the pressure by outside powers – once the Soviet Union, nowadays NATO – it restored into a status described by the outer influence. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was perhaps the best example for a status described by hegemony, which may be revived following the full and complete Euro-Atlantic integration of the region, however it would result in the full elimination of the endogenous security processes.

Security consequences of the dismantling of federal Czechoslovakia and of the emergence of the Slovak Republic have been analysed in four different stages with the application of a descriptive matrix of security, since security effects proved to be very different in the four distinctive stages. The dismantling and emergence process has been divided into the following four stages:

- The period until the decision on the dismantling of federal Czechoslovakia;
- The period of dividing federal assets and liabilities until the constitutional dissolution of federal Czechoslovakia;
- The period when the new states emerged and
- The period of the first security policy efforts by the new states.

The first stage began practically with the 1989 “Velvet Revolution”, when the two constituent republics of the federation opted for solving their problems not in an autocratic but in a democratic way. However the accumulated problems and disputed issues produced such a deep fault line between the Czech and Slovak political elites that the dismantling of federal Czechoslovakia became inevitable. Nevertheless, it can be outlined that the conflicts were not really so antagonistic and in many cases they assumed mainly personal character since only a part of the influential elite was in favour of dismantling federal Czechoslovakia. The period of

dividing federal assets and liabilities is relatively well distinguishable, for it lasted from the moment when the decision on the dismantling was taken, until the moment when the constitutional dissolution practically took place. The period when the new states emerged was merely a historic moment that actually lasted until their international recognition. The last stage was a longer period again, which lasted practically until the formulation of their first security policy documents. In the above period, security policy efforts of the two countries and the ensuing security policy effects and challenges alike became clear.

On the four different security levels (global, regional, national and individual) the aforementioned stages of dissolution and emergence brought about various security effects of different dimension and sometimes of opposed signs. The dissolution and emergence process had the smallest effect felt on global level since – contrary to Yugoslavia – it took place peacefully and not within a great power, which could influence processes on a global scale. On the other three (from regional to individual) security levels the process generated a security challenge of growing importance. On regional level, the first and fourth stages had their negative influence on security. In the period until the decision on the dismantling of federal Czechoslovakia, the disputes between the two former member-republics, their unsettled issues as well as the regional problems – among others in relation with minority issues and the Danube-dam of Gabčíkovo – emerged as a result of the democratisation process in the late Czechoslovakia, generated new security challenges, whilst in the fourth period, nationalist and third-way political efforts of the freshly emerged Slovakia represented a security risk to the remaining countries in the region. On national and individual level the whole process had rather negative effects since Slovakia's defence capabilities were quite limited during the process and the free-market oriented social and economic transition brought about an uncertainty of existence for a wide range of social strata in the other countries of the region as well. Negative tendencies – among others minority problems – appearing on national level in the federation in dissolution and in the emerging new states alike had their effects felt on individual security.

In the fourth stage of dissolution and emergence, some characteristic features of the Slovak Republic's foreign- and security policy already took shape. A determinant component of the new state's international standing and status is that **Slovakia belongs to the family of European small states, thus having a limited capability of safeguarding its interests on the international arena. For this reason, Slovakia wants to overcome this "shortcoming" by an active international commitment as a member of a wide range of international organisations.** From its formation in 1993 until it gained full membership in the Euro-

Atlantic integration organisations in 2004, Slovakia's foreign- and security policy went through remarkable changes, which partly can be traced back also to the efforts of the political forces in power. **Slovakia, in the course of its Euro-Atlantic integration, continuously declared in its various strategic documents that it is committed to NATO and EU accession and that it is going to meet accession conditions.** However, until 1998, Slovakia pursued a completely different foreign- and security policy, which was practically a third way policy in the region, with the intention to act as a “bridge” between East and West, but this policy resulted only its close cooperation and a “quasi-alliance” with Russia. In this period Russia tried to use Slovakia as tool for strengthening and stabilising its presence in Europe. This Slovak policy had proved to be a complete failure by 1997, when Slovakia was omitted from the first tier of NATO accession, which remarkably decreased Slovakia's international prestige. As a result, after the government change following the 1998 legislative elections, the new elite broke with policy of its predecessors and focused its efforts on the successful Euro-Atlantic integration, which it managed to attain in 2004.

A system of four strategic documents was drafted by Slovakia in the period from 1993 to 2006, with the security strategy on top of the system, followed by the defence strategy, the military strategy and finally with the military doctrine regulating the activity of the armed forces. The first strategic document was formulated a year after the formation of the republic, in 1994, while the remaining three ones were worded in 1996, 2001 and 2005 respectively. The various documents also describe an arch of development since the first one determines Slovakia's major aims following the formation of the country, the second contains its Euro-Atlantic integration efforts, the third one is focused on NATO and EU access, while the fourth one reflects already the requirements of the post-accession situation. When examining the above documents, it can be stated that Slovakia had intended to play such an accentuated role as a member of the International Community which is already far beyond its original capabilities and potential. This intention is manifest also in some strategies drafted on Slovakia's military commitment in remote areas and regions.

With the setting up of the Slovakian armed forces during 1992-93, a new military potential appeared in the region which, considering the geographical dimensions of the country and its neighbours, can be qualified as oversized, especially in view of its air force. Various problems emerged when the new armed forces was set up, which determined the country's defence capabilities as well. To remedy these problems and also to comply with the requirements of the era and the international environment alike they had to take up an armed forces reorganisation, right after the establishment of the new Slovakian military. This

problem persists even nowadays. The reorganisation has been force reduction-driven, at first with the need to adapt the size of the armed forces to Slovakia's capability, later to the Euro-Atlantic integration requirements, and following that, to Allied commitments. This continuous reform – similarly to the same processes started by the neighbouring states – not always had positive influence on the defence capabilities of Slovakia. In each case, reorganisations have been carried out in line with the various armed forces reform programmes. However, they were modified in many cases for the reason that they proved to be unfeasible as – in the first instance – no proper funds were made available for the future missions assigned to the military, and also for the remarkable change taken place in the security situation or in the foreign and security policy of the country. The attempts to reorganise the Slovakian armed forces, in the last decade and a half, took place characteristically in an underfinanced financial situation due to the limited economic opportunities of Slovakia.

However it can be stated that the Slovakian society and also the Slovakian political elite paid increased attention to the armed forces, which is proved by the fact that **the armed forces have been one of the most popular state institutions** since long years. Successful international commitments by the Slovakian military have further increased social support to the armed forces. Slovakia, in its military commitments, has made attempts to specialisation, that is engineer or traditional peacekeeping forces were sent to international missions as far as it was possible.

6. Interpretation of the scientific results

I have specified the statehood conditions in the 20th Century Central-Europe. I have stated that these conditions form a complex system with several well-defined and also distinct components. These are – among others – social, historic, legal and geopolitical conditions albeit without any exact order of importance, as in each special case a very different set of conditions enjoyed priority. Nevertheless it can be stated that geopolitical conditions have always enjoyed primary importance over the other components of the condition system, although it is important to outline that meeting of all the other conditions is necessary to the survival of the new state. The described system of conditions has been demonstrated through the Slovak nation's road to the statehood. What gives outstanding importance to the Central European condition system of statehood is the issue of Kosovo's future status as – based on this set of conditions – it can be predicted whether the province is

suitable and ripe for statehood on the one hand and is capable to survive as an independent state on the other hand.

I have been the first to describe a security policy descriptive matrix as a tool of a more exact and reliable assessment of a special period in the international relations and also of security-related events. The matrix is based on a wider interpretation of security and it takes into account a wider range of security actors, this way contributing to a marked extent, to a more thoroughgoing analysis of a given security situation. It adapts also some important aspects of both the neorealist and neoliberal schools of the international relations, as a result of which, representatives of both schools may apply the matrix in formulating their assessments. The matrix examines five security dimensions (political, military, economic, social and environmental) on four security levels (global, regional, national and individual) so as to specify the major factors that determine security in a specific period or in the course of a specific event. The five security dimensions also cover major subsystems of a society. The matrix is the proper tool not only for simply enumerating or presenting the factors influencing the security, but also for interpreting whether they had negative or positive effect on the security. By enumerating the factors along with their effects on the security, one might get a more complete picture of the security situation in a specific period or of the security consequences of a specific event in the context of the prevailing international relations. I applied the descriptive matrix in the practice of assessment as well when I analysed the post-paradigm shift security situation of the early 90s, as a result of which I succeeded in drawing several conclusions.

I was the first to adapt the Buzanian Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) to the Central European region, by which I created the Central European Regional Security Sub-Complex (CE RSSC) as a structure of the Central European security system. The CE RSSC is part of a EU-European Complex, albeit it is endowed with such specific features and has such a specific structure that lends the region the status of a Sub-Complex within the EU-European Complex, which does not mean, however, that the specific features of the EU-European Complex are irrelevant to the CE RSSC. When outlining the Sub-Complex I stated that the central European regional system showed a sort of uniformity throughout the last one and a half century, despite the various significant influences the region was exposed to. The Sub-Complex has its historic roots as well dating back to the Habsburg Empire and to the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. The region's specific features and its relative uniformity survived even despite the fact that a part of the countries constituting the region have become full-right members of the Euro-Atlantic institutions by the early 21st Century and the

remaining countries also have the Euro-Atlantic integrations as their major aim. When analysing the region I came to the conclusion that owing to the nation-state efforts of the Central European countries, the CE RSSC cannot be expected to cease to exist in the mid run.

In examining the security consequences of the **Slovak Republic's** coming into existence, I stated that – despite some Western expectations – **emergence** of this new state **have, all in all, failed to cause significant security challenge in the (global) international arena**. However, on regional and national level, some security problems have emerged which had their negative effects felt on both the regional relations and on the security of Slovakia. These problems are – among others – the lack of social support to the dismantling of federal Czechoslovakia – legitimacy-related problems – and negative tendencies in the neighbourhood policy, mainly in relation with the nationalist efforts of the newly emerged country. These problems were manifest chiefly in the political, social and economic dimensions of the security, and the bulk of them were also connected with the political, social and economic transition in the region. During the dismantling of federal Czechoslovakia and the emergence of the two new states, it was rather the period until the decision on the dismantling of federal Czechoslovakia (the political crisis period) and the first security policy measures of the new states that represented a challenge to security. It was the military and environmental dimension of the security where the dismantling process posed the slightest problem. In the military dimension, solely the problems emerging in relation with the defence capabilities of the dismantling federal state and of the two new states caused negative effects. Environmental dimension of the security was pushed into the background in the course of the dismantling process, yet in the bilateral relations disputes emerged over the safety of nuclear power stations and environmental pollution in both the Czech and the Slovak Republic.

Following an assessment of the foreign and security policy priorities both those included in the strategic documents and implemented by the Slovak Republic I elaborated a theory, which describes Slovakia's future prospects following its successful Euro-Atlantic integration. **The fate of the Slovak Republic depends on the future of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation**. There are two possible alternatives of it. The first one is when a new system emerges which is more uniform and stable than the current one, as a result of which Slovakia's security is to increase. The second one is when the conflicts and debates among the members of the two organisations result such a situation where the prestige and importance of the Euro-Atlantic security organisations decreases (or even vanishes completely) as a result of which ad-hoc coteries of European powers may determine the security of the continent and consequently that of Slovakia. Future of the

continental security system is influenced by outer factors and also even by Europe's power potential. Europe's influence, as a power centre, is expected to decrease globally in the long run, and the centre of gravity of global procedures is to shift to other (the Far-Eastern or the wider Asian) regions. Due to this development, the influence exerted by Slovakia, as a small state, on the international processes may further increase, which may negatively influence the country's security as well.

I was the first ever analyst in Hungary who analysed the events in relation with the establishment of the Slovakian armed forces, the process of their successive reorganisations and the effects of these processes on the security of the Central European region in such a detailed manner. In assessing the establishment of the Slovakian armed forces I threw light on the factors determining their setting up. I identified the problems that emerged when the Slovak armed forces were established. I consider that the most serious problems were the defects of organisation when the armament and defence equipment were regrouped from the Czech Republic, the general defence shortcomings of Slovakia and also the personnel problems. The reason for the personnel problems was the limited number of skilled and well-trained staff officers and commanders of Slovakian origin, when assets of the former federal Czechoslovak armed forces were divided, thus many young – although not properly experienced – officers occupied senior command posts within the emerging Slovakian armed forces. I stated that the establishment and successive reorganisation of the Slovakian armed forces brought about remarkable difficulties where their capabilities and consequently the country's defence capabilities were concerned. The underfinanced status was the most serious difficulty for the armed forces, which in the long run, manifested itself in the deteriorating quality of both training and armament, even despite the fact that the Slovakian armed forces relied, to a marked extent, on the indigenously produced defence equipment and also on the import armament procured in the framework of the Russian state debt redemption scheme. The reason for the continuous modification and amendment of the reforms was that the set aims proved to be unfeasible. Like in the neighbouring countries, continuous force cut was also typical in the Slovakian armed forces, albeit its rate and scale was inferior to those witnessed by Slovakia's the neighbours. I stated that ever since the establishment of its armed forces Slovakia has considered it very important to participate in international operations, in the course of which he made attempts to specialisation. In compliance with this attempt Slovakia has sent mainly engineer and traditional peacekeeping subunits to crisis zones. Slovakia's international military commitments experienced a lot of

success and received recognition many times, which may provide important experiences and also mark the future as well for the Slovakian armed forces as well.

7. Recommendations for the use of the dissertation in practice

The dissertation can be used in the course of analysis of security policy, scientific research as well as in education and training. The application of Barry Buznan's theory of regional security complex to the Central European region provides a new possibility for the analysis of the security system in the Central European region. In education, the systemation of the establishment of statehood provides new pieces of information and the statements of the dissertation provide new aspects for the understanding of Central European security processes as well. Chapter two of the dissertation can be used in the field of security policy training. The matrix of security analysis provides help for the experts on security with the security policy analysis of the given region at the given time. The application of the regional security complex provides a more exact and wider range of possibilities for the understanding of security processes. The presentation of the organisation and the reforms of the Slovak military force provides useful experiences in the course of revision and restructuring of the Hungarian Army.