

## STATE, SOLDIER, PROFESSIONALITY

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**Abstract:** *Defense is one of the oldest state responsibilities. Without the defense, protection or physical security the state, the power is unable to act on its own free will. The state is not able to fulfil its other functions (collection, distribution, regulation and sanctions) according to the interests of the society.*

*Clausewitz stated that the use of military power is the continuation of politics. In other words, politics aims to reach these aims by the implementation of military forces or war. Of course, to achieve the aims of the politics there are lots of instruments (diplomacy, politics, economics, information, ...) which have to be coordinated with the use of forces. This way of thinking is named as the comprehensive approach.*

*But politics has other important roles in order to achieve the aims. In the application of military force aims should be set to provide the necessary resources (human and material) and the appropriate legal environment. Professional military professionalism achieves its full potential in the case of three elements – aims, resources and legal environment - are harmonized for long-term. In the process of political decision-making professional military experts help to reach efficient choice. After the political decision is made the military does its best to act in order to achieve the aims.*

*In the western world the national armed forces have significantly reduced their strengths and abandoned the conscription-based military system. NATO and the EU in recent decades have carried out a number of operations. These operations were based on defending the member states' individual or collective' interests and values by strengthening peace and security. This new operational environment expects numbers of new skills and competencies from the 21th century's soldiers.*

**Keywords:** Hungariam Defence Forces, state defence, state building, skills of commanders

### Introduction

Over the past 30 years – both in quantitative and qualitative terms – the Hungarian Defence Forces (HDF) has changed significantly: almost three decades ago the strength of the Hungarian People's Army [1] was 155,700, while today - according to the relevant parliamentary resolution - a total of up to 29,700 persons serve in the HDF [2]. On November 04<sup>th</sup> 2004, when the last conscript soldier was demobilized, a long process of military service were completed: the creation of a voluntary, professional military force. One specific effect was that past relationships between

society and the military have changed, but the strong and necessary requirement remains that society should be aware that the HDF along what points of what tasks and along what conditions is made up and how much they are carried out efficiently. The HDF protects and represents the nation's interests, values, at the same time prepares for the most difficult task of the greatest risk: the defence of the country. Hungary is in a fortunate position as for the past seventy years there have been no wars in its territory – except during the 1956 revolution.

We must add, however, that during the Balkan crisis there were crisis management and national defense missions, but high-intensity, prolonged wars with large destruction and significant losses avoided Hungary, as it avoided Europe, because the security system (architecture), which is most significantly linked to the United Nations, was able to stop the breakout of third world war in Europe. After 1989, most of the European countries considered that world peace and the end of Fukujama's „end of the history” had arrived [3]. Consequently, no one will have any conflicts of interest or conflicts. But we have realized that this is not the fact, a country still needs defence capabilities. In addition, we had to recognize that there is as much defence as we provide for ourselves. If we do not make our decisions on our future, relations, budget, or natural resources, others will dictate these decisions to us.

The armed forces comprise part of the state and carry out the oldest and most important duty: providing and guaranteeing the physical security and protection. The state has a monopoly on the possession of the armed forces, and on the use of force. The military has a dual role:

- At the age of mass armies, armies of conscripted forces citizens did their military service for shorter or longer terms,
- The military personnel (professional or conscript) are part of the state, they are its citizens.

In today's professional military forces the essential components are:

- The civil control, implementing the political leadership,
- The professional, all-volunteer military force,
- High professional knowledge, which is able to adapt to the changing security environment and the new challenges, and use high-tech technology in extreme conditions, in multi-national environment.

The relations between the government and the armed forces can be interpreted not only in domestic but also international

frameworks. The military is involved in the life of the state, in building the state, in ensuring its existence and functionality. According to the political and governmental intent and interest the military is involved in state-building tasks in accordance with the aim determined by the state. State-building is usually done by the international community, including the nations and their armed forces in the conflict zones after the war.

A narrow view of the state-building at all times in an attempt to create a viable state through the separation of powers (decision making, executing, justice).

Of course, a working state must also be able to defend itself, therefore it will need those soldiers who we have trained and organized. Its further pre-condition is an economic situation ensuring that the country is economically able to cover its expenses from its own revenues.

So the military as a state institution is involved in providing security, not only for the domestic and cross-border security of the country, but also security at regional and global levels. In this sense, the military is striving to have states as international actors that are able to cooperate, as they are stable, predictable, rather than disintegrating, decaying, and at worst lacking central will and strength, are fragile, in crisis or are fallen states.

The military forces are involved in conflict resolution, post-conflict peaceful settlement, in the normalization of life, and where appropriate, in the development.

There is another approach to how the military participates in state-building. If we turn to "On War" by Clausewitz, on the basis of his illustrious thoughts it can be stated – though everyone has agreed with them before – that if and when war the continuation of politics by other means, it is the responsibility of the politics to designate these aims and goals, and the military forces comprise one of the means to achieve these goals. Neither war nor the military activity is for its own sake, but is always controlled on the basis of a higher

organizing principle. The politics, which represents the will, values, and interests of the state, the government, or the monarch, etc. determines the goals of the war and the military. War is not an objective in itself and not just the case of the military, but is an overall national issue, just like peace and security.

### **1. The State**

A vital interest of a state is to create basic physical and military security. Hostile intrusions are intercepted by the military. Therefore, independent decisions based on the interests of the country are made by the state power according to its own free will. Internal management of the country's political life, economic regulation, social and educational policy, taxation, justice, and progress are the result of the national will and not of external influences.

The use of force, therefore, is not just a use for itself. The state power is a means of achieving political will. The case of military public affairs is a national case. The existence of military forces is essential for the existence of the state both at national and international levels.

In crisis areas, wars and post-war situations the creation of the physical, military security is essential. This security and the military forces establishing it provide the basis for the construction of the state, which provides the basic functions in normal threats:

- Defence (external and internal interests, values, and physical)
- Collecting (taxes)
- Distribution (education, health, social care, public services, ...)
- Regulation (mass creation and administration)
- Sanctions (fines, warnings, encouraging good behaviour).

In the relations between the state and the armed forces, from military point of view, it is important that it is the state which regulates our lives and does public services and distribution tasks as a major power.

When discussing state missions „shadow governments” also need mentioning, as they

take over state functions, and this is the factor that turns armed groups into legitimate and recognized organizations. In 1991, in Kosovo, when „Silence Resistance” was announced a shadow government was set up with its own education, health care, and social welfare systems. Of course not as high pensions and income than you might think but it managed to finance the kind of national separation for the ethnic Albanian Kosovars that helped them move towards an independent national state. Similar shadow governments can be found in Afghanistan where Taliban expansion is mentioned, as state functions were taken over, that is tasks that the Afghan government is unable or cannot provide for the population throughout the country. The local population trusts in the system that serves its interests ensuring the physical security, primary physiological needs. Who can ensure the lower two levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, won the struggle for the "hearts and minds". When a shadow government starts to perform state functions, it takes over state functions, so it fills a gap which a state is not able to, as a result its acceptance and support grows. Over time, it slowly begins to be considered a normal actor.

Characteristics of a failed state regarded as typical [4]:

- an important criterion is that a failed state cannot control the whole territory of the country;
- part of the population does not accept the authority of the head of state;
- the state can not provide public safety, public services for the entire population, there is no registration offices, no water supply, no electricity, no medical care, no capability to implement and enforce central will, laws, instructions, and regulations;
- the most important criterion is that the monopoly of violence is concentrated in the hands of non-state actors but other players also have armed groups or even armies.

This is a serious dilemma today, when we see unresolved problems in Iraq,

Afghanistan, Mali, and even Cyprus. The two must be dealt together with now, as the previous ones are not completed yet, and existing system is perhaps a little tired of these. But there appeared new threats and challenges that geographically have not gotten farther, perhaps they have gotten closer, but also not diminished in intensity.

## **2. The Armed Forces**

The functioning, operation, development, and application of the military have their own dynamics, and own rules. These dynamics are determined externally, but because of the peculiarities of the armed forces its internal factors are unique.

In the armed forces special professionals serve who chose for themselves a special profession as a result of social division of labour. They undertook to serve small and large communities, society, the state and the country, to provide protection of the public interest. They do so by waiving their right to a basic human right: to life, as their military oath pledges them to protect their country even at the cost of their lives. The Hungarian Constitution defines the purpose and functions of the Hungarian Defence Forces as follows:

- Military defence of Hungary's independence, territorial integrity and borders,
- To provide a common defence and peacekeeping tasks arising from international agreements, as well as performing humanitarian activities in accordance with the rules of international law.
- To assist with the prevention of disasters, in the elimination of their consequences.

There are a few features of the armed forces which predestine them to do extreme tasks and unknown things that are useful for post crises efforts, and it constantly characterized the army in history. Since they are prepared for the worst, to wage and win a high-intensity „Kill or Die” struggle, and to defend the country, its properties and population. They do this in extreme conditions, regarding the terrain, the climate, or the local population, and human

environment. The military is able to supply itself, but sometimes it has to supply others too. It is also able to renew, so cover losses, repair combat vehicles, supply ammunition, provide wounded with medical care and replace the wounded, missing or killed in action. It continuously performs tasks that may involve higher and lower intensity combat, its support and service support. The military is suited to solve unknown things in an unknown place because it is a guided, directed, order-based system in which the persons serving in various positions have their duties. These are described, practiced, trained and penalized in case someone fails to do them. The military organization is trained, equipped, kept in readiness, and has the resources to deploy anywhere and can be operational in all conditions.

The instruments and forces of the military are suitable to operate and maintain operations in extreme conditions, even in strongly destroyed or incomplete infrastructure.

In these cases losses will be incurred as in a high-intensity armed struggle the vulnerability is high. The states or groups choosing the final tool for enforcing their interest in high-risk situations collide, and armed struggle erupts, so the loser loses its sovereignty and probably also the ability to make independent decisions. As a result, we have to solve unknown tasks, as previously regular forces confronted each other, with special weapons, special uniforms, in geographically well-identified places and conventional applications. So it was relatively easy to assess to who the enemy was, who was to be destroyed, which point was to occupy.

It can be concluded that today complex and unknown high-risk tasks must be solved in extreme environment. In our country there is one organization that can carry out this: the Hungarian Defence Forces (HDF). Another key to success – besides knowing where, and under what circumstances it must be active, and what expectations have to be met – is the objectives and the tasks to be set by the politics.

The objectives set by the military leadership related for the achievement of higher political ideas should be interpreted as lower-level objectives. To achieve these political goals and the relating military objectives two additional political factors are required which basically do not depend on military readiness and preparedness, morale, or combat readiness. One of the restrictive factors is the legal environment, and the other is scarce resources. If the political goal setting, the available resources, and the legal environment are not in harmony, the task is not (or only partially) possible to implement, so the failure becomes significant, and the participating personnel gets frustrated.

### 3. Professionalism

The goals set by politics can be achieved by maximum efficiency by a professional Armed Forces under democratic civil control. In such armed forces professional knowledge is determining.

Huntington in his work „Soldier and the State” [5] processes the theory of and the relations between civilian and military spheres in detail. The aspects of the analysis are the relations between the military and the political requirements. Through comparisons he illustrates the relations between the military and the civil sector in various political ideologies. Basically, we can recognize two types of civil control.

- **Subjective:** which maximizes the power of civil society at the expense of the military professionalism. In shaping relations of the two spheres it is more important, if not essential, that the military should be dedicated to the civilian sector, the group of civil rule. Political reliability is more important than military professionalism.

- **Objective:** To ensure the best performance of the social and functional expectations military professionalism must be maximized. The relationship between the civil power and the military community sphere must be characterised by professional commitment and high level of technical knowledge, professionalism.

The power cooperates with a loyal military (expectations, standards as well: everyone is loyal to the current government).

The civil sector builds on the expertise of the military in preparing and making decisions. But the decisions are always made by the civil sector. Civil society expects loyalty and a high level of military knowledge, respects and expects them.

From military point of view loyalty and knowledge should be further investigated. The military contribution political civil (government) decisions also has two manifestations:

- On the one hand, before making a political, environmental decision the military should consult civil society of the military profession professional subject (development, operation, concept, evaluation ...). On the other hand, the military should use its maximum knowledge to formulate a professional opinion on the case, and on the strong-weak points, regulatory and resource needs of the possible military-technical advantages and disadvantages, of the military decisions.

- The political objectives will be met as expected if the necessary regulatory leeway and resources (human, real) can be provided. In this case the performance really depends on military professionalism. If there is no consistency among the three factors, the goal is not achievable, confusion and frustration will arise in the system.

- Following the political, governmental decision all the military profession's expertise will focus on the implementation of decision. It uses added professional value in the decision-making in terms of implementation and makes recommendations for improvement during the process as far as possible, on the basis of expertise. But the decision is seen as one to be executed. Its knowledge is used for implementing the political, government decision, taking into account other factors as well.

Similar ideas are formulated by Clausewitz was in his work On War, where war is

defined as the use of the military to continue politics through other assets. Military is a means of achieving the objectives of politics (government, power) is to set targets. So, according to Clausewitz in the relationship between politics and military the relationship of aim-tool appears, where goal equals political will and tool is professionally trained military forces.

The Huntington definition of military vocation identifies three important elements:

- Expertise,
- Responsibility,
- Corporate character.

Professional military knowledge – which is the basic pre-condition of successful application of military force – the method continues to evolve, as a result of technological change and the operational environment. Because of these changes new breed of commanders are needed [6]:

- In leadership, mission-oriented style is to be developed. The ability to act independently, situation recognition, evaluation and active commander are the main pre-conditions for success. Developing this command capability and its existence is a complex issue. In many cases the competence element is not obtainable, nor upgradable, it depends on the personality. The development of competence after selecting the right person is the result of a long learning, socialization, exercise and experiential process. The commander must precisely know the expected and required tasks of the given leadership position. He must know and apply his place in the exact command and control, planning and organizational implementation structure including the importance of the task and the capabilities, characteristics and limitations of those involved in the cooperation. The exact position and knowledge of the area, the task elements of those of the corresponding responsibilities and duties, powers and responsibilities are assigned proportionally.

- The achievement of goals and final states set by politics is influenced by a system determined by politics at levels: the availability of resources (human and real) and the legal environment. These three factors must be in harmony in the long-term. The set objectives are only appropriate with legal options and the possession of resources. If this harmony is not present, the objectives of the expected final state are not achievable.

- For the challenges of the operating environment and the management of the impacts it is essential to enrich the knowledge of the soldiers and commanders. Apart from military, professional knowledge some knowledge of the humanities and social subjects is also necessary to understand, manage, and efficiently and effectively influence the operational environment. But just learning is not enough. Individuals must have proper openness, inclusion skills and capability for tolerance.

- Complex management of complex crises have many players. The essential pre-condition for success of this collaboration with stakeholders is the coordination of efforts, in many cases of resources. National, federal, partnership, international and local populations – small and large community-level actors – have different philosophies, different organizational culture and decision-making mechanisms, different abilities and limitations. An important criterion of the learning process is the potential cooperation as well as knowledge of each other, so that no unachievable expectations will appear in the course of implementation.

- The acquisition of knowledge, the development of different levels of ability and willingness to cooperate request various methods, ranging from individual self-educating to joint research at an extremely broad scale. "

#### **4. The HDF in state building**

The military forces are involved in state-building. At the beginning in the early stages of peacekeeping in the Cold War era,

basically through creating a ceasefire, separating the opposing parties from each other, creating an idle status quo. That allowed at least the normalization of the supply of the civilian population, the public services. Military forces later became a player in security, as they also undertake tasks in the preparation of elections, or the transformation of the security sector (security sector reform - SSR). They can do stabilization operations, which was a new concept 10 years ago. This includes any activity that supports the government's operation. Later they take responsibility for the security of elections, as this is essential to the effective conduct.

The question arises as to why the military is used in peace operations and contributions to the state-building? It is useful to present the answer through some NATO operations starting from air observation and patrolling in Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1992.

Complex crises emerged at the end of the Cold War mainly due to ethnic and religious conflicts, secret history of past problems and issues, and the rule over scarce resources which surfaced. These cannot be resolved through traditional methods through military tools only. While after the Arab-Israeli wars the opposing forces can be separated on the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula, in the tribal, religious or civil wars there are no front lines, no regular forces, who should and could be separated. So a crisis should be solved not only by military forces, but in complex ways. As many crises exist, as many settlement elements and factors are necessary.

We need to build the state for which all the elements of a complex crisis must be dealt with, which required a lot of players, one of which is the military that is soldiers.

The soldier may be regarded – with some understandable bias – as the most important element, because where there is no physical security, it is relatively difficult to train doctors or nurses.

However, it is important that the military organization has the cooperation capability

– the civil-military cooperation component  
– and it is important to get to know each other. In doing so, the following questions should be answered:

- What is mandate?
- What decision-making mechanism does the organization have?
- What are the organization's capabilities and limitations?
- What are your traditions?

So there is a lot of players in the efforts to resolve conflicts and crises, therefore it is very important to understand each other, to know who does what. It is essential for our efforts, our activity vectors to point in the same direction, and not separate.

For the complex interpretation of security the Copenhagen School division 5 + 1 (political, economic, military, social / humanitarian, environmental, others) should be used.

The new types of conflicts are characterised by their complexity. The crises appear in major security dimensions that must be dealt with in a complex way, by many actors, and the coordination of these activities is essential for success.

This component is not only political-party politics, but includes the power and the fields of public administration too. The military security dimension includes internal security issues too. After all, if the situation starts to normalize and the armed conflict falls below a certain level, then its treatment is no longer the military forces's responsibility.

For peacekeeping, in terms of state-building efforts, it should be achieved that the political/administrative, economic, military/internal security areas were stable, predictable, long-lasting and self-sustaining. If that happens, it means that the community is able to stand on its own feet.

### **State-building in practice**

Below follow two examples – Kosovo and Afghanistan – of state building, with certain characteristics of theirs, based on the author's experience.

In **Kosovo** there were two major players in state-building: KFOR, about 17,000

soldiers in 21,000 square kilometres of a population of two million, and UNMIK (United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo). This proved to be a complex solution, not only because UNMIK is a UN organization, but because a specialized agency of the OSCE and the EU was also involved. The KFOR created military security while UNMIK assisted to build four pillars: the judiciary, the government, the economy and civil society, as well as with building confidence. So in summary: different but closely associated common areas of these organizations and coordinated actions were implemented.

Taking the mission in **Afghanistan**, which were conducted by NATO, and implemented by the ISAF (International Security Assistance Force), the author regards the PRT (Provincial Reconstruction Team) as the most complex state-building task. The focus was on three security dimensions: strengthening political/administrative and military/internal security sectors, and assisting economic reconstruction.

The territory of Baghlan province, where the Hungarian soldiers served, is 21,000 square kilometres and its population is 800,000, but in 2008 only 230 troops served there. The Afghan army was not present in the province, the police was involved in solving other types of tasks and had a number of serious strength- and weapon-supply problems. Compared with Kosovo, the striking difference is between the figures, but the terrain and conflicts were also sufficiently more complex. On the basis of the above, the different implementation and the different result are clear.

Many governmental and non-governmental actors were involved in the co-operation and the Hungarian government regularly sent experts. The Provincial Reconstruction Team should have had at least three security professionals involved in at least three disciplines, but in practice a Political Adviser (POLAD) was the one dealing with the political settlement and restoration of

the public administration. They were Hungarian diplomats, lived in the camp, cooperated with the Hungarian soldiers there. In practice, the soldiers had to perform a full range of the reconstruction tasks, as a Development Adviser (DEVAD), who was able to achieve in the reconstruction of the longer-term, higher-cost, higher impact projects deployed just in 2011.

But Hungarian Police served in the province as well, since there was a period when they permanently resided there, and another when they did their jobs from the EUPOL. There was a very successful Hungarian agricultural contribution provided by the then Ministry of Agriculture. Well-trained experts arrived to accomplish different projects, and tried to achieve that, at least at micro level, in a field of Baghlan province with good agricultural characteristics, families were able to live on land cultivation. So the efforts essential to the creation of physical security and food security were hand in hand.

The organization and successful conduct of elections is of particular relevance to state-building. If there in a conflict zone, and an election can be organised which is then successful and well-implemented, the international community can transfer the power of self-determination to the specific country and stay there only as a consultant. The elections are considered as a landmark and when look at the various UN missions their mandate is always to free and successful elections as an emblematic process. This is preceded by the establishment of government, the economy set to recover and the modified security sector. The latter actors: the police, the armed forces, the militia participate in the electoral registration, and in maintaining security and responding to incidents as well. In military logistical sense, it is possible that the armed forces can deliver the ballot boxes, sets up the polling places and stations, provides food, or vehicles. If free elections take place successfully, then



the transformation of international engagement follows, which turns into a supportive advisory function. Presumably the military will still be present in the next 20-30 years, because its support and insight are needed.

### Summary

One of the main tasks of the state is defence, it has a monopoly of the use of force.

The armed forces – thanks to their fundamental characteristics – are able to operate in extreme conditions, do dangerous and unfamiliar tasks. On the basis of its command and control system, leadership, mobilization and equipment the military is capable of successful implementation of virtually any mission.

Going beyond the previous efforts, cooperation is also needed with other players who are involved in the complex treatment of complex crises. For the effectiveness of this organizations should be established that are able to ensure the development and success of the security, to

exchange information with each other and to coordinate efforts.

It is essential to maximize the system of military professionalism in the relations of setting aims by politics and executing mission by the military.

Based on its capabilities the military is involved in the complex task of state building, in close cooperation with the political / administrative and economic dimensions of security actors.

Finally, it is worth quoting UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld (1953-1961), who lost his life in an operation, when the plane carrying him was shot down. He said that “peacekeeping is not a job for soldiers, but only soldiers can do it”. The reason for this, or the basic premise, is that the basic function of modern armed forces (and of course the soldiers in it) is to *carry out missions in extreme environments, and fulfil often high fail-risk unknown tasks for the country, to protect the interests of the nation.*

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