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HUNGARY'S LONG JOURNEY TO NATO AND BEYOND

The choice made by Central and Eastern European Nations to apply for NATO membership was obviously ushered in by the transformation of the international landscape due to the fall of Soviet Union, the emergence of the United States as the world's only Superpower and with the rise middling polarity among the European powers... Hungary sought to join with the Western democracies via becoming a member of NATO. By the turn of the century, Hungary was a full-fledged member of the one of the most successful alliances in history. Hungary's participation in Kosovo and other various Peace Keeping Operations (PKO) have reinforced that it was a right decision to join the Alliance.

Since its admission, Hungary has had a mixed record of success. For more than a decade, Hungarian governments have been grappling with the immense task of transforming an oversized mass army into a streamlined, but much more effective modern one. In spite of this fact, and because of the imbalance and increasing overhead costs, Hungary failed to deliver the required military capabilities, and lost her credibility. During the first few years there were no significant purchases of new equipment, meaning that "technological backwardness was huge." Reductions in manpower left some units non-operational. The army has no protective gear to defend against chemical or biological attacks. Communications systems are old and Hungarian soldiers have difficulty talking to their NATO counterparts.¹⁰¹

The current government has, however, taken seriously its promise to begin to build an efficient military force that fulfils the tasks of traditional territorial defence, as well as respond to the security challenges of the 21st century. This meant considering defence issues in a new light as a result of a comprehensive "Bottom Up" defence review

¹⁰¹ Keith Richburg Washington Post Foreign Service Sunday, Nov 3, 2002

that lasted nearly a year. It marked Hungary's serious effort to develop a military force that is capable to provide security for its own nation as well as be a viable participant in Coalition and Alliance endeavours.

In order for Hungary to be fully integrated and respected by its more modern European neighbours it needs a fully functioning and interoperable military force. The Defence Review emphasized two fundamental objectives: the fulfilment of national alliance obligations and the transition to an all voluntary force.

Hungary's journey, to reach its goal of becoming a participating member of NATO, is long and though the goal is achieved there is still work to be done. This paper reviews the role the Partnership for Peace and the State Partnership Program had in the Hungarian Defence Force transformation and briefly addresses Hungary's NATO and Coalition Force participation. Hungary's experience is full of lessons learned for other aspirant nations, but is a tale a nation finally reaching its "always felt rightful place under the sun: the community of like-minded Western nations sharing similar aspirations."¹⁰²

Hungary Aims for NATO

The systemic change in the world order represented a choice for new values, which also determined the main direction of Hungarian foreign policy. Euro-Atlantic integration received a special emphasis and Hungary's joining NATO and the European Union was confirmed as the prime objective of foreign policy of both governmental parties that entered into office after the 1990 and 1994 elections. While other pressing challenges are bound to divert international attention to other regions and problems, many of the nations of Central Europe believe that NATO and its enlargement process are still key to the stability of the continent.

NATO membership has been the quintessential foreign policy goal of Hungarian governments since 1990. Seven years after Gyula Horn, then

¹⁰² Csaba, Gabor, Hungary in NATO: A Solid Bond of Common Values and Shared Interests, www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/ECE/vol5no1_2

foreign minister of the last communist government (later Prime Minister, 1994-98), publicly speculated about the possibility of his country's future membership in the alliance.¹⁰³

The goal of improving Hungary's relations with their neighbouring countries, ending historic tensions of the previous centuries and achieving reconciliation, fostering mutual confidence and a rapid broadening of relations has been closely related to this endeavour. Hungary also attached key importance to avoiding any ethnic conflict that may threaten the stability of a traditionally multi-ethnic Central Europe.

The fundamentally new international political and security environment after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact gave a unique opportunity for Hungary to analyze, independently, its national foreign and security policy options. A new national, foreign policy was developed in Hungary in 1990 by the first post-communist government. It was declared that both national foreign and security policy have to promote the country's re-entering the Western community of values and political practice.

The deepening of the Euro-Atlantic integration of Hungary is a priority objective of Hungarian foreign policy in order for our country to become a full-fledged and esteemed member of the community of nations with democratic market economies. After the achievement of NATO membership on the 12th of March 1999, we are now preparing to join the European Union in 2004.¹⁰⁴

Euro-Atlantic integration is a fundamental expression of Hungary's determining political affinity as well as an ultimate anchor of its developing democracy and market economy. At the same time, it is also the Euro-Atlantic framework that is capable of providing a fundamental democratic solution to the situation of ethnic minorities in Central

¹⁰³ Zolton Barany, *America's New Allies: Poland Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO*, Andrew Michta editor. (London: University of Washington Press, 1999) p. 74.

¹⁰⁴ Foreign Policy, Government Portal, online, <http://www.ekormanyzat.hu/english?kateg=english:1258> (29 April 2003)

Europe. This has, for a long time, been one of the main intra-regional sources of discord.¹⁰⁵ (Appendix II. Hungary's Integration)

As far as our goals related to integration are concerned, we consider all significant European and Euro-Atlantic institutions as different elements of one and the same structure, as elements, which can mutually complement and reinforce each other. From this follows our endeavour that has been pursued consistently ever since the change of system, namely to obtain membership in all of these international organizations upon complying with the necessary conditions.¹⁰⁶

Regional stability on the other hand is indispensable for securing peace, development and further democratization in Central and Eastern Europe.

In the framework of regional co-operation Hungary strives to maintain manifold, neighbourly relations with its neighbouring countries and the countries of the region. Hungary is an active participant in the rejuvenated Visegrád collaboration and in the work of Central European organisations. While in South Eastern Europe we have taken a substantive role in the permanent resolution of the crises recurring over the past decade and in the promotion of the recovery of the region.¹⁰⁷

In the current international and national political context, the foreign and security policy of Hungary is based on the twin principles of co-operation and integration. These twin principles constitute a parallel track of Hungary's developing international relations, and they have to remain parallel in the future as well. Neither can, however, they replace the other. Integration into Western security, political and economic structures limit the scope of relations to a certain number of countries for Hungary. Co-operation on the other hand has to proceed with a much wider range of countries, also including those with which integration is not, or is not yet, possible.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ <http://hungaryemb.ines.ro/hu/prioritasai.htm> (3 March 2003)

¹⁰⁶ Martonyi János, Németh Zsolt, Hungarian Foreign Policy and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Joó, Rudolf, Hungary: A Member of NATO, (Budapest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999), p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ Foreign Policy, Government Portal, online, <http://www.ekormanyzat.hu/english?kateg=english:1258> (7 February 2003)

¹⁰⁸ Government Programme, The Government of Republic of Hungary,

It pays particular attention, however, to make sure that there is a balance among these goals. It keeps in mind that none of these goals must be subordinated to another or to be asserted to the detriment of another. The successful fulfilment of these endeavours makes them interdependent on one another and closely links them together.¹⁰⁹

Hungary's so called Euro-Atlantic orientation is a natural part and consequence of the profound transition process that has placed its society on a new value foundation in the past decade. NATO membership therefore does not constitute an end, but rather served to accelerate the process of making Hungary a full-fledged Western democracy.¹¹⁰

Meeting the Challenges to World Security

The Threat to world security did not disappear altogether as it was expected for a short while in 1989/90. In fact, the events of 9/11 proved that the threats to world security are still present and much more difficult to predict. Due to Hungary's geopolitical situation, the country needs to take in account all types of the new threats in establishing its priorities for policy objectives. The common problem of these threats is the insufficiency of national ways and means to fight them. These emerging threats and realistic, pragmatic responses to them underpin the arguments for adopting the national security policy of co-operation and integration by Hungary.

Hungarian foreign and security policy should continue to create new forms of co-operation while at the same time deepen the already existing frameworks. The combination of unilateral and international action should continue to remain characteristic of Hungarian Security Policy

<http://www.kormany.hu/program/index.en.html>(2 March 2003)

¹⁰⁹ Martonyi János, Németh Zsolt, Hungarian Foreign Policy and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Joó, Rudolf, Hungary: A Member of NATO, (Budapest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999), p. 14.

¹¹⁰ Csaba, Gabor, Hungary in NATO: A Solid Bond of Common Values and Shared Interests www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/ECE/vol5no1_2/csaba.pdf

and infrastructure in order to promote the national interest and to achieve the strategic goals of integration and stability.¹¹¹

It is with this in mind that the Partnership for Peace Programme and the U.S. State Partnership Program (SPP) have taken a special role and have become essential to Hungary's future.

1.1 Hungary's Integration and Participation in PFP

Hungary was a member of the political and military structure of the Warsaw Pact and of COMECON. Soviet troops were stationed on the territory of Hungary. The number of troops in the Hungarian Peoples Army was around 160,000 during peacetime. The magnitude of Hungarian military expenditure was higher than 3.5 percent of GDP (...). Hungary was ruled by a one-party system and an economy based on centralized planning. The country bordered five neighbours, three of which were members of the Warsaw Pact.¹¹²

But all of this has changed and today Hungary is a full-fledged member of both NATO and the European Union.

The new, democratically elected Hungarian Government's first and most important political endeavour was the Euro-Atlantic integration. Hungary declared that integration into the western democratic institutions was a priority for the country. The first security related institution Hungary joined was the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) in 1991.

The basic principles of security policy approved by the National Assembly on 12 March, 1993 demonstrate that one of the main endeavours of the Hungarian security policy is the rapprochement and subsequent membership in the institutions of Western European integration. The basic principles of national defence adopted on 14

¹¹¹ Government Programme, The Government of Republic of Hungary, <http://www.kormany.hu/program/index.en.html> (9 April 2003)

¹¹² Szabó, János, Hungary and NATO – The Road to Membership, Joó, Rudolf, Hungary: A Member of NATO, (Budapest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999), p. 28.

April, 1993 in accordance with the basic principles of security policy, on the other hand, confirm that the guarantees of the country's security can in long run only be ensured through the institutional framework of multi-faceted cooperation.¹¹³

A year later the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Partnership for Peace Programme (PfP) was launched, and Hungary joined in the first wave on 8 February 1994, making it the fifth state to join.¹¹⁴ Participation in the PfP played a determinant role of Hungary's future integration. Following the procedures outlined in the Study of NATO Enlargement in 1995, outlining NATO's expectations, Hungary started a series of meetings with the Alliance in the framework of Individual Dialogue. That process allowed Hungary to intensify its cooperation with the Alliance and to present the main issues linked with the integration in detail. That higher level of bilateral dialogue enabled to the country to become more familiar with, and have a better understanding of NATO's expectations for the aspirants.

As one of the first of the former Warsaw Pact member states, Hungary officially declared its intention to join NATO on 29 January, 1996. The next milestone of Hungary's Western integration was NATO's Madrid Summit, in 1997, when, along with three other countries, Hungary was invited to join by the Alliance. One year later Hungary was also invited by the EU to begin official bilateral negotiations on integration into the EU.

In 1999 Hungary joined the Alliance, and participated in the Washington Summit as a full NATO member. In the same year Hungary also became an associated member of the Western European Union (WEU).

March 12th 1999 was a historic day: Hungary became a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Through this act Hungary officially and irrevocably became part of the Euro-Atlantic community

¹¹³ Szabó, János, Hungary and NATO – The Road to Membership, Joó, Rudolf, Hungary: A Member of NATO, (Budapest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999), p. 30.

¹¹⁴ NATO Handbook, (Brussels, NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001, p. 67.

of values as well as a part of the political and security system of alliance pursuing common interests and objectives.¹¹⁵

Hungary's accession has a fundamental and long-term beneficial effect on the security and future of the country. The foreign and economic policies of Hungary now had greater potential and interest representation capabilities, however at the same time Hungary's responsibility has also increased in issues concerning the security of the entire Euro-Atlantic area.¹¹⁶

In political terms, Hungary's integration into NATO is completed. Military integration is ongoing; the consistent implementation of military reform is an important element in this process. The establishment of a state-of-the-art, effective, sustainable Hungarian military force that is able to meet new challenges is essential for NATO tasks and for the defence of the country alike.¹¹⁷

Hungarian participation in the PfP entered another dimension by its entry into NATO: Hungary's participation became increasingly a donor country, rather than just a consumer.

This is in line with our endeavour to participate, a one of few NATO-members of the region, in preparing countries aspiring for membership and more generally, in strengthening the links between NATO and the partner countries. In the course of our participation we will pay special attention to the Southern and Southeastern periphery of Europe, which is overburden with challenges and for the security of we feel a special kind of responsibility.¹¹⁸

Since 1994, Hungary has participated in a number of exercises and projects organized within the PfP and in the PfP spirit. Hungary also took part in two cycles of the Planning and Review Process. All the

¹¹⁵ Foreign Policy, Government Portal, online, <http://www.ekormanyzat.hu/english?kateg=english:1321> (3 April 2003)

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Szabó, János, Hungary and NATO – The Road to Membership, Joó, Rudolf, Hungary: A Member of NATO, (Budapest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999), p. 39.

undertakings were pursued as priority projects. The Hungarian government was fully aware that this new cooperation would enable the Hungarian Armed Forces, in a short amount of time, to achieve minimum interoperability and mutual trust.

The past few years have proved over and over again that is needed an epochal initiative. PfP has mediated a new security and defence philosophy to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Practical experience and skills accumulated in the course of PfP co-operation have played a crucial role in enabling to succeed in fulfilling the expectations vis-à-vis NATO membership and in achieving the minimum level of interoperability and compatibility required for membership in the Alliance.(...) PfP has created an extremely important practical framework for confidence building and development of relations between the Hungarian Defence Forces and the armed forces of NATO member states, as well as for the establishment of the conditions of practical co-operation.¹¹⁹

Fulfilment of Military Requirements

If we can train to common standards, procedures and doctrine and at some point put them under a Combined Joint Task Force, we have created new NATO and a new Europe¹²⁰ As President Göncz noted, Hungary's need for NATO membership was motivated by values shared with the West, by the desire to belong to a favourable security environment, and by the potential membership offered for creating a more cost-effective defence establishment.¹²¹

The benefits of membership in NATO may only emerge if members are willing to make significant contributions to the "collective security". The experience of Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic (the 'V3' entrants) since 1999 offers some idea of what can be expected. One of the basic requirements of enlargement was and is the fulfilment of certain Minimum Military Requirements (MMR) by the Invited

¹¹⁹ Végh, Ferenc, *The Hungarian Defense Forces: From Preparation to Full Interoperability*, Joó, Rudolf, Hungary: A Member of NATO, (Budapest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999), p. 48.

¹²⁰ A Force for Peace, U.S. Commanders' views of the Military's Role in Peace Operations, Peace Through Education Found, 1999, p. 15.

¹²¹ See Árpád Göncz, "The Least Expensive Way to Guarantee Security," *transitions* 4, no. 7 (Dec 1997): 19

Countries.¹²² To help satisfy these requirements, and speed up this process for early membership, NATO-experts visited Hungary several times right before the accession. These meetings were not simply a means to control and monitor compliance but, rather, a clear indication that NATO wanted a successful integration of Hungary.

Post-Communist Hungary inherited a military establishment that had been prepared and outfitted as part of the Warsaw Pact's doctrine of coalition warfare.

As such, it was fraught with an oversized command structure, strategic imbalances, antiquated armaments, organizational asymmetries, and apathetic professional personnel. The number of combat, logistical and training units were excessive, and there was virtually no indigenous air defence capability.¹²³

Altogether, five areas of Minimum Military Requirements (MMRs) were identified,

- 1-2. Security and CIS;
3. Air Defence;
4. Infrastructure, and
5. Force Contributions.
- 6 "Miscellaneous Issues" — covered various manpower-related questions.

These areas were addressed and the MMRs have been met and other measures have been taken to establish initial capabilities for membership. In the long term, Hungary shall have to satisfy more demanding requirements and details. Yet, by at least minimally satisfying the MMRs, Hungary has made huge steps in the right direction, steps that have shown its commitment to the Alliance.¹²⁴

¹²² Végh, Ferenc, *The Hungarian Defense Forces: From Preparation to Full Interoperability*, Joó, Rudolf, Hungary: A Member of NATO, (Budapest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999), p. 48.

¹²³ Zolton Barany, *America's New Allies: Poland Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO*, Andrew Michta editor. (London: University of Washington Press, 1999) pp. 95-96.

¹²⁴ Végh, Ferenc, *The Hungarian Defense Forces: From Preparation to Full Interoperability*, Joó, Rudolf, Hungary: A Member of NATO, (Budapest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999), p. 48.

Along the long road to NATO accession, Hungary was aided by a little know program called the State Partnership for Peace, sponsored by the Ohio National Guard, a reserve component of the United State Military. The work of the SPP was instrumental in preparing Hungary to meet its MMRs and gain entrance into NATO.

The State Partnership Program

The Republic of Hungary and the State of Ohio have developed an exemplary cooperation many fields, including the military to military exchange between the Home Defence Forces and the Ohio National Guard. It has played an important role in deepening interoperability and setting higher standards for the Hungarian armed forces, and through that, it has been instrumental in reaching the level of military capability expected from us by the Alliance.¹²⁵

Ohio's State Partnership Program (SPP), which began over a decade ago, is one of the oldest and most successful of this National Guard program. Much of its success is due to the long-standing connection between Ohio and Hungary. These ties go beyond just military and governmental agreements, but are part of a network between the people of both the state of Ohio and the Nation of Hungary.

¹²⁵ Dr. Gyorgy Banlaki, Ambassador of Hungary, Letter to Governor George Voinovich, June 30, 1997.

Historical relationship between Hungary and Ohio

Of all the states in the United States, Ohio has the largest population of Hungarians, almost a quarter million Hungarian Americans are residing in North East Ohio alone. One out of every seven Hungarians in the U.S. lives in Ohio. The largest influx of Hungarians to Ohio came between 1956-1958, “especially members of the Freedom Fighters of infamous 1956 Revolution. Cleveland, at one time, had the largest populations of Hungarians outside of the capital city of Budapest.”¹²⁶ Testimonials to the Hungarian presence in Ohio can be seen all over the state, and especially in the Cleveland area. A large statue of Louis Kossuth, a Hungarian Liberator of the 1848 Revolution stands in a prominent position in Cleveland’s prestigious University Circle. In addition, next to the Cleveland Municipal Utilities building is the Cardinal Mindszenty Plaza and statue, which is a vivid witness of Ohio’s support of Human Rights while Hungary was under Soviet Occupation. Hungarian Professional and Social leagues abound in the state and it is the home of the Hungarian World-Wide Congress.

There have been two sister-city relationships created between Ohio and Hungary. One is between Toledo and the city of Szeged and the other is between Cleveland and the second largest city in Hungary, Miskolc.

As early as 1992, Ohio was assisting Hungary with much needed aide due to the war in the Former Yugoslavia. Hungary was the first recipient of Ohio’s 1992’s Overseas Medical Supplies Mission with a total of 70 tons of supplies with a value of over \$10 million for refugees and people in need. A second mission took place in 1993.¹²⁷

With this strong environment of cooperation and bond between Ohio and Hungary, it was a natural choice for the Ohio National Guard to choose Hungary as their partner nation. On July 27, 1993, Lieutenant General John B. Conway sent a Memorandum to Major General Richard Alexander, the Adjutant General of Ohio’s National Guard. It confirmed Ohio’s selection to represent the United States and the National Guard

¹²⁶ Dr. August Pust, Notes for The Briefing to the Governor-Hungary-Ohio, dated March 23,1998.

¹²⁷ Interview with Dr. August Pust on November 3, 2001.

Bureau for the Ministry of Defence of Hungary. In 1993 this was considered a “substantial non-traditional responsibility...[when] Ohio stepped forward to volunteer for this important and historic challenge...”¹²⁸

NATO

Support for admission to NATO was provided by the former Governor, George Voinovich (who is now the state’s Senator), as he worked closely with the leadership of ethnic organizations of Hungarian, Polish and Czech communities.¹²⁹ In June of 1997, a special resolution supporting NATO membership for these countries was created and a special request letter was sent from Governor Voinovich to Secretary of State Madeline Albright. It emphasized that “NATO membership for these nations would further promote on-going and new business, as well as other relationships. There are essential components to creating long-lasting peace and stability needed in the region to re-integrate these nations with the rest of Europe and to set a precedent for other nations in the region in the future.”¹³⁰

It was during Governor’s Voinovich’s administration that the Ohio-Hungary Military-to-Military exchange program was created, and due to its success, expanded. It facilitated opportunities to link the Ohio National Guard as citizen soldiers of Ohio to Military organizations in Hungary. “Its objective was to exchange information, assistance and most importantly, long-term personal and professional relationships.”¹³¹

1.2 Ohio’s SPP, the First Years

Ohio “hit the ground running” as soon as the SPP was established. The first few years were a flurry of cooperative activity between both the

¹²⁸ Memorandum from Lt Gen John Conway dated 27 August 1993, Subject Ohio State Partnership with Hungary.

¹²⁹ Dr. August Pust, Ohio Hungarian Relationship: Support and Partnership for Admission to NATO. December 29, 1999

¹³⁰ George Voinovich, Letter to Secretary of State Madeline Albright. June 11, 1997.

¹³¹ Dr. August Pust, Ohio Hungarian Relationship: Support and Partnership for Admission to NATO. December 29, 1999.

nation of Hungary and the state of Ohio. This proactive initiative laid the groundwork for the future success of the program.

Ohio's SPP began with a mil-to- mil contact event in January 1995. Its purpose was to assist the Hungarian MOD overhaul their legal documentation that is required for regulating the specialized issues of military justice. Special items of attention were the punitive powers of the commanders and the judicial review process.¹³² It also examined the military court system, the civil and individual rights of soldiers and closely investigated the details of the military punishment system. It began a series of meetings that were continued in Hungary to ensure that the new Hungarian Legal System was compatible with Western systems, commensurate with the defence of human and individual rights was incorporated and attained.¹³³

In March of 1995 the first high-level visit to Hungary by the Ohio National Guard leadership was made under the Ohio-Hungary State Partnership Program. The Ohio delegation met with the US Embassy personnel, Hungarian Ministry of Defence, the Hungarian Home Defence Forces, and the Ministry of Civil Defence HQs. The first MLT Chief and his Travelling Contact Team (TCT) was established and a monthly/bimonthly contact arrangement was agreed upon. The benefits of a reserve force and a strong NCO corps were the major topics for discussion. The cost effectiveness of a reserve component compared to a regular unit was stressed.

To shore up the foundation of the Ohio-Hungary relationship, the following topics/goals were covered on future FAM visits by Hungarian delegations to Ohio:

- Mobilization: The basic principles, personnel and equipment, methods of mobilization and how to include the private sector.
- Recruitment: The organizational structure of the reserve forces, the legal statutes and the sustainment of training

¹³² After Action Report: Event No: HU396, Military Law Familiarization, 24 January- 4February 1995.

¹³³ Ibid.

- Personnel Management: Automated Management software, Career Management for NATO interoperability, the accreditation of military educational institutions.
- Formal/Informal NCO advisory groups and the idea of an Inspector General System for Oversight.
- Hungarian/English language school established under PFP, with the goal to send guest lecturers from the State of Ohio to assist in teaching Americanized English.
- Peacekeeping Capability Development: Ohio would provide curriculum materials, OPLANs format, and US/NATO maps.¹³⁴

These core concepts set the framework for a successful future relationship and partnership program. The next step was to inculcate the Hungarian defence leadership about the unique civil-military relationship the Guard has within their state. Four Senior Military leaders came Ohio to gain an appreciation of both civil control of the military and the military support to authorities. The leaders not only visited military installations but went to State and Federal Agencies, Ohio local governments and various community organizations to gather information on how the military interacts with, and provides support to the community and the state.

In many of the FAM events, the organizational structure and the relationship that the Ohio National Guard has with the Federal government was emphasized. This concept of answering to the President and the Governor is a complex issue that needed much clarification. The federal and state missions and how both are accomplished with the various roles and missions of the National Guard are crucial to understanding how this once local militia, expanded into a federal mission.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ SPP Summary 1995-1996, Compilation of all After Action Reports for 1995-1996.

¹³⁵ After Action Report H-HU432 13-20 January 1996.

Targeted Training Events

A year later, after the foundation had been laid, more timely and specialized topics were approached. Ohio hosted Mid-Senior level Budapest Military District officers to become familiar with the principles and practices in the prevention of terrorism and sabotage on US Army Installation and response to mass disasters in large cities. Briefings, demonstrations, and methods training was included as well as visits to the Ohio Emergency Management Agency to show how the military works in conjunction with state agencies.

1. *Hungarian Air Defence*

One of the most successful aspects of the Hungarian-Ohio mil-to-mil contacts is in the scope of air defence. The Hungarian Air Defence Command began its familiarization training in order to promote standardization and interoperability in 1996. The Hungarian Air Field of Taszar was used extensively as a forward operating base in Former Yugoslavian Conflict.

2. *Guard Exercises*

In 1996, Ohio and Hungary participated in two Guardex events that both gave pertinent real world training for the Ohio National Guard and gave education and training on the deployment of the Hungarian Air Forces for Peace Keeping Operations. When one looks at Annex D, the Hungary ODC 5-Year Plan, Goal 1.4, “Support to International Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)” has been achieved. Hungary now has the ability to prepare for PKO, draft lessons learned, enter into negotiations for an Acquisition and Cross-Service agreement and have developed units specifically trained for PKO according to Western standards.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Lt Col Thomas Brown, USAF Chief of Bilateral Affairs, Annex D, Bilateral Affairs Officer for FY# Hungary ODC 5-Year Plan.

3. *Reorganization of HDF*

As a nation in transition, Hungary was in the midst of not only overhauling its military doctrine, strategy and structure, it also had to reduce its force structure. The National Guard not only was able to help the HHDF make crucial decisions in reorganization, it is also a model of how a reserve component can supplement the large standing army which is obsolete for Hungarian national defence. In August of 1996 the Chief of the HHDF Mobilization Department, his colleagues and senior officers from the Operations Department of Budapest Central Command came to Ohio to learn about a standing reserve force. The planned topics were a review of the structure of the NGB MOB Division, planning and budgeting for large scale wartime operations, system call up and lessons learned from Desert Storm and Operation Joint Endeavour.¹³⁷ But the venue was changed due to large scale flooding of the Ohio River. What makes this so interesting is that the visiting Hungarian delegation got to witness firsthand the role that the National Guard plays in civilian disaster control and relief and it was a live example of National Guard Support to Civilian Authorities.

As Hungary was preparing for NATO integration, an apparent shortcoming was the interoperability of command post technology and operations. To address this, the Guard conducted several events covering the Planning and conduct of a U.S. Corps and Division level command post exercises using CPX (Computer Aided Exercise). These events included briefings, discussions and exchanges of manuals, hardware/software requirements and databases and other necessary data to assist the HHDF Operations Directorate and the Operations and Training Directorate of the Aviation Central Directorate to establish a command post that will be interoperable with NATO standards.¹³⁸ Since it was a former member of the Warsaw Pact, the HDF did not have much experience with information sharing to the media and general public. Shortcomings in information dissemination, especially during a crisis were identified. In April of 1997 a Hungarian delegation came to Ohio to get briefings about, and training on the incorporation of public

¹³⁷ After Action Report, HU581, 8-14 September, 1996.

¹³⁸ After Action Report, HU657(TCT), 22 January, 1997.

relation assets when dealing with the civilian population during natural or industrial disasters. Topics included the establishment of an independent information system during and emergency; mobilization of volunteers for disaster relief and the methods of interagency procedure and actions during disasters.

Goals and Objectives: Achieved

The Joint Contact Team Program has changed its mission in Hungary as the military and governmental organizations have successfully established systems in almost all functional areas addressed in the JCTP/ODC/Hungarian Government goals.

These systems are not necessarily the U.S. way of doing business, but modern and efficient methods of performing those functions and tasks determined to be mission essential.¹³⁹

The goal was the successful implementation made evident when the Hungarian government and military have institutionalized and adopted as Hungarian doctrine the basic principles of a modern, well trained and equipped NATO style military, properly configured to support Hungary's national defence and security objectives.

Though Hungary has achieved its goal of NATO membership the process continues for the restructuring of forces and meeting NATO requirements. After reviewing After Action Reports and Feedback from Host Nation members, the HDF has determined that they are sufficiently familiar with the U.S. logistic procedures and interoperability with NATO members during deployments. As part of the ongoing training, the familiarization of the HDF Air Forces with U.S. Combat fighter operations continues as well as training in combat fighter doctrine and mission operations which takes place in Canada. Simultaneously, the familiarization of the HDF IRF/RRF with U.S. Brigade/regimental, battalion and company leadership and command tasks, focusing the functions of key leadership positions, including the senior staff NCO

¹³⁹ LTC Brown, Annex D, Paragraph 3.

positions persists. Command and Control requirements have not reached a satisfactory level of interoperability and training continues with the HDF familiarization with unit exercise and simulation processes intended to assist key HDF/ IRF/RRF units with demonstrating common U.S./HDF staff and decision-making processes through integration with the U.S. exercise simulation.¹⁴⁰

The effects of September 11th have highlighted the need to increase the defensive capabilities of units against the risks of the spread of weapons of mass destruction, to include individual and collective NBC defence tasks. But it seems that there has not been much consideration for the Air Force or the Border Guards in current planning.¹⁴¹ Part of this training was to familiarize the HDF 25th Mechanized Brigade with the U.S. Army mechanized unit NBC doctrine and procedures.

Where the goal of “stability” is concerned, Hungary has been able to reduce the number of border disagreements, and develop a plan for border security. As various pronouncements and actual steps by the Hungarian government testify, “Hungary’s primary role has always been understood to be in projecting stability in its region.”¹⁴² They have developed and coordinated an international and regional disaster relief plan/system. A regional environmental protection plan has also been implemented to further security initiatives. Regarding the establishment of a force structure that is adequate for the defensive needs of the host nation and adjustment to the existing forces to Objective force structure, the JCTP contribution is assessed as complete, yet Hungary is still working with other U.S. programs. A significant accomplishment of the JCTP/SPP is its input to Hungary’s ongoing development of a National Defence Concept (strategy). Lastly, Hungary has proven its commitment to Western standards by successfully achieving compliance with regional arms control agreements and treaties.

¹⁴⁰ After Action Report HU657, 8-12 December.

¹⁴¹ LTC Brown, Annex D, Appendix 1, Goal 5.5.

¹⁴² Csaba, Gabor, Hungary in NATO: A Solid Bond of Common Values and Shared Interests, www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/ECE/vol5no1_2/csaba.pdf

Pertaining to Democratization, all the goals set forth by the JCTP and SPP have been achieved. A non-political military, subordinated to a democratically elected civilian political leadership has been established. Compliance with the National and International Rules of Law have been firmly incorporated while improvements have been made with civil-military cooperation.

A major strength of the SPP is its focus on human relations, and military professionalism. Though hard to measure, the goal for increase respect for human dignity and individual rights of service members has been met.¹⁴³ To measure this progress, the Guard had several key objectives to be accessed. The HDF implemented ethical and moral leadership standards and developed a plan to ensure the tolerance for ethnic, generational and religious diversity among its service members. To help monitor this progress, the HDF created an inspector general system to help revolve service members' complaints and conduct routine inspections. Another achievement in which the Guard was instrumental was the beginning of a vigorous Professional NCO Corps. The recruitment of quality individuals who are educated and trained in leadership and decision making skills as NCO is a ground breaking accomplishment for the HDF.

Assessment of the Ohio SPP

The program is winding down and major events are dropping off. In part this is the life cycle of a successful SPP program. Overall the Ohio Hungarian Partnership is a success and many newly formed partnerships can look to the Ohio-Hungarian relationship as a model for developing their own programs. But not only can one learn from the success of others, there are lessons to be learned from failures or shortcomings.

When reviewing several years of after-action reports it becomes clear that there is too much emphasis on "familiarization training" that does not provides any concrete or quantifiable results. While one can argue that just developing trust and understanding between two cultures is a

¹⁴³ After Action Report, Military Law Familiarization, HU396, Dated 30 Jan- 04 February 1995.

major component of this program and can't be measured, one can seek out other sorts of events that involve specific training or more quantifiable objectives.

A very basic and fundamental obstacle to growth and integration of the Hungarian Defence Forces is Hungary's Strategic Plan, or lack thereof. Add to this shortcoming is that fact that there is no NATO plan for Hungary. Could the Ohio Guard have been more proactive in helping Hungary develop its Strategic Plan? Hungary, now a NATO member is being criticized for lagging behind in its growth toward full integration and Ohio could be instrumental in helping Hungary regain the momentum that it had while trying to achieve membership into the organization.

Along with the fact that too many events were centred on familiarization, from another trend that should be addressed is the personnel that attend these events. It is apparent that many of the same personnel of the same rank or even the same people themselves attended multiple events. There is a lack in diversity of ranks and people that took advantage of the program, especially in its early years.

The area that the Guard can make a significant impact is in aiding the HDF to develop its NCO Corps. There have been several events concerning this, but as Hungary prepares to end conscription, it needs to continue to grow its NCO development program and follow the Guard's lead in utilizing this valuable human resource.

As the military-to-military events drop off in numbers, the civilian to-civilian events are picking up numbers and in diverse areas. Various civilian exchanges have taken place in 2002 and more are planned for 2003. The areas of exchange are at the State Governmental level with the Minister of Interior, the Ministry of Education with the Ohio State University and events planned for fire and police forces."¹⁴⁴

The SPP has continued to be a particularly effective advocate for

¹⁴⁴ Telephone interview with LTC Brown, Bi-lateral Affairs Officer, Budapest Hungary, January 16, 2003.

democratic ideals and the civilian control of the military. The Ohio Guard has provided Hungary with a concrete concept of the citizen-soldier and has fostered a lasting relationship with between the two states. It remains to be seen in what direction this innovative bilateral relation will go.

Future Prospects

Partner nations pursue very different objectives within the Partnership. Some seek to improve their capabilities, with a view to eventual membership of the Alliance. For others, the Partnership is an institutional door to the Euro-Atlantic community. (...) But, irrespective of these different aspirations, there is still considerable unused potential in the Partnership, particularly in the area of crisis management, the better use of the EAPC, and practical cooperation under PfP.¹⁴⁵

Outlook

The threat of large-scale confrontation has dropped considerably since the end of the Cold War, but the Global War on Terror, regional conflicts and the Iraqi War all challenge the Euro-Atlantic region and relationship. All of the actors of the region stand at the crossroads and must choose the right path to meet challenges and secure a peaceful future. Concerning ways to achieve peace, partnership and cooperation, the PfP and SPP have to face new realities.

The enhanced and more operational Partnership will continue to address the full range of objectives laid out in the 1994 PfP Framework Document. It will also introduce new quality and character to Partnership, in part to reflect the increased scope and more operational nature of PfP resulting from the enhanced process.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Dahinden Martin, Swiss Security Policy and Partnership with NATO, NATO Review, Web Edition, Vol. 47 – No. 4, Winter, 1999, pp. 24-28, <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/1999/9904-06.htm> (19 January 2003)

¹⁴⁶ Report by the Political Military Steering Committee on PfP, Towards a Partnership for the 21st Century, The Enhanced and More Operational Partnership, June 15 1999, § 8., <http://www.southeasteurope.org/documents/d990615a.htm> (22 April 2003)

There is no doubt that the achievements of PfP and SPP, involving both the Allies and Partners of Central and Eastern Europe, has become one of the main pillars of the politico-military cooperation in the Trans-Atlantic region. The programs have been recognized as the most useful tool and forum in enhancing security, stability and most importantly democracy in the former communist countries. In retrospect the progress made and the overall vitality of the East-West cooperation and partnership in political, military, economic, societal and other sectors has gone far beyond any optimistic expectations of the early 1990s.

As one of the main pillars of the NATO strategy, PfP is not just a forum of the East-West cooperation but also one of the most powerful generators of the bilateral, multilateral and regional cooperation of the involved members, from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Furthermore, for those Partners, who intend to join the Alliance, PfP serves as a practical institution for exercising practical capabilities, and offers country specific and tailored direction for developing and reviewing integration plans and determining objectives.

The momentum produced by PfP and SPP therefore should not be diminished. The development should be consolidated in the European security architecture. The enlargement of NATO is essential for carrying on that process and benefits that have already been gained. Also the enlargement should be ongoing and the Prague commitment to that effect should be developed further. But at the next wave of integration, a simple statement that the “door should remain open” might not be enough for those aspirants, who were invited in Prague. All of the aspirants should seek a guaranteed support from the Alliance for continued openness. To that end, the idea of continuing the intensified dialogue between NATO and candidates is definitely the only way to be able to handle the dilemma of enlargement.

Regarding the issue of NATO integration, the focus shifted from PfP to the MAP initiative. With this in mind, NATO’s PfP and the MAP initiative gives a framework, forum, structure and is a guide for nations to remain transparent and objective. Maintenance of the credibility of the Alliance and the thus of the enlargement process requires a review the

lessons learned from the first four years of the MAP process so that there is the ability to design for the future, as well as to communicate these conclusions and conceptual ideas both to the Allies and Aspirants. Due to the dynamic political imperative to bring about a qualitative progression in the current NATO integration process, and in order to help improve capabilities of the candidates to gradually comply with the requirements of the membership, there is a need for a more effective and operational procedure to avoid any redundant technical and procedural debate.

Experiences gathered in the recent accession process so far has already proved the value of designing the MAP structure and outlining how NATO aspirants can help themselves. There is an obvious and justified expectation towards the three Central European NATO members to take a prominent, active and leading role in the current integration process of carrying the MAP initiative forward and make it stronger.

Croatia's joining the MAP process in March 2002 highlights the need to lay out the modalities of and procedures for accession to the MAP. There must be a balance between the declared openness for any country in the EAPC/PfP framework that is joining the process to ensure its smooth integration as well as preventing the MAP from losing its pragmatic nature or allowing for any degradation of the process.

The PfP, SPP and MAP engagement programs have proven to be fruitful for Hungary. But this is just the foundation for Hungary to take on new roles and meet the new challenges of the Euro-Atlantic and even global security environment.

Hungary: Cooperation, Commitment and Security

Hungarian society has, in general, grasped the benefits that security has brought, the way it contributed to its economic development, increased international standing and proved conducive to creating conditions that can accelerate the country's social and economic development. The fruits of a stable security environment can be seen with Hungary's admission to the European Union. Simultaneously, its participation in

Allied decision-making increased its foreign policy's international and national responsibilities. With this in mind, Hungary has been an active participant in international PKO's and Coalition forces and training for NATO interoperability.

1) Hungary has participated in NATO's SFOR and KFOR. In fact, the Hungarian Engineering contingent of over 400 troops began its operations in Bosnia well before its NATO membership materialized. The HDF has also participated in Task Force Harvest in Macedonia. Hungary has been a faithful supplier of troops to the UN mission in Cyprus and the Multinational Force Observers on the Sinai Peninsula as well. Today, more than one thousand persons from the HDF take part in peace operations at fifteen locations, upon the request of eight organizations.¹⁴⁷

2) Fighter Pilot training continues. The latest meeting of the high-level control directorate of the NATO Flying Training in Canada (NFTC), the alliance's aircraft pilot training program was held in Hungary between 22-24 September 2004. According to Brig. Gen. Paul McCabe, the military leader of the training, they are training thinking pilots during the program, who are able to perform their tasks even when flying under circumstances not experienced earlier. The pilots learn the tactical methods in line with NATO standards, which can equally be applied to older and newer aircraft types. The program is being continuously adapted to the requirements of the participating nations.¹⁴⁸

3) The Hungarian Defence Forces serve in Afghanistan in the ISAF. They train at the Peace Support Training Centre in Szolnok. The 35-strong contingent, includes doctors, specialised medical personnel, soldiers assigned to the provincial reconstruction group and to the airport, are to serve in Kabul and Kunduz . A total of 177 Hungarian soldiers are serving within the NATO-led peace support operations in Afghanistan.

¹⁴⁷ Lt Col Tamas Barnoczky, Hungarian NATO Memberhsip After 11 September 2001. US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

¹⁴⁸ Training Thinking Pilots, <http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=17714&next=>

4) Hungary is also a member of the Coalition Forces in Iraq. The Hungarian Transport Battalion is at Al Hillah. Their mandate given by the National Assembly expires on 31st December 2004. The allies requested that Hungary remains in the region at least until the end of February, the date of the Iraqi elections, however, this requires a two-third parliamentary decision.

Conclusion

Hungary's membership in NATO has promoted the country's political and military cooperation with other Central European nations that also aspire to join the Alliance. Hungary has shared its experience, which has empowered its neighbours to make more efficient use of the MAP program, which enabled the latest admission of 7 aspirant nations into NATO.¹⁴⁹

Hungary also strongly supported to invoke Article 5 provisions for the United States after the horrendous terrorist attacks of 9/11. Viktor Orban was the first allied leader to call for NATO's collective defence response on September 11th.¹⁵⁰ This call was quickly followed up by a contribution of humanitarian assistance in Afghanistan. This is just one of the evidences of Hungary's maturation as a NATO member.

Yet, Hungary needs to modernize some of its military technical equipment to achieve a higher level of interoperability with the Defence Forces of the Alliance. Several significant development programs have been launched to create the capabilities. However, up-to-date and regularly improved knowledge is also needed to operate the modern equipment.¹⁵¹

There was a motion for the development of the Defence Forces put forward to the Hungarian Parliament, which contains a program for a ten-year period. Through the consistent and predictable execution of the

¹⁴⁹ Csaba, Gabor, Hungary in NATO: A Solid Bond of Common Values and Shared Interests, www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/ECE/vol5no1_2/csaba.pdf

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Lt Col Tamas Barnoczky, Hungarian NATO Memberhsip After 11 September 2001. US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania

tasks formulated by the motion, a voluntary-based defence forces complying with the altered security policy circumstances will be created.¹⁵² The fact that the defence budget increased more than the NATO average is greatly appreciated within the alliance. But reform is not only about money. Ultimately, it's about political leadership. “It takes political will, devotion, and clarity of leadership from the government to achieve successful military reform. Hungary can put huge sums of money into military reform, but in the absence of a good concept, political will and political leadership, the process is always going to fail.”¹⁵³

The transformation of the Hungarian Defence Forces continues toward a smaller, more stream-lined contingent. It will be more mobile and interoperable. It aims to be designed to meet the security challenges of the present and future, not of the past. With the ongoing reform of the Hungarian Defence Forces, Hungary will be better equipped to contribute to the renewal of the Alliance and prove her value to world security.

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¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

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