



**International Relations  
Ph.D. School**

## **THESES**

**Kőváriné Ignáth Éva**

To the Ph.D. essay titled

**Hungary's security portrait in the light of the documents**

*From the period of the Warsaw Pact to the NATO membership*

**Supervisor:**

**Dr. Rostoványi Zsolt, DSc**

professor

Budapest, 2008

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## **1. Research background and the justification of the topic**

After 1989 it was written in a lot of places that a period of more than forty years is over and that the cold war confrontation will be taken over by a new international order. The states of the Eastern block processed towards democratization, and in the nineties joining the Euro-Atlantic organizations played an important role in their foreign policies. These countries had to look for and find their places on the continent, since the ties created by the Soviet Union got broken, the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) ceased to function and the Warsaw Pact also disintegrated. In this situation the Eastern-Central European countries had to redefine themselves, had to formulate their new, post-cold war identities both on the level of nation states and – regarding another level – in terms of security policy.

The question may arise: what kind of new values had to and will have to be taken into consideration in the future and what kind of norms have to be adapted to by the countries trying to find their place after the cold war and wishing to join the Western European and Euro-Atlantic economic and security organizations (and the majority of the countries can be said to be successful as for accession)? What new identities did they manage to formulate following the cold war? How far can they represent their own national values and interests in the given international organization? How can the various value- and norm system of the new members can influence the already evolved values and norms of the international organization? These questions may arise in connection with the already completed NATO and EU membership of Hungary.

The essay is examining Hungary's NATO accession from the area of problems mentioned above, namely from a unique, constructivist viewpoint, merging it with the methodology of discourse analysis. The dissertation reviews the period from the Warsaw Pact (WP) membership through the system change and the NATO accession to the security guidelines of 2004 (1989-2004), within this period it touches upon the set-up of the WP, its disintegration, the Hungarian self-concept within the organization, the NATO adapting to the changed circumstances, and upon the organization seeking ways after the disintegration of the WP and of the Soviet Union. Seeking ways out in the nineties and seeking identity will be reviewed as well as the analysis of the security guidelines approved so far and the debate preceding that. The Hungarian security identity being formed after the NATO membership and security-analysis will be presented as those embedded in the security strategies published in 2004. In the course of the review one train of thought follows the evolved identity of NATO, the identity which was reflected by the organization, on the one hand, towards the

world; on the other hand, towards the Eastern-Central-European countries. Besides this, it also concentrates on the values and norms represented by the organization. The other train of thought of the essay reviews the Hungarian events, however, it focuses only at the turning points which reflect the Hungarian security identity evolving. All these are to try to prove: *the promise of NATO accession and then the NATO membership itself influenced the Hungarian concept of security and it also had an effect on the evolution of the Hungarian security identity (portrait) and on its present-day form.*

At the beginning of the nineties, at the dawn of the system change problems in connection with the security of the country already arose. Various conceptions came to light, from the concurrent disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and of the NATO to neutrality. Hungary realized that the previously existing concept of security cannot be defined any more, however, the Euro-Atlantic organization were not ready to receive the new members yet. In the debate about security guidelines it is also well reflected that the cold-war reflexes were strongly present, making the full acceptance of the Western type definition of security more difficult. Based on documents the author would like to prove that *at the beginning of the nineties the self-concept of security existing at the time of the Warsaw Pact got into a crisis, seeking a way out is reflected on the security guidelines. (1993).* At the same time *the difficulties of seeking a way out may partly be explained by the past spent in the Warsaw Pact and by the identity secured at that time, this is reflected in various views of the period between 1989 and 1993.* The NATO – after its existence seemed to become legitimate again – tried to show the various interpretations of concepts, of processes, of planning and of cooperational norms (that is, tries to socialize the states of the Soviet block) to the former socialist countries, helping them with their democratic transformation. An example for that is the announcement of the *Partnership for Peace* program. The dissertation will also touch upon the *values and norms* suggested by the document and upon *the socialization process offered to the Eastern-Central European states.* Later, the perspective of the NATO membership as well as the Yugoslav crisis alongside the Southern borders of Hungary contributed to the change of the Hungarian concept of security and its interpretation and to the fact that the country integrated norms not represented before into the security guidelines. In connection with the events of 11 September 2001 the NATO changed again, the war against terrorism became a significant priority. We try to show how its settlement is present in the Hungarian national security strategy of 2002 and of 2004. The author would like to examine all these purposes in the light of documents.

## 2. The methods used

As for the time limitation of the research the review is longitudinal, the observations are for a definite time interval. This period starts with the WP membership of Hungary and the year of 2004 can be regarded as the final point, even if the subtitle of the essay rather refers to the final point of 1999. In the period between 1999 and 2004, however, only two documents form the subject of review from a Hungarian viewpoint, that is, the two national security strategies.

At the same time, regarding the cross-sectional dimension of the research, on the one hand the self-concept standing out as a WP member, on the other hand, the NATO as a political organization are put under the microscope (values, norms within the organization, culture represented by the organization, etc.). The self-concept formulated and going through changes while a member of the WP helps to understand the difficulties the country had to face after the system change and the legacies it had to cope with. The period outside the security organizations is also essential regarding how Hungary tried to place itself and made itself seen on the international stage, how it interpreted its own and international security. While reviewing these periods the turning points are basically the changes of the concept about security, which can mainly be recognized based on the birth of security policy guidelines.

The transformation of the NATO is also an important aspect. The change of the international security environment – that is, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact – had an effect, among others, on the fact that the political organizational being of the NATO came to the front<sup>1</sup>. The organization responded to the new environment with the transformation of its own structure, which made a dialogue with the newborn democracies possible. Besides this of course the target system of the organization also had to be transformed and the concept and content of security had to be redefined.

The research itself is primarily based on secondary analysis. Its basis is partly formed by studies already written and surveys incidentally carried out and partly by parliamentary and committee debate materials from the period of the WP in connection with the birth of security guidelines, party materials, materials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs available online or in the National Archives of Hungary, as well as national security strategies. In point of the NATO and the Warsaw Pact again the analysis of official documents formed the basis of the research.

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<sup>1</sup> The emphasis on the political features of the NATO is not recent, the Harmel Report also took the stand for it

As for *methodology*, the dissertation basically relied upon a relatively new international political theory, and that is constructivism. The explanatory power of discourse analysis - known in the field of sociology- examining the international relations, the phenomena and actors of world politics was described in details by several authors, such as Nicholas Onuf, Vendulka Kubálková and Jeffrey Checkel.

Constructivism regards language important which plays a decisive role in the evolution of values. Language is crucially important to analyze political discourses since negotiations, official or non-official meetings all give way to dialogues, in the course of which notions, values and the rules of the games may be formulated (Wilga [2001] p. 78.). During researches rules and norms have to be found and then they have to be put into one of the three given categories<sup>2</sup>. Following this the identification of the actors, institutions and structures has to be completed. Finally comes the contextual explanation. The identification of norms, rules and actors as well as their sources always depend on the topic. In the field of international relations the rules and norms may appear in the speeches of diplomats and statesmen, in the official statements of international organizations, however, the press may serve as a source. The interests and intents of the actors appear in their statements, the same way they also refer to how the given actor sees himself and sees others in the international system. Thus it also refers to the identity of the actor. Identity itself is the agent, writes Kubálková, through which the state leaders and the citizens translates equation and diversity into the statements formed about international relations. (Kubálková [2001]).

Jeffrey Checkel applies another set of approach, which, from the viewpoint of the present essay, has one part which may be of interest<sup>3</sup>. As a first step in his research Checkel made in-depth interviews, focusing on the fact that he would talk to the one interviewed twice if possible. As a second step he recommends the analysis of important publications and reliable media sources which helps to check the motivations of those taking part in the public debates or interviews. As a third stage he mentions the official documents and records, for instance the minutes recorded in various – relevant from the viewpoint of the topic – meetings. Finally he has a look at the formation of the inner norms in the political area examined. Here he can observe the norms formed within the various – relevant – organizations as well as the legal line (laws, constitution).

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<sup>2</sup> Rules may be assertive, directive and commissive. Vendulka Kubálková: A constructivist primer. IN: Foreign policy in a constructed world. M. E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York, London, England, 2001., p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> About the approach see more details in the following piece of work: Jeffrey T. Checkel: Why comply? Constructivism, social norms and the study of international institutions. Arena working papers, WP 99/24. [http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/wp99\\_24.htm](http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/wp99_24.htm)

These authors primarily approach the methodology on a general level. Regarding the more specific case studies the author of these lines was given a great help by the writing of Ted Hopf about the analysis of the Chinese-Soviet connections, the piece of writing by Lisbeth Aggestam about the role of identity in foreign policy, the writing of Fierke and Wiener about the enlargement of the NATO and the EU, the writing of Krotz about the French and German foreign policy<sup>4</sup>. In the writings mentioned above the reader may not only find methodological description but it is also visible, through practical examples, how discourse<sup>5</sup> analysis may be used within the frameworks of constructivist theory in the foreign policy analyses.

Regarding methodology discourse analysis deserves a shorter demonstration by all means, considering, on the one hand, that it has several sections, on the other hand, that this analytical method is relatively novel in the field of examining the processes of world politics and international relations<sup>6</sup>. How is discourse analysis interpreted by various thinkers? According to Wood and Kroger, discourse analysis is an approach of the social life which may possess both methodological and conceptual elements as well. It contains ways of thinking about discourse (theoretical and metatheoretical elements) and discourse as methods dealing with data (methodological elements). Thus discourse analysis is not only the alternative of recognized methods but also the alternative of various ways of seeing, which the elements mentioned above were embedded into. (Wood, Kroger [2000] p. 3.)

Regarding methodology, two basic kinds can be differentiated, the qualitative and the quantitative examinations. In the present dissertation the author applies the qualitative kind.

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<sup>4</sup> The exact title and accessibility of the pieces of writing mentioned: Ted Hopf (2005): Identity Relations and the Sino-Soviet Split. <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~johnston/hopf.pdf>. ; Lisbeth Aggestam (1999): Role Conceptions and the Politics of Identity in Foreign Policy. [http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/working-papers1999/papers/wp99\\_8.htm](http://www.arena.uio.no/publications/working-papers1999/papers/wp99_8.htm).; K. M. Fierke, Antje Wiener (1999): Constructing institutional interests: EU and NATO enlargement. <http://econ.tu.ac.th/class/archan/somboon/on%20eu%20enlargement/fierke.pdf>.; Ulrich Krotz (2002): National role conceptions and foreign policies: France and Germany compared. <http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/publications/Krotz.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> Potter's (1997) definition: discourse analysis studies discourse as texts and talk in social practices. That is, the focus is not on language as an abstract entity such as a lexicon and set of grammatical rules, a system of differences, or a set of rules for transforming statements. Instead, it is the medium for interaction: analysis of discourse becomes, then, analysis of what people do. In other words, language is taken to be not simply a tool for description and a medium for communication but as social practice, as a way of doing things. It is the central and constitutive feature of social life. (Wood, Kroger [2000] p. 4.)

<sup>6</sup> At the same time it is worth mentioning that the roots of content- or discourse analysis go back very far in history. An example for that: around 1640 a religious sect published a hymnbook in Sweden titled The Psalms of Sion and it incurred the anger of the official Lutheran established church. In the course of the debate they started to examine the style of the texts under attack and they were compared with the styles and symbols of the publications of the official church. It turned out that the 'heretic' psalms differ from the psalms of the official church since the expressions 'bleeding Christ', 'suffering Christ', 'crucified Christ' etc. in them are much more frequent than in the church publications. (Antal [1976] p. 23-24.)

Taking the writings mentioned beforehand as a basis, in the course of the qualitative analysis the author tries to outline so-called NRCs (*national role conceptions*). The conceptions of national roles are the common views and agreements about the appropriate role and purpose of its own state as a social complex represented on the international stage. The NRCs are the results of socialization, recollection and history (Katzenstein also refers to identity this way in his writings), which can be contested but which maintain their existence for long in many cases.<sup>7</sup> The NRC is a general picture about the given country which has elements: the author of these lines examines these elements in connection with the documents listed. At the same time new categories have to be defined from the viewpoint of the examination and based on these in the course of analysis the references appearing in the text may be categorized:

- *in case of examining the WP: democracy* (according to the approach of the socialist, communist block, what democracy is and what the democratic values represented by them are, what words and expressions were used to replace them and what adjectives were associated with it); *the other side / them* (how they saw the hostile camp, what values and adjectives were connected to them, what words and expressions were used to replace their denominations, how they see the NATO, what notions and adjectives were attached to them); *the allied countries / us* (what values were tied to these countries, what words and expressions were used to replace them, however, here the tasks that have to be performed by them also have to be set against, what the relevant documents say about the organization itself, what adjectives were used to describe the organization); security (what adjectives were attached to this concept);

- *in case of the NATO: democracy* (according to the approach of the socialist, communist block what the democracy represented by them is like, democratic values, what words and expressions were used to replace them and what adjectives were associated with it); *the other team / them* (how they saw the countries outside the organization, what values and adjectives were connected to them, what words and expressions were used to replace their denominations); *the allied countries / us* (what values were tied to these countries, what words and expressions were used to replace them, however, here the tasks that have to be performed by them also have to be set against); security (what adjectives were attached to this concept);

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<sup>7</sup> See more about the role and interpretation of the NRCs: Ulrich Krotz (2002): National role conceptions and foreign policies: France and Germany compared. <http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/publications/Krotz.pdf>.

- In case of *Hungary*, depending on which period to discuss: *Hungary* (which words and expressions are used to replace the denomination of the country, how its place is defined in the whole world, what adjectives are attached to it, that is, who are the 'we'); *security* (what adjectives are attached to it, in what context are they used); *WP* (what words are used to replace it, what adjectives are attached to it, in what context are they used); *NATO* (what words are used to replace it, what adjectives are attached to it, in what context are they used); and what is the place of the camp of us and them.

One big difficulty of discourse analysis is the choice and selection of the text. In the dissertation among the materials examined were: official speeches, speeches performed within parties, parliamentary committee speeches (foreign affairs and defence committees), parliamentary debates, the texts of bills and laws. In case of the NATO the following will be of crucial importance: the strategic conceptions born after 1989, the London Declaration, the PfP document, the invitation announced in the Madrid Summit Meeting, the membership requirements as well as the declarations and speeches of the Secretary General of the NATO.

Taking all these into consideration the theoretical framework of the research is given by the constructivist school (the author of the present lines has a look at the state, the international organization, identity, norms and security community etc. in the way of seeing and use applied by him,) and its methodological basis is given by discourse analysis.<sup>8</sup> Based on these sources – and in accordance with the definition of constructivist theory – I will try to identify the norms that are the building blocks of the identity of the organization as well as what the organization means by certain concepts.

### *2.1. The operationalization of the central concepts*

In the course of writing the dissertation some concepts had to be clarified since the various political theory schools define them in different ways. Among these concepts are:

**State:** when defining the concept of the state I use the concept of the classical international law notion. According to this, in international relations the state is a unit which includes the group of people living under the rule of a government exercising effective power within a given territory. According to the constructivist approach, which regards the state as an

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<sup>8</sup> In the theoretical chapter it is shown that certain schools of constructivism find language very important and of explanatory strength. The authors mentioned also base on that in their writings in which they basically use discourse analysis as a methodology in certain forms.

important actor of the international system, the identity of states is not permanent and not constant as time goes by, and not one identity lives in the states. The identity of the states changes together with the change of the international system and depends on historical, cultural, political and social contexts. Meanwhile, the states may carry several identities in the international system.

**Anarchy:** in the theory of international relations it expresses the lack of common government in general in world politics. There is no power to enforce the rules or prevent abuse. The standpoint of the constructivist theory partly agrees with this. According to the theory, anarchy is a situation when the rule is that no state or groups of state prevails over the others. It also refers to the situation that there is no institution that could prevail over the states.

**Security:** a concept of security formed after the cold war in which, besides territorial security, humanitarian security, environment protection security, economic security etc. are also included.

**Security dilemma:** in the international system characterized by anarchy the states, by increasing their own security, force the other states to take steps towards increasing their own security since these states feel that their security decreased.

**Security community:** based on the constructivist theory, a security community exists among states if (1) they can claim a common identity and there exists an 'us'-consciousness (together with this in case of those outside the community there is a 'them'-image); (2) and that is why there is a certain kind of trust that the debates and disagreements within the community will be solved in a peaceful way.

**Democracy and democratic values:** in countries with a democratic government the right to private property, equality before the law, freedom of speech as well as the right to vote and the right to be elected predominate. Besides this the separation of the legislative and executive power is also realized. Among the democratic values the respect for human rights and the efforts to settle conflicts in a peaceful way, etc. also have to be mentioned.

**Democratic peace:** According to Michael M. Doyle it means peace among democracies which does not exclude the possibility that democracies and countries with no democratic governments may enter war with each other. It has to be added here that in the nineties two main lines of the democratic peace theory evolved, placing the theory to the wider field of international conflicts. According to one line of the theory democracies in general behave in a more peaceful way in connection with every state on the international stage (*monadic DPT*);

according to the other line countries with a democratic government build peaceful relations with each other, they do not make war with each other (*dyadic DPT*). In connection with the second model it was detected that the alliances among democracies are strong, the economic relations are widespread and conflicts arising with each other are more likely to be solved in a way of negotiations and by using compromises than other states.<sup>9</sup> The author tends to go towards the concept of the latter line.

**Identity:** In the study „Anarchy is what states make of it...” written by Wendt the concept of identity is defined in a way that it is the collection of the expectations and role-specific concepts of the actors about themselves, being relatively stable (Wendt [1992] p.397.). The actors of the international system get their identities by taking part in the collective meanings (in the 'international society'). According to the wording of Wendt the states, just like individuals, may have plural identities (Wendt [1992] p. 397.) norms and customs play an important role in the evolution of the identities, which work in the international system. These norms specify the actions and customs through which Others recognize the given identity and they react on that in a proper way. (Hopf [1998] p. 173.).

**Culture:** when interpreting this concept it would be lucky to take the German use of concept into consideration; according to this culture is the collection of the mental, intellectual and normative achievement of humanity.

**International organization:** international organizations are organizations possessing a charter which has various establishments. The organization itself may be global, regional and partial.

**International regime:** regime may be defined as the collection of implicit or explicit principles, norms and rules of a given area of international relations and as a decision making mechanism to which the expectations of the actors are approaching.

**Norm:** it is a collective expectation formulated about the appropriate behavior of the actors having a given identity.

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<sup>9</sup> Hasenclever, Andreas & Wagner, Wolfgang (2004): From the Analysis of a Separate Democratic Peace to the Liberal Study of International Conflict. IN: International Politics, volume 41, issue 4.

### **3. The results of the dissertation**

Hungary came a long way from the WP membership to become a member state of the NATO. In the period from the WP membership through the system change to 2004 the Hungarian self-concept of security and portrait evolved and was formed, partly alongside the international relations and partly alongside the signs sent by the Euro-Atlantic integration organizations. The dissertation found the following supports for the initial wording of problems:

#### *3.1. The self-concept formulated as a Warsaw Pact member and the legacy of membership*

Regarding the period of the existence of the WP three identity-periods may be differentiated from the viewpoint of the country based on the materials examined. The first one, up to the sixties, could simply be characterized by the expression loyal follower. What can support this? The fact that the country<sup>10</sup> accepted the makings offered by the WP, it did not question sovereignty, it went on the way dictated by Moscow. The identification with the organization was complete: loyalty, willingness for cooperation and the flexible conformation to the needs of the big brother can be emphasized here. From the contemporary documents it is visible that using the first person plural refers to the unity within the WP, what is more, those not complying, going on a different way (Romania) were condemned the same way as Moscow did. The country also accepted that the common interest was represented by the Soviet Union and that there actually exists a common interest. In the group of 'them' the NATO and the USA were unambiguously listed emphasizing that the Western organization is not uniform and has all the negative characteristics as Moscow had. From the end of the sixties to the end of the seventies the country played a mediator role between the West and Moscow and also performed active international activities. The role of convening the Conference on European Security and Cooperation was regarded as a serious foreign policy success, this is strengthened by the fact that the so-called Budapest Declaration is regarded as one root of the CESC process. In the eighties loyalty came to the front again, at the same time, the representation of the specific national interest also appeared, for instance in connection with the country's membership in the IMF, which was not really appreciated by Moscow. In 1985, in the extension period of the WP loyalty was also characteristic, as well as keeping up the facade of unity and the identification with the alliance. In 1988-89 the leading characteristic arose as an

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<sup>10</sup> By this we essentially mean the political elite.

important element of identity later on as well. At that time Hungarian politics was also characterized by the initiation of changes (which was outlined from 1986-87), since the Hungarian leadership brought on the thought of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. In 1990-1991, at the time of the system change the signature of the agreement about the withdrawal of the Soviet troops was realized, also, the accession of the Antall-government to office after the system change initiated the disintegration of the WP. Following this the Hungarian leadership emphasized that the country belong to the West as well as that it returns to Europe. At that time the country being a small state was also emphasized, parallel to which it was raised that it may have a bigger effect on the European changes than its size is – which does not necessarily mean a realistic realization of the situation. As for its geopolitical location, the country is mentioned as part of Central-Eastern Europe – this group is the ‘us’, the group of states which possess ‘unique historical experience and knowledge’. They are connected to the Western part of Europe, regarding that the Soviet influence burdened ‘our Western civilization and cultural traditions’.

### *3.2. The crisis and change of the security self-concept until the promise of the NATO membership*

Following the disintegration of the WP the security concept and identity of the country was *ambivalent, it tried to locate itself on the altered map of Europe*. Based on the documents examined *the Hungarian concept of security, which was prevalent when the WP existed, was considered to be totally shut off, the documents examined judged the area in a negative way* (characteristically the artificial detachment from the Western part of Europe appeared). At the same time, seeing that the Euro-Atlantic integrational organizations are not ready for expansion, *the country got into a liminality where it first had to define itself individually – and as a WP member, it was not forced to do so*. Although the identity was given geographically (Central-Eastern-European region), still, belonging to a kind of ‘grey zone’ (not in the negative sense) can be felt from the documents examined. The compound of the ‘us’ and ‘them’ groups and the identity of the country shows an interesting picture. On the one hand, one identity is determined geographically as mentioned previously. At the same time, it is apparent from the documents that the country felt to belong there only partially: from the viewpoint of democratic transition, which was characteristic at the beginning of the nineties, it basically emerged from the area – by its own admission. Based on the writings the situation of the country was unique, since it was a stable island in the instable zone which may not be

bracketed with the others – so we did not really find the ‘us’ category, what is more, a negative ‘them’ category was outlined. The countries undergoing the system change belong to this category in which the democratic transition is slower than in Hungary, more problems arise, ethnic and religious conflicts are included and extremities gathered grounds. There is a positive ‘them’ group, namely the West (or Europe), which embodies everything that Hungary was struggling for at that time, with which it saw an interest- and value community and which is institutionally not open yet for the country. We might as well call this as the wished-for ‘us’ group. Thus Hungary, which belonged to the ‘them’ group of the more or less uniform countries from the viewpoint of the West undergoing the system change felt that it still does not fit in this group and is rather part of the West. If we want to locate Hungary, it is somewhere *between the two groups*: regarding its value system, development and its position in the democratic transition it feels itself closer to the western part than to the area. At the same time, the fact that the documents emphasize that the solidification of democracy and the accession to the Euro-Atlantic integration organizations of the area is a national interest as well, it refers to the fact that the country does not want to see itself as totally separate in the area. The country finds the situation of minorities living outside the borders important, however, according to the accepted version it only plays a role in the neighborly relations and not in the evolvement of the sense of being endangered.

*The WP legacy appears as the bad past in this period.* What still remained, though, is taking up the role of the country on the lead, as well as the – if we may word it that way – the urge for adequacy. To prove that Hungary respects all values that are values for the western countries as well – besides that the traditions and legacies of the country shows the same way. The descriptions which the writings include may bring back the times of the cold war. They describe in details and in length what dangers the region hides and what its instability may stem from. At the same time it is also strongly emphasized that none of the described features are true for Hungary, the country is stable. Already at that time the visionalization of a certain competitive situation appears, namely in point of the milestones passed of the democratic transition – and this competitive situation may be the reason why the image of stronger cooperation within the area may not be found in an emphasized way in the documents.

*In the period of the system change, the period lasting until the birth of the security policy guidelines of 1993 it is characteristic that the security self-concept existing at the time of the WP – based on the documents examined – is regarded as shut off, as the past, judging it in a negative way – thus the previous self-concept got into a crisis. At the same time the situation*

*that the Euro-Atlantic integration organizations did not open their gates at once made Hungary find itself, its separate interests and its foreign policy and security policy position as well. By this the background ceased to exist on which the country could rely upon within the WP – there were no unambiguous expectations. In connection with finding a way out the dichotomy of the ‘us’ and ‘them’ definition mentioned beforehand meant difficulties. In the period spent in the WP the wish for adequacy (loyalty) is characteristic and the initiative role is also visible in the debates of the period examined – in the self-concept being on the lead, a good student, with great achievements, as a stable democratic island.*

### *3.3. The formulation of the Hungarian security self-concept in the light of the NATO membership*

The NATO itself, with the PfP program starting in 1994, helped to understand what democratic transition means in the security sphere. The program itself *socialized the states seeking NATO accession with common mimic warfares, trainings, establishing openness in defence planning as well as with introducing civic control into practice. These countries could see through a practical learning process what values and processes the NATO they wish to join represent and what the concepts mean in practice.* Although the program was not met with a warm response later on it proved to be useful from the viewpoint of socialization. In the parliamentary speeches it appears that the participation has to be active, proving the eligibility of the country for the potential NATO membership later on. *The image of competition for accession* is outlined, which was among the three Visegrád countries (Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary) to be the first one. Connected to this it appeared that the organization issues a ‘maturity certificate’ about the given candidate, what is more, there is a certain contest among the countries of the area.

Following the invitation of 1997 *the Hungarian security portrait was enriched with a further element: the country wanted to take the role of the spokesman of the leftouts.* In 1998, when accession was at the door, when the country was able to integrate into the wished-for ‘us’ group, the existence of a functioning democracy was not a question any more, but it was a question that the organizational – common – interests and the requirements accepted for membership were also have to calculated with from now on. The NATO membership pervades the whole security spectrum: from the interpretation of the concept to the concrete politics. This refers to the feeling of belonging to the group. The picture formed about the NATO is

positive: first the dichotomy of wish and reality refer to it, but it is strengthened by the mention of the common interest and that, resulting from the membership, the one on the floor feels that it will effect the field of Hungarian security in a complex way. The NATO at that time was regarded as the embodiment of future and development. *At the door of accession not the existence of democracy or of sovereignty was emphasized but rather that the country gets into a new circle with a definite us and them image: the countries left out, the new democracies belong to the them group.*

The promise of joining the NATO first arose strongly in connection with the 1998 security policy concept. The documents reflect the wish to meet the requirements more fully – for instance when it came up whether the NATO strategic concept should be waited for and then to adjust the Hungarian concept of security policy to that. Besides outlining the own national interest the security policy guidelines emphasized the democratic being of the country, its peaceful intentions, and emphasis on the community of values could be felt – thus *in the field of security policy the NATO membership being at the door had an influence on the image of security.* The NATO-member Hungary, as for its values, found its way by joining the Euro-Atlantic integration organizations.

*In the nineties the arch of Hungarian security identity started from a liminal identity self-definition and lasted until joining the wished-for group.* As it was reflected in the committee and parliamentary debates and documents *a certain wish for parity and verification characterized the nineties.* The purpose was the membership of the Euro-Atlantic integration organizations – relevant to this essay, of the NATO. For Hungary undergoing the system change the real opportunity was western integration and regarding that the western integration is based on democratic principles, Hungarian politics emphasized at the beginning of the nineties that it is progressing on the way of democratic transition and has built a stable democratic system. It did not have any help, though, regarding shaping security portrait until 1994, the PfP program and by this the requirements to be met to reach membership became clearer. Insecurity resulting from the lack of a system of expectations is visible when looking at the basic principles of security policy in 1993. Following the appearance of the criteria of expansion the country consciously started its way to meet them – like a good student. *Regarding security identity the spectrum ranging from the insecure to the secure is also clear: while in 1993 a relatively confusing us-them system was outlined in the basic principles, in 1998 a concrete identity appeared. Thus it can be affirmed that the promise of joining the NATO then the NATO membership itself influenced the Hungarian security concept and it also*

*had an effect on the development and present form of the Hungarian security identity (portrait).*

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