

VALUES, HARMONY, SOCIAL AND ARMY

The countries of Central Europe have successfully implemented procedural democracy through the simultaneous transformation of their economic, political, social, legal and constitutional, and military structures. This stands in contrast to the experiences of the countries of Southern Europe (Greece, Spain, Portugal) which underwent recent transitions to democracy, but which sought to first transform their democratic structures and delay the more difficult and politically costly reforms relating structural economic change until the situation in the country became stabilised. The simultaneity of Central European reforms across all main sectors has made the task of defence reform all the more challenging, as the defence and military sector must contend with competing social and economic priorities. Such a context, I believe, highlights both the degree of commitment to reforms and the extent of success the Central and Eastern European countries have already experienced.

The progress of defence reform in the region has also been confirmed by the commitment shown by military and political elites to democratic political structures and processes. Many of the constitutional, legal, and administrative requisites for civil control or supremacy over the armed forces have been implemented, and while there continues to be fine-tuning of the specific processes and mechanisms of defence management in these democratic polities.

The modern military professional is thus like Janus in having two faces looking in opposite directions: he is both a technical expert (upholding the principle of non intervention in difficult affairs) and a bureaucrat (characterised by corporatism, which in difficult times may stimulate a form of intervention to advance institutional interests). Seeking to protect the organisation, (possessing professional expertise or authority) and constitutes a huge bureaucracy, characterised by corporate tendencies. Normally committed to protecting the national security of its client, the nation (and not intervening), instability or corruption may lead the military professional to intervene. The professional soldier's military corporatism holds the key to modern civil-military relations.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE ARMED FORCES

In Hungary only a relatively more narrow strata (older, religious, low existence level, more immobile country inhabitants) preserved the former specific traditional attitudes toward the military.

They could accept a higher prestige of military professions is appreciated by the public. They could accept an above average salaries of the professional soldiers and prefer their traditional institutional tendencies and conditions as far as their job is concerned. In their respect the military is relatively influential and seen as a guard of national sovereignty. Their opinion is supportive and considers the military as a school at nation. In this relation is supportive and considers the military as a school at nation. In this relations the soldiers or former soldiers military seem to be the most authentic experts in military and security issues. As it concerned the perspectives, the future looks like undoubtedly: the older generation's attitudes are much more supportive toward the military than the younger generations.

After the system-changing, new political elite destroyed military-party relations and proclaimed the military as an apolitical national institution in Hungary too. It was a beginning of a division at authority between the president and the government, parliamentary oversight, civilian ministers and defence were appointed and peacetime governmental control of the general staff was introduced. However the progress made in Hungary — similar to the other CEE countries — didn't yet meet all democratic control requirements, sometimes looked like more symbolic than real. This problem was symbolised by such scandals as: the failure of the prime minister's initiative to the president in the time of strike at taxi drivers in 1990, the protest steps on the side of army commander general Kálmán Lőrincz, the media campaign against the defence government on the mistakes were done concerning the air-force exercise abroad etc.

Main problems can be noticed as the followings:

It was possible to register the legal and constitutional ambiguities mainly the unclear definitions of division of power especially between the president and government, or the minister of defence and the chief of general staff. Additional problems were implementation of existing law and the different interpretation by the different consultation officials persons. During a longer process still now we can register an essential progress on this field, in some extent due to the hope to be invited to become a NATO member.

It was a lack of knowledgeable civilian experts. The lack of supportive civilian experts was enhanced by low societal and political interest in military issues as well as underdevelopment of civilian expertise on defence and security fields.

Some of the military leaders while misunderstood the protection of defence interests they resented many measures establishing democratic control principles.

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Against some experts opinion that promoting democratic control is becoming more of tactic than a genuine strategy and that there is continuing discrepancy between the structure and reality of civilian oversight, I have to emphasize that the establishing of the entire democratic control is a long-lasting process and finding out solutions is influenced by many cultural, historical and economical factors. In my private prognosis patience will be necessary also in the near future.

VALUES

- The professional Army ethic is the set of values that guide the way we live our lives and perform our duties. The essential values of our professional ethic are:
 - *Loyalty*: Loyalty to the nation, to the Army and to the unit. This means supporting the military and civilian chain of command, as well as devoting oneself to the welfare of others.
 - *Duty*: Duty is the legal and moral obligation to do what should be done without being told.
 - *Selfless service*: This means putting the welfare of the nation and accomplishment of the mission ahead of personal desires.
 - *Integrity*: This is the thread woven through the fabric of the professional Army ethic. Integrity means honesty, uprightness, the avoidance of deception and steadfast adherence to standards of behaviour.
- Four individual values strengthen and support the ethical code. They are commitment, competence, candour and courage. Commitment means dedication to carry out all unit missions and to serve the values of the nation, the Army, and the organization. Competence is proficiency in required professional knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Candour is being frank, open, honest, and sincere with soldiers, seniors, and peers. Courage comes in two forms. Physical courage is overcoming personal fears of

bodily harm and doing your duty. Moral courage is overcoming fears of other than bodily harm while doing what ought to be done.

IMPORTANCE OF BELIEFS, VALUES AND NORMS

Beliefs, values, and norms guide the actions of individuals and groups. They are like a traffic control system; they are signals giving direction, meaning, and purpose to our lives.

Beliefs, values, and norms have great motivating power. Respected leaders of strong and honourable character are able to influence the beliefs, values, and norms of their soldiers. As a professional, you are sworn to use your power for the good of the country, the Army, and those you lead.

The professional Army ethic contains the values that guide the way leaders should carry out their professional responsibilities. The elements of the professional Army ethic are loyalty to the nation, the Army, and the unit, duty, selfless service and integrity.

When faced with a situation where the right ethical choice is unclear, consider all the forces and factors that relate to the situation and then select a course of action that best serves the ideals of the nation. The ethical decision making process is a way to resolve those dilemmas.

Individual values, beliefs and attitudes are shaped by past experiences involving such things as family, school, work and social relationships. Leaders must understand the importance of nurturing and shaping belief and values in their subordinates because they are fundamental motivating factors.

INFLUENCING BELIEFS, VALUES, AND NORMS

As a leader, you have the power to influence the beliefs and values of your soldiers by setting the example; by recognizing behaviour that supports professional beliefs, values and norms; and by planning, executing, and assessing tough, realistic individual and collective training,

Tough training does not mean training in which leaders haze or yell at troops in an effort to cause artificial stress. This merely creates an antagonistic atmosphere of “us against them”. This kind of leadership does not succeed in combat, so why practice bad habits. Tough training occurs when leaders and soldiers mutually experience realistic, exhausting conditions that prepare both, as a team, for the stress of combat. Reform of civil-military relations and introducing democratic control in Hungary appeared as the crucial issues facing

new political elite, as well as military and civil society. Civil military relations include at least the involvement's of the institutions of three classical power branches (legislation, governments, jurisdiction), partly within them separately the defence and military governmental relations (think about both central and local governments). Beside them as other sectors of the CMR system we have to speak about the social factors, one side the civil society (laic citizens and their civil society organizations) and other side the military society, or the society of soldiers with its integrating organizations. Between this two fundamental politico-governmental and societal subsystems we have to mention the very important, so called mediator zone to say the publicity with its key institutions of the electronic and press media. This very difficult multilevel and multifunctional system is under which we can find the armed forces in Hungary too.

I am convinced that during the empirical characterisation of this system it is not enough to take the wellknown Chris Donnelly slogan that "a country which has no problems in civil-military relations and democratic control is a country which has no democracy". On the basis of systematic analysis I have to emphasise that it means not only the logical, continuous tensions between civilians and the military but a lot of other tensions as well within the civilian control system and the controlled military system. This is the reason of it, that to build up and work the functional balance of their own inner elements is necessarily very problematic not only for the so called new democracies, but the older democracies too. I think we have to accept that the overemphasis of civil-military tensions were very functional during the system changing, mostly its beginning period, until finding the new position of armed forces within the new democratic system. But today the same overemphasis of the tensions only in civil-military relations can paralyse the energy and prevent us for stepping forward. It can be a new obstacle on the road of building up the necessary details, it can curtail the responsibilities of the different elements of both civilian and military side.

According to the empirical facts, we have the basically built up democratic type CMR system and our armed forces work under democratic control. And if we are able to enforce the efficiency of elements within both controlling and controlled systems, we could step forward in the quality of relations between civilian and militaries, seeing that the quality of relations and the solving of tensions depend upon channels which are able or not able to overcome these tensions.