NATO as a Factor of Security Community Building:

Enlargement and Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe

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Introduction

This research project is motivated by a double empirical puzzle underlying the *implications of NATO enlargement on the process of security community formation in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)*. First, while the only CEE country (Yugoslavia) not covered by any NATO partnership programs is also the same which used to pose until recently the most serious risks to the regional stability, the development of institutional relationships between NATO and most of the former communist countries has nevertheless led to ambiguous results in terms of subsiding sources of political tension and military conflict (i.e., positive in the case of Romania and Hungary or Hungary and Slovakia, inconclusive for Armenia and Azerbaijan, and negative for Belarus). Secondly, despite their relatively similar, constant and strong support for NATO membership, the countries from the region have exposed curious policy discrepancies among themselves and especially in contrast with the vast majority of old NATO members, when faced with the option to assist certain NATO operations, such as the 1999 military intervention in Kosovo. Accordingly, while the first empirical anomaly calls attention to possible NATO institutional effects, the second one hints to its potential normative influences.

While sensitive to exploratory outcomes, the analysis is primarily concerned with examining the building blocks and mechanisms, by which NATO extends its institutional and normative influence and contributes or not to reducing chances for military conflict and political tension in the region, by integrating the CEE countries into the Western security community. In other words, the study is not intended to (dis)prove the existence of a full-fledged security community in Central and Eastern Europe, but to identify and discuss the building stones, both institutional and normative, that are conducive to the development of a CEE security community, as well as to explore the ways in which NATO contributes or not to their constitution. Accordingly, in terms of political stakes, the prospects of formation of a CEE security community would seriously be undermined if NATO enlargement and partnership programs would facilitate the evolution of a regional arm race driven by aggressive foreign policies, and sponsored by widespread nationalism and regional mistrust. On the contrary, the formation of the CEE security community would be more likely if the institutional and normative adjustments induced by NATO's cooperative security arrangements would be associated with a democratic development of the political-military structures, as well as with non-nationalist and regionally cooperative attitudes.

The study touches upon three theoretical debates and empirical gaps in the field of international relations and foreign policy analysis. First, given the increasingly visible role played by NATO in the European security structure, a number of studies have started to examine thoroughly its role from the perspective of *security community formation*[1] *and intra-alliance relations among unequal democracies*[2], but primarily from a Western European perspective. Consequently, less attention has been paid to the process of interaction between NATO and CEE member/candidate countries in terms of security community building and institutional-normative adjustment, not speaking about conceptualizing NATO as a reinforcing/undermining factor for the democratization process in Central and Eastern Europe.

Secondly, there is an ongoing debate about *the nature and sources of state interests and preferences* evolving along four dimensions: materialist vs. idealist configuration, exogenous vs. endogenous formation, structure vs. agent influence, and external vs. domestic pressure[3]. In this respect, the process of NATO eastward expansion offers an excellent opportunity to explore the conditions under which each of these four factors provides better explanatory insights. Thirdly, given the particularity of the CEE's institutional and normative legacies, the study contributes also to the debate on *international socialization* by choosing to scrutinize not only the collective beliefs of corporate actors (states or organizations)[4], or political elites[5], but also those of the public opinion.

From a methodological viewpoint, the paper assumes a clear rationalist position and takes aim at clarifying the political and theoretical implications of the process of NATO enlargement by testing competing sets of hypotheses derived from two theoretical models, based on five key

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[1] Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The case of NATO," in P. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 357-400.); Jamie Shea, *NATO 2000: A political Agenda for a Political Alliance*, (London: Brassey's, 1990), 12-60; for an updated theoretical framework see Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

[2] Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Cooperation Among Democracies*: *The European Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

[3] For more details on this topic see, Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Ltd., 1999), and Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 18-85.

[4] A. Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*; Frank Schimmelfennig, "International Socialization in the New Europe: Rational Action in an Institutional Environment," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 6:1 (March 2000), 109-139; F. Schimmelfennig, *The Double Puzzle of EU Enlargement: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Decision to Expand to the East* (ARENA Working Papers WP 99/15).

[5] Henrik Larsen, Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: France, Britain and Europe, (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); Thomas Risse-Kappen, S. C. Ropp, K. Sikkink (eds.), The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies (EUI), 1999-2000 European Forum Between Europe and the Nation-State: The Reshaping of Interests, Identities and Political Representation, http://www.iue.it/RSC/ResearchEF-99Axes.htm#Goals.

variables (foreign and military policy direction, national security strategy and policy, military readiness and compatibility, democratic civilian control of the military, and normative change), and applied to two case studies (Romania and Hungary). The limitations associated with a rationalist methodological position are fully acknowledged (i.e., the elusive relevance of the "*as if*" theoretical underpinnings, the highly debatable separation of the object from the subject of the research, the unheeded implications of the normative context etc.), but this research paper is only set to provide an introductory argument to the subject and to open it up for critical debate, not to conclude it beforehand.

The study will be structured as follows. The first chapter will provide a critical review of the relevant literature related to security community studies, realism, neo-institutionalism and democratic transition. The second section will outline the research design of the paper by advancing two theoretical models, four testing-hypotheses, five key variables and two case studies. The third chapter will start with a detailed overview of the evolution of the political and military connections between NATO and the CEE countries from 1990 up to now, and then will move to assessing the degree of empirical support for the two theoretical models in two specific cases, Hungary and Romania. In light of these findings, the study will conclude with a set of remarks concerning the future implications of the relations between NATO and the partner countries for the security of the CEE region.

Theoretical background

The solution to my research puzzle rests on several streams of competing theories that can be safely subsumed into two broad groups: security community approaches and rationalist theories (various strands of realism and neo-liberalism). From the first point of view, it has been widely acknowledged that the present conflict-free and economic prosperity zone of Western Europe can be best described by the concept of "security community", understood as a "group of political units whose relations exhibit dependable expectations of peaceful change, based on the compatibility of the main values relevant to the prevailing political, economic and legal institutions and practice within the constituent units"[6].

At the systemic level, the main argument refers to the fact that the creation of an enduring security community is based on developing *institutional building blocks* (i.e., institution of consultation and negotiation arrangements at different levels, creation of favorable socio-economic configurations, integration of the military-security systems etc.), as well as on facilitating *an integrative normative climate* based on multiple loyalties, tolerance, and internalization of human rights[7]. Given certain precipitating conditions (change in technology, demography, economics and the environment, new social interpretations or external threats), the development of security communities has been usually considered to follow a three-stage process (nascent, ascendant, and mature), driven by power and knowledge considerations, as well as by international transactions, organizations, and social learning[8].

The outcome consists of an international community whose members share dependable expectations of peaceful change based on mutual trust, high level of interdependence, shared identities, values and meanings, common long-term interest[9], as well as on an egalitarian type of decision-making structure[10]. These factors are considered to make less relevant the existing power discrepancies between the "small" and the "big" members of the community[11] and to excommunicate military intervention as instrument of conflict resolution among the members of the security community. From this theoretical point of view, NATO is expected to stabilize the

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[6] Karl W. Deutsch et. al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), 5.
[7] Luc Reychler, *Conflict prevention and democratic peace building*, CPRS, University of Leuven, 1998, 17.
[8] E. Adler and M. Barnett, 29-65.
[9] Ibid., 31.
[10] Steven Weber, "A Modest Proposal for NATO Expansion," *Contemporary Security Policy* 21, 2 (August 2000): 99.
[11] T. Risse-Kappen, *Cooperation Among Democracies*: *The European Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy*, 33.

region by initiating a process of confidence building, fostering political and military cooperation, as well as by shaping consensus and mutual trust.

Within the same theoretical stream but at the unit level, *liberal theories of state interest formation* consider that the fundamental actors in IR are not states but individuals acting in a social context (government, domestic society, international institutions), whose interests and preferences are shaped by both domestic demands and external pressures (material and social structures of the domestic and international system)[12]. According to this logic, war proneness is directly related to type of domestic political system. While democracies produce a variety of political situations, the role of democratic structures, institutions and norms is to reduce political incentives for inventing scapegoats and to preclude thus hardliners and politically pressured leaders from going to war[13]. Given the practical absence of war among democracies, the Kantian-inspired democratic peace proposition has been considered as one of the most robust empirical laws in international relations[14] and "a near-perfect condition for peace"[15]. It has been also argued that the non-aggression pact among democracies does not extend to non-democracies since the same constraining factors that prevent democracies from going to war against each other (constitutional restraints, shared commercial interests, international respect for human rights) can exacerbate conflicts between liberal and non-liberal societies[16] as proved during the recent Kosovo crisis.

The ongoing process of *democratization* in Central and Eastern Europe has given these theories a new impetus. Basically, *the transition stage* encompasses the drafting of rules and institutions (Constitution, political parties, electoral system, Parliament) aimed at creating the structural framework for resolving political conflicts peacefully[17]. On the other hand, *democratic consolidation* is usually considered completed "when the authority of fairly elected government and legislative officials is properly established and when major political actors as well as the public at large expect the democratic regime to last well into the foreseeable future"[18]. Accordingly, state behavior in IR is contingent to the specific stage of democratization - decay of the authoritarian rule, transition, consolidation and the maturing of the democratic political

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[12] Ibid., 25.
[13] Joe D. Hagan, "Domestic Political Systems and War Proneness," *Mershon International Studies Review* 38 (1994): 203.
[14] Steve Chan, "In Search of Democratic Peace: Problems and Promise," *Mershon International Studies Review* 41 (1997): 60.
[15] Nils Peter Gleditsch, "Geography, Democracy, and Peace," *International Interactions* 20, 297-323 (1995): 297.
[16] Michael W. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs: Part 2," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (1983): 324-325.
[17] Doh Chull Shin, "On the Third Wave of Democratization," *World Politics* Volume 47, (October 1994): 144.
[18] J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Democratic Consolidation in Post-Transitional Settings," *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 63.

order[19]. This process is primarily influenced by three features: the legal and procedural uncertainty underlying the fragile consensus on the proper rules for the functioning of democratic institutions and norms[20], the economic and social hardships entailed by the reorientation to market economy[21], and the window of dissonance between the inherited political culture and that of the new political system[22]. From this theoretical perspective, NATO's contribution to the formation of a security community or a conflict-free zone in Central and Eastern Europe should be then assessed against its capacity to facilitate, support and enhance political reforms in the region since only democratically consolidated regimes are expected to resolve peacefully their domestic or international differences.

The conditions that can sustain or even more expand the "security community" are strongly contested by *rationalists* who argue that no legal, moral-cultural, economic, political, or military connections can prevent the prospective members of security communities from pursuing their traditional power and alliance politics[23]. Their arguments cluster around six focal points: a) the nature and consequences of anarchy, with (neo)realists arguing that survival concerns facilitate "independent decision-making", while neo-liberals defending the "joint decision making" in international regimes; b) the prospects of international cooperation, on which both sides agree, but differ as to the likelihood of its occurrence; c) the outcomes of international cooperation, with (neo)realists being more concerned about relative (security) gains, while neo-liberals emphasizing absolute (economic) gains; d) the nature of state interests, identified by both sides with security and economic welfare but prioritized differently; e) the importance of intentions (neo-liberals) vs. capabilities (neo-realist) in shaping states interests and policies; f) the relevance for neo-liberals of institutions and regimes in mitigating anarchy's constraining effects on inter-state cooperation by reducing the transaction costs, providing information and stabilizing expectations about appropriate behavior[24].

However, while realist theories regard international institutions and regimes merely as instruments of power that determine who is allowed to play the game, what are the rules of the

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[19] Doh Chull Shin, 143.
[20] Helga Welsh, "Political Transition Processes in Central and Eastern Europe," *Comparative Politics* (July 1994): 382.
[21] Algis Prazauskas, "Ethnic Conflicts in the Context of Democratizing Political Systems," *Theory and Society* Vol. 20 (1991): 391.
[22] Archie Brown, *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*. (London: Macmillan, 1977), 4.
[23] John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security* 15 (Fall 1990), and Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," *International Security* 18 (Fall 1993).
[24] David A. Baldwin, 3-24, and Robert O. Keochane, *International Institutions and State Power* (Boulder: Westview, 1989), 3.

game and how the payoffs are distributed[25], interest-based institutionalist theories stress the constructive role played by institutions in facilitating legitimate bargains while raising the costs for illegitimate ones[26]. Hence, NATO's survival and adaptation illustrates for realists only the hegemonic power of the US to maintain its domination on the foreign and military policies of the European states[27]. On the other hand, for neoliberals, NATO's evolution after the end of the Cold War gives credit to those hypotheses probing the constraining effects of institutional path-dependence, context and linkage[28]. While regarding the CEE states as West-in-the-making[29] under the leadership of EU and NATO, institutionalists are nevertheless worried about the risks to reduce NATO's organizing competence, decision-making capacity and collective security effectiveness by extending membership and sharing critical resources with untested, fragile and unfinished democracies[30]. In short, rationalists premises encompass given egoistic interests, shaped exogenously by materialist structures, which motivate state behavior primarily in terms of utility maximization. Consequently, from a rationalist viewpoint, the concept of security community represents either a dangerously idealistic construct, or an overstatement of the interlocking effects of multi-lateral institutions.

The theoretical frameworks outlined above suggest two patterns by which NATO enlargement can have an impact on the political stability of the CEE region. The most optimistic scenario underlines NATO's ability to successfully plant the institutional and normative seeds necessary for the incorporation of the CEE region into the Western security community and for assisting the consolidation of democratic regimes in the candidate countries. The pessimistic forecast calls attention to the risks of pursuing "Wilsonian" goals at the expense of unsettling the existing European security regime by antagonizing Russia, diluting NATO and creating new lines of division among the CEE countries. Each model advances a set of testing hypotheses that will be discussed in the next section.

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[25] Stephen D. Krasner, "Global Communication and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier," *World Politics* 43 (1991): 340.

[26] Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,1984), 90.

[27] Kenneth N. Waltz, "NATO Expansion: A Realist's View," *Contemporary Security Policy* 21, 2 (August 2000): 29.

[28] Vinod K. Aggarwal, "Analysing NATO Expansion: An Institutional Bargaining Approach," *Contemporary Security Policy* 21, 2 (August 2000): 63-81; see also the overview of similar institutionalist arguments in Sean Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), 8-9, 108-114.

[29] For a discussion of the identity theories implied by realist and liberal constructivists approaches with regard to the process of NATO enlargement, see Andreas Behnke, "Re-Cognising Europe: NATO and the Problem of Securing Identities," in *Security and Identity in Europe: Exploring the New Agenda*, Aggestam, Lisbeth and Adrian Hyde-Price (London: Macmillan, 2000), 49-66.

[30] Thomas M. Magstadt, Working Paper, "Flawed Democracies: The Dubious Political Credentials of NATO's Proposed New Members," http://www.ciaonet.org: Columbia International Affairs Online, Columbia University Press, March 1998; see also S. Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security*, 112-114.

Research design

A) Testing hypotheses:

A complete empirical validation of the two models is prevented by two critical factors. Time is the first one, since the formation of a mature security community and the consolidation of democratic regimes both require several decades to conclude. NATO itself is the second factor, since the process of adaptation of this organization to the post-Cold War conditions is only at the beginning. The ongoing debate about developing the European Security and Defense Initiative (ESDI), the expected weakening of the relationships between US, Russia and EU in the context of the US determination to proceed with the development of the National Missile Defense program (NMD), the unstable political situation in the Balkans, as well as the more unilateralist foreign policy agenda of the George W. Bush administration represent as many challenges to the future evolution of NATO. Under these circumstances, the aim of this study is not examine the security of the CEE region as a finished product brought into being by NATO's partnership programs. Accordingly, the project is not interested in analyzing NATO's regional impact by proving the existence of a full-fledged security community in Central and Eastern Europe, neither by testing the level of democratic consolidation of the political regimes from the candidate countries, nor by providing a full account of all regional sources of instability.

Given the two constraints mentioned above, the *research goals are more reserved and concentrate not on absolute outcomes but on the process itself*. However, exploratory outcomes are important for disentangling the compounding effects of the process variables. The point of contention here refers only to the time-horizon featuring the interaction process between NATO and the aspirant CEE countries. The key questions in this case concern the nature and medium-term impact of the institutional and normative building stones, as well as of the mechanisms by which NATO has been exerting its influence on the CEE regional stability. One way to substantiate the theoretical assumptions discussed to this point, is to test empirically the following two sets of competing hypotheses:

1. **The security community model:**

   a) *H_1: Institutional*: The institutional adjustments entailed by NATO membership and partnership programs impose serious constraints on the capacity of the candidate countries to go to war against each other.

b) *H_2: Normative*: There is a positive correlation between NATO induced institutional adjustments and norm and value changes (mutual trust, pluralistic collective identities) at the level of political elites and public opinion.

2. The rationalist model:

a) *H_3: Effectiveness*: NATO enlargement and partnership programs undermines its institutional capacity to deal promptly and efficiently in time of crisis.

b) *H_4: Regional instability*: NATO enlargement represents a major source of regional instability since it creates new lines of division between the new members and those left out and facilitates only a reorientation of the perceived threats[31].

In line with the premises stated at the beginning of this section, the formulation of these hypotheses is intended to provide a minimum of empirical basis for the confirmation or disproval of the two models. For reasons explained before, the four propositions are designed not to provide evidence in absolute terms but to hit upon the cutoff level whence the empirical support for the two theoretical models becomes problematic. In this regard, the confirmation of H_1, H_2 and the rebuff of H_3, H_4 will give strong credit to the idea that CEE has started to experience, under NATO leadership, a forceful process of security community formation. An opposite result will fully vindicate the bleakest rationalist expectations. Most probably, NATO's assessed impact will be located somewhere along this continuum.

B) Construction of variables, methodology:

The empirical examination of the two theoretical models will be methodologically operated on the basis of the following five variables:

a) The *Foreign and Military Policy Direction* (FMDP) variable underlies the degree of convergence of national foreign and military directions with NATO's most recent political and military aims, including humanitarian relief, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, crisis management or collective defense, as are they exemplified by the

[31] For a similar argument about how NATO membership allowed Turkey and Greece to shift their security concerns from Soviet Union to each other, see Ronald R. Krebs, "Perverse Institutionalism: NATO and the Greco-Turkish conflict," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 2, (Spring 1999), 343-378.

Combined Joint Task Force concept[32] and the new Strategic Concept of the Alliance (the so-called non-Article 5 crisis response situations)[33];

b) The reformulation of the *National Security Strategy and Policy* (NSSP) concerns the benign definition of threats, security risks and long-term, strategic planning; it is also indicative for the level of political and military commitment to regional cooperation;

c) The underlying assumption of the *military readiness and compatibility* (MRC) variable is that NATO's capacity to manage efficiently the coalition will be seriously undermined if the candidate countries expose low degree of military interoperability, soft capacity of reaction, no real prospects of economic self-sustainability and negative political support for the objectives of the alliance.

d) The *democratic civilian control of the military* (DCCM) variable points to the introduction of basic democratic principles into the security and defense policy-making and examines the extent to which fundamental political-security options are distorted or corrupted by narrow military preferences;

e) The *normative change* (NC) variable examines the ways in which the bilateral relationship between NATO and the two countries proved successful in eliminating sources of mistrust and political tension between the two countries by looking at the attitudinal change at the level of political elites and the public opinion.

High degree of convergence of the foreign political and military directions, cooperative national security strategies and policies, strong political control over the military-security structures, and positive normative change at the level of political elites and the public opinion are likely to enhance the prospects for extending the Western security community to the region. On the other hand, divergent FPMDs, competitive NSSPs, low levels of military compatibility and interoperability with NATO forces, weak DCCM and negative NC undermine these prospects, reduce NATO military and political effectiveness, and amplify chances for regional instability.

C) Case studies, data sources:

Given their different status with regard to the enlargement process, the analytical units proposed for examining NATO's impact on the prospects of formation of the CEE security community,

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[32] Anthony Cragg, "The Combined Joint Task Force concept: a key component of the Alliance's adaptation," *NATO Review*, WebEdition Vol. 44, No. 4 (July 1996), 7-10, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/9604-2.htm

[33] "The Alliance's Strategic Concept," NATO Press Release NAC-S(99)65, 24 April 1999, http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm.

are *Hungary* (NATO member) and *Romania* (NATO candidate). The selection of the case studies takes also into account the pattern of historical enmity between these two countries, fact that increases the significance of external factors in stabilizing the region. The analysis traces the dynamics of the relationships between NATO and the two countries within a time frame that begins in 1996, the year when both countries stepped up their collaboration with NATO as part of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, and ends in June 2001, at the moment when various political options for the next round of enlargement have just started to being considered. While focused on the peacetime conditions shaping the relationships between NATO, Hungary and Romania, the analysis will put also special emphasis on NATO's 1999 military intervention in Kosovo in view of being the only real test for assessing the status of the two countries as contributors or consumers of security.

The empirical analysis of the case studies will be based on the following data sources:

- *Official documents*: governmental strategies concerning foreign and defense policies, parliamentary reports and transcripts, military doctrines, budgetary documents and projections, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) Action Plans 1998-2002, NATO Membership Action Plan (MAP), and national programs of preparation for NATO membership;
- *Economic indicators*: the OECD and Economist country reports; national statistics; governmental reports.
- *Discourse analysis*: parliamentary debates, party programs and electoral manifestos, reports from selected committees.
- *Public opinion polls:* the 1996-1999 SPSS files and datasets produced by the Central European Barometers, the Social Research Informatics Center (TARKI, Hungary), and the Institute of Marketing and Polls (IMAS, Romania);
- *Press reports*: the 1996-2001 archives of OMRI, Central European Review, Mediafax- Romania, and ISN Security Watch.

I. Building trust between former enemies

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and of its CEE communist satellites, NATO defied all realist assumptions about alliances dissolving in absence of a threat and made instead a series of steps that allowed it to win the competition with OSCE and WEU and move again, within just a decade, to the core of the European security system. However, NATO's revitalization, transformation and eventually enlargement have not been steady and free of troubles. After taking a vacillating start at the beginning of the 90s, NATO has been gradually accelerating the tempo by launching the Partnership for Peace program in 1994, opening the door to the first three CEE members in 1997, initiating its first out-of-area missions in Bosnia and Kosovo, and preparing itself for a next round of enlargement in 2002. For analytical reasons it is helpful to divide NATO's post Cold War evolution in three parts: 1) from the July 1990 London Summit to the January 1994 Brussels meeting; b) from 1994 to the July 1997 Summit in Madrid; 3) from Madrid to present.

Searching for a New Identity

Given the context of the German reunification as well as the political pressure to grant the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) a greater role in organizing the post-Cold War European security system[34], NATO ruled out enlargement as a political option at the beginning of the 90s. Hence, NATO's first step towards the CEE countries was very cautious and consisted in extending them "the hand of friendship" by inviting six Warsaw Pact countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union), at the 1990 London summit, to establish regular diplomatic liaison with the alliance[35]. A year later at the Rome summit in November 1991, NATO made a step further by adopting a new Strategic Concept[36] and establishing a more direct relationship with the CEE countries through the newly created North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC)[37]. The Strategic Concept acknowledged

[34] James M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 16-17.
[35] Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council ("The London Declaration"), http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/b900706a.htm: NATO Press Release, 6 July 1990.
[36] "The Alliance's Strategic Concept Agreed by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council," http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/b911108a.htm: NATO Press Release, 7-8 November 1991.
[37] Declaration on Peace and Cooperation Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council (Including Decisions Leading to the Creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation

that

> *"Risks to Allied security are less likely to result from calculated aggression against the territory of the Allies, but rather from the adverse consequences of instabilities that may arise from the serious economic, social, and political difficulties, including ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes, which are faced by many countries in Central and Eastern Europe"*[38].

Consequently, while highlighting traditional Article 5 tasks (defense against any territorial aggression and preservation of the strategic balance of power within Europe), the new concept laid also out the grounds for introducing more consultation and conflict prevention measures as provided by Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty[39]. The North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) was actually designed to provide exactly such a formal mechanism through which CEE countries were able to consult with NATO members on various political and security issues[40]. Until its replacement in May 1997 with the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), NACC grew up to include 38 members from CEE and former Soviet Union, and provided a multilateral forum for discussion, consultation and sharing of information with regard to a wide range of topics such as: political, economic, military and security related matters, defense planning and conversion issues, civil emergency planning and humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping, science, challenges of modern society (CCMS), policy planning consultations, air traffic management etc[41].

The First Steps

- Regular diplomatic liaison (1990)
- The new Strategic Concept (1991)
- The North Atlantic Cooperation Council (1991)

NACC's core mission was to assist the partner countries to defuse their mutual security suspicions through a set of confidence-building measures and consultation mechanisms and by promoting a long-term understanding of national and multilateral security concerns[42]. However, NACC was not intended to provide a road map for NATO membership, neither to extend any security guaranties to the partner countries. Changing international conditions[43] and growing

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Council (NACC)) ("The Rome Declaration"), http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/b911108b.htm: NATO Press Release, 8 November 1991.

[38] "The Alliance's Strategic Concept".

[39] Ibid.

[40] "The Rome Declaration".

[41] For more details see NACC 1993-1997 "Workplan for Dialogue, Partnership and Cooperation" http://www.nato.int/pfp/ pfp.htm

[42] S. Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security*, 66.

[43] For details on this aspect see Beverly Crawford, "The Bosnian Road to NATO Enlargement," *Contemporary Security Policy* 21, 2 (August 2000): 39-59.

pressure from the CEE candidate countries in the direction of deeper political and military cooperation, drove NATO, especially US, to devise a mechanism able to strike a balance between the security concerns of the aspirant countries and those of Russia, while at the same time to keep NATO in control over the political decision and timelines of the enlargement process.

Exporting stability to the East

In response to the three considerations outlined above, NATO launched the Partnership for Peace (PfP) at the January 1994 Brussels Summit. In strategic terms, PfP served three main goals for the Alliance: it established a process with membership as the target for some partners; it allowed for self-differentiation among partner states without extending the full benefits of NATO membership to the partners, and thirdly it attended Alliance's mission of exporting stability as envisioned in the 1991 Strategic Concept[44]. At the same time, the partner countries interested in membership were given more access to NATO's political and military bodies and were offered a flexible and practical set of mechanisms that went far beyond the soft dialogue and cooperation framework institutionalized by the NACC. As for their main concern, the PfP invitation made clear that "active participation in the Partnership for Peace will play an important role in the evolutionary process of the expansion of NATO"[45] but the degree of involvement in PfP was purely voluntary, at a pace and scope decided by each Partner. Moreover, PfP enjoyed also the full support of Russia but for different reasons. Convinced that PfP would not lead to eventual NATO expansion, President Yeltsin called the Partnership idea a "stroke of genius"[46].

In practical terms, PfP set out an important agenda animated by the goal "to intensify political and military cooperation throughout Europe, increase stability, diminish threats to peace, and build strengthened relationships by promoting the spirit of practical cooperation and commitment to democratic principles that underpin the Alliance"[47]. First, it made participation to the program contingent upon adherence of the partner countries to "the preservation of democratic societies, their freedom from coercion and intimidation, and the maintenance of the principles of

[44] Marybeth Peterson Ulrich, Paper prepared for presentation at the 40th annual meeting of the International Studies Association, "NATO's Identity at a Crossroads: Institutional Challenges Posed by NATO's Enlargement and Partnership for Peace Programs," http://www.ciaonet.org: Columbia International Affairs Online, Columbia University Press, February 1999.
[45] Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, "Partnership for Peace: Invitation," http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/b940110a.htm: NATO Press Communiqué, M-1(94)2, 10-11 January 1994.
[46] Quoted by State Secretary Warren Christopher in J.M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When*, 59.
[47] "Partnership for Peace: Invitation".

international law"[48]. In addition, the partner countries were asked to commit themselves "to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, to respect existing borders and to settle disputes by peaceful means [and] to fulfill in good faith the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights [as well as] the Helsinki Final Act and all subsequent CSCE documents"[49]. In order to reach these goals, the PfP required all interested partners to adjust their defense and foreign policies in conformity with the following provisions:

a) Facilitation of transparency in national defense planning and budgeting processes;
b) Ensuring democratic control of defense forces;
c) Maintenance of the capability and readiness to contribute, subject to constitutional considerations, to operations under the authority of the UN and/or the responsibility of the CSCE;
d) The development of cooperative military relations with NATO, for the purpose of joint planning, training, and exercises in order to strengthen their ability to undertake missions in the fields of peacekeeping, search and rescue, humanitarian operations, and others as may subsequently be agreed;
e) The development, over the longer term, of forces that are better able to operate with those of the members of the North Atlantic Alliance[50].

Secondly, the PfP established a concrete and structured program of political and military collaboration consisting in: a) The preparation and implementation of 16+1 *Individual Partnership Programs (IPP)* listing the necessary steps for promoting transparency in defense planning and budgeting, for ensuring the democratic control of armed forces, for identifying the financial, personnel, military and other assets that might be used for Partnership activities, as well as for carrying out the PfP agreed exercises in the fields of peacekeeping, search and rescue, and humanitarian operations[51]; b) Establishing *permanent liaison officers* to a separate Partnership Coordination Cell at Mons, Belgium (PCC) that would have access to certain NATO technical data and STANAGS (standardization agreements)[52] relevant to interoperability and who, under the authority of the North Atlantic Council, would be in charge with carrying out the

[48] Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, "Partnership for Peace: Framework Document," http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/b940110b.htm: Annex to NATO Press Communiqué, M-1(94)2, 10-11 January 1994.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] A 1994 Pentagon estimate, put the total figure of standardized agreements that prospective members must meet before becoming compatible to work with NATO to approx. 1200, J.M. Goldgeier, *Not Whether But When*, 74.

military planning necessary to implement the Partnership programs[53]. To accomplish this overall task, the PCC was ascribed three main functions: to advise NATO military authorities and countries in implementation of PFP programs; to provide Liaison and Coordination between NATO and individual Partner Countries, and to recommend education, training and exercise activities to achieve the objectives of the program[54];

c) Developing a *Planning and Review Process* (PARP) - intended to simulate the NATO defense planning process and aimed at providing a basis for identifying and evaluating forces and capabilities that might be made available by partner countries for multinational training, exercises, and operations in conjunction with Alliance forces[55]. The activities were initially derived from 45 generic Interoperability Objectives (IO) which covered areas for the full spectrum of Peace Support Operations, Humanitarian Aid, acting as PfP 'Force Goals'[56]; d) The joint preparation by NATO and the partner countries of *the Partnership Work Program (PWP),* serving as the basic menu for the preparation of the yearly IPP and listing 21 activities - from Air Defense and Crisis Management to Military Geography and Language Training - offered by NATO bodies (HQ, staffs, agencies or schools), NATO nations and Partner nations in the framework of PfP[57]. The PWP consisted basically of two main sections: the Generic section laid down the general areas in which Partners should strive to achieve interoperability, the Specific section laid down the next year's program of activities. This latter program was further split into three Phased-areas of activity: Courses, training, seminars, expert visits; High Level Visits; NATO/PfP Exercises and connected building blocks[58]. In view of the experience gained in the first stage of multilateral collaboration, several changes and enhancements would be operated after the 1997 Madrid and 1999 Washington Summits.

Preparing for Enlargement

- Partnership for Peace (1994)
- Intensified Individual Dialogue
- IFOR/SFOR mission (1995)
- The Study on Enlargement (1995)
- PfP Enhancement (1996)

[53] "Partnership for Peace: Framework Document".
[54] Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), "Partnership Coordination Cell," http://www.shape.nato.int/PFP/ppc.htm.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), "Guide to Partnership for Peace PfP," http://www.shape.nato.int/PFP.HTM: 2001.
[57] For more details see the biennially agenda of the Partnership Work Program for the period 1997-2001 available at http://www.nato.int/pfp/pfp.htm
[58] Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), "Guide to Partnership for Peace PfP".

Thirdly, besides its regularly scheduled peacekeeping exercises[59] and seminars, the PfP allowed partner countries to gain operational experience in the NATO command structure by taking part in NATO's Implementation Force (IFOR), and then Stabilization Force (SFOR) missions in Bosnia. By June 1996, 12 PfP countries, including Hungary and Romania, joined NATO forces in Bosnia[60], adding nearly 10.000 personnel to IFOR[61]. It is now agreed that both IFOR and SFOR operations had a positive contribution to the PfP process by making clear the strengths and weaknesses of coordinating a multinational operation in this new context, and by highlighting several critical interoperability problems for the partner countries in terms of military planning, resource allocation, language training, and communication equipment[62].

Fourthly, the PfP served as an important conceptual and operational blueprint for most of the ensuing discussions concerning NATO enlargement. Thus, NATO's 1995 Study on Enlargement reiterated the political objectives of the Alliance as stated in the PfP Framework Document and called upon prospective members not only to "conform to basic principles embodied in the Washington Treaty: democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law [and] accept NATO as a community of like-minded nations joined together for collective defense and the preservation of peace" but also to "be firmly committed to principles, objectives and undertakings included in the Partnership for Peace Framework Document"[63]. Moreover, the study insisted that in the process of preparation for membership "premature development of measures outside PfP for possible new members should be avoided"[64]. Consequently, the PfP was confirmed as the key instrument to be used by the candidate countries to streamline their political and military preparation for NATO membership.

Finally, the PfP created the premises for a timely exposure of several shortcomings hindering NATO's multinational coordination efforts. It has been thus argued that PfP unintentionally encouraged CEE countries to compete against each other at the expense of their bilateral relations, it favored military-to-military cooperation with the potential to undermine the civil-

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[59] The number of PfP military exercises doubled on an annual basis as follows: 3 in 1994, 8 in 1995, 14 in 1996, 24 in 1997, and 45 in 1999; for details see Vernon Penner, "Partnership for Peace," *Strategic Forum,* No. 97 (December 1996): 2 see also SHAPE, "1999 NATO/PfP Exercises," http://www.shape.nato.int/PFP/99table.htm.

[60] Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Berlin, "Final Communiqué," http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/ 1996/p96-063e.htm: NATO Press Communiqué M-NAC-1(96)63, 3 June 1996.

[61] SHAPE, "Implementation Force," http://www.shape.nato.int/PFP/ impforc1.htm

[62] For details see Jeffrey Simon, "Strategic Forum," *The IFOR/SFOR Experience: Lessons Learned by PfP Partners* 120 (July 1997).

[63] "Study on NATO Enlargement," http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/enl-9501.htm: NATO Basic Texts, September 1995: paragraph 70.

[64] Ibid, paragraph 41.

military reforms from the region, it led PfP countries to stress quantity over quality in their programs, it promoted only limited transparency, and it deflected the military preparation of the partner countries from more traditional sources of threat[65]. In order to address better these issues, the June 1997 meeting in Sintra, Portugal agreed on a new set of proposals to further enhance PfP and NACC.

Taking on new responsibilities

Given the predominant military dimension of the PfP, the perceived inefficiency of NACC, and the determination to keep politically connected those partner countries that were not interested in NATO membership[66] and those interested but not yet selectable, the Sintra ministerial meeting and the Madrid summit decided to raise to a qualitatively new level the political and military cooperation between NATO and the partner countries by establishing *the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)*, as the successor to NACC, and by enhancing the PfP[67]. The EAPC was thus designed to increase the participation of the partner countries in the decision-making and consultation process and to expand the scope of political and security-related issues to be discussed within its framework. The key elements of its structure consisted of: a) regular meetings at the ambassadorial and ministerial level; b) closer cooperation with the Political-Military Steering Committee (PMSC), the Political Committee (PC), and the Military Committee (MC); c) a four-tiered Action Plan that included PWP and previous NACC issue areas, Civil Emergency planning and disaster preparedness[68], PfP areas of cooperation, and short-term planning for EAPC consultations and practical cooperation[69]. One of the political goals has been to transform EAPC into a NATO body capable of preventing the next "out of area" regional crisis by enhancing PfP's emphasis on crisis management, terrorism, and disaster response[70].

At the operational level, following the more formal 1996 PfP Enhancement program, *the enhanced PfP* stipulated several changes: a) to foster greater regional cooperation and participation, including in the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF), through regional peace

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[65] S. Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security*, 73-74.
[66] Austria, Finland, Sweden, and Switzerland.
[67] "Basic Document of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council," http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/b970530a.htm: NATO Basic Texts, 30 May 1997.
[68] The new Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center (EADRCC) was inaugurated in June 1998 at NATO Headquarters. The center is set to coordinate, in close consultation with the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the response of EAPC countries in the event of a disaster occurring within the EAPC geographic.
[69] "Basic Document of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership"; for details on the biennially 1998-2002 EAPC Action Plans see "Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council," http://www.nato.int/pfp/eapc.htm
[70] M.P. Ulrich, "NATO's Identity at a Crossroads".

enforcement and crisis management exercises; b) to increase partner access to NATO procedures and documents beyond PCC by creating Partnership for Peace Staff Elements (PSEs) at the first and second level of NATO integrated military structure; c) to expand PARP to encourage partner states to adopt a new system of defense planning, create local defense policy experts, increase interoperability standards, and define a genuine mechanism of feedback between NATO and its partners[71]. Prior to the admission into Alliance of Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic and reinforced at the Madrid Summit in July 1997, the intensified dialogue process (IDP) was offered to all aspirant countries to NATO membership as a supplementary element to assist their preparation and keep them engaged in the PfP. Primarily focused on political factors, IDP was scheduled to take place biannually at the level of the North Atlantic Council (NAC+1), plus an additional dialogue conducted by a NATO team.

Growing concern for enhancing interoperability between NATO members and the partner countries and for preserving the military effectiveness of the Alliance resulted in new sets of recommendations. Thus, the Bi-MNC Concept for Implementation of PfP was published in May 1996 and identified what was meant by interoperability and how to build a program to support the achievement of interoperability. The Concept worked within and supplemented PARP and it embedded two levels of interoperability: functional and service oriented – 26 Interoperability Requirements (MIR) - and those Tasks for Interoperability (MTI) necessary to achieve MIR[72]. In June 1998, the EAPC Defense Ministerial meeting agreed to develop new procedures that would *expand and adapt the PARP* in order to make it resemble more closely with NATO Defense Planning Process[73]. The new procedures included the addition of PARP Ministerial Guidance, Partnership Goals and the extension of the planning horizon to six years. The new Partnership Goals (PO), were intended to replace by 2000 the previous Interoperability Objectives (IOs), to enhance Alliance's capacity to

After Enlargement

- The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (1997)
- PfP Enhanced (1997)
- Enlargement (1997)
- Expanded PARP (1998)
- The new Strategic Concept (1999)
- The Defense Capabilities Initiative (1999)
- The Operational Capabilities Concept (1999)
- Membership Action Plan (1999)

[71] Report by the Political Military Steering Committee on Partnership for Peace, "Towards a Partnership for the 21st Century: The Enhanced and More Operational Partnership," http://www.nato.int/pfp/docu/d990615a.htm: 15 June 1999; M.P. Ulrich, "NATO's Identity at a Crossroads".
[72] Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), "Guide to Partnership for Peace PfP".
[73] "Towards a Partnership for the 21st Century: Appendix B - Expanded and Adapted PARP," http://www.nato.int/pfp/docu/d990615c.htm

operate in non-Article 5 crisis management situations, to assist the partners in developing interoperable capabilities, and to better help the aspiring countries for membership[74].

In line with the evolution of the Euro-Atlantic security environment of the first post-Cold War decade, the 1999 NATO's *new Strategic Concept* acknowledged that the risks to the security of the Alliance "are multi-directional and often difficult to predict". Besides nuclear proliferation and less likely large-scale conventional aggression or nuclear attack, they include "uncertainty and instability in and around the Euro-Atlantic area and [may stem from] ethnic and religious rivalries, territorial disputes, inadequate or failed efforts at reform, the abuse of human rights, and the dissolution of states"[75]. In order to address these sources of insecurity, the Alliance committed itself to a multi-dimensional approach that included political, economic, social and environmental factors in addition to the indispensable defense dimension. Hence, the fundamental security tasks to be performed are: a) security, based on the growth of democratic institutions; b) consultation as provided by Article 4 of the Washington Treaty; c) traditional deterrence and defense; c) crisis management, and d) partnership[76].

Given the interoperability problems revealed during its intervention in Kosovo, NATO supplemented its 1999 Strategic Concept with two new initiatives. The first one, *the Defense Capabilities Initiative*, was primarily targeted at the Alliance members and set as objective the improvement of defense capabilities[77] to ensure the effectiveness of future NATO-led multinational operations, especially those outside the territory of the Alliance. A temporary High Level Steering Group (HLSG) was put in charge with overseeing the implementation of the DCI[78]. The second initiative, *the Operational Capabilities Concept for NATO-led PfP Operations* (OCC), was designed to improve the interoperability between Allied and Partner forces and increase their ability to operate together in future NATO-led PfP operations. To reach this goal, OCC made provisions for five sets of mechanisms: a) Pool(s) of Forces and Capabilities; b) Established Multinational Formations; c) Peacetime Working Relationships; d)

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[74] Ibid.
[75] "The Alliance's Strategic Concept Approved by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council," http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm: NATO Press Release NAC-S(99)65, 24 April 1999: paragraph 20-23.
[76] Ibid., paragraph 10.
[77] These are command and control and information systems; human factors (doctrine, training, operational procedures); standardization; technological changes; deployability and mobility; sustainability and logistics; coordination of defense planning.
[78] "Defense Capabilities Initiative Launched by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council," http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99s069e.htm: NATO Press Release NAC-S(99)69, 25 April 1999.

Assessment and Feedback Mechanisms; e) Enabling Mechanisms[79]. In addition, OCC took also into account improvements to PfP Training and Education, as well as to multi-nationality in the command and operational structure.

Finally, the most recent and probably the most comprehensive and important NATO document governing the relationships with the CEE aspiring countries is the Membership Action Plan (MAP) approved at the NATO's Washington Summit in April 1999. Building on the Intensified Individual Dialogue on membership questions, MAP was designed to reinforce the Open Door policy of the Alliance and its firm commitment to further enlargement by putting into place a program of activities to assist the aspiring countries in their preparations for possible future membership[80]. While stressing that the list of issues included did not constitute criteria, neither guarantee nor timeframe for membership, MAP required each aspiring country to draw up an annual national program containing specific information and implementation measures with regard to five chapters: a) Political and Economic issues: commitment to democracy, rule of law, human rights, peaceful settlement of international disputes, etc.; b) Defense and Military issues: enhance interoperability and PARP, adopt the new Strategic concept, and provide forces and capabilities for collective defense and other Alliance missions; c) Resource allocation able to meet defense priorities and participation in Alliance structures; d) Security issues concerning the safeguards and procedures to ensure the protection of the most sensitive information; e) Legal issues: incorporation of NATO's "acquis" - legal arrangements and agreements which govern cooperation within the Alliance[81]. MAP makes also reference to screening mechanisms in 19+1 format, which are intended to provide constant feedback and advice to the aspirant countries. In a similar way to the EU progress reports, the Alliance set formal provisions for preparing an annual report that would help aspirant countries identify areas for further action, but it would leave at their discretion the level of commitment for taking further action[82].

[79] "Towards a Partnership for the 21st Century: Appendix D - Operational Capabilities Concept for NATO-led PfP Operations," http://www.nato.int/pfp/docu/d990615e.htm
[80] "Membership Action Plan Approved by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council," http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-066e.htm: NATO Press Release NAC-S(99)66, 24 April 1999:
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.

II. Expanding the western security community

Drawing on the overview of the post Cold War evolution of NATO's relationship with the CEE countries as outlined in the previous section, this chapter will make an assessment of the institutional and normative effects entailed by this relationship on the prospects of security community formation and regional cooperation. In more concrete terms, the objective consists in testing empirically the four hypotheses advanced in the research design chapter, in two case studies: Hungary and Romania. Given the historical pattern of distrust and rivalry between these two countries, the expectation is that NATO's centripetal pressure has had only a limited impact of the bilateral relations between the two countries. Evidence to the contrary will give credit to the idea that NATO's multilateral strategy has eventually paid off, and the CEE region is currently experiencing a dynamic process of security community formation. After a brief presentation of the recent evolution of the bilateral relationship between Romania and Hungary, the analysis will proceed with examining separately the five variables on the basis of the foreign and domestic political strategies of the two countries toward NATO and their positions during the NATO intervention in Kosovo.

The evolution of the Romanian-Hungarian relations

Following the collapse of the communist regimes, the relationship between the two countries as it emerged between 1990 and 1994 was that between two moderately nationalist states. However, the continuing deterioration of the Hungarian-Romanian relationship before 1994 was stopped and reversed by the launch of the Partnership for Peace program and the subsequent NATO engagement programs. PfP offered an excellent window of opportunity for non-nationalist political forces from both countries to take control over the bilateral normalization process and put it on an ascendant course. Despite ongoing political frictions, it is probably safe to assume that in absence of NATO's partnership programs, the political tensions between Romania and Hungary would have been deeper and would have requested more time as well as more domestic and international efforts to heal.

In the case of Hungary, the process of internalization of a cooperative and democratic set of norms of international conduct has been taking place faster and apparently more firmly than in Romania, but not without problems. The priorities of the Hungarian foreign policy during the

1990s consisted in pursuing a dual track strategy: to become a full member of the Western community and to protect the rights of the Hungarian minorities living in the neighboring countries. Tensions started to accumulate when the second foreign policy objective became framed into a "public rhetoric that invoked historical memories of the Greater Hungary"[83]. Thus, the first post-communist Prime-Minister Joszef Antall declared in August 1990 that "he considered himself in spirit to be the Prime Minister of all 15 millions Hungarians"[84], including approximately five millions of ethnic Hungarians living outside Hungary, declaration that triggered angry reactions among the neighboring countries and attracted immediately harsh international criticism[85].

Another hotly debated action met with pressure by the Western European governments, especially Germany, was the decision of the Antall government to block Romania's admittance to the Council of Europe until 1993, in order to force the Romanian government to improve the situation of the Hungarian minority[86]. In addition, insistent appeals to granting collective rights, regional autonomy and self-government to the Hungarian ethnic communities from the region[87] coupled with an ambiguous security policy on the question of borders[88], made international community to conclude by 1994 that Hungary was not contributing to stability in Central Europe but rather that it was undermining it, and hence it started to question the legitimacy of Hungarian membership in the Euro-Atlantic institutions[89].

During the same period of time, between 1990 and 1994, the political transition of Romania to democracy proved difficult, unstable and occasionally tragic. The initial diplomatic breakthrough and international sympathy attained immediately after the violent overthrow of the communist regime in December 1989 had evaporated within only six months as a result of the successive brutal assaults on the political opposition and intellectuals, executed by miner squads summoned up and organized by the first post-communist president Ion Iliescu and his ruling party. The bloody ethnic clash between Romanians and ethnic Hungarians in Tirgu-Mures, Romania, in

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[83] Kerry S. McNamara, "Hungary Between East and West: The Dilemma over Yugoslavia", Case program -Kennedy School of Government, 1995, 6.
[84] Ibid., 6.
[85] Robert M. Bigler, "Back in Europe and Adjusting to the New Realities of the 1990 in Hungary," *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Summer 96, Issue 2, 223.
[86] Pál Dunay, "The Effects Of Enlargement On Bilateral Relations": Note 52.
[87] Géza Jeszenszky, "Nothing Quiet on the Eastern Front," http://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/9203-2.htm: *NATO Review:* Web Edition No. 3, Vol. 40, (June 1992): 7-13; see also "Joint Declaration from the Conference 'Hungary and Hungarians Beyond the Borders'" held in Budapest 4-5 July 1996, *Transition*, Vol. 2, No. 18, (6 September 1996): 49.
[88] "Basic Principles of the Security Policy of the Republic of Hungary", *Fact Sheets on Hungary*, no. 4/1993, point 8 quoted in Pál Dunay, "The Effects Of Enlargement On Bilateral Relations," Note 18.
[89] Pál Dunay, "Theological Debates on NATO in Hungary," *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 3, Special Issue, 1997, 100.

March 1990 revealed deep-rooted ethnic tensions and sent a chilling thrill to both parties as well as to the Western European community. The country's international standing was further weakened by the political coalition the Iliescu government formed between 1992 and 1996 with two extremist, ultra-nationalist parties well known for their aggressive rhetoric targeted at the Hungarian and Roma minority[90].

Incapable of change and democratic adaptation, the ruling political elite found increasingly refugee in nationalistic and anti-Western rhetoric. In the words of an influent Iliescu official and current Minister of Defense[91], the sole explanation for the critical problems facing the country could be found in international conspiracies, implicitly orchestrated by Hungary: "soon, the old web of international isolation was reactivated, as if someone somewhere became frightened by the advantage Romania might obtain given its relatively large potential compared to the other East European countries"[92]. These statements would have probably continued to preserve their entertaining value had not been they echoed by the first post-communist National Security Doctrine, submitted to the Parliament for approval in September 1994, which besides "revisionist tendencies" included references to the dangers posed by "distorted perceptions" of Romania's internal evolution in other countries[93]. The ambiguous commitment toward full political and economic reform, the "suspect ideological baggage and questionable political behavior of the Iliescu regime"[94], as well as the strained political relations with neighboring countries (Hungary and to a lesser extent Bulgaria) had all contributed before the 1996 elections to placing Romania in an international quasi-quarantine.

As will be argued in more detail in the next sub-section, the Partnership for Peace program was launched at the moment when the political and military bilateral relations between Romania and Hungary were practically frozen. However, changing political conditions at the domestic level provided a window of opportunity for non-nationalist political forces to turn PfP into an efficient instrument for reducing the political tensions between the two countries and for improving the general stability of the region. Thus, the Hungarian social-liberal government elected in 1994 set as new political priorities: "... the process of accession to the EU and accession to NATO or

[90] The Great Romania Party (PRM) and the National Unity Party of Romania (PUNR).
[91] After four year of political opposition, Ion Iliescu and his party are now back to power following the general elections from November 2000.
[92] Ioan Mircea Pascu, "Romania's Response to a Restructured World," in Daniel N. Nelson, *Romania After Tyranny*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 277.
[93] Romanian Ministry of Defense, *Conceptia Integrata privind Securitatea Nationala a Romaniei*, draft submitted for approval to the Romanian Parliament, Sept 1994, 6.
[94] Ronald H. Linden, "After the Revolution: A Foreign Policy of Bounded Change," in Daniel N. Nelson, *Romania After Tyranny*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 222.

creation the opportunities for this. The government will subordinate everything else to this"[95]. Similarly, the governmental coalition of the new Romanian president Emil Constantinescu, which took power in November 1996 and which included the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR) as one of its members, acknowledged that NATO "had a highly positive, perhaps even decisive, influence in stabilizing the Romanian-Hungarian relations" and promised to transform the bilateral relationship into a "hard core of stability in Central Europe"[96]. The issue of national minorities has yet continued to animate the political atmosphere in the region when a new Hungarian conservative coalition formed the government in May 1998 and especially after the return to power of Iliescu's political party in Romania in November 2000.

Engaging NATO

The strategic political objectives of NATO in relation with the aspirant countries have been consistently reiterated in all major statements and documents starting with the Rome Declaration in 1991, the Partnership for Peace Framework Document in 1994, the EAPC Basic Document in 1997, and finally the Membership Action Plan in April 1999. These objectives have been translated into practice through various partnership programs and it is presumed to have imposed serious constraints on the capacity of the candidate countries to go to war against each other. This proposition does not imply that Hungary and Romania have lost their military capacity to pursue war against each other as a consequence of their collaboration with NATO. It only contends that NATO's institutional engagement with Hungary and Romania has substantively changed the terms of the bilateral framework between the two countries, by increasing institutional incentives for political and military cooperation. The validity of this

NATO Political Objectives:

- To settle international disputes by peaceful means;
- To demonstrate commitment to the rule of law and human rights;
- To settle ethnic disputes or external territorial disputes including irredentist claims or internal jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means in accordance with OSCE principles and to pursue good neighborly relations;
- To establish appropriate democratic and civilian control of the armed forces;
- To refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN;
- To contribute to the development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening free institutions and by promoting stability and well-being;
- To continue fully to support and be engaged in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the Partnership for Peace;
- To show a commitment to promoting stability and well-being by economic liberty, social justice and environmental responsibility.

Source: The Membership Action Plan, April 1999

[95] Gyula Horn, "Contribution to the Debate on Foreign Affairs in the Hungarian Parliament", *Current Policy*, no. 3a, 1995.

[96] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, "White Book on Romania and NATO," http://mae.kappa.ro/wbrn/contents.html: 1997: Chapter 3.

claim can be examined in two steps. The first one explores the level of institutional engagement between NATO and the two countries, at both political and military level. The second one assesses the impact of this variable on the Hungarian-Romanian bilateral relationship at the level of foreign and military-defense policies. With regard to the first aspect, Table 1 and 2 provide an evaluation of the degree of political and military institutional commitment between NATO and the two countries.

Table 1: *Level of political engagement with NATO*

	NACC[a]	PfP[b]	IID[c]	EAPC[d]	MAP[e]
Hungary	X	X	X	X	-
Romania	X	X	X	X	X

[a] North Atlantic Cooperation Council (1991-1997).
[b] This includes the Partnership for Peace inaugurated in January 1994, the PfP enhancement from May 1996 and the PfP enhanced program from June-July 1997.
[c] Intensified Individual Dialogue.
[d] Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council - established as successor of NACC in May 1997.
[e] Membership Action Plan - launched in April 1999.

Following its admission into the Alliance in April 1999, Hungary entered a new phase of institutional engagement, fact that explains the missing data from the corresponding MAP and Enhanced PfP columns. The two tables suggest that at both political and military level, the degree of institutional engagement between NATO and the two countries has been constantly high. The political rapprochement initiated by NATO in the early days of the 1990s toward the former Warsaw Treaty members has been steadily developing into a complex relationship of cooperation resting on solid political and military pillars. Moreover, both countries joined almost immediately all political initiatives and operational programs set forth by NATO and followed relatively closely the requirements for partnership and membership. Actually, NATO has had no problems in convincing the two countries to join its programs, but rather in accommodating their unrelenting demands for further political and military cooperation.

Table 2: *Level of military engagement with NATO*

	PfP					Enhanced PfP			MAP[h]			
	IPP[a]	PCC[b]	PARP[c]	PWP[d]	IFOR/ SFOR	PSE[e]	Bi-MNC & ExPARP[f]	RCE[g]	D&M	RA	SI	LM
Hungary	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
Romania	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

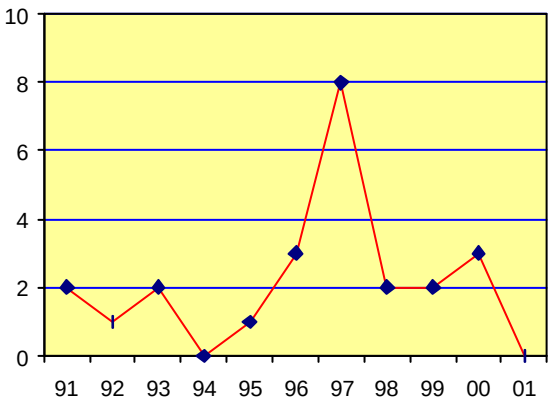
[a] 16+1 Individual Partnership Program.
[b] Partnership Coordination Cell in Mons.
[c] Planning and Review Process.
[d] Partnership W ork Program.
[e] Partnership for Peace Staff Elements
[e] The interoperability Bi-MNC concept and expanded PARP.
[f] Regional cooperation enhancement.
[h] Refers to the military-related chapters of the annual national program: defense-military including the OCC concept, resource allocation, information security, and legal matters.

While illustrative from a quantitative point of view, the two tables are unfortunately silent on the quality of the institutional engagement between NATO and the two countries. The expectation is that gradual convergence of the political and military directions of the two countries to NATO's strategic objectives produces a positive boomerang effect on the relationship between Hungary and Romania.

I. Foreign and military policy directions

Both countries emerged from the communist period with no clearly articulated foreign and military policies, except for two enthusiastic but nevertheless vague and contradictory ambitions: to integrate themselves as soon as possible into the Euro-Atlantic political-military structures (NATO, EU, WEU, Council of Europe) and to uphold the nationalist basis of state power. It is actually the merit of NATO and EU to pressure and channel the foreign and military policy efforts of both countries on pursuing the first objective and on preventing nationalist U-turns. The strong political and military engagement of both countries with NATO illustrated in Table 1 and 2 was paralleled by a four-stage evolution of the Romanian-Hungarian military and political relationship. First, the number of cooperation agreements (see Graph 1) between the two states increased steadily, especially after the

Graph 1: Major bilateral agreements

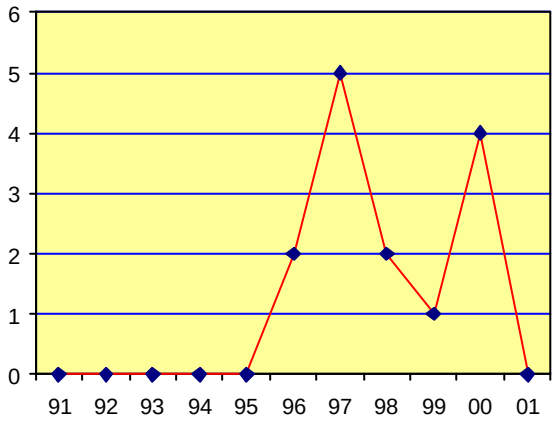


Source: Romanian and Hungarian Ministries of Foreign Affairs

launch of the PfP in January 1994 and the change of government in Hungary and Romania in 1994 and respectively 1996. Secondly, under NATO/US pressure, political normalization followed suit with the conclusion of the Treaty of Understanding, Co-operation and Good Neighborly Relations (the Basic Treaty) in 1996, which besides guaranteeing the inviolability of borders and the territorial integrity of each party, stated provisions for regular consultations on issues concerning security, defense, regional stability and mutual support for integration into NATO, EU and WEU[97].

Thirdly, the previous adversarial stance has gradually given way after 1996 to a cooperative relationship resting on relatively strong institutional ties and improved policy coordination. A Joint Intergovernmental Commission for Cooperation and Active Partnership was established in October 1997 as a means to promote transparency, generate feedback and convey mutual assistance on all key bilateral issues, especially those related to Euro-Atlantic integration[98]. In the military realm, a joint peacekeeping battalion composed of 500 soldiers from each country had been agreed upon in March 1998 and became operational on year later, having as one of its missions the transfer of expertise that Hungary has gained from its NATO recent membership[99].

Graph 2: Official high-level meetings



Source: Romanian and Hungarian Ministries of Foreign Affair

Fourthly, following the 1998 election of a conservative coalition in Hungary and the return to power of Iliescu's party in Romania in November 2000 the level of bilateral contacts between the two countries has receded sharply (see Graph 2). However, neither the bilateral military relationship nor the general institutional setting presents yet visible signs of disruption but this situation may reverse swiftly in the near future. It is nevertheless true that despite the general positive trend, the sound political and military engagement between NATO and the two countries has not been yet rendered into similar vigorous patterns of bilateral cooperation between Hungary and Romania.

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[97] "Treaty Between the Republic of Hungary and Romania on Understanding, Cooperation and Good Neighborhood," http://www.htmh.hu/dokumentumok/asz-ro-e.htm:1996: Art. 5-7.
[98] Stephen R. Burant, "After NATO Enlargement: Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, and the Problem of Further European Integration," *Problems of Post-Communism* 48, 2 (March/April 2001), 37.
[99] Ibid., 38.

This contrast emerges clearly when comparing Table 1 and 2 with Table 3, which summarizes the regulative framework governing the political-military relationships between Romania and Hungary.

Table 3: *Major political-military agreements between Hungary and Romania*

Subject	Date
1. Agreement between the Governments of the Republic of Hungary and Romania on the establishment of an Open Skies regime	May 11, 1991
2. Agreement between the Governments of the Republic of Hungary and Romania on confidence- and security-building measures complementing the 1994 Vienna Document of the OSCE and on the development of military relations	September 6, 1996
3. Treaty between the Republic of Hungary and Romania on mutual understanding, co-operation and good-neighborliness (the Basic Treaty)	September 16, 1996
4. Protocol between the Governments of the Republic of Hungary and Romania on the establishment of an intergovernmental Joint Committee on co-operation and active partnership between the Republic of Hungary and Romania and its Terms of Reference	March 10, 1997
5. Protocol on co-operation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary and Romania	March 12, 1997
6. Agreement between the Governments of the Republic of Hungary and Romania on the establishment of a joint peacekeeping battalion	March 20, 1998

Table 3 provides thus only moderate grounds of optimism concerning the possibility of developing a security community in the CEE region. NATO's robust political and military engagement with Hungary and Romania has proved indeed conducive to the improvement of the bilateral relationships between the two countries at the level of foreign and military policy directions, but this process has been advancing very slowly and the results are yet indecisive. The conclusion of the Basic Treaty has been followed so far only by two concrete measures regarding the establishment of a joint committee of partnership and a joint peacekeeping battalion. Unfortunately, none of these two initiatives seems to be animated by any intense activity. Moreover, the issue of national minorities has been forcefully re-tabled this year onto the political agenda in the context of the Hungarian government's proposal of granting certain economic and social benefits to kinship minorities living in neighboring countries. The proposal was met with strong suspicion by Iliescu's government and triggered a spiral of rhetorical exchanges between the two governments.

The Romanian Prime Minister Adrian Nastase went even so far to forbid in very harsh terms the confidence-building practice established under the previous Romanian government, whereby Hungarian officials visited Transylvania without prior coordination with Romanian authorities[100]. Under these circumstances, further measures of institutional consolidation and policy coordination are hardly foreseen in near-term despite the otherwise generous and striking similar foreign and military policy orientations (see Table 4).

Table 4: *Foreign and military policy orientations*

Hungary[101]	**Romania**[102]
Creation of good neighborly relations with the states in the region.	Developing the friendship relations and regional cooperation with the neighbor countries.
Becoming a member of the European Union at the earliest possible opportunity and under the most favorable possible terms.	Preparing the admission, creating the conditions, managing the mechanisms, and using all the resources needed for the integration in NATO and EU structures.
Creation of conditions permitting the implementation of the rights of the Hungarian minority living beyond the borders, and the realization of those efforts to achieve autonomy in compliance with European practice.	Supporting the interests of the Romanian citizens and of the Romanians abroad and encouraging their relations with the country.
Active participation in the forums of the United Nations and the OSCE, and the work of other international organizations.	Promoting a more dynamic multilateral diplomacy, mainly within UN and its specialized agencies, for improving Romania's role in the world.
NATO collective defense	Preventing, discouraging and blocking any potential aggression against Romania.
Achieving interoperability by NATO standards in terms of military equipment and communication skills.	
Creation of a sufficient number of appropriately trained experts for a successful implementation of democratic and civilian control over the armed forces.	Strengthening democratic civil control of armed forces.

[100] "Romanian Premier Adamant on Hungarian Visits," http://www.rferl.org/newsline/2001/03/060301.html: RFE/RL NEWSLINE, 6 March 2001.

[101] "Foreign and Security Policy – Part XIII of the Government Program," http://www.mfa.gov.hu/Altalanosinf/angol/govprog.htm; "Hungary and NATO: on the road to membership," http://www.mfa.gov.hu/NATO/Content.html.

[102] "The Governing Program for 2001-2004," http://www.guv.ro; "The Romanian Security and Defense Policy," http://www.mapn.ro/politicaaparare/domenii.htm; "Key elements of the national strategy for adhering to NATO," http://mae.kappa.ro; "Romanian Membership Action Plan for integration into NATO," http://mae.kappa.ro.

The examination of the evolution of the international positions of Hungary and Romania during the past decade suggests as a preliminary conclusion, that NATO's magnetism has indeed exerted a great deal of positive influence on the foreign and military directions of both countries, but it has failed so far to eliminate the issue of national minorities as the main source of mistrust and political tension between them. The next section will investigate the potential ramifications of this contentious issue for the national security strategy and policy of the two countries.

II. National Security Strategy and Policy

The dual concept of national security strategy and policy (NSSP), addressing one country's security objectives and their corresponding instruments of implementation, is rather new in Central and Eastern Europe since previous the implosion of the communist regimes, it had been the Soviet Union that decided for its satellites what constituted national security and how far could it depart from the spirit of the Brezhnev Doctrine[103]. Romania represented one of the few CEE exceptions from this general rule but its expertise in this field became rather an obstacle than an advantage when faced after 1989 with the requirement to formulate a NSSP in line with the political objectives of NATO partnership and eventual membership[104]. Lack of good expertise and suspicion against civilian activities contributed to the almost exclusive involvement of the military in the process of drafting of the first post-communist security policies[105] in the CEE region in general, and in Hungary and Romania in particular. The results were thus predictable: both the 1994 draft of the "Integrated Conception regarding the National Security of Romania" and the 1993 "Basic Principles of Security Policy of Hungary" were cloaked in the same old paranoid vocabulary stressing suspicion against the neighboring countries. NATO membership was thus considered the best security arrangement against country's perceived threats.

The process of close political and military cooperation between NATO and the CEE countries inaugurated by the launch of the PfP in January 1994 has proved expedient in this area as well. NATO's explicit concern not to import regional tensions into the Alliance put pressure on the candidate countries to settle their differences and improve their relationship before joining the

[103] Jan Arveds Trapans, "National Security Concepts in Central and Eastern Europe," http://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/9706-08.htm: NATO Review: Web Edition No. 6, Vol. 45 - pp. 27-30, Nov-Dec 1997;
[104] Zoltan Barany, "Democratic Consolidation and the Military: The East European Experience," *Comparative Politics* 30, 1 (October 1997): 21-43.
[105] Ferenc Gazdag, "Evolving Security Concepts and Defence Doctrines in Central and Eastern Europe," in László Póti (ed.) *Defence Studies*, (Budapest: Charta Press Kft. ISBN: 963 8117, June 1998).

Alliance. By 2000 both Hungary and Romania amended or adopted revised versions of their NSSP more attuned to the new regional security environment as well as to NATO's membership requirements.

The key elements of the new NSSP emphasized no threatening postures towards the neighboring countries, commitment to regional cooperation and peacekeeping missions, democratic civilian control of the armed forces, military strategies of denial based on minimum levels of sufficiency coupled with increased military interoperability by NATO standards, increased role of civilians in the military structure, growing attention to non-military as well as to internal sources of threats, guideline procedures for crisis management and containment, medium-term deployment of Rapid Reaction Forces, gradual professionalization of the army, and civil emergency planning for a timely and efficient response to natural or man-made disasters. While the institutional component will be addressed in the next section, Table 5 outlines the legal NSSP framework of the two countries.

Key elements of NSSP:

- National security concept
- Threat analysis
- Crisis management
- Defense policy and planning
- Civil emergency planning
- Action plan

The critical question concerns the implementation effects of NSSPs: do they do what they promise to do, namely to enhance regional stability and remove sources of military conflict? The answer so far is positive but with a caveat. It has been already noted the impressive shift in content between the first and the second round of NSSPs. Compared with the previous allergic suspicion of both sides to each other political and military intentions, the latest versions of NSSP rest on more benign definition of threats and stronger commitment to regional cooperation at both political and military level, within the framework set by NATO's PfP program. The first practical test of this relationship came with the 1999 admission of Hungary as full member of NATO.

Table 5: *Legal basis of the Hungarian and Romanian NSSP*

Hungary	Romania
Act on the Principles of Security Policy (1993): strategic goals: NATO and WEU membership.	National Security Strategy (1999): democratic stability, sustaining economic development, EU and NATO integration.
Act on the Basic Principles of the Defense of Hungary (1993): basic missions of the armed forces.	Military Strategy (2000): strategic concepts; modernization efforts - Project Force 2005; risk assessment.
Defense Act (1993)	Defense Act (1994); Law on Defense Planning (1998)
Act on the Restructuring of the Hungarian Defense Forces (1995) - Medium-term (to 1998) and long-term (to 2005).	The Romanian Armed Forces Restructuring and Modernization Program (FARO-2005/2010).
1999 Strategic Review; 3-phased Action Plan: 2000-2003 (interoperability and service conditions); 2004-2006 (material and unit readiness); 2007-2010 (equipment modernization).	Framework Action Plan 2000-2003: Rapid Reaction Force, NATO interoperability, modernization.

Contrary to the ominous forecasts advocated by nationalist skeptics[106], this changed position of Hungary vis-à-vis Romania has cast no negative spin on the general military-security posture of Hungary towards Romania. Moreover, Hungary has refrained to use the strategic advantage entailed by NATO membership to advance its political and economic goals and expressed repeatedly its support for an early admission of its neighbors into NATO and EU[107]. The caveat deals yet with the fact that no institutional framework can resist over time in absence of a corresponding normative change at the level of political elites and the public opinion. While the present conditions offer encouraging reasons for optimism in the case of Hungary, the situation in Romania is unfortunately still open to serious doubts. This issue will be discussed in more detail later in this paper.

[106] Ioan M. Pascu, Draft Special Report, "Can We Really Get Rid of Division in Europe?," North Atlantic Assembly: Sub-Committee on Transatlantic and European Relations, http://www.naa.be/publications/comrep/1997.html: 4 August 1997.

[107] "Hungarian Prime Minister's Visit at NATO HQ," Brussels 24 July, 1998; "Speech by the Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán at the NAC Meeting and NATO's Flag Raising Ceremony," Brussels 16 March, 1999, http://www.mfa.gov.hu/NATO/Content.html.

III. Military readiness and compatibility

General policy orientations such as foreign, military and national security strategies are indicative for anticipating future courses of action. In this respect, the last two sections advanced the argument that, given the context of NATO partnership programs, further improvement of the political and military relationships between Romania and Hungary is expected, although not at a very fast pace. However, the general problem with strategies and long-term planning especially in the CEE region stems from the usual overstatement of intentions over the availability of resources and capabilities. Hence, this section tries to preempt this criticism by examining in mode detail the military capacity of the two countries with regard to their level of cooperative engagement within NATO partnership framework and between themselves.

Although not very loudly trumpeted, the design-capability gap started to be acknowledged as a serious defense-planning problem in both Romania and Hungary. In this respect, General Constantin Degeratu, the former Romanian Army Chief of the General Staff, appreciated that:

> *The units have a certain operational capacity, and are able to cope with average to low risk situations, namely to accidental situations or some provocation. If there were a major conflict in the area, with the involvement of modern armies, it would certainly be untrue to say that the Romanian Army is able to cope with average or high-level conflicts. If we were to make a correct appraisal of the operational levels, compared with NATO standards, we would have to admit that we are very far from this level*[108].

Similar questions were raised in connection with the medium-term capacity of the Hungarian Armed forces to adjust themselves to the requirements of the Alliance, given the inherited structure of the armed forces, decaying Soviet military technology, and slow pace of military modernization programs concerning personnel policy, hardware modernization, and defense industry reform[109].

As argued in the previous sections, both Romania and Hungary have undertaken significant steps in reforming their defense institutions and aligning their military to NATO compatibility standards in terms of the structure of the armed forces, proper equipment, infrastructure and adequate levels of readiness. In the words of a former Romanian Minister of Defense, the

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[108] Constantin Degeratu quoted in Donald R. Falls, Lt. Col., "NATO Enlargement: Is Romania Ready to Join the Alliance?," (Senior Service School thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, Security Studies Program, March 2000), 60.

[109] Andrew Michta, "Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO: Producers or Consumers of Security," *NATO Enlargement and Peacekeeping: Journeys to Where?*, East European Studies Program (Washington, D.C., Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2001), Conference Proceedings, 16.

ultimate objective is to "transform the military from a mass army designed for mass confrontations to a professional military able to participate efficiently in a large range of missions within both the national and multinational framework"[110]. Hence, strongly motivated by the perspective of NATO membership, both countries launched ambitions programs of military modernization spanning over of a 5-10 year period, aiming at reducing the military personnel, securing interoperability with the rest of Allied forces, and upgrading the military equipment and infrastructure, as briefly illustrated in Table 9.

Table 6: *Restructuring of the armed forces*

	Romania		**Hungary**	
	2000	2007	1998	2005
Active Armed Forces[111]	180,000	112,000	52,200	37,950
Defense budget (mil. USD)[112]	710	1070		
	Priorities 2000-2005 (mil. USD)[113]		Ratio percentage of the defense budget for 2000/2003 - 2003/2005 - 2005/2010[114]	
	Procurement	3,981	Quality of life[115]	70-20-10
	Infrastructure	254	Material and Unit Readiness	20-60-30
	Military Restructuring[116]	300	Equipment modernization	10-20-60
	Personnel Training	88		
	Military Education System	64		

[110] Dr. Victor Babiuc, Romanian Minister of National Defense, "Reform of the Romanian Armed Forces: Modernization and Interoperability," in *Romania and Euro-Atlantic Integration*, ed. Kurt W. Treptow and Mihail E. Ionescu (Iasi: The Center for Romanian Studies, 1999), 124.

[111] IISS (International Institute for Strategic Studies), *The Military Balance, 2000–2001*.

[112] "Defense Council Considering Army Restructuring Concept," *Ziua*, June 2, 1999; *Reform of the Armed Forces:* 1995-1998-2005, Budapest, Ministry of Defense.

[113] General Ioan Gavril Ghitas, Deputy Chief of the Romanian General Staff, "The Costs of the Reform of the Romanian Armed Forces," *Romania and Euro-Atlantic Integration*, 169.

[114] "Transformation of the Hungarian Defense Forces," http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=582

[115] The last authorized reduction (October 1, 2000) of the number of active Hungarian officers made reference to following rank structure: 25% 2nd lt. and Lt., 48% Capt., 24% Maj., 19% Lt.Col., and 4 % Col. and Gen; the authorized peacetime strength categories as of June 30, 2000: Conscript 33%, Contract 17%, NCO 24%, Officer 15%, Civilian 11%; ibid.

[116] The Romanian MoD has recently announced its plan to reduce by 2004 the number of active officers to 41% 2nd lt. and Lt., 27% Capt., 15% Maj., 12% Lt.Col., 4.2 % Col., and 0.8% Gen; for details see România Libera, "Pana la sfarsitul anului 2003 armata româna va avea cu 10 000 ofiteri mai putin," http://www.romanialibera.com: 16 May 2001.

Despite these serious efforts, none of the two countries appears able to reach full compatibility with NATO standards in the near future. In the case of Hungary, increased economic performance has not been associated with larger defense budgets. On the contrary, the budget of the Hungarian Armed Forces (HDF) has constantly shrunk from a 3.5 percent of the GDP in 1988 to 1.51 percent of the 2000 GDP level despite governmental promises to increase the defense budget from 1998 onwards by an annual rate of 0.1 percent[117]. On the other hand, the Hungarian military performance, measured in terms of current capacities and prospects, was assessed as insufficient for producing a cumulative trend that would allow Hungary to become a security contributor to the Alliance in the near term[118]. The three major areas posing problems to further integration concern: command and control interoperability, integration of the existing air defense systems into the NATO structure, and preparation of facilities to receive NATO reinforcement units[119]. Other capability requirements that need strong improvement are: combat readiness and mobility; sustainability and logistics; effective engagement capability; survivability of troops and infrastructure; command, control and information systems[120].

Strongly influenced by US defense planning methods and following the 1999 NATO call for a Membership Action Plan (MAP), Romania set off an interagency process including the MoD, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice, and the intelligence service, that resulted into a comprehensive MAP Annual National Plan (ANP) covering defense planning as well as other political, economic, national security, and legal issues[121]. In addition, the Defense Ministry created the NATO Integration Council in June 1999, in order to facilitate communication and cooperation between the defense ministry and the General Staff in preparing its ANP. However, under conditions of severe economic constraints, the situation of the Romanian Armed Forces (RAF) offers little signs for further optimism. According to the Chief of General Staff, Gen. Mihail Popescu, the execution rate of the planned military exercises is 50 percent for the Naval Forces and only 13 percent for the Air Forces[122].

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[117] Zoltan Barany, "Hungary: Am Outpost on the Troubled Periphery," in *America's New Allies: Poland, Hungary, and Czech Republic in NATO*, Michta, Andrew (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 96.
[118] Peterson Ulrich, Marybeth, "The New Allies: Approaching Political and Military Standards," *NATO and Europe in the 21st Century: New Roles for a Changing Partnership*, East European Studies Program (Washington, D.C., Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2000), Conference Proceedings, 45.
[119] Tomas Valasek, "Preparations for NATO Membership Behind Schedule," *Weekly Defense Monitor*, Volume 3, Issue 1 (January 7, 1999).
[120] "Transformation of the Hungarian Defense Forces," http://www.honvedelem.hu/cikk.php?cikk=582
[121] For details see the "Romanian Membership Action Plan for integration into NATO," http://mae.kappa.ro.
[122] România Libera, "Mari mesteri, dar numai la vorbe," http://www.romanialibera.com: 9 May 2001.

Hence, Gen. Popescu estimates that RAF cannot achieve military interoperability by NATO standards before 2014-2019, but in operational terms it can catch up relatively quickly with the three recent NATO members[123]. Even this last objective might not be so easy to achieve after all, given the current tendency to reduce the numbers of partnership goals assumed under the PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP). The number of interoperability objectives (IO) and partnership goals (PG) assumed by Romania within the PfP PARP program has evolved as follows: PARP I (1994-1997): 20 IO; PARP II (1997-1999): 44 IO; PARP III (1999-): 84 PG[124]. The draft of the next Romanian ANP reportedly makes reference to 13 primary objectives and stresses provisions for a drastic revision of the number of PGs[125].

The severity of financial and military problems affecting the reform process of the Romanian armed forces determined a recent RAND study to place Romania second from the last - together with Macedonia but before Albania and after Slovenia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania - in terms of its likelihood of NATO membership[126]. By relying on set of key indicators encompassing deterrence sufficiency, power projection capacity, defense expenditures, GDP growth, political regime, strategic exposure etc., the RAND study produced a set of four composite criteria for assessing the capacity of the candidate countries to contribute to the security of the Alliance. In the light of the arguments presented in this section, Table 10 applies three RAND criteria for comparing the readiness status of the Hungarian and Romanian armed forces with regard to their contribution to NATO security.

Table 7: *Readiness status of the Romanian and Hungarian armed forces*

	Romania	**Hungary**
Contribution to NATO peace operations	Medium to Low	Medium to Low
Severity of military problems	High	Medium
Ability to address military problems	Medium	High

It should be nevertheless mentioned the assessment results presented in Table 10 do not take into account the significant differences existing within the military of each of the two countries. In

[123] Mediafax, "România este candidatul cel mai important pentru al doilea val al lãrgirii NATO, aºa cum a fost Polonia în valul anterior, considerã ºeful Statului Major General," http://www.mediafax.ro: 21 June 2001.
[124] For details see "Parteneriatul pentru pace si extinderea NATO," http://www.mapn.ro/re2000/romana/pfp.htm.
125 "Declaratia Secretarului de Stat si Sef al Departamentului pentru Integrare EuroAtlantica si Politica de Aparare, D-l Cristian Geroge Maior," http://www.mapn.ro/actualitati/dosare/decmaior.htm: 20 March 2001.
[126] Thomas S. Szayna, "NATO Enlargement, 2000-2015: Determinants and Implications for Defense Planning and Shaping," (RAND, 2001), ISBN: 0-8330-2961-4; MR-1243-AF, 142.

fact, both states have two militaries: one small, better equipped and NATO compatible (the Rapid Reaction Forces), and the rest of armed forces that can hardly keep the pace with the more advance units (the main defense forces and the reinforcement forces). Hence, the critical issue that both countries must face in medium term is to bridge this gap through a better allocation of resources and through a personnel policy that would rotate officers between the two types of units[127].

To conclude, the general argument of this section assumes that the better the compatibility and interoperability of the Hungarian and Romanian armed forces with those of the Alliance, the greater the chances for regional stability and cooperation. This flows from the general observation that small military units trained primarily for peacekeeping missions are very conducive to this effect rather than large armies, prepared for mass confrontation. However, under conditions of sever economic constraints, greater allocation of resources for meeting NATO interoperability standards can trigger opposite effects to the regional stability. By divesting critical resources from social, economic and educational projects, intensified military efforts for achieving NATO compatibility could spawn negative effects and undermine the social fabric and the democratic prospects of the respective country. None of the two countries find itself in this situation but Romania might come close to this scenario, would the domestic economic conditions and the lack of external assistance continue to degrade.

IV. Democratic civilian control of the military

Likewise the NSSP concept and largely for the same reasons, democratic civilian control over the military (DCCM) represented another alien notion faced by the CEE post-communist defense establishments. Democratization implies the introduction of basic democratic principles into security and defense policy-making and tries to provide legal answers to problems related to the political control and division of authority on defense issues between the three branches of government. The process of "civilianization" is considered a guarantor of successful democratization of the security and defense apparatus and tries to make sure that fundamental political-security options are not distorted or corrupted by narrow military preferences[128].

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[127] Ibid.

[128] For more on this issue see Réka Szemerkényi, "Central European Civil-Military Reforms at Risk," The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Adelphi Paper 306* (London: Oxford University Press, 1996); Jeffrey Simon, *NATO Enlargement and Central Europe: A Study in Civil-Military Relations* (Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 1996); M. Caparini, *A review of civil-military relations in Central and Eastern Europe: Avenues for Assistance in Strengthening Democratic Control over the Armed Forces* (University of Calgary Press,

Hence, the level of civilian involvement and oversight of the military-defense structures constitutes an important indicator for the level of democratic consolidation of the respective countries. In addition to this, NATO's strong interest in the CEE civil-military relations has been influenced by the risks attached to the stability and well-functioning of the Alliance by two factors: the mentality of former communist military elites and the fear of "praetorian coups"(see the case of the Greek military junta between 1967-1974). Therefore, the introduction of DCCM as a mandatory criterion for NATO membership was intended to take all these three factors into account and make sure that enlargement would not undermine the political and military effectiveness of the Alliance.

NATO standards for democratic civil-military relations:

- Clear legal and Constitutional frameworks;
- Increased transparency in national defense planning and budgeting processes;
- Enduring democratic control of national armed forces;
- Civilian Ministry of Defense;
- Effective oversight and scrutiny of the military by the Parliament;
- Clear division of professional responsibility between civilian and military personnel.

Source: 1994 PfP Framework Document, 1995 Study on NATO enlargement, 1999 Membership Action Plan

Regardless the concern for the stability of the Alliance, DCCM is also critically important for the evolution of bilateral relationships between the CEE countries. Given the usual military proclivity to exaggerate threats in order to benefit from larger defense budgets, it is thus presumed that increased civilian democratic control of the military ensures a better political bilateral relationship. Interestingly enough, the military relations between Romania and Hungary are generally credited to have followed a more positive path then the political ones, primarily because of the more intense cooperation in the military realm between the two states within the framework of NATO partnership programs. This observation draws attention to the fact that the dual process of democratization and "civilianization" of the defense policy-making structures is still in an embryonic phase.

The main attributes featuring the civil-military relations in the two countries are presented in Table 6, which shows that most of the formal DCCM requirements have been by now put in place in both Hungary and Romania. However, in line with the CEE post-communist tradition, the formal introduction of certain measures is not necessary followed by a highly effective implementation in terms of reaching the objectives for which they were designed. DCCM makes no exception from this general rule. On the contrary, it appears now that DCCM in both Hungary and Romania has been highly ineffective and despite the general legal framework, civilian

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1996). Rudoph Joó, *The democratic control of armed forces*, Chaillot Papers 23 (Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies, 1996); R.H. Kohn, "Out of control. The crisis in civil-military relations," *The National Interest* (Spring, 1994): 3-17.

control of the military has not been yet rendered operational. The reasons for this failure are partially structural and deal with the contradictions existing in the general legal framework.

Table 8: *General framework of democratic civilian control of the military*

Hungary	Romania
The National Defense Cabinet can be established only in situation of national crisis; is chaired by the President of the Republic and is composed of the following members: the Speaker of Parliament, the leaders of the parliamentary groups, the Prime Minister, the Ministers, and the Commanding Officer and the Chief of Staff of the Hungarian Army. (Art 19B of the Constitution)	Law 39/1990 establishing the Supreme National Defense Council (SNDC): interagency organization (defense, foreign affairs, internal affairs, pertinent ministries and special participants); adopts binding decisions.
1949 Constitution (amended in Oct 89 and March 90): President is commander-in-chief of the armed forces; General Staff (responsible to the President) legally separated from the Ministry of Defense (responsible to the government).	1991 Constitution (art.92): The President is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and also chairman of the SNDC.
Defense Law (1993): The position of Hungarian Army Commander fused with the Chief of General Staff, separated again in 1994, and re-merged in 1996.	Law of National Defense (1991; 1994): MoD is the central executive organ for defense; accountable to the parliament, president, government and SNDC.
Parliamentary committees: defense, budget and finance, national security, state audit; MPs cannot be members of the military.	Parliamentary committees: defense, public order and national security (2); budget and finance (2); intelligence service (1); MPs cannot be members of the military.
The Constitutional Court's 1992 decision – highly influential in putting the armed forces and military intelligence under the control of MoD; State Audit Office - oversees budget expenditures.	The Constitutional Court and the Court of Audit oversee the legality of defense-related normative acts and respectively, the proper administration of the defense budget.
Major civilian positions: Ministry of Defense, Administrative State Secretary; number of civilian positions - unstable, depending on the political orientation of the government.	Major civilian Positions: Ministry of Defense, Secretary General of MoD, State Secretary for Euro-Atlantic Integration and Defense Policy; State Secretary for the relation with the Parliament.

In the Romanian case for instance, the Supreme National Defense Council (SNDC) was specially designed to enhance the powers of the first post-communist president Ion Iliescu despite his limited constitutional prerogatives. Accordingly, the SNDC is legally entitled to take binding decisions, which are secret, obligatory, and enforceable immediately after the adoption. No

parliamentary deliberation is required prior or after their enforcement. The SCND has yet a legal duty to inform the Parliament through reports presented once a year or to answer its requests for information. The reports have always been presented later than requested and the debates have been most of the times simply postponed. Basically, the Parliament has always received what the Council wanted to provide. In addition, SNDC's decisions are binding only for its members. The consequence is that a minister who is not present at a SNCD meeting may simply choose to ignore a SCND 'binding decision' as has already happened[129]. Unfortunately, this situation has remained unchanged until this moment. In the Hungarian case, the continuing wrangling between the General Staff and the defense ministry has made civilian oversight also increasingly difficult[130].

Even when the legal framework is relatively clear and coherent, DCCM has not produced impressive results. Thus, despite its established structures of committees and procedures, parliamentary oversight of the military remains largely formal and practically ineffective. The defense committees are usually flooded with irrelevant information and lack sufficient expertise and capacity of analysis. Moreover, given the communist political tradition and the post-communist structure of party competition, the CEE parliamentary defense committees have not yet developed a more intrusive attitude with regard to the defense policy making process, like the US Congress or the German Bundestag. Even the most powerful instrument of civilian oversight, the financial control of the defense budget, has rather become a simple rubber-stamp practice. In absence of independent civilian scrutiny, there is no "value for money" qualitative assessment of military requirements. Budgetary items figures are proposed by the members of the military and are not seriously challenged by civilian policy-makers or MPs. After being traded-off between the ministries, the defense budget is then presented to the parliament for adoption sometimes only in the form of only one page in length[131]. Hence, parliamentary fiscal powers are restricted to approving the overall size of the defense budget while leaving large discretion to the MoD for reallocating the budgetary items.

A last important set or problems hindering the DCCM process concerns the level of political commitment to the issue of civilian control of the military. Hungary is probably the most

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[129] For more details on this subject see Dorina Nãstase, "Institutional Choice and Bureaucratic Inertia in Transition: the US National Security Council - Institutional Model for the Romanian Supreme Council for National Defense?," *Romanian Journal of Society and Politics* 1, 1 (March 2001): 70-94.
[130] J. Simon, *NATO Enlargement and Central Europe: A Study in Civil-Military Relations.*
[131] Szemerkényi, "Central European Civil-Military Reforms at Risk," 28.

commented example in this context, given the policy of the 1994-1998 socialist-liberal coalition to reverse the process of "civilianization" of the MoD inaugurated by the previous conservative government. Most of the senior positions had been thus returned to the older generation of military who, after Western pressures, managed to keep their positions by accepting to be retired into civilian-hood or simply by stopping to wear military uniforms[132]. The tendency had been also present in Romania before 1993 but eventually was blocked after 1996. However, the issue of political commitment has remained critical for the effective implementation of DCCM. The former Romanian President Emil Constantinescu had thus to intervene swiftly in November 2000 and dismiss the Chief of General Staff Mircea Chelaru for his negative comments concerning the role of civilians in the military. Chelaru was also accused of masterminding a semi-political organization, the National Association of the Romanian Military (ANMR), founded by retired and serving officers in the army, the Ministry of the Interior and the Security Services. The memorandum of association stated that the "military personnel cannot and must not indifferently witness the humiliation or ignorance of the national values or the continuous decay of living standards" and consequently, it called for developing public attitudes against corruption, crime and activities against the State[133].

The return to power of Ion Iliescu in November 2000 has made the issue of political commitment more ambivalent. On one hand, the new government supported the appointment in important positions of persons with dubious political and professional records. Thus, a former communist secret service officer suspected for having been involved in the attacks directed between 1980 and 1983 against Radio Free Europe staff in Munich[134] was selected to serve as chairman of the parliamentary committee in charge with the supervision of the activity of the intelligence service. The suspected MP resigned eventually under heavy press criticism[135]. Certain suspicions were raised also in connection with the person appointed as director of the Romanian Intelligence Service[136]. On the other hand, the former Chief of General Staff dismissed six months before, Gen. Mircea Chelaru was placed on reserve, after having been initially threatened with the Martial Court, for attending a recent ceremony honoring the pro-Nazi World War II leader

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[132] Ibid., 76.

[133] Catherine and David Lovatt, *Central European Review*, "Resignation of army chief," Vol. 2, No 38 (6 November 2000); http://www.ce-review.org/00/38/romanianews38.html

[134] RFE/RL Newsline, "Romanian Premier Denies 'Priboi Scandal' Affects NATO Integration," http://www.rferl.org/newsline/2001/02/150201.html: February 15, 2001.

135 RFE/RL Newsline, "Former Romanian Securitate Officer Resigns Parliamentary Position," http://www.rferl.org/newsline/2001/04/4-see/see-200401.html: April 1, 2001.

[136] RFE/RL Newsline, "Timofte Likely To Be Cleared By Romanian Parliamentary Commission," http://www.rferl.org/newsline/2001/04/4-see/see-250401.html: April 25, 2001.

Marshal Ion Antonescu[137].

In short, democratic civilian control of the military remains an ongoing process. While most of NATO DCCM formal requirements have already taken a legal form, neither Hungary nor Romania has been excelling in rending them operational. Unclear legislative framework, lack of parliamentary expertise and capacity of analysis, vacillating political commitment, as well as absence of independent civilian scrutiny represent the main challenges to the effective implementation of DCCM. However, even in this rudimentary form DCCM has proved instrumental in preventing dangerous rhetoric escalations between the Hungarian and Romanian military. It is nevertheless true the ascendant course taken by the bilateral military relationship owes a great deal to the increased density of interactions between the two countries within the PfP framework. Improved and effective DCCM can help make this process irreversible.

V. Normative change

From a security community view, institutional constraints can hardly resist over time without a corresponding normative change at the level of the attitudes and values shared by political elites and the public opinion at large. As discussed above, following the launch of its PfP program, NATO has been highly influential in shaping the Hungarian and Romanian foreign policy and military directions as well as their national security strategies and policies. It provided also clear leadership for establishing democratic civilian control of the military in both countries. Although highly effective in terms of developing strong relationships between NATO and each of the two countries, these measures have not been totally successful in eliminating the issue of national minorities as the main source of mistrust and political tension between Romania and Hungary. Despite the significant progress achieved in this sensitive area between 1996 and 2000, the process of bilateral reconciliation and cooperation is still in the early phases and relatively unstable. One way to substantiate this claim is by examining the evolution of the attitudes of the political elite and public opinion with regard to the issues of national minorities, regional cooperation, democracy satisfaction, and respect for human rights.

[137] RFE/RL Newsline, " Romanian General to Face Court Martial over Antonescu Commemoration, Vol. 5, No. 106, Part II, 5 June 2001

As presented earlier, the post-communist bilateral relationship was marred from the very beginning by a bloody ethnic clash between Romanians and ethnic Hungarians that took place in Tirgu-Mures, Romania, in March 1990. The political relations between the two countries were further tensioned by the nationalist stance assumed by Ion Iliescu's and Joszef Antall's Romanian and respectively, Hungarian government. The first opening came with the launch of the PfP program in 1994 that determined both states to pay more attention to their bilateral relationship. Increased NATO pressure and change of political leadership led to the conclusion of the Basic Treaty in 1996 and to an unexpected improvement of the level of political cooperation between the two states. Unfortunately, this positive trend has been subsequently slowed down and currently reversed with the advent to power of a conservative coalition in Hungary in 1998 and the return of Ion Iliescu as president of Romania in 2000.

The critical issue here concerns the extent to which the political elites from both countries have learned from the experience of the past decade. The answer so far is cautiously encouraging. Except for two extremist parties - the Great Romania Party (PRM) and the Hungarian Justice and Life Party (MIEP) – all other political forces have shown moderation in their discourse concerning national minorities. On the Hungarian side, no political party with the exception again of MIEP entertains the idea of change of international borders as a solution to protecting the kinship minorities living in the neighboring countries. The only contentious issues concern the intentions of the incumbent conservative coalition to extend certain economic and social benefits to the Hungarian minorities living in the region[138] and possibly to issue them double citizenship[139]. If applied unilaterally, these initiatives hold the potential to strain significantly the relations with Romania and Slovakia and to undermine the existing fragile framework of regional stability and cooperation.

On the Romanian side, the situation is more ambiguous. While there is a quasi-political consensus concerning the future possibility of a peaceful reunification between Romania and Moldavia, there is also a slowly emerging tendency for a genuine political accommodation of the views of national minorities. Thus, the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR)

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[138] "Act On Hungarians Living In Neighbouring Countries," http://www.htmh.hu/law.html; the Hungarian parliament adopted the act on 19 June 2001 by a sweeping majority of 92 percent; the "status law" will go into effect on January 1, 2002; an estimated 800.000 ethnic Hungarians from the neighboring countries are expected to take advantage of it by applying for work permit in Hungary for three months each year, and by receiving certain social, health, transportation, and education benefits; In its first year, the law will cost Hungary nine billion forints (US$31.3 million); for more details see ISN Security Watch, "Special status for ethnic Hungarians," http://www.isn.ethz.ch: 21 June 2001.

[139] RFE/RL Newsline, "Hungarian Prime Minister Cautious on Dual Citizenship," Vol. 5, No. 96, Part II, 21 May 2001.

had become part of the governmental coalition between 1996 and 2000, and it managed to conclude a temporary political agreement with the succeeding government as well. The downturn to this positive evolution is represented by the rise of nationalist-populism as a very serious political contender. With almost 20 percent of the suffrage, the extremist Great Romania Party (PRM) emerged after the November 2000 general elections as the second strongest political force by campaigning on a very aggressive anti-Hungarian, anti-minorities and anti-political establishment platform.

Moreover, given the traditional "special relationship" and unwaveringly mutual support between PRM and the party of Ion Iliescu[140], the political rhetoric of the Romanian government vis-à-vis Hungary is expected to amplify. This tendency is unfortunately already underway as proved by the recent outbursts of the President and the Prime Minister against the Hungarian government's plan to introduce a "Status Bill" for the minorities living in the neighboring countries. In terms reminding of those used not so long time ago by Vladimir Meciar and Slobodan Milosevici, the Prime Minister Adrian Nãstase said that Romania is "no colony from which Hungary can recruit workforce" and threatened "to abrogate some bilateral treaties" regulating the labor movement between the two countries as well as to break the political agreement concluded with UDMR[141]. President Ion Iliescu went even further and threatened to suspend the Basic Treaty with Hungary concluded in 1996[142]. Under these circumstances one can expect the already existing political collaboration between the Romanian governmental party and the extremist Great Romania Party to be further consolidated, while the nationalist discourse to be taken to new levels.

Despite the tortuous evolution of the political relationship, the economic cooperation between the two countries has been rather upbeat, characterized by a slow but steady increase of the level of trade (see Graph 3) and mutual investments. The turnover of Hungarian-Romanian foreign trade had increased significantly after the 1997 entry of Romania into the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), but is slowed down slightly thereafter as a result of the market protection measures introduced by the Romanian side in June 1999 with respect to imports of Hungarian pork and poultry. Hungarian investment in Romania amounted before 2000 to a total

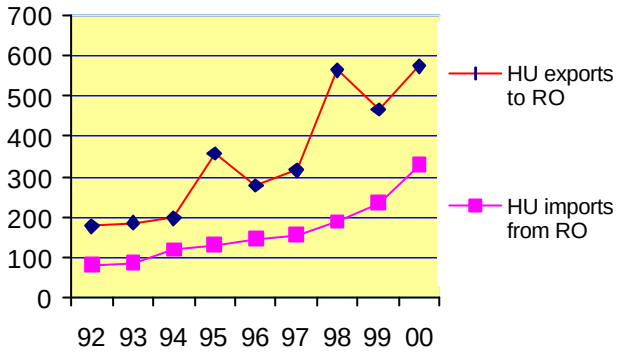
[140] Since 1990, Ion Iliescu and his political party (PDSR) have been vehemently protecting the PRM leader C.V. Tudor from facing the justice for his countless calumnious attacks of intellectuals and leaders of the political opposition. In exchange, PRM has constantly lent its parliamentary support to PDSR. The political collaboration between the two parties is primarily based on the proximity of values and political attitudes of their electorates.

[141] RFE/RL Newsline, "Romania escalates conflict over Hungarian status law," Vol. 5, No. 119, Part II, 22 June 2001.

[142] RFE/RL Newsline, "Romanian President 'hopes" and threatens over Hungarian Status Law," Vol. 5, No. 120, Part II, 25 June 2001.

of 196 million USD, a figure that has placed Hungary 10th among countries investing in Romania, the 7th in terms of the total volume of commercial exchange, and the 1st in terms of the strongest commercial partner among Romania's neighbors[143]. During the same period, the level of Romanian investment in Hungary was only 38 million USD strong, mirroring the growing gap between the economic outputs of the two countries[144]. Despite the current weakening of the bilateral political relationship, the commercial turnover for the first three months of 2001 increased by 148 per cent comparing with the same period of the preceding year[145]. However, further deterioration of the political relations between the two governments in the context of the "Status Bill" and accumulating commercial deficit on the Romanian side, will most probably prompt the Romanian government in the coming months to tighten market protection measures against Hungarian products.

Graph 3: Trade relations (USD mil.)



Source: Romanian and Hungarian Ministries of Foreign Affa

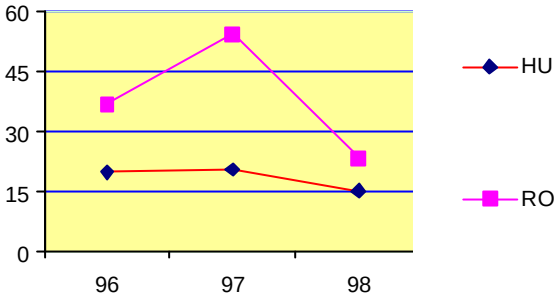
The attitudinal change at the level of the public opinion concerning the issue of national minorities and regional cooperation is more difficult to assess primarily for two reasons: high degree of volatility and unavailable cross-regional comparative data. The Central European Barometer program (CEEB) coordinated by the European Commission is one of the few reliable cross-regional surveys, but unfortunately it does not address directly the issues of concern here. As an indirect proxy one may tentatively use the degree of satisfaction with democracy (DSD) and the perceived level of respect for human rights (LRHR) in the two countries (see Graphs 4 and 5). It may be thus presumed that a negative trend of DSD and LRHR would be less conducive to improving conditions for better regional cooperation and political accommodation of national minorities.

Actually the opposite conclusion might hold true since low respect for human rights and dissatisfaction with the political regime constitute perfect ingredients for civil unrest, "scapegoat

[143] Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.hu
[144] The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mae.ro
[145] Hungarian Ministry of Economic Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.hu

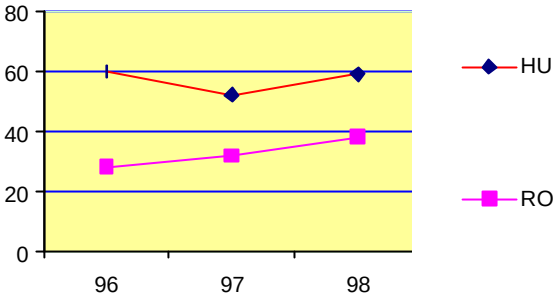
policies", and regional instability. Applied to the case of Hungary and Romania the two proxy indicators provide ambiguous insights. On one hand, Romanians and especially Hungarians are quite unhappy with the way in which democracy unfolds in their country. On the other hand,

Graph 4: Satisfaction with democrac



Source: Central European Barometers 1996-1998

Graph 5: Respect for human right

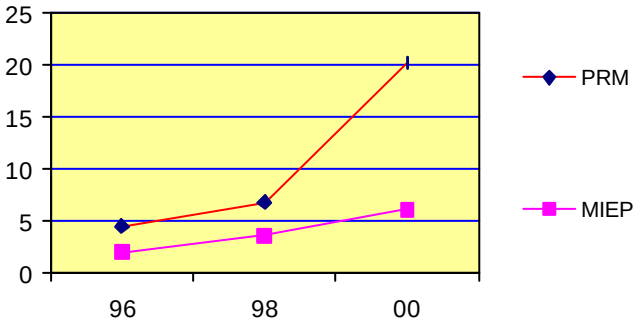


Source: Central European Barometers 1996-1998

both of them are moderately satisfied with how human rights are respected in their country. These two observations seem to suggest that is not the political component of democracy that is at stake here, but rather its social and economic dimensions. Moreover, the low rates of LRHR in the case of Romania warns about a possible political backlash against democracy, if the promised social and economic benefits will continue to fail delivery.

The last conclusion draws attention to a more effective indicator for assessing the public attitudinal shift concerning national minorities and regional cooperation namely, the support enjoyed by political parties opposed to these values. As mentioned earlier, the Great Romania Party (PRM) and the Hungarian Justice and Life Party (MIEP) are the most important political forces to campaign on a revisionist and anti-national minorities platform. As shown in Graph 6, public support for the two parties has increased steadily in the last years, especially in Romania where it already threatens to disrupt the political process. While having little chances to win the elections in the near future, both parties

Graph 6: Public support for extremist partie



Source: OSF Public Opinion Barometer 96-2000, Romania
Social Research Informatics Center TARKI, Hungary

exert though a negative influence on the political process by making nationalist-populist agendas more tempting for the rest of political parties. This process is already in full swing in Romania and holds the potential to make inroads in Hungary as well after the 2002 general elections. If these predictions are correct, then the perspectives for regional cooperation are less optimistic then initially expected.

The Kosovo test

NATO's relationship with the CEE countries and the strength of the emerging CEE security community was first put to test during the 1999 NATO intervention in Kosovo. Although preceded by a few low-scale NATO interventions in Bosnia in 1995, the Kosovo crisis caught both NATO and its CEE partners relatively unprepared for dealing with this sort of situations. Having been primarily engaged in peace-keeping and peace-building training and exercises within the PfP framework and driven by various political interests, the CEE countries and to a certain extent NATO itself signaled moderate willingness to engage themselves into peace-enforcement missions. The Kosovo crisis represented thus a defining moment for evaluating the strength of the institutional and normative building stones shaping the triangle relationship between Romania, Hungary and NATO. To be sure, the military contribution of both countries during the Kosovo operation was very limited, but the key input was political.

Basically, all factors discussed in the previous sections came into play: coordination of the foreign and military policies; real-life application of national security strategies; full-scale assessment of the level of military readiness and political control of the military, and last but not least, the degree of political support among political elites and the public opinion. From this perspective, both countries performed relatively well with a special mention for Romania since unlike Hungary, it was not a full member of the Alliance. However, this assessment must be read with caution. Given its geographic proximity from the conflict zone and its concern for the security of the Hungarian minority living in Vojvodina, Hungary had to be seriously pressed by NATO and US officials to fulfill its NATO member obligations. As for Romania, the swift intervention in support of NATO's operation in Kosovo was largely due to the personal efforts of the president of that time, Emil Constantinescu, and to the political support of the ruling center-right coalition. Had Slobodan Milosevici threatened with reprisals against the Hungarian minority from Vojvodina, or had Ion Iliescu been president of Romania at that time, then both

Hungary and Romania would have been much less forthcoming in their support of NATO intervention.

In the Hungarian case, all political parties except for the extremist MIEP and the communists fully supported the NATO intervention. Hungary opened completely its airspace and military airports to NATO aircrafts and it allowed the Alliance to use the airbase at Taszar for air strikes against Yugoslavia. However, the political support for the air strikes was neither constant nor even across all political forces. The Hungarian Socialist party, second largest in the parliament, even initiated a motion to withdraw the permission of unlimited use of Hungarian airspace for NATO at a time of the escalation of the intervention[146]. The issue of Vojvodina continued to give headaches to both Hungarian leaders and NATO officials. The leader of the right wing nationalist party (MIEP) called for a redrawing of Hungary's borders to include part of Vojvodina, while the vice-president of the minor coalition party (FKGP) of the government and chairman of the parliamentary defense committee suggested that Vojvodina could become an independent state[147]. The Hungarian government distanced itself firmly from both proposals. However, NATO officials seemed to have been slightly disturbed by the Prime Minister Viktor Orban's original interpretation of the NATO's Article 5. Orban insisted that the issue of Hungarians from Vojvodina was not only a Hungarian issue, but a NATO one as well and "if Hungarians are harmed to the slightest extent, there must be an appropriate response"[148].

Concern for the security of the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina compelled the Hungarian government to oppose NATO plans for a ground war and to refuse to make available its territory for a land invasion were this to occur. The issue of refugees proved also a bit controversial since the Hungarian government declined to accept quotas for refugees on the grounds that it hosted as many as arrived. This measure eliminated by one stroke most of the Kosovars since only 2-3000 refugees, mainly Serbians and ethnic Hungarians, could make their way through the whole Serbia to Hungary[149]. On the other hand, the Hungarian government acted very firmly to oppose a Russian armor-plated convoy in April 1999 as well as to deny permission to Russian planes in

146 Béla Galgózci, "The Impact of the Kosovo crisis on Hungary," Balkans Workshop, Helsinki: 1 July 1999.
147 Stephen R. Larrabee, "The Kosovo Conflict and the Central European Members of NATO: Lessons and Implications," *NATO and Europe in the 21st Century: New Roles for a Changing Partnership*, East European Studies Program (Washington, D.C., Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2000), Conference Proceedings, 34.
148 Cited in Peterson Ulrich, "The New Allies," 42.
149 Béla Galgózci, "The Impact of the Kosovo crisis on Hungary".

June 1999 during the NATO-Russia standoff concerning the garrison in Prishtina[150]. As for the public opinion, the level of support in favor of the air strikes in the capital, Budapest stayed behind the 62% threshold all through the crisis but the concern for possible spill over effects into Hungary remained also significant (52%)[151]. In step with the escalation of the intervention, the public support for sending NATO ground troops in Kosovo dropped constantly from 37 to less then 30 percent[152].

Unlike Hungary, Romania is not a member of the Alliance, but for various reasons that cannot be explained here in great detail, it has been struggling quite strongly since 1994 to become one. Basically, there is absolutely no political force in Romania to oppose NATO membership but the reasons motivating political attitudes toward NATO differ greatly. Given deep-seated historical memories similar to those present in many CEE countries, most of the political forces favor the "old NATO" that is, the Cold War military alliance against Russia. In addition, there is also widespread agreement that only NATO membership can keep the Romanian-Hungarian relationship on a positive track and prevent military competition between them. A last set of considerations underlies the symbolic attachment to the "return to Europe" argument and the belief in the capacity of the "new NATO" to stabilize the region not necessary in military terms but in political and economic ones. While the first two sets of motivations are primarily shared by nationalist-communists (the extremist Great Romania Party) and the nationalist-post-communists (PDSR, the party of Ion Iliescu), the last set of reasons is favored by liberals, Christian-Democrats, social-democrats and the party of ethnic Hungarians. During the Kosovo crisis it was the last group of political parties that controlled the government under the leadership of the President Emil Constantinescu.

In effect, the Romanian reaction to the NATO intervention in Kosovo mirrored this motivational split. On one hand, the President Emil Constantinescu and the ruling coalition acted basically as a de-facto NATO-member, by supporting politically all the steps of the Alliance, including the air strikes that were considered by the President to be "necessary and legitimate" endeavors to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe. In military terms, Romania provided NATO aircrafts with unlimited access to its air space, anticipating thus a joint Romanian-NATO air space

[150] Larrabee, "The Kosovo Conflict and the Central Members of NATO," 34.
[151] The Gallup Organization, " Kosovo Peace Tracking Poll," http://www.gallup.hu: March 25, April 9, April 15, 1999.
[152] Ibid.

management[153]. Additionally, a NATO radar unit was installed near Craiova to monitor the air traffic over Yugoslavia while the government issued a decision to implement the oil embargo declared by the European Union against Yugoslavia[154]. However, the Romanian-NATO cooperation in managing the Kosovo crisis seemed rather smooth, given the unprecedented challenge that Kosovo posed to the PfP crisis management institutions and procedures. The most vulnerable area proved to be the coordination of information concerning the operational plans for air space, air traffic management, and conflict development, as well as that related to refugees' reception by the neighboring countries, the organization of camps, the transport of humanitarian aid, or the repatriation of the refugees[155]. The government offered to accommodate up to 6000 refugees but the number of those arriving in Romania was significantly lower.

On the other hand, the political opposition at that time - which is now back to power following the general elections from November 2000 - composed of the party of Ion Iliescu (PDSR) and the Great Romania party (PRM), expressed repeatedly and in very hash terms its total disagreement concerning the NATO intervention in Kosovo and tried by all political means to block the government to support the Alliance. After having opposed vehemently in October 1998 the governmental proposal granting right to NATO airplanes to enter the Romanian sky only under "urgent and unexpected circumstances", Ion Iliescu, PDSR and PRM pressed again the government in April 1999 to reject NATO's request for unlimited access to Romania's air space[156]. The representatives of both parties, PDSR and PRM, had initially refused even to discuss, during a joint session of the parliamentary defense committees, the proposals made by Romania's Supreme Council for Defense allowing NATO forces in the Romanian airspace[157], and declined to vote later a similar resolution in the Romanian parliament.

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[153] Iulian Fota, Defense Advisor, Romanian Delegation to NATO, "Romania and the Management of the Kosovo Crisis, "PFP Planning Symposium: Partnership, an Alliance Fundamental Security Task," Germany, Oberammergau - 20/21 January 2000.

[154] Address by State Secretary Mihai Razvan Ungureanu at the First International Conference on Defense and Diplomacy "Political and Military Cooperation in Southeastern Europe", Athens October 19, 1999; http://www.mae.ro

[155] Ibid.

[156] For Ion Iliescu's positions see RADOR News Agency, "Victor Babiuc: 'We cannot be on NATO's and Milosevic's side at the same time," October 14, 1998, and "CSAT da 'verde' avioanelor NATO," http://brasov.monitorul.ro: 21 April 1999; for the political positions of PDSR and PRM on the Kosovo operation see the transcript of the common session of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, http://www.cdep.ro: 22 April 1999.

[157] RADOR News Agency, "Defence Commissions in Parliament Passed CSAT Proposals on Kosovo Crisis," October 14, 1998;

The position of Ion Iliescu and his party PDSR during the Kosovo crisis raises thus serious questions about the capacity of the country under his leadership to be a real provider of security to the Alliance or a simple consumer. As it stands now the answer is negative. Had Ion Iliescu and his party been in power during the Kosovo operation, Romania would have probably supported the Alliance rhetorically and even then reluctantly. A few other political statements support this conclusion. After accepting an invitation one year previous the crisis for a private meeting with Slobodan Milosevici in "gratitude for his efforts during his presidential mandates to restore a fair peace in the region", Ion Iliescu expressed his support for the position of the authorities in Belgrade towards the conflict in Kosovo province[158]. He also likened Milosevic's treatment of Kosovo to a man beating his wife and accused NATO of intervening needlessly, saying "and here comes one [NATO] who says he is a democrat and knocks the man down"[159].

Finally, in a controversial statement, Ion Iliescu ruled also out the possibility of having ever NATO troops on Romanian territory[160]. Strong suspicions have been also repeatedly voiced over the role played by several top-level officials of Iliescu's administration, including the ex prime-minister, Nicolae Vacaroiu, in breaching the UN oil and arms embargo against Yugoslavia between 1993 and 1995[161]. Unfortunately, all prosecutors investigating this case were dismissed and all legal inquiries were stopped suddenly after December 2000 following the return to power of Ion Iliescu and his party[162]. Moreover, a recent New York Times article contended that experts had proof that Romania broke United Nations sanctions by selling arms to Iraq after the 1990 conflict during the previous presidential mandates of Ion Iliescu (1990-1996)[163].

Finally, the reaction of the Romanian public toward the Kosovo operation was highly critical. During the conflict, only 15 percent of Romanians expressed their support for the air strikes, most notably the ethnic Hungarians who favored them by 50 percent, while the overwhelming majority of 75-78 percent opposed them[164]. Interestingly enough, the support for NATO

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[158] RADOR News Agency, "PDSR Leader Ion Iliescu Back from Yugoslavia," May 14, 1998.
[159] Ion Iliescu quoted in Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "Eastern Europe After Kosovo: The War That Never Was," *East European Constitutional Review* 8, 3 (Summer 1999).
[160] "PDSR nu este de acord cu politica NATO," http://www.crc.ro/arhivaweb/1999/aprilie99/20apr99/politic.htm: 20 April 1999.
[161] "Guvernul Vacaroiu a vandut vagoane de arme Iugoslaviei," http://brasov.monitorul.ro: 18 November 2000.
[162] Accusing strong political pressures and fearing his physical security, one of the prosecutors asked the French embassy in Bucharest for political asylum; see "Procurorul Budusan a fost exclus din magistratura," http://www.monitorul.ro: 26 May 2001.
[163] Catherine and David Lovatt, *Central European Review*, "Romania accused of breaking UN embargo," Vol. 3, No 23 (25 June 2001); http://www.ce-review.org/01/23/romanianews23.html
[164] IMAS, "NATO-Iugoslavia," http://www.imas.ro: May 1999.

membership increased by 6 percent during the same period from 56 to 62 percent[165] and jumped to 78 percent one year later[166]. This puzzling evolution correlates with the worsening of the economic conditions and it is confirmed by the widespread public belief (51%) that NATO membership may help improve country's tattered standing in front of foreign investors[167]. On the other hand, 46 percent agree to send Romanian troops abroad but only 31 percent accept NATO troops on Romanian territory[168].

Conclusions

By trying to answer to an important set of political and theoretical questions concerning the implications of NATO enlargement on the process of security community formation in Central and Eastern Europe, this paper examined the building blocks and mechanisms, by which NATO extended its institutional and normative influence and contributed to reducing chances for military conflict and political tension in the region. While acknowledging certain methodological limitations, the paper assumed yet a clear rationalist position and performed the empirical part of the research by testing competing sets of hypotheses derived from two theoretical models, based on five key variables (foreign and military policy direction, national security strategy and policy, military readiness and compatibility, democratic civilian control of the military, and normative change), and applied to two case studies (Romania and Hungary).

Given the relatively short time-horizon featuring the interaction process between NATO and the aspirant CEE countries, as well as the fast-tracking process of NATO adjustment to the post-Cold War conditions, the paper was interested in concentrating not on absolute outcomes but on the enlargement process itself. Hence, it formulated four hypotheses (institutional, normative, effectiveness, and regional instability) as a means to provide a minimum of empirical basis for the confirmation or disproval of two theoretical models. The first one assumed the formation of the CEE security community to be primarily the result of NATO-driven institutional and normative adjustments, in terms of democratic political-military structures, as well as non-nationalist and regionally cooperative attitudes. The second model contended that NATO

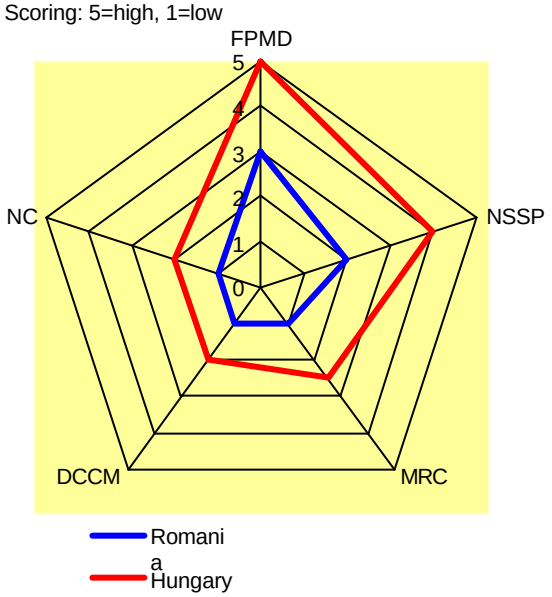
[165] Ibid.
[166] IMAS, "Romania si NATO. Sondaj comandat de MapN," http://www.imas.ro: May 2000.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

enlargement undermined the institutional capacity of the Alliance to deal promptly and efficiently in time of crisis and affected negatively the regional stability by creating new lines of division between the new members and those left out.

The empirical examination of the four hypotheses (see Graph 7) gives partial credit to both theoretical models. NATO's magnetism has indeed exerted a great deal of positive influence on both countries but at different levels, higher for Hungary and more moderately for Romania. On one hand, the security community model is supported by the steadfast convergence of foreign and military directions (FMPD) and national security strategy and policies (NSSD). Although on an ascendant course, the issue of democratic civilian control of the military (DCCM) still has some way to go to meet NATO standards.

Graph 7: NATO centripetal influenc

Scoring: 5=high, 1=low



On the other hand, the effectiveness of the Alliance has low chances to improve in the near future, given the modest level of military readiness and compatibility (MRC) of the armed forces of the two countries with those of NATO. Finally, despite significant progress in institutional terms achieved under NATO leadership, the political stability of the region is not fully supported by an irreversible change at the normative level since the issue of national minorities remains the main source of mistrust and political tension between the two countries. As a general conclusion, regardless the general positive trend, the sound political and military engagement between NATO and the two countries has not been yet rendered into similar vigorous patterns of bilateral cooperation between Hungary and Romania. The process of formation of the CEE security community is slowly advancing but the results are yet indecisive.

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