

Zrínyi Miklós

University for National Defence

Major Nagyné Babics Éva

**The Military Profession and the Commissioned Order of Values
in Hungary, on the Eve of the Third Millennium**

Authorial expositive of a PhD Thesis

Consulting professor: Dr Vincze Lajos

Professor and Head of Department

2004, Budapest

Preface

The changes that have taken place around the turn of the millenium have indeed constituted the beginning of a new era. The transformation may be characterized by the immense acceleration of changes and by the strengthening connection between the processes of changes taking place at the various fields; both factors touching on each and every aspect of society and every sphere of human connection. This beginning of a new era – which has taken and is still taking place with a certain time-lag in social spheres, while generating one another – may primarily be connected to the disintegration of the bipolar world, or, to put it more precise, to the factors encouraging the process of disintegration. The changes of regime in Eastern Europe, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the new type of polarization happening in the world have accelerated the processes of globalization and integration (starting from economy and encouraged by scientific and technical development), that have transformed the international system, defined new directions to the development of the European Union, and transformed NATO. The last ten years have passed with the emergence of the problems of the globalizing world and with the development of the information society. In compliance with these processes, the organizations of integration and the system of security have shaped, which then have generated the need for the transformation of international law, too. Globalization and regionalization, processes generated by the information society accompanied by the new type of activity of the media adequate to all these processes, penetrate into the everyday life of people and rearrange all areas of social communication. All these global changes have of course not left the army untouched, its structure and system of tasks change in line with these processes, which gets manifested in professionalization on one hand, and in inevitable integration on the other. These factors—coupled up with the rapid changes in society—have all changed and are still changing the order of values at around the turn of the millenium.

This new historical situation and the social theoretical paradigm representing it urged me to try and analyze the relation between the army and the society, and within that relation, the military profession and the commissional order of values in this new era. I regard this topic as important, because – besides the fairly ambivalent effects of global changes—the young democracies in our region having come to being after the changes of regimes, are still at significant disadvantage primarily in the economic respect, but also as far as political culture, quality of life and the crisis of values affecting other spheres are concerned, too. Globalization and the information society transform all spheres of society, the media influence cultural and political identities, habits and systems of norms, -- quasi creating a virtual world. These, however, get merged with the difficulties that are concomitants of the process of democratic transformation and of the crisis of inevitably attendant values. Especially lately,

so many literary works have been published about the army, its transformation, internal differentiation and the Euro-Atlantic integration that they could fill a library, however, in special literature I have not met a complex approach towards the order of values not exclusively taking professionalization into account, but also the historical process and the social trend defining the present.

1. Formulating the problem is a hypothesis of research, too.

At choosing the topic of my thesis, based on the reformation of the armed forces, I aimed at exploring the transformation of an area that does not only change due to laws, measures and overhaul, but through the social environment all these factors have an impact on it. The transformation of an area that – besides the transformation of the armed forces – bears all the social changes filtered through the subjects, but at the same time orientates generally, and -- besides the professional aspect -- expresses the morality of the military profession, as well as identity and the quality of a person deriving from his/her profession. However, the choice of subject naturally had a practical aspect, too, that is exploiting the research and using it during the teaching process. I consider this aspect to be especially important because based on my experience, the crisis of values generally emerging can be felt among our students, too, which – taking into account the significant changes mentioned above is fully understandable. I truly believe that approaching and lecturing on the topic is not only learnable knowledge but also a part of socialization and may contribute to the reinforcement of motivation, too.

The starting point at structuring my thesis was that the military profession and the commissionial order of values may most appropriately be interpreted in its organic development, within the system of relations between the army and society, relying on the present trends of development. Therefore, at elaborating on the topic I have studied the results of many fields of science, and thus, the historical, philosophical, sociological and security aspects also get emphasized besides the analysis concerning the army and the military profession, the substantial element of which can be characterized by the ethical aspect. In compliance with all these, the means of processing the topic are provided by the historical and logical analyses, as well as the secondary analyses of the materials of the various fields of research.

Hypothesis

According to my hypothesis, as I will try to present this change of the order of values concerning the Hungarian army, it is necessary to start from the basis of a double determination state.

1. The reform and transformation of the Hungarian army is an organic process that started relating to the change of regime, and this reform process does not only proceed from the socialist army towards the Western-type professional

army, but it also gets connected to the changes of the 90s resulting in the beginning of an era by the turn of the millenium. Along with this very process do the social expectations form, which signify the commissional quality, as well as determine the various indicators of the profession and of the connected order of values constantly changing.

2. The substance, structure, internal hierarchy, the substantial emptying or transformation of classical values can only be interpreted if placed within this historical process, since the last 12 years have influenced the reorganization of the commissional quality in a way that cannot be understood but based on the analysis and comparison of the orders of values. Nevertheless, in this way it becomes more or less possible to apprehend.
3. As far as values are concerned, I am not talking about immanent transformation or infiltration into a social process here, which are usually spontaneous processes. With a change of regime, primarily the reorganization of political values takes place, which generates an external change originating from the political sphere, and not an internal change in the order of values. Besides, a secondary feature of these changes will be professional rationalism, which on one hand, in the process of the social environment becoming more complicated gradually excludes the element of politics generating the transformation, and on the other, it forms the values along this rationality, just as it forms the professional activity.
4. The next element of my hypothesis deriving from the ones above is, that the order of values then being formed can be described more and more poorly by the classic indicators that decisively connect with the moral sphere, even if human behavior is always rational and at the same time moral to a certain extent. The new order of values itself – just as well as the transformation process of the order of values – requires an interdisciplinary approach, under which the moral attitude falls into the background in favor of the substantial elements of rationalization. The forming system of relations of the information society along with the way of life induced by it, turn to be an organic component of the new order of values, the result of which is that it cannot be seen as a relatively closed order of values.

2. Working method

To justify my hypothesis I consider it to be necessary to introduce the social processes within the frames of which the army and the military profession professionalize. These, decisively historical, political theoretical and philosophical analyses are essential for elaborating on the topic concretely, but are not sufficient for interpreting the transformation of values. In order to put it more concrete, I consider it to be necessary to amplify these with sociological analyses relating to the place of the army in society, the changing of the composition of the effective force, recruitment and socialization, as well as to the changing of the prestige of the commissional profession. Namely all these

will take a decisive role in the formation of the order of values. In my opinion it is only after that, that ethical analysis may be executed, within the frames of which I intend to present the changing of the notion of value, the substance of an order of values, its hierarchy and the significance of values in the life of a person. As the last step, I plan to examine the order of values having become formulated by the turn of the millenium, its features, its constituency, the concrete meaning of the values emerging inside the order, and compare these to the value-content of the preceding era. Naturally, I only intend to analyze those decisive values in detail that can also be found in the order of values of today revealing their modified meaning in the light of the social processes described.

3. Analysis of the society

Social processes of today may from all aspects be characterized by changes, and the acceleration of these changes, not only in our country, but also throughout the world. Globalization becoming determinant in the nineties, in time linking with the changes of regimes in East-Central Europe, together with the unfolding information society, have not only systematically reorganized the processes of world economy and politics, but they have also transformed all fields of society. Information technique has penetrated into everyday life by establishing direct connection to the remote world and coupled up with the media it occupies more and more of the relations between people. The meaning of knowledge, the way of acquiring and using knowledge have both changed, and the system of different circumstances and knowledge has called to life a society of a different quality, in which social advancement is dependent on knowledge and information. The primary form of this social advancement is competition, and within these circumstances the lack of knowledge and information result in falling behind and impoverishment.

For that very reason, the above mentioned characteristics of globalization and the information society by no means imply a peaceful period for the people since the inequality between poor and rich countries and regions becomes more and more decided, and global economy narrows the monetary possibilities of nation states that gradually loose control over their conditions of production. In the democratic political systems of the Western world, professionalized politics virtualize the political market with the help of the media, and within the frames of this political market, the chance to “decide in possession of the knowledge of facts” will be the privilege of the few. Mass communication becoming global formulates its specific form of expression, through which it floods the world with easily digestible, cheap products of cultural industry and grudges the air from he natural milieu and natural forms of culture.

Through all these factors, the technical civilization biased on market rationality has entirely transformed and is continuously transforming the perceptive and evaluative relation of people to the world. All this naturally entails that values,

orders of values, and the internal hierarchy of orders of values have changed, and classical values have gained new meanings, totally independent of whether we recognize these changes or not. The nineties in Hungary did not only experience a change in the processes mentioned above, but also in the respect that that was the time when the change of regime took place, and this resulted in the formation of market conditions, democratic political arrangements and sovereignty. The process of democratization and the formation of a civil society got interlinked with the original accumulation of capital, while the regain of sovereignty got interlinked with seeking the ways of trying to define the place of the country in the world. The entire transformation of economic, political and social relations was not without tension and contradictions, of course. The possibilities that could enable the country to catch up with the developed countries were determined by the heavy inheritance in all respects. The 12 years that have passed from the change of regime until now signified a period of complete social transformation. Transforming the Hungarian society did not merely mean realizing the values of market economy and civil democracy, but also forming all these in the globalizing world.

The impacts of globalization and of the information society that have shaken and transformed the West and other, more stable forms of civilization have affected the Eastern-Central European region in another, necessarily modified way. Here, a kind of crisis of values has emerged much more perceptively during the transformation process, induced by the acceleration of the changes, and by the apparent incalculableness of the direction and depth of theirs. It is no accident that joining the European Union or undertaking NATO tasks splits the Hungarian society these days. Hungary is willing to join a Europe that has lived to experience freedom at a time when we were suppressed by a totalitarian system. She wants to join the Europe that could present such economic and social indicators during the era of the welfare state that the eastern region could only long for. The welfare state, however, seems to be disappearing and the European Union has difficulties in withdrawing itself from the negative effects of global economy.

All these problems have led me to examine the transformation of the Hungarian armed forces with respect to the reorganization of values within this process of transformation, reorganizing values in various ways. For this, in my opinion, means a manifold reorganization. On one hand, during the period of globalization there is a kind of shift taking place, concerning the function of the army (necessarily at the supranational level), but on the other hand, this cannot substantially be divided from neither the nation states, nor from the processes that started during the preceding era, and by the development of market economy and professionalization lead to globalization. Globalization itself and especially the information society entail another change in the order of values, not only in the fields mentioned above. In Hungary, however, this change also gets complemented by the development of the civil society and with the

ambiguous impacts that go through certain transformations due to our historical heritage.

4. Values and the order of values

By the turn of the millenium, globalization and the information society have reorganized those values of the Western type of civilization that were the determinants of the preceding era of modernization not only in the East but in the West, too. The system of values that determined people in the form of classical political values and the social values of modernization in the Western world, looses its meaning, becomes empty, or changes during the global era. The decisive political values of democracy, namely freedom and freedom-related sovereignty, as well as the welfare state embodying the common good have also changed to a great extent during the period of globalization. Global wealth, the processes of regionalization and integration sweep away the welfare state at once, thus, suppressing national sovereignty and making the broader interpretation of freedom uncertain. During the modernization process, market rationality-based technical development -- the process signified the gradual strengthening of man's independence from the forces of nature, and promised unlimited economic growth --, first of all has led to the devastation of World War II, and then, during the Cold War period threatened with nuclear destruction. During the second half of the century already, deriving from its special features, technical civilization has caused an immense schism between the regions of the world, a schism which, by leading to the globalized world, made the gap unabridgeable.

In the Eastern part of a Europe torn into two in the middle of the twentieth century, completely different determinant political values have emerged. Equality, eliminating private property, community consciousness and proletarian internationalism constituted the basis of the order of values, which were, however, in contradiction with the economic capacities of this very form of society. After the fall of communism, the values of bourgeois-democracy and technical civilization emerge in this region, too, and as the consequence of this a total reorganization of values happens. This is the era, however, when the social bias of the Western order of values is already shaking.

Along with globalization classic values disintegrate, the notions of national sovereignty and of the independence of the market gain a new meaning.

5. Final conclusions

At the end of each chapter I summarized the most important knowledge that may be formulated about the matter concerned, therefore, I intend to reinforce some statements as final reflections.

I considered the theoretical definition of and the interdisciplinary approach to the notion of value to be important, because the system-like development and the historical aspect tied to the regularities of evolution even come through the notion of value, which is a notion very hard to get at. "Value" is a typically human expression; we use it, but at the same time feel that it is inconceivable and contradictory. The substance of a value is defined by the society and by culture and it expresses the relation of the individual, of the group, or of the society to a certain object, topic, etc.

I regard the order of values as an organized system of all the values, much more like a reference-regulative scale than a static one. Pedagogical activity is also an activity through which values are transmitted and communicated, and it cannot mean the mechanical acquisition of knowledge, but the way the individual may acquire that knowledge. Knowledge becomes differentiated and changes continuously, specialization must not exclude general erudition. It is the fast changing of knowledge that makes the theory of the acquisition of knowledge necessary to be dealt with in pedagogy. In all walks of life the demand for professional expertise, competence, appropriate social behavior, initiative, the capacity to decide, refinement, etc. becomes more and more sound. Nowadays, the command of certain languages spoken in the European commonwealth is a prerequisite for the individual to take the personal advantages and benefits concerning employment in the globalized world, within a commonwealth without limits. This means a kind of spiritual capital, too, but at the same time it requires great adaptability and extended knowledge of other cultures.

The orders of values of the commissional profession have always conformed to the social expectations, and military organizations are dynamically changing and constantly developing.

The establishment of the modern army may be connected to the formation and the strengthening of modern nation states, and in the fields of military engineering, conduct, arrangements and expertise, it implied a complete change as compared to the preceding time period. Significant elements of the change are the foundation of the professional Officers' Board, the formulation of cadres and of chiefs of staff, the transformation and constant modernization of the system of teaching and education. A modern chief of staff incorporates the very essence of professional activity, the professional differentiation and separation within the army, and all these reorganize the expectations of the society towards the army as well as the prestige of the commissional profession. A new type of relation gets formed between the army and the society and civil control appears. At examining the modern chief of staff we may agree with Huntington in the

respect that the commissarial profession is a bureaucratic organization on one hand, and a bureaucratic profession on the other.

By the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the modern bourgeois society has developed, primarily in the Western part of Europe. It may be characterized by the phenomena of scientific-technical development, urbanization, expansion of capital, the formation of the constitutional state, the broadening of civil rights and capitalist large-scale industry becoming generally widespread. The two world wars were a global catastrophe through which the civil population became threatened, too. Following World War II the Eastern block came to life entailing the military, political and social opposition of the two world systems. Special literature uses the term “the era of the cold war” as a synonym for the period of the bipolar world system. The formation of the security system and of international relations during the cold war were decisively influenced by the fact that the United States – giving up her former politics – wished to take part in the settlement process in Europe. The cold war era can be characterized by a strong armaments race that anticipated the possibility of total devastation for mankind, and from the 70s on, the trend of easing has gradually gained ground.

Training of officers in Hungary started in 1872, at the Ludovika Academy. This was a significant stage, since for the first time, young Hungarian men got educated in the Hungarian army. The hardest task turned out to be the foundation of a modern body of officers, and the shortage of officers became a steady-state condition until the end of World War II, in spite of starting the training. Education went on in compliance with the demands of the age, and this defined the history of officers’ training for later times, too. In accordance with the demands of the age, progress was dependent on growing up to the requirements and so it became performance-oriented. Loosing the war and the military provisions of the peace treaty allowed a low limit for the active military strength. The system signified by Horthy Miklós’s leadership banned discussing politics, and only the ones politically reliable could stay within the organization. The mentality, behavior-patterns, values of honesty and right of the Dual Monarchy were adopted. The social appreciation of the commissarial profession was high and great significance was attributed to the honor of the commissarial position. Besides professional preparation, the emphasis was laid on physical preparation and moral education.

In socialist times the organization, the structure and techniques of the army, as well as the training of officers was determined by the adoption of Soviet precepts. The political training of officers was launched, and founding the body of officers of working-class origins started. The training of officers starting in 1945 also tried to meet the demands of that particular era, and thus, the length of education in time, as well as the teaching material were frequently changing. Those on professional active military service could not overtake arrears concerning general erudition and language command and neither were they able to accumulate cultural capital or form valuable connections, thus, they could not

really become intellectuals. The establishment of balance between the qualitative and quantitative expectations was not successful, and so, by the 80s a shifted structure emerged. The prestige of the profession was gradually decreasing and this resulted in problems of replacement. Officers were not defined as specialists but as political factors.

In Hungary, the change of regime starting from 1990 affected all spheres of society. Changes have taken place in politics and economy, and so, the principles of democracy are felt in the everyday lives of people. A wide consensus has developed in the respect that Hungary is to make approaches to Europe and European and Euro-Atlantic institutions, and strive to join these.

By today, Eastern European countries have formulated their independent organizational military doctrines, which are of defence nature. Based on these, the transformation of the armed forces has started, -- the pace of which is determined by the economic capacities. The transformation and the founding of the national military force resulted in the transformation of the system of organization and conduct, along with a significant decrease in the active force, in the consequence of which the new battle orders for peace and war became formulated. Material and technical conditions have severely worsened, the majority of military engineering devices turned obsolete. It became worded that the security of the country may only be guaranteed by a political, economic and military alliance, within the frames of international cooperation. In the Security Principles the factors threatening the country got formulated, and it also got stated that the armed forces – as the final means of insuring security—are needed in the future, too. The documents elaborating on the transformation (middle- and long-term plans) have defined the processes until 2013. Joining the organization of NATO set new tasks and implied new requirements of transforming the armed forces. The conditions of realizing the requirements set to a NATO officer are to be formed in the army. All this above also implies that sketching in details the commissional order of values and the military profession itself may only be performed relying on the theoretical bases described in the thesis.

Due to globalization and regionalization, societies of a new type of European integration emerge. By the accession to a global organization, each and every society joins an already existing structure and a structure of values, at the same time. Necessarily, by joining NATO, the structure and the characteristics of the Hungarian armed forces have to be transformed. The principal function of the army is defined by society, and these functions are primarily linked to political values, such as fatherland, the independence of the nation, sovereignty, the guarantee for security, defending the life and wealth of citizens and fulfilling international duties. The armed forces are the final devices used to guarantee values. The term of the armed forces signifies a professional army of an active force small in number, and the Hungarian army has no idea of an enemy. The modern army is a professional organization and a bureaucratic organization at

the same time. The modern army -- as a differentiated organization or sub-system of modern society – bears strong internal hierarchy. This hierarchy comes to be expressed by the posts and the rank system. The officers holding the various posts (special officers, military leaders), warrant officers and contracted soldiers feel bound to the organization based on different values, and the possibilities of progress, the ways to go are different, too. The bases of the professional functioning of this bureaucratic organization are discipline and authority. To guarantee the political values, an officer has to bear the following characteristics:

Valuable professional features: expertise, being educated, having good management skills, extensive knowledge of various working methods, command of foreign languages, good communication skills, etc. , which are listed under the last item of the thesis.

From among the values of lifestyle, the family, internal motivation, physical endurance, etc. play an outstandingly important role. Moral values, such as tolerance towards other cultures, self-discipline, comradeship and respect gradually become limited to the sphere of individual values, that is to say, to a lower level.

It is the certain types of values, hierarchy of values and the relation or interaction between the two, that ought to be analyzed, because the basis of the existence of the political values worded at the level of “must” is the very presence of professional values. These values are inseparable from individual values and values of lifestyle, and only exist together with national and cultural features. The result of the interaction between the various types of values is that they may sometimes intensify the existence and the operation of these values, other times, however, they may also weaken each other’s effect. After having cleared .the theoretical aspects of the notions of value, order of values, and hierarchy of values, we may start investigating again, but this time proceeding in the opposite direction. What kind of conditions have to be given to insure that values will not become merely theoretical constructions, but a part of the human, military character, and what kind of behavior patterns or forms of activities have to be developed from the side of the individual – relying on the students’ base of motivation --, in order to form a conscious, internally conducted identification in relation to the values that constitute the basis of the existence and operation of individual, communal and social values.

6. Results:

1. The change of regime has resulted in significant changes in all spheres of society. The political and economic systems have undergone fundamental transformations, which affected the changes taking place in the sub-systems, too. The transformation and the reform of the army have been continuous since the change of the regime. All these factors mentioned above have caused a modification in the commissional order of values. Hereby, based on modern theories of society, I have examined the changes that have taken place concerning the military profession and the commissional order of values from the formation of modern armies until nowadays.
2. Based on the sociological research available, I made a complex analysis of how the order of values of the military profession in the period following our NATO-accession has changed.
3. Based on the interdisciplinary interpretation of values, the thesis may constitute a theoretical background to the code of ethics, by presenting which values the code of ethics should regulate, and give a hand in determining which values should be regulated by the statutes.
4. At examining the topic, the implementation of a method that carries out the historical, social and ethical research consistently.

List of publications:

- ◆ Man as a possibility and reality. Főiskolai közlemények. Magazine of the military college of the Hungarian Army. 1996, volume 8, No. 302.
- ◆ NATO-accession generated tasks in the officer training in colleges. A lecture at the series of programs on the Day of Hungarian Science. 8th November 2000.
- ◆ The changing of the commissional order of values.
Társadalom és honvédelem. ZMNE (Zrínyi Miklós University for National Defence) Volume 4, No. 4, p. 195-205.
- ◆ Constituents and social determination of the commissional order of values.
Humán Szemle 2003/No.1, p. 126-132.
- ◆ About values in general.
Humán Szemle 2003/No.3, p. 103-116.
- ◆ Formation of the modern army and the body of officers
Bolyai Szemle 2003/No.1, p. 99-119.
- ◆ Ideas and civilizational characteristics of modernity
Lecture notes, ZMNE. 2000, Year 1,5.
- ◆ Ideas and civilizational characteristics of modernity
Lecture notes, ZMNE. 2000, Year 2.

Professional Curriculum Vitae

Personal data:

Maiden name: Bakos Éva
Place and Date of Birth: Szombathely, 19th February 1957
Address: 2000 Szentendre, Fehérvár u. 22.

Education:

1975-1980 Marx Károly University of Economics
Teacher of Chemistry and Description of
Commercial Goods
1986-1989 Eötvös Lóránd University, Faculty of Arts
Philosophy major

Command of Languages:

1994 “C” type state language exam in Russian
ZMKA State Language Examination Board
Bp., 16th June 1994
1996 “C” type state language exam in Ukrainian
ZMKA State Language Examination Board
Bp., 20th March 1996

Practice in higher education:

From 1st September 1982 Kossuth Lajos Military College, Szentendre
Teaching philosophy and ethics
From 1st September 1997 Zrínyi Miklós University for National Defence,
Budapest
Department of Philosophy and Cultural History
Teaching philosophy and ethics

Scientific activity:

Taking part in editing two lecture notes
Writing six studies
A lecture at a conference

During my 22 years of teaching in military higher education I have met students motivated in various ways and extremely different walks of life. Throughout this time the changes happening to the staff group of students as regard to their former education, motivation and scope of interest, was utterly perceivable. I have always taken this factor into account so that the work I do is successful. The change of the regime starting in the 1990s has accelerated the changing of the students' values and of their order of values even more. All this has

encouraged and led me to examine this matter. Moreover, this research in itself implied approaching the problem from a new methodological perspective. The application of the theoretical method in teaching ethics constitutes the basis of comprehending practical and current ethical questions.

Budapest, 23rd March 2004

Nagyné Babics Éva
Assistant Lecturer