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ON NUCLEAR ISSUES

HUNGARY

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Hungary is a member of the EU and NATO, and a party to multiple international disarmament and non-proliferation treaties. Hungary is a staunch supporter of nuclear sharing within NATO, and of an incremental approach to nuclear disarmament. Hungary participates actively in the NPT review process as a member of Vienna Group of Ten and vigorously promotes the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty and Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Hungary has also engaged in substantial cooperation in the sphere of nuclear security.

NUCLEAR

Hungary does not possess, produce or host nuclear weapons on its territory.¹ Hungary is a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Budapest is a member

of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and the Zangger Committee, has an Additional Protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in force, and is a participating state of the Wassenaar Arrangement.

NUCLEAR DETERRENCE, DISARMAMENT AND POSITION REGARDING NATO'S NUCLEAR POLICY

As Hungary joined NATO in 1999, Hungarian participation in the Alliance's nuclear mission has been constrained by the 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act, in which NATO announced that it had "no intention, no plan and no reason to deploy nuclear

weapons on the territory of new members."² Hungary is, however, a member of the Nuclear Planning Group, and Hungarian forces and infrastructure could play a supporting role in NATO's nuclear operations.³

¹ The Soviet Union reportedly deployed its nuclear weapons in Hungary from 1974 until June 1990. See: E.N. Rózsa, A. Péczeli, *Nuclear Attitudes in Central Europe*, Non-proliferation Paper No. 42, EU Non-proliferation Consortium, January 2015, p. 4.

² Nonetheless, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán declared in 1999 that, in the event of a crisis, his country would consider a request by NATO to field nuclear weapons on Hungarian soil. "Hungarian PM Angers Moscow With Nuke Remark," Arms Control Association, 1 November 1999, www.armscontrol.org.

³ Ł. Kulesa, "The New NATO Member States," in: P. Foradori (ed.), *Tactical Nuclear Weapons and Euro-Atlantic Security*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2013, pp. 143–144. Hungary is reportedly one of nine NATO countries actually assigned with "active nuclear tasks," including "air control missions, reconnaissance, radar and communications support and refuelling." See: S. Snyder, W. van der Zeijden, *Withdrawal Issues: What NATO Countries Say about the Future of Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe*, IKV Pax Christi, p. 17.

As NATO debated its 2010 New Strategic Concept and the 2012 Deterrence and Defence Posture Review (DDPR), Hungary's general position was similar to the overall stance of Central and Eastern European (CEE) states.⁴ Budapest supported NATO's increased role in disarmament and non-proliferation efforts, although it opposed far-reaching changes in the Alliance's nuclear posture.⁵

Compared to most CEE countries, Hungary articulated the importance of NATO's nuclear capabilities in a much more direct and open manner, presenting an approach close to that of the Czech Republic.⁶ Budapest has referred to NATO nuclear potential in Hungary's National Security Strategy 2012, which clearly stated that "Hungary shares the view that, as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO must have a credible deterrent capability, based on the combination of conventional and nuclear weapons."⁷ Reportedly, Hungary also displayed scepticism towards the proposed adoption of negative security assurances in the Alliance's nuclear policy.⁸

Furthermore, one Hungarian official underlined the need for continued deployment

of U.S. Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons (NSNWs), stressing that these weapons, along with related burden-sharing agreements, provide "important embodiments of the transatlantic relationship."⁹ The sustained presence of NSNWs was described as appropriate given the "uncertainties and challenges" faced by the Alliance, as well as in the light of prospective cuts in numbers of U.S. conventional troops deployed in Europe and the decreasing conventional potential of European Allies.¹⁰ Apart from references to NSNW's contribution to NATO's cohesion and Allied solidarity, Hungary has not placed much emphasis on the strictly deterrent role of these weapons.¹¹

Although Budapest has objected to the total withdrawal of U.S. NSNWs, it has not been entirely against partial cuts in such an arsenal or its consolidation. Hungary has reportedly shared the view of the rest of the CEE Allies, that any reductions of U.S. NSNWs would be possible only if Russia made reciprocal moves.¹² Budapest was also one of initial supporters of the 2011 "non-paper" submitted by Poland, Norway, Germany and

⁴J. Durkalec, "NATO Defence and Deterrence Posture: Central and Eastern European Perspectives," *PISM Policy Paper*, no. 29, May 2012, pp. 2–3, 8–10, www.pism.pl.

⁵P. Siklosi, "NATO Summit in Chicago—Hungarian Perspective," *Transatlantic Files*, 1/2012, p. 9.

⁶J. Durkalec, "The Future of NATO's Deterrence and Defence Posture: V4 Perspective," in: Ł. Kulesa (ed.), *The Future of NATO's Deterrence and Defence Posture: Views from Central Europe*, PISM Report, December 2012, p. 11, www.pism.pl.

⁷Hungarian National Security Strategy 2012, p. 12.

⁸J. Durkalec, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–3.

⁹P. Siklosi, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁰*Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹¹Ł. Kulesa, "Polish and Central European Priorities on NATO's Future Nuclear Policy," *BASIC NATO Nuclear Policy Papers*, issue 2, 2010, p. 5.

¹²J. Durkalec, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–10.

the Netherlands. The paper advocated for the establishment of enhanced transparency and confidence building measures between NATO and Russia with respect to tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.¹³

In June 2012, Hungary hosted the eighth Annual NATO Conference on Weapons of Mass Destruction in Budapest, which

“gathered 130 top level non-proliferation officials from some 60 countries and organisations.”¹⁴

Hungary has not made any public references to NATO nuclear deterrence policy in light of the Ukraine crisis, the growing tensions between NATO and Russia or the 2014 NATO summit in Wales.

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT EFFORTS IN THE GLOBAL ARENA

During discussions within the NPT review process, Hungary aligned itself with the general stance of the European Union.¹⁵

In national statements, Hungary supported the incremental approach to nuclear disarmament by stating that “the elimination of nuclear weapons is not a single act but has to be a step-by-step, comprehensive process, which fully engages the nuclear weapon states, and, at the same time, preserves the integrity of the NPT.”¹⁶ Hungary

describes such an approach as “realistic and feasible” and underlines that the “generally recognized devastating humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons has to be addressed in this fashion as well.”¹⁷ Hungary participated in all three conferences on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons, in Oslo in March 2013, in Nayarit, Mexico, in February 2014, and in Vienna in December 2014.¹⁸

The working paper “Building blocks for a world without nuclear weapons,” submitted

¹³ See “Non-paper submitted by Poland, Norway, Germany and the Netherlands, about increasing transparency and confidence with regard to tactical nuclear weapons in Europe,” Berlin, 14 April 2011.

¹⁴ “Non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament—the focus of first big meeting with Partners after Chicago,” NATO, www.nato.int.

¹⁵ “Statement by Ambassador Dr. György Molnár, Director General for Security Policy and Non-proliferation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary, Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2015 Review Conference of the State Parties to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Cluster I issues – Nuclear disarmament,” New York, 2 May 2014.

¹⁶ “Statement by Ambassador Dr. György Molnár...,” *op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Ibidem.*

¹⁸ On EU states’ involvement in the Humanitarian Initiative see: J. Nielsen, M. Hanson, *The European Union and the Humanitarian Initiative in the 2015 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Cycle*, Non-proliferation Paper No. 41, EU Non-proliferation Consortium, December 2014. For Hungarian statements delivered at Nayarit and Vienna conferences visit: “Humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons,” Reaching Critical Will, www.reachingcriticalwill.org/disarmament-fora/hinw.

by Hungary and 19 other states at the 2014 NPT Preparatory Committee, outlined a series of “practical” disarmament measures, based on the 2010 NPT Action Plan. The working paper notes that the establishment of a “multilateral nuclear disarmament framework or a nuclear weapons convention” could be considered as a conclusive step in the disarmament process. Such a move would, however, depend on progress in multilateral efforts to shape the “prevailing environment of trust and confidence.”¹⁹

Additionally, Hungary has been involved in the NPT review process as a member of the “Vienna Group of Ten,” alongside Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, and Sweden.²⁰ The group promotes cooperation in peaceful uses of nuclear energy, simultaneously emphasising that such collaboration should be possible only under condition of compliance with non-proliferation measures, and adherence to the highest levels of nuclear safety and security. Among other particular issues, participants of the Vienna initiative have called for:

- universal adoption of both the IAEA Additional Protocol and comprehensive safeguards agreement, which, according to the group, together constitute a verification standard,
- universal application of multilaterally negotiated export controls, such as the understandings of the Zangger Committee,
- entry into force of the CTBT.²¹

In their national statements, Hungarian representatives elaborated further on the significance of export controls, pointing at utility of Guidelines of the Nuclear Suppliers Group, chaired by Hungary in the 2009–2010 term.²² Moreover, Budapest has cited NSG outreach activities towards non-NSG participants, including a side event organised by the Mission of Hungary to the UN in New York in October 2009 on the margins of First Committee’s fall session, and a seminar organised by Hungarian and Serbian ministries of foreign affairs in Belgrade, in March 2010.²³

Budapest also strived to facilitate the entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, as one of two CTBT Article XIV coordinators

¹⁹ “Building blocks for a world without nuclear weapons,” working paper submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden and Ukraine, Preparatory Committee for the 2015 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, New York, 15 April 2014.

²⁰ For a summary of group’s activity see: G. Mukhatzhanova, W. Potter, *Coalitions to Watch at the 2015 NPT Review Conference*, Nuclear Threat Initiative, 24 February 2015, www.nti.org.

²¹ See e.g.: “Addressing “Vienna issues: the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty; compliance and verification; export controls; cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy; nuclear safety; and nuclear security,” working paper submitted by Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, and Sweden (the Vienna Group of Ten), Preparatory Committee for the 2015 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, New York, 14 March 2014.

²² D. Kim, “Nuclear Suppliers Group Guidelines,” The Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, armscontrolcenter.org.

²³ “Statement by H.E. Ambassador Gyorgyi Martin Zauathy, Delegation of the Republic of Hungary, Main Committee II, Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,” New York, 13 May, 2010.

in the 2013–2015 term. As a coordinator, Hungary is an ex-officio member of Group of Eminent Persons (GEM), which promotes ratification of the CTBT.²⁴ In May 2014, Hungary offered to host the GEM's meeting in Budapest later the same year.²⁵ Ambassador Tibor Tóth of Hungary served as the executive secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organisation (CTBTO) from 2005 to 2013.²⁶ Another of Hungary's CTBT related activities was hosting on-site inspection exercise in 2007.²⁷

Furthermore, Hungary has called for the revival of the Conference on Disarmament (CD) and for the start of negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) in the CD forum.²⁸ According to Hungary, negotiations should firstly encompass banning the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons and other nuclear devices, while the elimination of already existing stockpiles, conducted on a phase-out basis,

could be addressed at later stage, possibly through an additional protocol to the treaty. Hungary argues that verification methods for reductions in stockpiles are neither as developed nor as widely recognised as in case of fissile material production. Therefore, immediate inclusion of both provisions could impede implementation of the FMCT.²⁹

Hungary has been invited to participate in the work of the Group of Governmental Experts (GGE), the CD's advisory body on FMCT negotiations, from April 2014 to June 2015.³⁰ Ambassador András Dékány of Hungary served as president of the CD's first session in 2013, when he submitted a work plan under which disarmament and fissile material issues would be negotiated within one working group, as opposed to the previous practice of discussing these matters separately.³¹

At the 2005 PrepCom, Hungary, along with seven other countries, submitted a working paper on disarmament and non-proliferation education.³² Budapest has also supported

²⁴ "New Initiative for CTBT to Enter into Force Launched: Group of Eminent Persons convenes at UN to advance Treaty's ratification," United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, www.un.org/disarmament.

²⁵ "Statement by Ambassador Dr. György Molnár...", *op. cit.*

²⁶ "Tibor Tóth looks back on eight years at the CTBTO's helm," The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization, www.ctbto.org.

²⁷ See: "Country Profiles—Hungary," The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organisation, www.ctbto.org.

²⁸ "Statement by Ambassador Dr. György Molnár...", *op. cit.*

²⁹ See: "Views of Hungary on a treaty banning the production of fissile material of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices," The United Nations Office At Geneva, www.unog.ch.

³⁰ "Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) to make recommendations on possible aspects that could contribute to but not negotiate a treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices," The United Nations Office at Geneva, www.unog.ch; "Address by HE. Janos Martonyi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary," Nuclear Security Summit 2014, The Hague.

³¹ C. Schneidmiller, "New Work Plan Prepared for Disarmament Body," *Global Security Newswire*, 30 January 2013, www.nti.org/gsn.

³² "Working Paper on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation," submitted by Egypt, Hungary, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Poland and Sweden, www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/frnv0504/npt4.pdf.

Japanese statements in this matter.³³ In 2013, the Hungarian MFA and Hungarian Institute of International Affairs were said to be working on a “Non-proliferation and Disarmament Handbook” in Hungarian.³⁴

Hungary participates in the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and is a member of the Global Partnership Against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction.³⁵

NUCLEAR SECURITY

The 2014 NTI Nuclear Materials Security Index ranked Hungary as 10th out of 151 countries without weapons-usable nuclear materials. Hungary ratified the International Convention on the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM), along with the 2005 amendment. Budapest participates in the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism (GICNT) and, since 2012, has been part of the Nuclear Security Summits (NSS) process.³⁶ Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, János Martonyi, presided over the International Conference on Nuclear Security: Enhancing Global Efforts, the IAEA’s first ministerial meeting

devoted to nuclear security, which took place in Vienna in July 2013.³⁷

Hungary’s sole nuclear power plant, Paks, is located around 125 kilometres south of the country’s capital, Budapest, and run by state-owned energy group MVM. Paks currently consists of four nuclear reactors, all of which were built in the Cold War in cooperation with the Soviet Union. There are also two reactors located in Budapest, a training reactor operated by the Technical University of Budapest and a research reactor operated by The Atomic Energy Research Institute (KFK AEKI). Additionally, on 31 March 2009, the Hungarian parliament approved a general plan to expand Paks’ nuclear capacity.³⁸

³³ See e.g.: “Statement by Ambassador Dr. György Molnár...,” *op. cit.*

³⁴ “The EU Strategy fitted well into Hungary’s commitments,” interview with Erzsébet N. Rózsa by B. Hautecouverture, *Nonproliferation.eu newsletter*, no. 8, February/March 2013, p. 1.

³⁵ “Hungary Joins G8 Global Partnership as 27th Member,” U.S. Department of State, 13 December 2013.

³⁶ On Hungary’s participation in NSS process see: K. Kubiak, “A Little-Known Success Story: Implementation of the NSS Goals in Central Europe,” *PISM Policy Paper*, no. 9 (92), May 2014, www.pism.pl; “Nuclear Security Summit 2014, National Progress Report: Hungary,” www.nss2014.com.

³⁷ “Address by HE. János Martonyi...,” *op. cit.*

³⁸ “Nuclear Power in Hungary,” World Nuclear Association, www.world-nuclear.org. In 2005 the Hungarian parliament supported a plan to extend the operating life of all four Paks reactors by 20 years, as otherwise they would have had to cease their operations between 2012 and 2017. In 2012, the Hungarian Atomic Energy Authority (HAEA) approved the life extension programme. The HAEA has already extended the licences for unit one and unit two to 2032 and 2034, respectively, while a similar decision regarding units three and four are expected to be taken by 2016 and 2017. See: “Paks Unit 2 Gets 20-year Life Extension,” *World Nuclear News*, 27 November 2014, www.world-nuclear-news.org.

According to the agreement signed between Russia and Hungary on 14 January 2014, the Russian state-owned company Rosatom will build two new units at Paks NPP. Reactors are to become operational no sooner than 2023. Russia will also provide a 30-year loan that will cover 80% of the expansion costs.³⁹

All reactors have been converted to operate on low enriched uranium (LEU) fuel.⁴⁰ All highly enriched uranium (HEU) had been transferred from Hungary to Russia by 2013. The removal took place under the Global Threat Reduction Initiative (GTRI) run by the U.S. Department of Energy and in cooperation with Russia and the IAEA. Altogether, the GTRI assisted in six shipments (a total of 239.2 kilograms) of HEU in 2008, 2009, 2012 and 2013, as well as in the conversion of the Budapest Research Reactor from high to low enriched uranium fuel, which was completed in 2009.⁴¹

Since 2011, Hungary has cooperated with the U.S. Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) within the "Second Line of Defence" programme, aimed at countering nuclear material smuggling.⁴²

The Hungarian Atomic Energy Authority (HAEA) cooperates with the IAEA Office of Nuclear Security "in the field of nuclear security for organising regional training activities, fostering research and development, as well as the implementation of advanced techniques and procedures."⁴³ In 2012, Hungary created the Hungarian Nuclear Security Support Centre, which supports the IAEA in "developing guidelines and organising training in the field of nuclear forensics."⁴⁴ Hungary also participates in the IAEA Peaceful Uses Initiative, and Hungarian experts take part in multinational and bilateral activities related to nuclear security.⁴⁵

³⁹ "Russia to increase Hungary's nuclear power," *Reuters*, 14 January 2014, www.reuters.com.

⁴⁰ "Nuclear Security Summit 2014, National...", *op. cit.*

⁴¹ "United States, International Partners Remove Last Remaining Weapons-Usable Highly Enriched Uranium from Hungary, Set Nuclear Security Milestone," U.S. Department of Energy, 4 November 2013, energy.gov; "Hungarian Reactor Stripped of HEU," *Global Security Newswire*, 15 September 2009, www.nti.org/gsn; S. Tozser, "Hungary Completes High Enriched Uranium Research Reactor Fuel Removal," International Atomic Energy Agency, 5 November 2013, www.iaea.org.

⁴² "U.S., Hungary Partner to Prevent Nuclear Smuggling," National Nuclear Security Administration, 20 January 2011, <http://nnsa.energy.gov>.

⁴³ "Address by HE. Janos Martonyi...", *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ "Nuclear Security Summit 2014, National...", *op. cit.*; "Peaceful Uses Initiative," International Atomic Energy Agency, www.iaea.org.

MISSILES

MISSILE DEFENCE

Hungary strongly supports the establishment of a NATO ballistic missile defence (BMD) system, described by one Hungarian official as a “capability that will definitely strengthen transatlantic ties.”⁴⁶ Hungary has also pointed out the threat posed to Europe by the proliferation of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction.⁴⁷

During the debate on NATO’s 2012 Deterrence and Defence Posture Review, Hungary shared the view of other CEE states,

that NATO should cooperate with Russia in the field of missile defence, although the Allied system should remain independent, and progress in its establishment should not be dependent on talks between the Alliance and Russia.⁴⁸

Hungary neither possesses nor plans to acquire BMD capabilities. Neither are there any plans to deploy NATO BMD assets on Hungarian soil.⁴⁹

BALLISTIC AND CRUISE MISSILES

Hungary neither possesses nor plans to acquire ballistic or cruise missiles.⁵⁰ Hungary is a member of the Missile Technology Control

Regime and party to the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation.

⁴⁶ P. Siklosi, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 8–9; “Opening Statement of H.E. Dr János Martonyi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary at the Annual NATO Conference on WMD Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation,” Budapest, 14 June 2012.

⁴⁸ P. Siklosi, *op. cit.*, p. 9; J. Durkalec, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁹ According to unconfirmed reports from 2004, Hungary was considered by the G.W. Bush administration as one of potential hosts for the U.S. missile defence installations and some preliminary talks were held between Washington and Budapest. “U.S. Seeks East European Missile Defense Base,” *Global Security Newswire*, 28 June 2004, www.nti.org/gsn.

⁵⁰ Hungary received SCUD and SS-23 ballistic missiles from the Soviet Union during the Cold War. All of these systems were eliminated in 1990s. “The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty at a Glance,” Arms Control Association, www.armscontrol.org; “Hungary Destroys Scud Missile System,” Federation of Atomic Scientists, 31 May 1995, www.fas.org.

CHEMICAL

Hungary does not possess or pursue chemical weapons. Hungary is a party to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), as well as a member of Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) and the Australia Group (AG).

In September 2013, Hungary offered to send its chemical experts to Syria in order to support the implementation of an agreement on the destruction of Syrian chemical weapons.⁵¹

BIOLOGICAL

Hungary does not possess or pursue biological weapons. Hungary is a party to the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BWC). Special Representative of the Foreign Minister for Arms Control of Hungary Judit Körömi chaired the 2013 BWC intersessional programme.⁵²

The Hungarian army's mobile biological defence laboratory took part in protection of the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens as a part of the NATO mission.⁵³

⁵¹ "Hungary ready to send chemical experts to Syria," Website of the Hungarian Government, 1 October 2013, www.kormany.hu.

⁵² "Strengthening international cooperation and assistance in the Biological Weapons Convention," The Geneva Forum, www.genevaforum.ch; "Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention meeting chaired by Hungarian diplomat," Website of the Hungarian Government, 23 December 2013, www.kormany.hu.

⁵³ "Hungary Displays Athens-Bound Mobile Biodefense Lab," *Global Security Newswire*, 23 July 2004, www.nti.org/gsn.