

**Experiences of a military mission.
Hungarian soldiers in Vietnam.**

PHD thesis – the main findings

Supervisor:

Dr. Horváth Csaba János CSc

Head of the Doctoral School: Prof. Dr. Hermann Róbert DSc

Karoli Gaspar University of Reformed Church in Hungary

Doctoral School of History

Prepared by:

Vendriczki Róbert

Budapest, 2024

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1. DEFINING THE TOPIC AND JUSTIFYING ITS CHOICE

The purpose of the present doctoral dissertation was to primarily process the participation of the Hungarian side in the shadow of the Vietnam War during the mission based on the pericentric viewer, using archival sources. The choice of this topic was also confirmed and updated by the fact that, within Cold War research, more and more new scientific papers are being published on the period of the Second Indochina War, which promotes and fine-tunes a better understanding of these years.

In this way, the Hungarian involvement is examined in a new context, which also reflects the principles of the New Cold War History (NCWH). The pericentric point of view is the new approach that emphasizes the role of the small allies of the two Cold War superpowers, highlighting their key role in "expanding, intensifying and prolonging the struggle between East and West", *détente* and integration.

The aim of the research is to provide a framework from the historical perspective of the "junior members or junior actors," lurking in the backyard of one of the two superpowers,¹ in this case the Hungarian People's Republic (HPR), during the Cold War, which allows us to place the activities of the Hungarian mission within the International Commission of Control and Supervision (ICCS) and the Cold War on an appropriate logical basis. In order to accomplish this, to be able to use the term "Cold War" properly, we need to reinterpret it. In this way, the already known event history can be placed in a new context, since previous paradigms emphasized the "bipolar" and "Europe-centric" nature of the Cold War.² Also, the results of the new research are confirmed by the NCWH's analytical studies on Vietnam which serve as a new interpretation of *détente*.

After the collapse of the Soviet bloc, a kind of "archival revolution" took place, when in the 2000s sources related to the Cold War became more accessible, and many Soviet, Eastern European, Chinese and Hungarian archival sources were opened. They provide new perspectives and new conceptual frameworks for research. Hungarian archival sources are a veritable treasure trove of the pericentric perspective. After all, through them we can gain an insight into the thinking of the Soviet Union and the countries of the bloc, and, of course, we

¹ Tony Smith used the term "junior members" in his study, and Jussi M. Hanhimäki used the term "junior actors." Tony Smith: *New Bottles for New Wine. A Pericentric Framework for the Study of the Cold War. Diplomatic History*, 2000. 4. sz.; Hanhimäki, Jussi M.: "Détente in Europe, 1962-1975" in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Melvyn P. Leffler, Odd Arne Westad szerk. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

² In more detail, Baranyi, Tamás Péter: *Az enyhülés meghatározása a hidegháború historiográfiájában. Világtörténet*, 9 (41) évfolyam 2019 (3). <http://real.mtak.hu/103434/>. (Download date: 2022.07.18.)

can learn about the main domestic and foreign policy steps of the Kádár era. Thus, the systematic examination of the archival sources of the period with fresh eyes provides the analytical framework during which we can logically review the role of the "junior members or junior actors", in order to put them in a given context and understand their role during the period of détente.³ New research shows that regional wars have clearly increased the antagonism between the two superpowers, of which the Vietnam War was a striking example.

In the course of the research, through the processed archival sources, investigations were also carried out in relation to the "Vietnam question" from the perspective of individual foreign policy aspirations. The subjects of the investigations were the Soviet-Chinese conflict, the geopolitical strategy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the behavior and reaction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in the Vietnam War, as well as the American involvement in the region and their impact on the international mission in Vietnam.

It is important to answer these questions, since the main time frame for the dissertation is 1973–1975, which actually covers only two years. However, in order to better understand the Vietnam mission and strengthen the major foreign policy processes that influenced the posting, it is not possible to start working on the topic in 1973, since certain events that affected the priority of Vietnam can be dated earlier. I consider the following detailed overview of the processes from 1945 to 1973 to be essential in order to clearly understand, from the point of view of the topic, what foreign policy events affected Hungarian foreign policy, how the HPR took part in shaping them, and why it managed to become a member of the ICCS at all. Similarly, at the other end point – 1975 – it is not possible to put an end to the topic either, since the afterlife of the mission sometimes affects the events of today.

³ In more detail, Borhi, László: A nagyhatalmak és a gyenge államok a nemzetközi térben. *Magyar Tudomány* (2019) 2, 204–214.

2. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The present research had five main objectives, which, in addition to the mission's role in Vietnam, also deals with the HPR's foreign policy aspirations until the end of the Vietnam issue.

- 1. How did Hungary become one of the biggest European supporters of Vietnam?**
- 2. How did the foreign policy changes of the given era affect Hungarian-Vietnamese relations?**
- 3. Have the goals of the "Janus-faced" Vietnamese Kadar diplomacy been fulfilled?**
- 4. How did the summer of 1974 become the turning point of the war between the two sides in Vietnam and how much did the Socialist ICCS mission help them?**
- 5. What did Hungary benefit from its activities in the ICCS?**

To answer the questions asked on the basis of objectives, I sought answers to the following questions about the Cold War from the perspective of pericentrism, in order to be able to answer my main objectives as accurately as possible:

- Why did the Cold War expand and shift its centre of gravity away from Europe, the original scene of the struggle?
- Why did it intensify at certain moments?
- Why did it take so long?

In parallel with all of this, I was also looking for the answer to the question, what was the purpose of the Kádár leadership in participating in the mission, or even in such an intensive role in Vietnam?

3. HISTORIOGRAPHY

To answer the historical questions I have formulated, I primarily used Hungarian archival sources, which are also the main framework of my thesis. The sources of three institutions that are abundantly supplied with these – the Historical Archives of the State Security Services (ÁBTL), the Military History Institute and Museum (HM HIM HTL), and the Hungarian National Archives (MNL) – have been processed. In the case of English language sources, the Library and Archives (LAC) for the Canadian part and the Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) internet search interface published by the Office of the Historian of the United States Department of State for the American historical part were

the starting point of the research. The latter also offers a glimpse into the sources of the American national archives - National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Among the sources I also include the memoir literature, which was partly written by members of the Hungarian contingent in connection with their participation or directly related to the Vietnam War. So far, only one book has been published about the Hungarian mission in Vietnam, one that covers its entire period, from the joint work of János Kemény and Tamás Nagy, entitled "*Hungarian soldiers in South Vietnam, 1973-1975*".⁴

Due to the time frame of the thesis, I researched a wider base of primary and secondary sources. Based on this, it can be said that the sources I used can be divided into two large groups: one is related to Vietnamese-Hungarian relations, the period from 1945 to the end of the 1980s, and the other is specifically related to the Hungarian mission serving within the ICCS related and covers the years 1973-1975, but within it examines the afterlife of the mission up to 1980 and to the present day, also covering the first and second Indochina wars. On the other hand, the sources can well reconstruct the different rhetorical levels of political-diplomatic language used by Kádár's foreign policy (general, semi-official and friendly). By examining this professionally, we can get a comprehensive picture of Kádár's foreign policy attitude towards the Vietnam issue and why, and we can also gain a global picture of the activities of the ICCS in practice. Furthermore, when examining the resources of the Vietnam mission, it can be traced that they were developed according to an organizing principle, where the main requirement was that those arriving later should be able to join the everyday life of the delegation more easily by structuring themes. The system was based on event logs, such as Hungarian-language reports of ICCS decisions, minutes of Directors General meetings, etc. The available sources also provide insight into other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

I mostly searched for the literature on the topic in libraries. During the examination of the primary and secondary sources in Hungarian, I came to the following conclusions. The relationship between Hungary and Vietnam was determined by Budapest's relations with the Hungarian-Soviet and other socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China. It is important to mention that it was also decisively influenced by the interest in improving Hungarian-American bilateral relations. The dynamics of its relations with the PRC – close cooperation, gradual deterioration of relations, and then slow rapprochement were realized

⁴ Kemény János–Nagy Tamás: *Magyar katonák Dél-Vietnamban 1973–1975*. Zrínyi Kiadó. Budapest, 2020.

by the Hungarian People's Republic under strict Soviet control. From the point of view of the socialist camp, the HPR supported the North Vietnamese part of the country during the Vietnam War. However, János Kádár did not always agree with the unrealistic objectives of his Vietnamese comrades, which he expressed and even criticized the Kremlin before the Central Committee for its policy on Vietnam. The Hungarian literature and sources shed light on the events that drove Kádár's foreign and domestic policy: constructive loyalty, flexibility and cooperative capabilities in diplomacy.⁵ All this enabled Hungarian foreign policy not to attract the wrath of the Soviet Union with its diplomatic actions towards Moscow, but to use this to stabilize the country's domestic and foreign policy, thereby strengthening Kádár's own power and influence. Through the foreign policy of the Kádár era with the United States and North Vietnam, the above can be clearly understood.

The sources of the archives offer insight into the development of Hungarian-Vietnamese relations. After 1963, Kádár's foreign policy had the opportunity to consolidate its relations with the United States. The Hungarian documents also shed light on how the Soviet presence determined the scope for maneuver of Kádár's foreign policy, and also how the Washington leadership considered it important to reduce the Soviet presence in Hungary.

Meanwhile, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs made efforts to improve the country's perception in the West through its attempts to mediate in the Vietnam conflict. Thus, the Vietnam War played an important role in Hungary's foreign policy, a glaring example of this is the Hungarian attempt to mediate peace between 1965 and 1966 – which is based on abundant literature and archival sources. In addition to the unsuccessful Hungarian, Polish, British and Vatican mediation attempts, it is also worth mentioning that in 1972, despite the previous unsuccessful series of negotiations, negotiations between North Vietnam and Washington started again. As a result of the negotiations, American hostilities ended, and on January 27, 1973, the peace intended to end the Vietnam War was signed in Paris.

The Paris Peace Accords entered into force on January 27, 1973. The Hungarian section served in three shifts within the framework of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, together with the section delegated by Canada, Indonesia and Poland. We have abundant material on the ICCS mission that took place between January 1973 and May 1975, which is also fortunate because the material of the MNL, ÁBTL and HM HIM HTL can be compared. All of this is well complemented and shaded by the

⁵ Békés, Csaba: *Enyhülés és emancipáció; Magyarország, a szovjet blokk és a nemzetközi politika 1944–1991*. Osiris Kiadó; MTA TK. Budapest, 2019.

recollections of the participants in the mission, new historical research on the topic, and the oral history interviews prepared by the author. The archival sources, which cover the entire mission material, include translations into Hungarian, as well as documents of ICCS Committee meetings in English, which greatly facilitates the relevant assessment of the sources. From these, we can keep track of the preparation and the tasks associated with it (selection, training, etc.), their departure, reception and deployment in Vietnam in the designated districts and at the Saigon headquarters. We also receive information on what needs to be done in ICCS, on the tasks assigned by the Warsaw Pact (WP), which largely coincided with the assistance requested by the DRV and DNFF. The sources describe the work and tasks of the Hungarian foreign affairs and military intelligence, since in addition to mission tasks, they prepared a summary report on the military situation and the general situation in South Viet Nam. We can also learn about the causes of the conflicts between the delegated chapters in the course of missionary work.

American historiography has been more serious about the Vietnam War since the 1960s. Historians mainly relied on Western sources to build their works. The number of historical works also increased in direct proportion to the increasing involvement of the USA in Vietnam. At the beginning of the 1970s, the study volume "*Vietnam Studies*" was published under the auspices of the American army. In these monographs, they looked back at the most important events and periods of the previous years and tried to reconstruct and analyze them with the help of interviews and reports.⁶

From 1973, the period after the American withdrawal from Vietnam, the literature on the Vietnam War repeatedly shows a trend of numerical growth. Here, a new kind of point of view appears, which apostrophized the participation in Vietnam not as a Vietnam War, but as an American intervention.⁷

The historical literature of the 1980's no longer relies only on Western sources, but also provides an insight into the events of the War from the North Vietnamese perspective, and also displays the political background of the American war.⁸ Furthermore, criticism of the South Vietnamese system also appeared in historical writings, namely due to its

⁶ Vietnam Studies; Major General George S. Eckhardt: Command and control; Department of the Army; Washington, D.C. 1974.; Vietnam Studies; Major General George S. Eckhardt: Law at war: Vietnam 1964-1973; Department of the Army; Washington, D.C. 1975. ; Vietnam Studies; Major General William B. Fulton: Riverine Operations 1966-1969; Department of the Army; Washington, D.C. 1973.

⁷ Például, A short history of the Vietnam war: Edited by Allan R. Millett. Indiana University Press. Bloomington & London. 1978.

⁸ Például, Karnow, Stanley: Vietnam: A history; Penguin Books; New York; 1983.

immeasurable corruption and incompetence.⁹ There were also criticisms of the United States that the country's government had misled both the public and Congress.

The period after 1990 brought about the change in American historiography. At that time, the works written by "non-American" researchers also appeared on the historical horizon of the Vietnam War. From that time, a larger number of specialist literature based on North Vietnamese sources, as well as publications and books written by North Vietnamese veterans and historians, which were also published in English, were published, so the direct American historiography of the War changed to a great extent.¹⁰ Among other things, they shed light on what role the Soviet Union's intelligence agencies were playing in the Second Indochina War. Following this analytical direction, he presents perhaps one of the least known aspects of the Vietnam War, the DNFF's foreign policy between 1960 and 1975.

In my opinion, the first major change in historiography related to the Vietnam War was brought about by the book "*The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War*" written by Ilya Gajduk.¹¹ After the above work, it was already possible to assess the Vietnam War, both on the basis of Western and Eastern, i.e., Soviet archival sources. Regarding the pericentric concept, Tony Smith's study "*New Bottles for New Wine*" written in 2000 represented a "revolutionary change" in relation to the historical perspective of détente and the Second Indochina War. After all, he enriched the vocabulary of détente with a new point of view, and by doing so he made the historians dealing with the period, including the author, examine and rethink the history of the Cold War from the point of view of what he only called "pericentrism".¹² This concept is confirmed by Jussi M. Hanhimäki in his study "*Détente in Europe, 1962–1975*".¹³ In addition to the researchers I mentioned, other historians prove in their works that détente was a key period (1960s and 1970s) in the strategy for fighting the Cold War. They visually show how the dynamics of the opposition between the two superpowers was determined by regional wars, uprisings and other global upheavals in different parts of the world, as well as political reorganizations and what role small allies or weak states were playing in these. In addition, they provide valuable information for analyze the Cold War period. The evolution of the dynamics of Sino-Soviet relations was considered

⁹ Például, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (9780679724148): Neil Sheehan. Random House/ New York. 1988.

¹⁰ Például, *The Vietnam war; Vietnamese and American Perspectives*; Edited Jayne S. Werner and Luu Doan Huynh; New York; M. E. Sharpe; 1993. 37-66.

¹¹ Gayduk, Ilya: *The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War*, Ivan R. Dee, 1996.

¹² Smith, Tony: *New Bottles for New Wine: A pericentric framework for the study of the cold war*. 2000. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24914140>. (Letöltés dátuma: 2022.07.08.)

¹³ Hanhimäki, Jussi M.: „Détente in Europe, 1962-1975” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Melvyn P. Leffler, Odd Arne Westad eds. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.198–218.

important, especially the power ambitions of the Maoist People's Republic of China, since the real winner of the superpower competition during the Cold War was the PRC, which was able to successfully manage its power ambitions in the shadow of Moscow and Washington.

With the help of works based on sources in English, it is possible to reconstruct and reinterpret the Soviet-Chinese conflict and the process that caused the DRV to break with China in the early 1970s and choose a "pro-Soviet" policy. Furthermore, the Soviet-Chinese opposition and the struggles of the Soviet and Chinese party politicians within the party also appear in the Vietnamese communist leadership. They also point out how Chinese policy has changed, which has turned Moscow's involvement in Indochina into a commitment. During the conflict between the two countries, the leadership in Hanoi tried to take a position, since it is not there to help both countries.

However, no work in English can be found about the ICCS mission in Vietnam, which is the focus of the present thesis, which specifically deals with this or the activities of the Hungarian mission. This information can already be found by doing research into secondary sources, which originate from the pen of contemporary authors. Unfortunately, there is little mention of the ICCS or the Hungarian branch in these works, nor of the American, Canadian and South Vietnamese sides.¹⁴ These secondary sources also include the American and Canadian archival sources available from the online interface I mentioned above, which also contain information about the mission and the Hungarian section. Summing up the Hungarian and English language literature, it can be said that, in terms of their methodology, the works can be classified into monographs, study volumes, and studies, which thematically present the Hungarian foreign policy of Kádár, the foreign policy steps of the Soviet leadership, the Soviet-Chinese conflict, the DRV's use during the Indochina War foreign policy, the Vietnam War or certain parts of it. It can also be concluded from the contemporary Hungarian sources or the works written by the participants that a "general positive tone" can be seen both in the archival sources and in the reminiscences, which primarily reflects the influence of the political culture of the era; it will be much less justified by the facts revealed in the thesis. All in all, it can be said about the English-language sources that volume of new knowledge about the Cold War is constantly expanding, and as a result, the main events of the era are presented to us more and more accurately. Regarding the

¹⁴ Lam Quang Thi: *The Twenty-five Year Century: A South Vietnamese General Remembers the Indochina War to the Fall of Saigon*. University of North Texas Press, 2001 és Snepp, Frank: *Decent Intervall*. Random House. New York. 1978. Victor Levant: *Quiet Complicity: Canadian Involvement in the Vietnam War*. Toronto 1986.; illetve Charles Taylor: *Snow Job: Canada, the United States and Vietnam (1954 to 1973)*. Toronto 1974.

Vietnamese mission, however, the knowledge materials of the participating countries are still to be processed in as much depth as possible.

4. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

After studying the archival sources and scientific literature, I have come to the following conclusions based on the five main objectives of the thesis:

(1) During the historical exploration, I established that the fulfillment of Hungarian foreign policy within the Soviet bloc strengthened after János Kádár came to power in 1956, and among other things, it provided powerful assistance to Moscow's aspirations in Southeast Asia. Hungarian foreign policy in the "Vietnam issue" followed the Soviet line and provided economic, financial, cultural, military and other aid to the country in accordance with the agreement concluded with the DRV. Thus, our country became one of the biggest European supporters of North Vietnam.

(2) I have shown through the sources and the conclusions of academic theses that Hungarian foreign policy underwent changes from the second half of the 1960s, which rested on a triple determination - constructive loyalty, flexibility and cooperative ability. While the power of the Secretary General of the Hungarian Communist Workers' Party (HSWP) was rooted in his loyalty to the Soviet Union, the country's economy was also heavily dependent on the import of Soviet raw materials and energy carriers. The concessions received for aid to the Soviet Union also created the opportunity to renew and strengthen economic relations with the West. The moderator role of our country in Western relations has also come in handy for the leadership in Moscow. The diplomatic flexibility of the HPR and the willingness of the cooperative strengthened the traditional economic and social well-being of Kádár through the relations.

(3) I described the circumstances that further strengthened Kadar's foreign policy, which had changed since the end of the 1960s, which also brought with it the loosening of bloc political dependence in the direction of the WP and Moscow. With these diplomatic steps, Budapest further strengthened its relations with the West in order to create domestic political stability. The HPR creatively coordinated Hungarian, Moscow and international foreign policy interests. Among other things, it was thanks to this that the Hungarian People's Republic was able to serve in the international mission in Vietnam between 1973 and 1975.

(4) Primarily with the help of archival sources, I have revealed that the end of the fight between the two camps within the mission was the secession of Canada, which almost caused the complete failure of the ICCS. Parallel to this series of events, the desire for a military solution represented by the South Vietnamese parties intensified, which favored the DRV and the DNFF. It was the temporary military situation, where the ICCS's helplessness showed itself, that brought about the period of "neither war nor peace" in South Vietnam. The two socialist sections also contributed to these, because in accordance with the interests of Vietnam, the ICCS was condemned to inaction. This was so "successfully carried out" that from the second half of 1974 it became practically inoperable. I also proved that the Hungarian branch was the "strong man" within the Socialist camp, which mostly accepted this direction, and in 1974 it very actively helped the DRV and the DNFF in the field of "dark information acquisition", and reported everything to Moscow.

(5) I also pointed out that the rise of DRV and DNFF in Vietnam in 1975 served Hungarian foreign policy well, since even before the conclusion of the Helsinki process (of which Kádár was one of the custodians), he wanted to strengthen economic relations with the third world from a foreign economic perspective. The result of this was that after the Communist victory, Hungarian foreign trade companies were also able to take part in the reconstruction of Vietnam, and Hungarian-Vietnamese relations continued to strengthen. This still has demonstrable results in the relations between the two countries.

In order to answer the main objectives as accurately as possible, in addition to the questions I formulated, I also had to ask a few questions from the perspective of the pericentric concept. This is how I examined the connection between the theses I formulated and the concept of pericentrism, whether they complement and confirm or refute each other. During the analysis of the archival sources and scientific literature that I used, I have come to the following conclusions regarding the foreign policy aspect of the Indochina question:

Since the Soviet Union, due to its geopolitical position, considered maintaining the established European status quo as its priority, the strengthening of Communist influence in Southeast Asia was pursued jointly with Mao Zedong, since Soviet and Chinese interests were initially the same there. Thus, the centre of gravity of the Cold War shifted from Europe to Asia, more precisely to Korea, and later to Vietnam. This Stalinist decision further strengthened China's influence in the region and did not favor Ho Chi Minh's policy of uniting Vietnam and controlling the Indochina peninsula, but he tried to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the two Communist countries in order to implement his plans.

North Vietnam's foreign policy disguised in Socialism was permeated by the nation-state logic that characterized the allies of both bipolar superpowers. This was most visible in the Southeast Asian region, which determined the dynamics of communist bloc politics in the Indochina region. Since the PRC's attitude in the Vietnam conflict was still determined by great power aspirations towards the region, after the initial cooperation, due to the change in Mao's communist-nationalist political outlook, they refused to fully cooperate with the Socialist countries on the issue of Viet Nam. Furthermore, they considered the processes of de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union and the foreign policy line they emphasized unfavorable.

As a result, the Soviet Union sought a solution to the Vietnam issue while strengthening its position in Indochina, since the support of the China Party was the strongest in the Communist leadership in the north, for which it primarily required the help of Poland and Hungary within the bloc countries. The above Asian conflicts further strained the opposition between the two great powers, which also affected the American deterrence policy, and greatly influenced Washington's escalation policy in the Vietnam issue. As a result, the Second Vietnam War broke out. The main thrust of the Indochina conflict itself was the Soviet-Chinese ideological and geopolitical clash of interests. Despite this, due to the normalization of Soviet-American-Chinese relations and the coincidence of the interests of DRV and DNFF, the Paris Agreement aimed at ending the war was signed.

In addition to the questions I asked in order to answer the main objectives and formulated from the perspective of pericentrism, I also searched for the answer to what the actual goal of the Kádár leadership was in participating in the mission, and in general with such an intensive role in Vietnam. Examining it from several angles through the focal point of archival sources and academic works, it can be established that Kádár used all his foreign policy tools in order to maintain the previously achieved social welfare in the country and to strengthen and sustain the economy. In this way, the ICCS service also became one of the most important tools, for the smooth operation of which he also ensured the financial side. The possibility of this was created by the normalization of Soviet-American and American-Chinese relations and the PRC's power guarantee for peace in Vietnam, as well as the improvement of the military situation in favor of the DRV and the DNFF, the Paris Peace Treaty, which intended to end the Vietnam War and restore peace through his signature. More than 600 soldiers, foreign affairs workers and civilians served in the Hungarian mission in three shifts between 1973 and 1975.

In addition to the tasks prescribed by the Paris Agreement, the Hungarian mission had to follow the main foreign policy guidelines of the Warsaw Pact. In order to achieve the

required foreign policy goal, management tasks were divided between the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior. On the other hand, in South Vietnam, combat actions dominated, as the two opposing Vietnamese parties wanted to strengthen their own positions, in which the DNFF and the government in Saigon could also count on the support of the delegations within the ICCS. So that the ICCS from the very beginning was not able to properly fulfill its mandated task, which was actually peacemaking. As a result, both opposing South Vietnamese sides were able to bring their own politics into the "everyday life of monitoring peacemaking", and this was most evident in the investigation of cease-fire announcements.

In order to prove itself to Moscow, Kádár's foreign policy has quite obviously done everything that Brezhnev expected from the two sections within the ICCS. Since, on the basis of the dual objective definition, the intelligence tasks of the foreign intelligence service and the residencies of the Hungarian People's Army General Staff 2nd Directorate (Magyar Néphadsereg Vezérkar 2. Csoportfőnökség, also known as the Military Reconnaissance Group Headquarters) were already carried out based on different management principles, it is not surprising that from the very beginning, disagreements in management and approach appeared between the military department and foreign affairs, and the commanders and between their subordinates, an unfortunate situation that existed until the end of the mission, the capture of Saigon. The leadership of the Hungarian section also saw the solution to internal personnel issues in the common cohesive force, in politics.

All things considered, it can be said that the mission of the HPR in Vietnam achieved its real goal and, in accordance with the interests of the WP, contributed to the unification of the two parts of the country under the auspices of the Communist northern part of the country. It can also be counted as a success that our country was able to provide the appropriate number of personnel for the entire duration of the mission, as well as the considerable financing of it. On the other hand, it can be said that détente greatly contributed to the foreign policy aspirations of Hungary. These were supplemented by Vietnam's involvement, which promoted the assertion of Soviet interests and the suppression of the PRC, at the same time causing the geopolitical strengthening of Vietnam in the Indochina region. It was also possible to prove that within the ICCS, the Hungarian department could only present partial results. Thus, their missionary service work can only be evaluated as mixed at best, as it was also influenced by the chain of great power and geopolitical events affecting the Indochina region.

The topics raised in the dissertation inevitably raise further questions regarding the ICCS mission, the Hungarian involvement in it and the Southeast Asian region. My research “casts a shadow” over putting the mission on the balance sheet, but it could be fully placed on the right historical shelf if all the countries delegated to the Vietnam mission did an accounting of the period of their own deployment. However, this is still to be seen.

5. LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Publications related to the topic of the dissertation

Vendriczki Róbert: *Békeinduló: Magyarok a vietnámi nemzetközi misszióban (1973–1975). Magyar katonák a világ tájain*. Eszterházy Károly Katolikus Egyetem Líceum Kiadó, Eger, 2022.

Vendriczki Róbert: *Kémjátszma Vietnamban – A vietnámi magyar misszió a Pax rezidentúra forrásainak tükrében*. KRE-DIt. Történelemtudományi különszám. Szerkesztette: Juhász Eszter és Segesdi Gergő. Újkor – Új Kor? Kontinuitás és periódusok, ismétlődő történelmi mintázatok és egyedi fordulópontok a társadalom-, gazdaság- és hadtörténelem szemszögéből.

Vendriczki Róbert: *The Repatriation of Hungarian POWs from Vietnam (1951–1955)*. Military National Security Service. Issue,1/2022. Budapest, 2022.

Vendriczki Róbert: *Friendly Help is on the Way. The North Vietnamese Catholic Question and Hungarian-Vietnamese Church Relations in the 1950s and 1960s*. Military National Security Service, Issue,2/2022. Budapest, 2022.

Presentations related to the topic of the dissertation

Vendriczki Róbert: *Katonáink a vietnámi misszióban*. (előadás) /Helytörténelmi História; Wachott Sándor Városi Könyvtár, Gyöngyös. 2019. május 17.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=saYegfXIa7Q&t=1463s>

Vendriczki Róbert: *Magyarok a vietnámi nemzetközi misszióban*. (előadás) /Eszterházy Károly Egyetem Történelemtudományi Intézete, a „Magyar Tudomány Ünnepe 2020” rendezvénysorozat. Idegen hadakban című tudományos konferencia./; Eszterházy Károly Egyetem, 2020. november 27.

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