

## Abstracts

### **László Szarka: *Frame for the Interpretation of the Hungarian Concept of “Nation” at the Beginning of the 21st Century***

The Hungarian concept of “nation” comprises Hungarians, minorities living within the Hungarian borders, as well as Hungarian communities living outside the state-borders. The long term goals in nation policy – which can be established within the limits of the European Union, following Western European models – have to be set based on regional cooperation, and the renewed relationships of states and nations sharing the territory of the Carpathian Basin.

Hungarian foreign policy serves the preservation and strengthening of the linguistic, demographic, economic basis and potential of the Hungarian national community. Outside the country it has to contribute to making the Hungarian “nation”-concept a realistic and eligible choice. It presents a possibility – besides those limited by the state-borders – for the community of Hungarian citizens, those outside the borders of the Hungarian state, for minorities in Hungary and Hungarian minorities for nation-building through national regional association.

The most important future ambition concerning nation policy can be to promote a national regional association. Besides the neighbourhood-policies based on agreements, there is a need for a comprehensive system of treaties that can prevent the regional communities of the Hungarian-speaking population, the population of Hungarian identity of changing their language and losing their cultural values without large migratory flows. With the system of discussions and agreements equal access to Hungarian linguistic, cultural, educational, informational goods, and the participation with full powers of the Hungarian minorities in the cultural, educational and scientific sub-systems should be assured.

It is also necessary for the Hungarians in the neighbouring countries to establish balanced relationships with the national majority on all levels of politics. In the future, Hungarian foreign policy needs to build the possibilities of cooperation supplied by the Hungarian model of local authority into its list of arguments.

Regarding the question of autonomy in the Eastern-Central-European region the acknowledgement of both the states and the minorities is needed, and also mixed models and well-functioning legal frameworks have to be established. The experiences of previous Eastern expansions of the EU have proved that European integration can only indirectly advance claims of autonomy. Phobias can only dissolve in longer time-frames, refusals may be reduced, opinions about autonomy associated with separatism may change. We have to see that the states having minority populations, and even those neighbours of Hungary who have recently joined the EU, are interested in sustaining the assimilating logic of the nation-state and oppose decentralization, regionalization and autonomy-efforts.

It has to be examined from both shorter and long-term perspective, whether - with the devices of the actual migration policy - it is possible to regulate the employee-segment of the Hungarians: both for those coming from outside the county to Hungary and for Hungarian citizens moving to Transylvania, Slovakia, etc., concerning commuting and short-term employment in neighbouring countries.

The important role that political parties of the Hungarian minority take in consultation, criticism and initiation would be worth of a high level of institutionalization, whether in the Parliament or within the limits of regional forms of cooperation, involving minorities living in Hungary as well.

The valuable network-, intellectual-, and economic potential of the western Hungarian diasporas should be integrated more intensely into programs and plans of the nation policy. In this case we have to think about the North and South American, Australian and also the German, Scandinavian, Israeli, South African communities, and about their potentials for renewal.

To sum up, we can say that the priorities of the Hungarian foreign policy should be set in order to help achieve the long-term goals in line with the modern concept of "nation", to strengthen regional, ethnic, or social communities and also make them competitive. At the same time, supporting bilingualism, foreign relations, and starting operative programs, the renewed nation policy has to contribute to the psychological dimension of regional development.

**Balázs Vizi: *Conditions of the Nation Strategy within the Limits of the EU***

During the process of European integration Hungary has led a successful strategy, but it was not able to make the most of its political opportunity that it belonged to the leading group of the Central and Eastern European countries. Especially during the accession process of the neighbouring countries, Hungary was not able to put forward the interests of the Hungarian minorities, a good example of this being that Romania has joined the EU without passing the draft law on minorities, which was also supported by the European Parliament.

As a member of the European Union, a particular space in foreign policy has opened up, and Hungary – although it only had very little results – was successful in drawing the attention of the EU institutions upon the atrocities against Hungarians in Vojvodina, and to the deficiencies of the Romanian minority-protection system during its accession period. In many cases, Hungarian representatives have been successful in lobbying for the interests of the Hungarians living in Romania or Serbia influencing decisions that affect these countries.

Joining the EU does not solve the problems of the minorities in itself. The progress of the European integration can lead to multiple results. We need to account for both the positive and the negative developments.

It is a positive development that one of the main goals of the actual German presidency is the acceptance of the Constitution. The fact that the protection of minority rights appeared among the values of the Union is one of Hungary's successes. It would be especially favorable if the new agreement would contain the commitment of the EU towards minorities, which could stand at the basis of a future minority policy of the EU.

Still, it is a negative development that, after integration, national interests dominate instead of common interests. Lately, in many old and new member states, national separation and political nationalism have strengthened. After the French and the Dutch rejected the Constitution, supporting pragmatic intergovernmental cooperation as opposed to value-oriented goals, has become a more realistic alternative for many states. Thus, the European Union can be less successful in acting to protect common values, multiculturalism, human rights and European cultures.

The 2006 Government Program of Hungary sets its nation-policy goals considering successful European integration. On the Hungarian side every effort has to be made in order to reveal the standpoints of the minorities in community programs. The Hungarian government and the Hungarian rep-

representatives in the EP have to draw the attention of EU institutions to the infringement of rights concerning the Hungarian minority, especially to those living outside the borders of the EU. Hungary, as a member of the EU, has to develop a political identity that is concerned not only with the Hungarian minority, but also with human rights and minority protection in general. In order for the Hungarian foreign policy to be successful in improving minority-protection standards, it has to solve the unsettled aspects of the legal status of minorities living in Hungary, especially their representation in the Parliament. The general goals concerning minority policy within the European Union - communitarian minority-protection programs - have to be detached from the goals of the Hungarian nation-policy, such as for example the financial support of minority institutional systems. It is especially important to involve not only the Hungarian political elite outside the borders, but also NGOs into the Hungarian and communitarian programs, and into fundraising.

Concerning the Slovak-Hungarian and Romanian-Hungarian relationships, agreements about the protection of minorities have failed. Bilateral agreements (education, culture, protection of monuments, etc.) in states waiting for accession, as well as the effective implementation of the EC Minority Protection Framework-Agreement and the Charta of Languages should be encouraged.

In case of Serbia, its accession to the EU, as well as its efficient participation in the preparation of EU policies and assistance-programs need to be supported. The methods of supporting civil society, human rights and thus minority rights, and the local efforts for obtaining autonomy have to be found. In addition, Hungary has to be prepared for the possible migration-flows of the Serbs towards Vojvodina, which could overturn the current ethnic proportions.

Efforts for integration, the expansion of the Hungarian cultural and educational institutions, and their support by the state without discrimination need to be encouraged in case of Ukraine, too. The administrative dispositions of the Ukrainian legislation that are disadvantageous for the minorities have to be followed with attention and attempts to eliminate them should be made. Hungary could take an active role even financially in the EU programs aiming to foster social transformation, and the strengthening of democratic institutions.

**Zoltán Kántor: *Autonomy, Local Governance and Hungarian Minoritarian Community Development***

At the beginning of the 1990s, as the Central European countries that have stepped on the paths of democratization, they have also had to develop their policies concerning national minorities. Different models have been established, which were typically unfavorable for national minorities. The political mood and the legal instruments do not seem – even today – to be able to handle claims of autonomy of the national minorities. Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries, when compared to members of the majority-population – whether pronounced or unpronounced – are in a disadvantageous position. Although states are not allowed to differentiate among their members on a legal basis, this principle does not work in reality.

Successful Western autonomies are all based on some kind of compromise between the minority and the state. In Western countries the modern developments in constitutionalism target decentralization. Based on this we can not conclude – even if we hope – that this process will take place in Eastern Europe, during which part of the decisional power moves to lower levels.

In the last 16 years, the achievement of autonomy and that of local governance has been in the center of the political strategies of the neighbouring countries. In the following one or two decades, efforts of the Hungarian communities living in the neighbouring countries will most likely concentrate on the achievement of these goals. Their goal is to establish a multinational state instead of the current nation-state, to create smaller political and administrative units – where minorities have a larger say in matters that affect them – and more precisely to achieve a division of power among the national groupings present in the state. This has been realized to some degree in the cases where the minority has taken part in the governance.

Experience has shown that Hungary has not helped in advancing the issue of autonomy, but it also has to be admitted that it has very limited possibilities to do this. Efforts for minority-autonomies can not expect any form of support from the EU. Thus, the possibilities of Hungary regarding the issue of autonomy are very narrow. Principal answers, strategies, and particular steps have to be formed taking into account this affirmation. There is a need for examining strategies that may help politics adapt to the changing environment without having to give up its principles. On the level of principles, the government in power supports the autonomy – based on

either territorial or personal principles - of the Hungarians outside the country-borders.

The main goal of the Hungarian state is to guarantee the cultural reproduction of the Hungarians outside the state-borders, a precondition of this being the autonomy. In so far as there can not be reached an agreement upon the realization and support of a "national minimum", then Hungary can not effectively act on behalf of the Hungarians living outside its borders.

The following scenarios are conceivable: (1) long-term - regarding minority self-organization and autonomy - Hungary has to prepare for the minority issue to be pushed to the back. The security-policy standpoint of the EU switches to a standpoint of multiculturalism. Local tensions will be obscured by the problem of immigrants, and this issue comes to the center of attention. The goal is the regionalism within the EU, regional cooperation, in the course of which Hungarians living outside the state-borders can establish their autonomy with a well-working form of local governance. (2) middle-term - decentralizing the power, implementing the principle of subsidiarity, supporting the democratization of some neighboring countries are the main goals, because this can help Hungarians living outside Hungary to make decisions in questions affecting them. It is desirable that Hungarian parties do not take part in this process because they can damage the trustworthiness of the process. The current policies of the EU point towards decentralization, but not because of the national minorities in the first place.

**Kinga Mandel - Attila Z. Papp: *The Institutional System for the Preservation and Renewal of National Identity***

I. Education

The long-term goal of the preservation and renewal of national identity is on the one hand to maintain the educational institutions, integrate them into the majority-, the Hungarian, and the European space of education, and on the other hand to assure the intellectual and material basis of the public-, higher-, and adult-education for Hungarians living outside the borders of Hungary, to guarantee the social cohesion, equality of chances and competitiveness, to strengthen the service and community functions, the environmental-awareness and the quality dimensions.

Although every government has devoted considerable space to cultural-educational issues within their policies regarding Hungarians living outside the state-borders, in the last 15 years there was no coherent, comprehensive governmental conception concerning the principles of the Hungarian education and culture, and their long-term plans and priorities. Neither did Hungarian communities establish plans about the future of their own society's institutional development.

The doctrine of remaining in one's native country has become obsolete. Instead of the supporting policies – that can mainly be considered as an “aid” –, bilateral cooperation, the de-politicization of the Hungarian-Hungarian relationships, the modernization of Hungarian institutions, the support of the regional developments by the EU, the improvement of the labor-market positions in the Carpathian Basin is needed.

In the development of the higher education outside Hungary, the most favorable scenario would be the so-called “completely integrated system” – an autonomous institution within the limits of the European accreditation-system that can be integrated into both the national and the European space of higher education. A less positive scenario would be a partially integrated system of higher education – which can not be an organic part of national and international higher-education, its connections are limited. The most unfavorable scenario is the “ethnized higher education” outside the borders of Hungary – that turns towards itself and becomes isolated, peripheral, and gets no support from the government.

In public education, the goal is the establishment of an autonomous institutional system that has good relationships with its surroundings, and can assure a high level of professionalism, where the goals of the minorities are replaced by a service-mentality, and community development by effective, quality operations. Hungarian national integration, the establishment of national networks can be promoted by establishing contacts, contacts among partner schools, supporting joint activities, camps in the Carpathian Basin, because all these make those living on the two sides of the border get to know each other better. It is also necessary to reorganize the training and continuing education-system following the Hungarian model.

In the regions of diasporisation, education in one's mother tongue can only be assured through diaspora-centers, school-centers and colleges, run either by the Church, or by NGOs. It is necessary to support the linguistic revitalization of the Csángó through education. Special attention needs to be paid to maintain education in smaller villages, to improve their infrastructure, supply them with up-to-date instruction-materials, and transport

children and teachers among villages. The situation of the Hungarian-speaking Roma is of special interest, because this ethnic group is a minority within a minority, and thus, disadvantaged both compared to Hungarians living outside of Hungary and the Roma belonging to the majority.

The Hungarian government shall take an active role in representing the common Hungarian interests in the common European higher-educational area, in the establishment of a common strategy of educational and research goals with the institutions of higher education outside of Hungary. The establishment of higher education councils outside Hungary could help the Hungarian decision-making and the development of higher-education strategies in every larger region. Tracking whether financial assistance in the domains of higher education and culture, and a quality-control/accreditation-system could be useful not only for larger projects, such as a university established outside Hungary, but also in case of any other financial support awarded to institutions or institutional systems.

## II. Press, electronic media and Internet

In the field of the press and the media, Hungarian foreign policy can make use of the principles of assistance and development. Concerning financial assistance, it can concentrate on preserving it, i.e. it has to find the segments that are less capable of sustaining themselves. Concerning development-policy, it can concentrate on human resources, on educating the “workers of the press”, as well as on infrastructural investments, which support both the interests of the local communities as well as the interests of Hungarian foreign policy.

After 1990, we can observe the development of printed media, the establishment of new printed materials, and the renewal of the content of already existing media. Often these media delivered the vocabulary with the help of which the transformations/changes became explainable for the readers. In addition, the media became the constant clash-zone of the minority elite, the restructuring of the property-relationships looked like political matters.

Watching TV – and with the help of antennas and cable-networks the audience-numbers of the Hungarian stations – has become widespread at once. Since 1993, Duna TV can be watched in all the Hungarian regions outside the country. Most of the Hungarian commercial channels are also accessible. Besides this, commercial channels in particular countries have started to develop, thus posing an important factor of competition for the Hungarian channels.

The third aspect of the renewal of the Hungarian media outside of Hungary can be considered the appearance of news-sites on the Internet. We can find new-sites in all countries, which concur with or challenge the printed press, because they try to present new topics using a new tone. From the point of view of the Hungarian governance, it is important to note the network-building strategy that has started in the previous cycle, according to the ambitions of which those outside the country form a part – as parts of the nation – of the Hungarian information-society's 10-year plan.

The Hungarian media of particular regions most likely follow different paths. Thus, in case of Sub-Carpathia (Ukraine) and Vojvodina there is a risk of closure, whereas in Transylvania more signs point towards networking.

In the regions inhabited by Hungarians it will be a challenge for the minority media to cope with the intensive influence of globalization and with the strengthening of the locality. One has to face the actual quantitative and qualitative limits of the education of journalists in territories outside Hungary. In higher education institutions, only in Transylvania, the Babeş-Bolyai University of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) trains journalists, whereas journalist-schools are only present in Nagyvárad (Oradea) and Novi Sad, the other regions do not have programs especially for journalists. It is a recurring question whether it is better to educate journalists in their home countries or in Hungary. Under the current conditions of globalization trainings held at multiple locations should be focused at, where not only the strictly professional side of the education, but also financial and management skills could be concentrated at.

If real forms of collaboration would be established within the media, the model-transmitting forms could be stronger, while Hungary could assume the professional control, and assist with financial support based on deliberate strategies. As a result of all these, local autonomies could be established, possibilities lying in cooperation within the Carpathian Basin could be exploited, and the media could indeed be one of the carriers of identity-policies.

Priorities can be set according to the goals stated above. It would be important to prepare comprehensive evaluations, and to reveal the similar tendencies in Hungary. Internet-access should be provided for as wide a population as possible in the near future, and content-developers should be trained to approach the topics outside the borders of Hungary in a creative manner.

In order to achieve the desired media-network, cooperation could be extended to the media of the Hungarians living in the West, as a result of

which the Hungarians in the West and those from the homeland could come closer to each other in terms of culture.

**Miklós Bakk:** *The Regional Horizon of Nation Policy - Starting Points to the Definition of New Neighbourhood-Policies*

The resources of the nation policy have to be regionally differentiated, but their application is based on the assumption that some kind of regionalization process has started in Romania, first by the differentiation of regional identities and then by the administrative institutionalization of this differentiation

The capacities of the areas, the ways of implementation of EU public policies, the conditions of the decentralization make possible such a diversification of the nation-policy strategy, but we also have to notice that the unified state-structure of Hungary obstructs this.

The only part of the strategy that may clearly place a burden on the state-to-state relationship is the issue of the Szeklerland-region.

**István Csernicskó:** *We Need a Team! Thoughts about the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Strategy*

In my opinion before the debate on the new foreign policy strategy of the Republic of Hungary there should have been consensus about the goals of this new foreign policy. Because there is no general political strategy that is developed in its own sake. Politics – under normal conditions – is an action plan that is developed based on realistic short-, medium-, or long-term goals and interests. Thus, for the existence of a Hungarian foreign policy strategy, the Hungarian elite(s) should agree upon the national interests and goals that have to be achieved, which is called the “national minimum” by the analyses prepared on this topic.

**Zsolt K. Lengyel:** *Cultural Diplomacy and Hungarology. Considerations in Re-Thinking Their Relationship.*

It is a cliché that there is no foreign policy without a cultural aspect. But can the culture renounce science? Statement and question support each

other in the preparation of the new Hungarian foreign affairs strategy. Among the studies prepared on this topic by the **Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities** *Conditions of the Nation Strategy within the limits of the EU* and *The Institutional System for the Preservation and Renewal of National Identity* strengthen the statement, but mostly leave the question open. I will try to explore this topic.

**Alpár Losoncz: *Contribution to the Debate of the Foreign Affairs Strategy***

In the light of the keynote articles it seems to be necessary to re-define the concepts of *nation* and *nation-state*. According to the author, if we accept the post-national argument, the claims for local governance/autonomy of the minorities become meaningless, because minority autonomies reveal multiple tendencies (let's think about their role in destroying the hegemony of the nation-state, which pushes states towards multinational forms). Minority local governance is defensible, if the conditions for the minority to define itself, identify its possibilities and chances in a democratic way, become stabilized.

**Kálmán Petőcz: *Initiative and Dialogue – Contribution to the Debate of the Foreign Affairs Strategy***

The Hungarian diplomatic declarations regarding minority rights and minority protection do not always appear trustworthy. Often it is obvious that these declarations only attempt to protect the Hungarian minorities outside the country. Nevertheless, after seeing the battles of the last few years in internal affairs, an independent outside observer may think that the issue is not concerned about minorities any more, and it is only a result of political battles for positions.

Naturally, the Hungarian diplomacy does not have to be blamed for arguing in favor of the Hungarian minorities living outside the country. If they would not do it, who else could undertake this? They have to take firm steps, but these steps should be considered carefully and should be internally harmonized.

### **László Öllös: *Nation and Foreign Policy***

The Hungarian politics concerning Hungarian minorities has so far shown the many contradictions present in Hungarian internal affairs. Among these, the most important for Hungarians living outside the country was that they were also considered parts – or sometimes instruments – of internal affairs battles. Meanwhile, they had to face the challenge posed by the constant endangerment of their national existence, the essence of their national problems being the attempt of their states to forcefully assimilate them. Their state of existence is a continuous endangerment. The majority of the Hungarians – those living outside and within the borders of Hungary – see the right answer to this challenge in standing up for the cause of their national existence. They had to face this challenge while confronting the problems of the period, namely those of the change of regimes, transformation. Thus, they had to face the transformation of the political and social system both within their groups, and within their states.

In order to improve the rights of minorities and bring it to a level on which their long-term existence could be based, i.e. their national freedom would be assured in the states where they live, changing the prevailing concept of nation-state is necessary. The government in power needs to avoid all ambiguities regarding the stability of the region and the state-borders.

### **Levente Salat: *Minority Policy-Alternatives of the Hungarian Nation-Strategy***

Concerning the spirit and some of the standpoints that appear in the four documents I use as a starting point of my comments and advice that professionally up-to-date strategic documents contain three easily separable components, and namely: the description of the situation, preferably considering as many standpoints as possible and having a scientific character; the goal, or respectively the ideal plan towards which the strategy is oriented, accounting for the circumstances; and the description of the way and the decisions that can lead to accomplishing the goals.

In what follows, I will try to find the aspects in the four documents that the future strategy-developers – who will most likely take into account the requirements presented above – could use, and also examine their chances with using them. I will also try to draw attention to some further priorities, theoretical and practical issues that from a Transylvanian (Hungarian) per-

spective can be deduced from the premises, but are not stressed among the recommendations.

**Anthony W. Marx: *The Nation-State and Its Exclusions***

States have often codified or encouraged nationalism selectively, demarcating by specified categories who is included and who is excluded. Such purposeful, internal boundaries of nationhood were long seen as reflecting homogenous solidarities such as ethnicity, falsely assumed to be a fixed or essentialist category. Alternatively, such exclusions have been deprecated as tangential lags in a more inclusionary process; the leading current theories of nationalism focus on economic imperatives toward inclusion or literary-based imaginings of a unified community. But more often, nationalism has been constructed exclusively, not according to fixed categories, but instead, demarcated by emergent states seeking to manage diversity by manipulating and reinforcing difference. Variations in the form of such state-led nationalism, its particular internal exclusions, have had important consequences and largely remain to be explained. How and why did states act to encourage or codify certain categories of inclusion and exclusion, along what lines, and with what effects?

I here endeavor to address this issue, outlining a domination-based, coalition framework of nationalism in which exclusion is structural rather than fixed or tangential to nation-building. This discussion of exclusive nationalism begins to reclaim from essentialism, economics, or literary analogy the issue of nation-building as one in which politics is central. In the process, I hope to show how instrumental and cultural approaches can be combined in explaining demarcations of nation inclusion, thereby moving beyond current methodological divisions.

**Gábor Vincze: *From Lăncrănjan to Lăncrănjan - A Chapter from the History of Hungarian-Romanian Relationships in the 1980s***

Periods, which reveal the tense atmosphere even in peaceful times, can be identified in the 20<sup>th</sup> century history of the Hungarian and Romanian state-relationships. But, since their belonging to the same side in 1948, these problems got partly concealed, and partly hidden from the eyes of the public. This has changed in the middle of the 1970s, when first only sparsely,

but articles criticizing the other side appeared. These debates ran mainly among historians – party leaders could still allow this to themselves. However, behind the polemics that to the public appeared to be a simple debate among historians, there were far-reaching conflicts. We can say that on the surface the debate was concerned about the interpretation of the past, while in the reality it was the offensive to the gradual strengthening of minority-oppressing Romanian nationalism. Whereas in the second half of the 70s the leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP) have only responded moderately to the Romanian “provocation” (or stopped those wanting to react to the Romanian accusations), from the beginning of the ‘80s articles criticizing the Romanian standpoint have multiplied.

The open debate between the two countries had strengthened – and became regular – after the 1982 publication of the pamphlet offending Hungarians by the writer from Bucharest: Ion Lăncrăjan. In the present study we deal with those few years (taking into account the precedents), that range from the publication of the before-mentioned article to the 1986 publication of the pathologically Hungarian-offending novel of the writer from Bucharest. We devote our attention to the changes in party-to-party and state-to-state relationships, to the outcomes of the propaganda-campaign, and to the domestic reactions to this. We discuss the life of the Hungarian minority and the Hungarian-policy of Bucharest only in the light of the bilateral relationships.