

ABSTRACTS

Árpád Antal - Sándor Tamás: The Consequences and Impacts of Dual Citizenship on the Condition and Evaluation of the Hungarian National Communities from the Neighbouring Countries

In their rejoinder, the authors argue that enhanced naturalisation satisfied an emotionally embedded, cultural need of the Hungarian communities from the neighbouring countries. It has a major contribution to the strengthening of the national identity of these communities. At the same time they express their hope that the Hungarian governments will use the institution of dual citizenship first of all as an instrument, as an opportunity for action that guarantees that the communities from the neighbouring countries may belong in a political sense to the unitary Hungarian nation without luring them away from their homeland. And finally, they think that the right to vote, in its restricted form, is an instrument and an opportunity for the Hungarian communities living abroad to influence the way the Hungarian governments discuss about them, in their interest, with the governments of their host states.

Keywords: national policy, dual citizenship, naturalisation, national identity

Nándor Bárdi: Selected Research Reports on National Identity from the Research Centre for Mass Communication (Budapest).

Introduction to the research reports published in the present issue.

Keywords: Research Centre for Mass Communication, national identity, research reports

Tamás Bauer: Sugar in the Wound

In his answer to the questions regarding dual citizenship, the author argues that it should be treated as a problem concerning internal affairs, and not minority policy. Beside that, he draws attention to its possible negative social impacts, respectively to consequences in foreign relations:

on the one hand, it could lead to conflicts with the neighbouring states, and on the other hand it could affect Hungary's image in Western Europe. All in all, the author thinks that dual citizenship worsened, instead of improving the condition of the Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries.

Keywords: dual citizenship, Hungarian minority, social impact, foreign relations

dr. Zsolt Attila Borbély: The Extension of Hungarian Citizenship and Its Consequences to National Policy

In his answers to the questions referring to the issue of dual citizenship, the author sides with the opinion that the extension of Hungarian citizenship could significantly improve the chances that the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin will endure and grow in numbers, because it represents symbolically the unity of the nation, it makes the Hungarians of Transylvania and Vojvodina declare and assume their Hungarianness, and it enables the Hungarians from the Carpathian Basin to make common institutional decisions about their destiny. In terms of national policy, the drawbacks of dual citizenship are minimal, compared to its benefits.

Keywords: dual citizenship, Hungarian minority, national policy

Irina Culic: From Restitution to Privileged Re-naturalisation: The Expansive Politics of Dual Citizenship in Romania after 1989

The transformations engendered by the fall of the communist regimes and the dismantling of multinational federations in Central and Eastern Europe opened a momentous space for state reinvention. Alongside new constitutions pledging loyalty to universal human values and democracy in the name of their constitutive communities, the states, old and new, introduced citizenship laws, establishing the rules of aptness for membership. Invoking diverse historically formed principles of legal continuity and nation protection, they tended to follow a double logic. On the one hand, as states of and for a nation, they made inclusionary moves towards their external kin-population, through privileged naturalisation and specific kin-state legislation. On the other hand, they took an exclusionary stance towards their internal ethnic minority population, and restrictionist

measures of territorial access to foreigners. In terms of dual citizenship regulations, this materialized in significantly asymmetric approaches to naturalisation practices, which favoured ethnic selectivity and citizenship by birth-right.

In what follows I will first discuss dual citizenship as an institutional instance of the changes in, and challenges to, nation states. It reflects the tensions of globalized fluxes of capital and commodities and controlled movement of people across borders, universality of human rights discourse, and particularism of nation state territorialisation. Then I will examine the course of dual citizenship legislation in post-communist Romania, emphasizing state rationality behind its transformation. I will focus on its most debated provision, the restitution of citizenship to former citizens, unwillingly or abusively stripped of their citizenship, and I will discuss its shift towards privileged (re-)naturalisation during the past two decades. As a form of kin-state policies, I will relate it to similar legislation by Hungary, as they have continuously interacted within a multifaceted field of political, symbolic, economic, and social relations. The context in which they unfolded was notably determined by mass international labour migration, and supra-statal integration through the European Union.

Keywords: dual citizenship, renaturalization, dual citizenship legislation in post-communist Romania, kin-state-policy

György Csepeli: Opinions about Hungarians and the Peoples of the Neighbouring Countries

Final report of a survey done by the Research Centre for Mass Communication (Budapest) in 1977, presenting how people evaluate themselves as Hungarians, and their opinions concerning the peoples from the neighbouring countries.

Keywords: Research Centre for Mass Communication, national identity, Hungarian minority

Iván Zoltán Dénes: Opposing Systems of Memory

The author discusses the questions concerning dual citizenship from the perspective of the history of ideas. He focuses on the phenomena, the previously not discussed historical experiences that define individual and

collective activity in the public sphere and that are accountable – even if not exclusively – for the polarisation of the Hungarian political community. In his contribution, the author draws attention to the necessity of exploring and presenting this polarisation and the types of memory construction connected to it.

Keywords: dual citizenship, polarisation of the Hungarian political community, memory construction

Gábor Egrý: For Want of Answers

The author misses the analytical language necessary to describe and interpret enhanced naturalisation and the phenomena connected to it. In this essay, he tries to transcend the existing conceptual framework. Parallely, he wishes to reflect from a new standpoint on the questions raised in the debate initiated by *Magyar Kisebbség*. He underlines the opposition between the homogenising content of the idea of an enhanced naturalisation and the diverse character of the communities in case. He also shows that the most important consequence of such a programme is that it undermines the positions of the minority elites, the possibilities of separately organised modernisations, and it offers extra possibilities to the persons who want to avoid Hungarian nationalising efforts, looking for individual paths of modernisation.

Keywords: dual citizenship, enhanced naturalisation, Hungarian minority

István Gajdos - László Zubánics - Mihály Tóth: Reply to the Debate Launched by the Review Magyar Kisebbség

The three authors join the debate launched by *Magyar Kisebbség* from the specific position of the Hungarians in Transcarpathia, considering the Ukrainian laws that refer to dual citizenship. They underline the negative consequences of enhanced naturalisation with respect to the individuals and the Hungarian collectivity of Transcarpathia.

Keywords: dual citizenship, enhanced naturalisation, Hungarians in Transcarpathia

dr. György Hunyady-Endre Hann-Guy Lázár-Katalin Pörzse: Opinions on Patriotism, Hungarians, and Internationalism

A fragment from the survey report written in 1974 at the Research Centre for Mass Communication of the Hungarian Radio and Television.

Keywords: Research Centre for Mass Communication, national identity, patriotism

Tamás Kiss: In the Web of National Discourses. The Policy of Citizenship, as an Episode and Tool in the Fight for Classification Concerning the Hungarian Nation

The right-wing majority that came to power in Hungary in 2014 made it possible for the Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries to receive Hungarian citizenship without changing their place of residence. Following the revision of the electoral law it became possible for Hungarian citizens living abroad to vote at the parliamentary elections in Hungary. The present paper tries to shed light on the social perceptions concerning citizenship and nation, on the basis of the research done by the Institute for Minority Studies in Kolozsvár, as well as of other available sources. The goal of the analysis is to present the differences of opinion concerning Hungarian citizenship policy. From a theoretical point of view, the paper stresses on the triadic relationship of kin-state, the nationalising state and the minority. In the model developed by Roger Brubaker, the minority community is presented in the focal point of these three national projects. The three actors are defined as social fields in interaction. As far as the (political) field of the minority is concerned, it is important that the positions of the actors are influenced by the strategies of both the kin-state and the majority actors. The author tries to interpret within the framework of this model the points of conflict between the Hungarian national and citizenship policy, respectively the Transylvanian political class. In the end we presents the characteristics of the national identification of Transylvanian Hungarians, raising the question how it could be influenced by the new Hungarian citizenship policy.

Keywords: policy of citizenship, electoral law, national discourse, kin-state, nationalising state

Korhecz Tamás: On Dual Citizenship: a View from Vojvodina

The problem of dual citizenship, of facilitated naturalisation is a particularly important step regarding national policy that was not preceded by real professional and scientific discourse and preparation. In its absence, one should concentrate first of all on the interdisciplinary research of the decision's consequences. In September 2013, with the active support of some Hungarian national parties in Vojvodina, Hungarian citizens living in there started registering for the election in Hungary. The results of this process, together with the data concerning the participation in the parliamentary elections of 2014 may offer a solid background for an investigation and analysis that will help us draw conclusions concerning the practical consequences of dual citizenship on national policy.

Keywords: citizenship, national policy, naturalisation, the protection of national minorities, Vojvodina

Guy Lázár: Who Belongs to the Nation? The Opinions of Young People on the Criteria of Hungarianness and Hungarian Minorities Abroad

The final report of the research done in 1985 by the Group of Youth Research of the Hungarian Young Communist League and the Research Centre for Mass Communication.

Keywords: Research Centre for Mass Communication, national identity, Hungarian minority

Guy Lázár: The Hungarian Consciousness of the Population from the Point of View of Its Relationship to National-Ethnic Minorities

This is a research report based on a survey conducted in December 1987 within the framework of the Institute of Hungarian Studies and the Research Centre for Mass Communication. It investigated the Hungarian consciousness of the population, as well as its relationship to the national minorities living in Hungary and the Hungarians living in the neighbouring states.

Keywords: Research Centre for Mass Communication, national identity, Hungarian minority

Szabolcs Pogonyi: National Policy Held Captive by the Right to Vote of Hungarians Living Abroad

In his contribution, the author shows that the extension of citizenship and voting right to the Hungarians living abroad had an unfavourable influence on the triple relationship of the Hungarians living abroad, the kin-state, and the host-state. The right to vote divides Hungarian political forces, and escalates the internal tensions among the Hungarians organisations abroad. Besides, the debates around the right to vote limit the political elbow-room and the possibilities of interest enforcement.

Keywords: national policy, dual citizenship, naturalisation, electoral law

Salat Levente: The Visible and Probable Consequences of Facilitated Naturalisation. Responses to the Questions Raised by Magyar Kisebbség.

The author, examining the consequences of the nationality law, shows that a complex approach will cast doubts on the equivocal evaluation of the nationality law. It will raise problems both in the desired integration of all Hungarians, and in the future system of relationships within the minority community. Besides, facilitated naturalisation may influence unfavourably the minority policy of the successor states, the integrative efforts of the minority community, leading to the gradual elimination of the positions that made it possible for the representatives of the minority community to have a voice in the shaping of the legal and institutional frameworks that determine the living conditions of the Hungarians living in Transylvania.

Keywords: national policy, dual citizenship, naturalisation, minority policy

Tibor Toró: The Hungarian Communities from the Neighbouring Countries after the Law of Facilitated Naturalisation Comes into Effect. A Debate on the Subject of Dual Citizenship

This is a short introduction to the debate initiated by the editors of *Magyar Kisebbség*, concerning facilitated naturalisation. It shows the circumstances of the argument, the questions, an evaluation of the debate, and offers a short presentation of the contributions.

Keywords: naturalisation, dual citizenship, national identity

Judit Tóth: From the Imagined Community to Virtual Citizenship

In her contribution, the author shows that the law and politics of diasporas, the nationality law replacing the parliamentary representation of Hungarians will not fulfil the expectations connected to it. It will not transform into reality a conjectured spiritual, cultural national unity, it will not improve the relationships with the neighbouring countries, it will not lead to enhanced legal minority protection. Instead, it may increase the number of votes collected by certain parties, and due to migration it may diminish the number of Hungarians who make their way in life on their homeland. The new nationality law ignores the idea of common tax efforts and solidarity, and erodes the idea of equality of rights and duties, of popular sovereignty, acquiring a new, utilitarian meaning. Facilitated naturalisation will produce new offences in public policy, prejudices in public law, at the same time offering many people the chance to join ever newer waves of Hungarian migrant communities, in order to practice the right to free movement and employment within the EU, as well as the development of techniques of remote election.

Keywords: politics of diasporas, nationality law, naturalisation, national unity, minority protection, migration

Zs. András Varga: Considerations in Four Movements Concerning the Relationship between Nation and Its Constitution

The relationship between nation and constitution is developed by the author in four movements: (1) a nation is a community, and in its togetherness the most important factor is its institutionalisation, not language or ethnic identity; (2) law is indispensable to national existence; (3) law cannot be interpreted without a political concept of the nation; (4) the nation cannot exist without a (public) legal defence as well. In his interpretation, he demonstrates that in spite of the fact that legal interpretive rules are particularly important, reality cannot be adjusted to law by force. One cannot find a nation that follows the goals of the constitution; only an existing nation can have a constitution.

Keywords: nationality law, dual citizenship, political concept of the nation, national identity

Ágnes Vass: Slovak-Hungarian Dual Citizens without Slovak Citizenship

After the law of facilitated naturalisation was voted, Slovakia was the only country that gave the Hungarian decision a legal response. Contrary to previous routine, Slovakia made dual citizenship impossible. The goal was to prevent the Hungarians living in Slovakia become Hungarian citizens on the territory of Slovakia without consequences. In spite of the fact that the decision is solicitous from both a political and a legal point of view, even three years after the law was passed, there is still no political will to calm the tensions. The severe regulations oblige the citizens to conceal from the authorities their other citizenship or, by giving up the Slovak one, to live as foreigners in their homeland. The essay presents, by means of the examples of the Hungarians from Slovakia who openly assume their Hungarian citizenship, the contradictions of this situation and their impact on the everyday life of Hungarians and Slovaks in Slovakia.

Keywords: naturalisation, dual citizenship, Slovak law on citizenship, Hungarians in Slovakia

Tamás Wetzel: Answers to the Questions Formulated by the Editors of Magyar Kisebbség

According to the author, there are two extreme positions concerning facilitated naturalisation: (1) facilitated naturalisation is a historical act, the most important element of national policy; (2) it is a sheer formality that does not compensate for the tasks connected to nation building. The author does not identify with any of these approaches, positioning himself somewhere in the middle, approaching the problems raised by *Magyar Kisebbség* from the first standpoint.

Keywords: facilitated naturalisation, national policy, nation building, dual citizenship