

HUNGARIAN EXOGENOUS INFLUENCE ON THE SEPARATISM MOVEMENT IN TRANSCARPATHIAN REGION

Yevgen Ryabinin,
Ph.D (political Science)

In the article, on the basis of a preliminary analysis of the problem of the exogenous influence of the countries on the strengthening of separatist processes in Ukraine, expresses the view that ethno/separatist conflicts have not only internal causes for escalation, but also the external influence exerted by the main actors of international relations, solving their geopolitical tasks. The author classifies the exogenous factors of influence, which are most often used by the main and influential actors of international relations to strengthen their positions in the region or in any state. The author analyzes such components of the Hungarian exogenous influence on Ukraine as cultural, educational, political and diplomatic. Hungary consistently and persistently tries to protect the rights and interests of Hungarian national minority in Ukraine, but every year it does so contrary to the interests and territorial integrity of Ukraine. Relations between the two countries have worsened due to statements by political and public figures in Hungary after the adoption of the Law on Education by Ukraine in September 2017. Since that time the relations between two countries are aggravating. It could be proved by the steps made by Hungary on the international arena, i. e. blocking Ukraine-NATO summit in 2017. Besides, Hungarian officials have recently announced that they would block all Ukrainian initiatives in terms of European and Euro-Atlantic integration process. Due to it the political situation in Transcarpathian region is worsening that could lead to ethnic clashes. The author comes to the conclusion that the cultural component of exogenous influence increases the factor of identity and can serve as an element of soft power and catalyze the ethnic/separatist conflict in the country.

Keywords: Transcarpathia, separatism, exogenous factor, Ukraine, Hungary, separatism conflict, ethnic clashes.

Рябінін Євген

УГОРСЬКИЙ ЕКЗОГЕННИЙ ВПЛИВ НА СЕПЕРАТИСТСЬКИЙ РУХ У ЗАКАРПАТТІ

У статті на основі попереднього аналізу проблеми екзогенного впливу країн на посилення сепаратистських процесів в Україні висловлюється думка про те, що етносепаратистські конфлікти мають не лише внутрішні причини для ескалації, а й часто зовнішній вплив, який чинять головні актори міжнародних відносин, вирішуючи свої геополітичні завдання, або країни, що межують з Україною. Класифіковано екзогенні чинники впливу, які найчастіше використовуються основними та впливовими акторами міжнародних відносин для посилення своїх позицій у регіоні або в будь-якій державі. Автор проаналізував такі складові угорського екзогенного впливу на Україну, як культурна, освітня, політична, дипломатична. Угорщина послідовно та наполегливо намагається захищати права й інтереси українських угорців, але з кожним роком вона робить це дедалі більш усупереч інтересам і територіальній цілісності України. Відносини між двома країнами погіршилися після заяв політичних та громадських діячів Угорщини щодо ухваленого Україною Закону

«Про освіту» у вересні 2017 р. Зроблено наголос на тому, що з цього часу відносини між двома державами лише погіршуються. Це може бути доведено кроками, які Угорщина робить на міжнародній арені, а саме: блокування саміту Україна – НАТО наприкінці 2017 р. Крім того, угорські посадовці зробили заяву, що блокуватимуть всі українські ініціативи в контексті європейської та євроатлантичної інтеграції. Через це політична ситуація в Закарпатті погіршується, що може призвести до міжетнічних сутичок. Зроблено висновок про те, що культурна складова екзогенного впливу посилює чинник ідентичності й може слугувати елементом «м'якої» сили та каталізації етносепаратистського конфлікту в країні.

Ключові слова: Закарпаття, сепаратизм, екзогенні чинники, Україна, Угорщина, сепаратистський конфлікт, етнічні сутички.

Nowadays there are about 200 states in the world and only at least 20 are ethnically homogeneous. In more than 40 % of states there could be found five or more national minorities. In general there are about 8 thousands peoples and each of them pretends to independence.

Therefore, today a great number of countries can face a problem of separatism movement due to political activation of ethnic minorities.

The objective of this article is to analyse the exogenous influence of Hungary on the activation of separatism movement in the Transcarpathian region.

Nowadays some states and especially European ones face the rise of separatist processes. During September and October 2017 the world community could observe separatist referendums in Iraqi Kurdistan, Spanish Catalonia and Italian Veneto. As for the first two regions they voted for complete independence and Veneto wanted to gain special conditions of autonomy. In July and October 2017 there was also people march for autonomy – in the Polish Province of Silesia. Thus, after a number of separatist movements in 1980-es – 90-es that transferred into hostilities, today we can observe again the rise of separatist processes in Europe.

The problem of separatism could be explained by the desire of some communities (ethnic groups, peoples) to have more rights. In the majority of cases experts analyze internal reasons for separatism uprisings but forget to consider exogenous influence of neighbouring states.

According to the definition that is given by the Encyclopedic dictionary of political science separatism is the movement for territorial secession of this or that part of the state with the purpose of formation of a new state or receiving a certain degree of autonomy as for language, religion and national issues [6, p. 237].

Separatism according to the author's opinion could be based on different integral parts, i. e. cultural, religious, economic, ideological, ethnic, civilizational. As for the degree of activity it could be active when the ethnic group extensively supports the idea of secession; moderate – when ethnic group demands only autonomy status; passive – when ethnic group is dissatisfied with its position in the country but doesn't proclaim any demands.

There is an opinion that separatism is a phenomenon that could develop from within. There are several internal factors that work as a catalyst for strengthening of separatist processes in a certain region. But besides internal factors it is necessary to single out external factors too. Due to the latter the neighboring states or the great powers play an important role in the separatist processes. Such actors are interested in the weakness or even collapse of the country in order to improve their positions in the region or expand their territory if they have common borders with the state-object.

External processes have an important influence on the domestic development of the country. Therefore, the reasons and character of conflicts are connected with the peculiarities of the geopolitical and geosocial system and its dynamics.

If separatist movement in Europe develops due to the internal factors (Spain, Italy, Belgium), in the Third World States or the former Soviet Union there is an influence of the external factors. The brightest examples of this can be observed in the former Yugoslavia (Kosovo) and Ukraine (Donbas).

The external factors could be implemented by two groups of methods – soft and hard.

The hard methods are expressed in the form of military invasion and could be implemented in the following way:

- region is supplied with military support;

- interference of peacekeeping forces with the purpose of the further conflict resolution with taking into account the interest either of the rebellious region or the government of the state;

- conducting humanitarian intervention that presupposes the participation in hostilities on the side of the rebellious region.

The soft methods could be divided into soft active support and soft passive support. Soft passive support is supplied just by existence of the neighboring country with ethnically close population that wants the unity of the peoples. Soft active support is conducted in different ways: economical (by financing the separatist movements or NGOs), technical (by supplying lethal weaponry), humanitarian (by making contacts with ethnically close groups of people in the sphere of culture, education and science; by financing the educational programs, scientific projects, internships), diplomatic (by supporting the rebellious region), cultural (by construction of religious objects), informational (by demonization of the rebellious region or the authorities of the state).

Ukraine has common borders with Belarus, Moldova, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Poland and Russia. Almost all of them except Belarus and Moldova have territorial demands to Ukraine.

Aside from the events in the Donbas region, the situation with separatist processes in Transcarpathia looks the most radical. This region is the most affected by neighboring states such as Hungary and Romania. There are 163,1 thousand Hungarians or 0.3 % of the total population in Ukraine, including 151,5 thousand in the Transcarpathian region. There are 103 schools with Hungarian language of study. In 2004 a gymnasium with Hungarian language of education was opened in Uzhgorod [5, p. 36].

There are also 76 clubs and 395 amateur groups with Hungarian language of speaking as well as 87 libraries, in which 408 thousand copies of books in Hungarian. The Hungarian Drama Theatre named after Dily is located in Berehove. The region of Transcarpathia has over 60 monuments and memorials of Hungarian political and cultural figures. Among the deputies of local and regional councils Hungarian MPs account for 12.8 %. 13 periodicals are issued in Hungarian, 13 regional public associations operate, and the Democratic Union of Hungarians of Ukraine operates at the national level [5, p. 37]. In Berehove Pedagogical Institute, Uzhgorod National University and Mukachevo Humanitarian and Pedagogical Institute you can even get higher education in Hungarian.

Some national Hungarian organizations, which also actively work in the region, openly put forward political demands for the establishment of Hungarian autonomy [9].

Ukrainian Hungarians today live compactly in four districts: Transcarpathia (67 % of Transcarpathian Hungarians), Uzhhorod (35 %), Vynohradiv (25 %), Mukachevo (12 %).

In addition to issuing passports, Hungary pursues a policy that is aimed at supporting the loyalty of its fellow citizens. For example, every Ukrainian Hungarian receives minimum 100 euros annually as a financial aid from the budget of Hungary, which allocates 11.8 million euros with this view.

A lot of Hungarian organizations and funds also work in Transcarpathia. For example, the charitable fund of Gabor Betlen gives a financial assistance for schools with Hungarian language of study and repairs churches. Its activities are financed from the budget of Hungary. For example, in 2015 66 million euros were allocated for this activity. Thus, Hungary leads a creeping soft occupation of Transcarpathia. Hence we can observe a cultural and educational influence of Hungary which is supported by legislative means. Besides, Hungary tries to unite Hungarian communities in Ukraine so they could feel themselves more Hungarian than Ukrainian.

There are about 50 Hungarian organizations in Ukraine, 28 of which are in Transcarpathia. The most numerous are the Democratic Union of Hungarians of Ukraine, the Hungarian Transcarpathian Society, the Society of Hungarian Intelligence of Transcarpathia, the Forum of Hungarian Organizations in Transcarpathia, the Transcarpathian Hungarian Pedagogical Society, the Transcarpathian Hungarian-speaking Scientific Society, the Hungarian Scientific Association for students and young researchers, the Union of Hungarian Journalists of Transcarpathia, the Transcarpathian Hungarian and the Association of Scouts, the Union of Hungarian Librarians of Transcarpathia, the Transcarpathian Hungarian Society of Health Workers, the Union of Hungarian Entrepreneurs in Transcarpathia [2, p. 236].

In 2010 Hungarian parliament adopted amendments to the citizenship law, according to which Hungarians from all over the world have the right to apply for Hungarian citizenship within simplified terms. Hungary issues its passports to citizens of Ukraine despite the prohibition of dual citizenship and uses gaps in Ukrainian legislation.

The position of the official Budapest is restrained, but it seems as if it has a desire to put a debate on the Transcarpathian membership in Hungary on the agenda [10]. Therefore, we can observe a legislative instrument of the Hungarian exogenous influence.

Another institution – the Friends of Hungary Foundation – operates under the auspices of the Hungarian government for the purpose of strengthening the national identity of the diaspora. There are settlements in Transcarpathia, where 98 % or 100 % of local citizens are ethnic Hungarians. There is only one language of speaking – Hungarian. And Hungarian government considers it very important to strengthen the culture of the nation in this way [1, p. 3].

The Hungarian authorities are quite active in using the soft method of influence Transcarpathia. The Prime Minister of Hungary Victor Orban made one-day informal visit to Berehove on April 26, 2013. During his trip Orban signed the agreement with the head of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute about providing to it 1.7 million euros from the budget of Hungary.

The decision of the Hungarian authorities to finance this institution in Berehove is considered in Budapest as a part of supporting activities of ethnic Hungarians in other countries in the field of education and culture. The Government of Hungary intends to turn to a high school of higher education, open new departments there and expand the scope of research work. Budapest provides financial assistance for development of the Institute infrastructure and maintaining contacts with institutes and universities in Hungary [7].

Hungary's policy on the Transcarpathian issue has intensified during the events in the Crimea in 2014.

Budapest declared the need for autonomy and dual citizenship for Hungarians living in neighboring countries, especially in Ukraine.

The crucial and the most difficult moment in relations between Hungary and Ukraine took place in September 2017 when the Verkhovna Rada adopted the reform of education. According to it since September 1, 2018 children will be able to study at school in the language of national minorities only to the fifth grade. This point provoked a explosion of criticism

from neighboring states, according to which the law violates constitutional rights of national minorities in Ukraine. Hungary reacted most painfully to the reform. The Foreign Minister of Hungary Peter Siyarto reported on Budapest's plans to block, if possible, important decisions and initiatives for Kiev in the international arena and to revise the Association Agreement between Ukraine and EU [2].

Furthermore, the demonstration against Ukraine took place in Budapest in October 2017. The organizers of the action supported the «self-determination» of Transcarpathia and the freedom of the Ruthenian, Polish, Bulgarian, Romanian, Armenian national communities living on the territory of the present Ukraine.

Conclusions

Nowadays we can observe an active phase of separatist processes all over the world, especially in Europe. Some of them have only internal driving factors, but in some cases exogenous reasons could be noticed. Ukraine is a bright example of the state to which the neighbouring states have territorial demands. As a consequence, they do everything possible in order to worsen political situation in Ukraine. One of such neighbouring states is Hungary which radical politicians express anti-Ukrainian statements from time to time that cause misunderstanding in bilateral relations.

Therefore, we can see that Hungary, having started with cultural and exogenous support, has created some political, social, cultural organizations that have been influencing the Transcarpathian region. Now the level of Hungarian support has increased so much that the state can use political and diplomatic influence on the European Union and NATO. It is understandable that Hungary is not a great power but it can use its rights and tools to block Ukraine's pro-European movements. In view of this, we can come to the conclusion that Ukraine must conduct domestic policy that could be beneficial in all aspects and for all ethnic minorities. Besides it should also use all possible tools to prevent neighboring states from exposing their exogenous influence on the representatives of their ethnic group. Otherwise such influence could lead to a large scale of destabilization and domestic confrontation between various ethnic communities of Ukraine.

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