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MAXIM MUDRYI

Nova Kakhovka, Kherson region

THE PROBLEM OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP IN UKRAINE

The article deals with the wide circle of Internet publications. The urgent question of getting passports of the nearby countries by the citizens of Ukraine is presented.

Key words: citizenship, romanization, nation, homeland, dual citizenship, Romania, Hungary.

The question concerns Romania and Hungary. From the early stages of development to proclamation of independence (1991) Ukraine was historically folded as the multinational state. Participation of representatives of other nationalities in competitions for will of the state in the different epochs, marked by historians and publicmen, looks out apparent. At the same time experience of nearby Moldova and Azerbaijan and others like these countries shows one of the challenges of the present, which display the danger of the immense forcing of national questions, especially, if such process is influenced by the nearby states which have got their own ethnos in the compact dwelling abroad. Preventing the undesirable scenario of the development of events is possible due to the study of problem of dual citizenship in Ukraine, which next to a question about expansion of amount of official languages, no doubt, needs careful attention of researchers. Therefore the problem should be adequately lighted up and the expert estimation of risks should be given, which can appear before Ukraine due to the process of the progressive secession of non-titular nations of our state from Ukrainian citizenship. It's important to watch the process of consolidation of Romanian, Moldavian and Hungarian (Magyar) ethnic groups in XX-XXI century, to define credible political reasons of the mass passport system of boundary districts of Ukraine by Romania and Hungary (near and distant), to specify present macro- and micro index of acquisition of Romanian and Hungarian citizenship by Ukrainian citizens from statistical data; to describe possible risks and ways of their neutralization from legal de-Ukrainization of our state, to reproduce foreign-policy activity of the Romanian and Hungarian governments concerning saving national traditions of Romanians, Moldovans and Hungarians (Magyars).

What is Romania Mare? Wikipedia explains it very well:

Romania Mare, in close translation is «Great Romania», can have the followings definitions: (in a historical context) the political system of Kingdom Romania within the borders of 1918, set by King Ferdinand I [23]; (in other contexts, including nostalgic) territorial borders of Romania between 1918 and 1940. Also: desire to reproduce Romanian borders “before 1940”; desire to create Great Romania, even not limited to territory “before 1940” [22].

Greater Romania Party (Partidul Romania Mare, Party Great Romania) is postcommunist populist political party in Romania, headed by Kornelij Tudor (Corneliu Vadim Tudor) [23]. Why does political party which builds the election platform on aggression to the nearby states and speculates the concept “Romania Mare” get stable support in 1990 and such considerable in 2000? And then why does this support demonstrate such unfavorable dynamics in future? Actually everything is very simple: not public supports the political project with such ideology, but the project is created so, that it answers the moods of society. So an ideological base was already present, the segment of political market already had formed requirement – which remained to be provided with the adequate proposition.

So this is national idea – educated by generations during many centuries and actively propagandized (and pressed to other ethnos in the process of Romanization) by the government; the apogee of which (propagandas) took place not so long ago – in an intermilitary period after 1940, not completed, but purchasing new forms [22].

And this national idea is historically traced very well [5], in fact Romanians managed to conduct Romanization on territories which were

part of Austro-Hungary (realizing its influence which was left after it had entered Moldavian principality) [14] See constant historical mentions about “opposition” of Romanization – in the first turn in the sphere of education and religion.

Actually it is a very interesting and important moment: there were less Romanians on the territory of Bukovyna than Ukrainians, and in North Bukovyna – there was their considerable minority, Ukrainians prevailed in all spheres absolutely confidently: they actively conducted their cultural expansion and grew a political and economic presence – in a foreign state! By the way, Moscow also stretched its tentacles of influence on land to which it never had a single relation) [4, 6].

So it's a powerful national idea, isn't it? In the USA, for example, a national idea is that Americans save the whole world, sow democracy and this idea is the most important and the greatest. In Russia national idea is «God, save the tsar». In Romania it is «Romania Mare».

And what is national idea in Ukraine, for Ukrainians? Poor, unhappy, oppressed Ukraine? Ukraine hasn't perished yet [5]?

But for Romanians the idea of «Romania Mare» experienced very interesting metamorphoses, got characteristic qualities (strange from the first sight, but on the whole – appropriate): the matter is that the sharp enough break of idea with reality happened, the classic substitution of concepts took place. Yes, from one side, the idea unites nation and is that motive force which leads to the fortune and prosperity. And from another side – what a «Romania Mare», when borders have been already set, it has already joined NATO and no territorial claims have authority on existence?

But on the other hand, there is public opinion, which brings those who love to Power and dooms on oblivion by others. What should be done?

Do the following: realizing that it is absolutely nonsense, support an idea in public (the idea of «Romania Mare» – actually not clarifying the nature of its activity), once somewhere afford an utterance “on the verge of foul”, to comfort self-esteem of citizens (and this “on the verge of foul”, in fact, means to work for the

benefit of citizens in those spheres, which are really important). So community both “by inertia” and genetically wants to realize itself as “Romania Mare” and tries to do it; while realities demand other direction of activity.

It is a moment of Self-deceit – to think that you want something, and under these slogans to unite for the sake of quite another thing (to honor of the Romanian people it should be noted that it «another» is really structural, directed on development). And this Self-deceit is generated by deception, because politician (candidate, for example, in presidents, or current president) already by frank deception and public declarations also comes forward “for”, conducting a policy of double standards (but again – in interests of society!).

From one side, you do not admit in public, that this idea is foolishness (by the way, it is so useful to society); and from the other side– the «real» affairs claim attention.

Therefore this situation generates such the «Romanian compromise» itself, that allows, firstly, to quiet a conscience and «imperial ambitions», and secondly –to work on the development effectively. And this compromise lies in two moments. Let's look through each separately.

The first moment: from time to time to confirm the declarative aspirations to “Romania Mare”, to use constantly the minimum level of measures, directed to support a diaspora and “expansion” (minimum level – exactly so much, that it will be impossible to blame at renunciation from the idea; but no more) [12], spending less efforts and resources (money), such «the creation of visibility of activity itself». The second moment: to be really engaged in state affairs (because problems in Romania are great) [23].

And the «compromise» system works. Moreover, the already mentioned substitution of concepts enables to solve everything exactly under the slogans of «Romania Mare» – even if this activity will be very and very distant from the classic understanding of large idea. Certainly, such state of affairs cannot be absolutely realized by nobody and in public not discussed.

Yes, in 2005, as we see, serious reproaches to the president of Romania were put in public – one was told, and other was done. That «Romania Mare» is supported in words, and

ethnic Romanians cannot get the Romanian passports and restore the historical justice [21]. Whereon an official answer was even got and it was promised to «understand».

And in comments somebody frankly fills up Mr. President, that he promised to be the «president of all Romanians» [20] (it is needed to understand – and those who found themselves outside Motherland without citizenship as a result of historical injustice), and in fact he appeared a demagogue.

Why did support of Partidul Romania Mare (PRM) reduce on elections – did common citizens realize it? Partly – so. Euro-Atlantic integration generated new horizons, new self-identification, new challenges and new aspirations, and it is normal. And partly – other political forces also “played” on this question during pre-election races, and thus intercepted on itself part of electorate from this segment.

Anyway, reality is that Romania has real problems which need permanent attention. On this background they do not need ethnic Romanians of North Bukovyna indeed [8, 10].

According to the Law on citizenship of Romania, those Ukrainians can get its citizenship on the simplified procedure that were born or lived on territory of Romania from 1918 to 1940, and Ukrainians who have such relatives [4]. If we think it over, before 1940 the territory of North Bukovyna and Bessarabia was a part of pronacist Romania, the political subtext of this norm is easy to guess.

As a result, today experts talk about 50 000 Ukrainians who got citizenship of Romania, at least about 20000 of Ukrainians, who have both Ukrainian and Russian citizenship [3, 12] (law enforcements don't show ardor to display such people).

A similar situation is traced in a question about the policy of Hungary in relation to our state. A certification about the Hungarian origin of Ukrainian citizens can be a foundation for getting Hungarian citizenship.

Hungarians who live in Zakarpattya region from the beginning of 2000 actively appeal to the Hungarian embassy with a request to give out the passport of a citizen of Hungary.

Dual citizenship in Ukraine is forbidden by the law; however it doesn't stop ethnic Hungari-

ans, and also their relatives, to get the second passport.

This process became more noticeable since January 1, 2010, when amendments about the citizenship were accepted by the Hungarian parliament [9]. Now Hungarians abroad can get a passport on the simplified procedure.

According to the Zakarpattya media, from the beginning of 2010 a few thousand inhabitants of the region applied to get the Hungarian citizenship [15].

Recently about 12000 applications to get the Hungarian citizenship have been applied in different countries. And although Hungarians say, that not Ukrainian inhabitants of Zakarpattya, but citizens of Serbia, Slovakia and Romania, apply more frequently, however it is known, that for today already 5–7 thousand of citizens of Ukraine applied applications with a request to give out the passport of a citizen of Hungary.

This information was presented by Bella Kovach, the deputy of European Parliament from Hungary, who had recently opened the office in Berehove in Zakarpattya [15]. He says that the new package of documents from inhabitants of Zakarpattya on getting the Hungarian passport arrives every half an hour. Thus, in opinion of Kovach, Hungarian and Ukrainian relations won't get down, in fact « the Ukrainian state understands situation» – he marks [15].

A correspondent of BBC Oleksandr Popovich reports, that passports' issuance coincided in time with completion of term of action of the so-called "certifications of oversea Hungarian", which Hungary gave out on analogical terms and free of charge [2, 9]. Those certifications looked out as the real passports, contained the image of state Hungarian symbolism and building of parliament in Budapest, however gave only some privileges during the stay on the territory of Hungary.

Direction of foreign policy of Victor Orban can be named as «soft nationalism», as he likes to speak about unity of nation a lot and grant rights and citizenship those Hungarians who are outside modern Hungary. If they are able to vote, what is now spoken about, then Victor Orban and his party Fides will have more supporters.

Conditions to get citizenship are minimum: litigation, base knowledge of Hungarian or

Hungarian origin. Thus a concept «origin» is very conditional: it's sufficient, that a closest relative who was born on territory which belonged to Hungary before 1920 or in a military period (1938–1945). That is why nowadays archives are simply heaped up with applications from the seekers of the root.

Ministry of foreign affairs of Ukraine hasn't made any statement yet concerning a situation happened with the getting citizenship of Hungary by the inhabitants of Zakarpattia region. The foreign-policy department of BBC said, that it attentively studies this situation and, in particular, processes which take place in Romania, where an amount of citizens who try to get Hungarian citizenship is the biggest [17. 18]. As to a situation in Ukraine, as a leader of department of informative policy of MFA Oleh Voloshin said, there aren't any grounds to dramatize a situation.

«Let's do not dramatize a situation. Because once, when the proper law was accepted, the Hungarian side made quite a lot of efforts to prove that it wasn't directed to undermine territorial integrity of Ukraine or to provoke separatism among ethnic Hungarians. And today we do not have grounds to consider that it is not true. The long-term policy of Hungary in relation to co-operating with the national society shows that official Budapest on any stage does not provoke separative, anti-Ukrainian moods among Hungarian society of Zakarpattia» [16], – the speaker of MFA of Ukraine said.

The Zakarpattia political scientist Victor Paschenko marks that in this situation it is obvious that the legislation of Ukraine is violated. But it's quite difficult to punish «double citizens», because it's a very long judicial procedure to deprive the Ukrainian passport.

Besides, those, who get the passport of other state, do not divulge this information, and consular establishments do not give this information to the state agencies of Ukraine.

So, summarizing the results, it is possible to state that the games among politicians can have sad consequences for Ukrainians, who will be bought on the bait of bipatrim. If the fact of the hidden dual citizenship is found out, losses can be considerably bigger than the benefits. In fact, after a small exception, not many new

«bipatrimds» plan to change their residence. Firstly, the majority has the real estate in Ukraine, own economies; secondly, social adaptation in the countries of EU, especially for people of middle and senior age, is very difficult. And de jure life in Ukraine will create a number of new problems to a foreign citizen.

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МАКСИМ МУДРИЙ

м. Нова Каховка, Херсонська область

ПРОБЛЕМА ПОДВІЙНОГО ГРОМАДЯНСТВА В УКРАЇНІ

У статті на основі широкого кола Інтернет-публікацій висвітлюється актуальне нині питання набуття громадянами України паспортів сусідніх країн.

Ключові слова: громадянство, румунізація, нація, Батьківщина, подвійне громадянство, Румунія, Угорщина.

МАКСИМ МУДРЫЙ

г. Новая Каховка, Херсонская область

ПРОБЛЕМА ДВОЙНОГО ГРАЖДАНСТВА В УКРАИНЕ

В статье на основе широкого круга Интернет-публикаций освещается актуальный сейчас вопрос приобретения гражданами Украины паспортов соседних стран.

Ключевые слова: гражданство, румынизация, нация, Родина, двойное гражданство, Румыния, Венгрия.

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