

## SUMMARY

As a result of our researches fulfilled during the writing of this present dissertation we succeeded to draw the following conclusions.

In Europe and the European Union we found numerous positive examples of ethnic-based territorial autonomies. Their functioning and minority-protecting significance have proved that ethnic-based territorial autonomies are “not things from the devil”, they don’t endanger and don’t impair the sovereignty of the states in question, rather enriching them (e. g. South Tirol, the Åland Islands, the German Language Community of Belgium).

The more serious research of the interethnic relationships in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe has only run up after the great political changes, though even in Western Europe it can be traced back just to the end of World War II. In our region the events of the end of 1980’s and the beginning of 1990’s have resulted in a more opened way of life, what brought to surface themes that were kept back earlier (the social and economic consequences of Trianon, the existence and even problems of national minorities in certain countries etc.) All this, in turn, have urged the scientists (working mainly in the field of sociology, demography or their borderlands) to try to explore the processes, influences and reasons that determine the system of relations between different ethnic groups living beside each other. The Eastern Central European and Southeastern European feature of the relevant researches is that they were usually motivated by a description or understanding of a certain ethnic problem, conflict (e. g. the population changes, aggressive trans- and resettlements connected with the pre- and post-history of the World War II resulting in damaging the ethnic balance, thus strained relations, the situation with the parts of Hungarian nation in the Carpathian Basin which have found themselves abroad, or the problems of social integration of the Gypsy population). In spite of this we have attempted to present some positive Western European examples that, on one hand, are evident proofs of different nationalities’ possible peaceful, harmonic, helpful co-existence and, on the other hand, may serve with numerous lessons and patterns for our region the pondering over and adoption of which would have positive results from the point of view of formation of the local interethnic relationships.

Few people know that Belgium, put down as a binational state and hallmarked by the century-old Flemish–French conflict also has a German minority. Its number is really not significant, only 74000 (2008) what makes up only 0,7 per cent of the total (10,4 million) population of the country. The Germans live beside Belgium’s state border with Germany on a territory of just 854 square kilometres (2,8 per cent of the total area), on Europe’s only high-altitude marshland, in nine different settlements. The smaller but more densely populated northern part consists of four communities (Eupen, Kelmis, Lontzen, Rearen), while the larger but sparsely populated southern part is made up of five (Amel, Büllingen, Bütgenbach, Burg Reuland, St. Vith).

Though the German Language Community which is significant in Belgium neither by number nor by the area occupied is made very important through the rights that are due to its members. The present Belgian constitution declares that Belgium is a federal state consisting of the Flemish, the French (i. e. the two “big ones”) and the German Language Communities. The German (beside the Flemish and French) is the third official language of the country, the German community in Belgium has its own parliament, Prime Minister, institute of higher education, theatre, radio station, newspaper etc. and gets a remarkable yearly share from the federal cash desk which, in turn, is mainly used for the purposes of education. Thus, the Germans form a community which has the same rights as the Flemish and French, even if they don’t have their own region as the latter two do. As their settling area is part of the French region, its leaders have the last word in financial questions concerning several dimensions of life, but according to the plans the Germans would also get some economic competences from the region in the close future. For all this, of course, the German speakers are grateful to their country and try to remain loyal to it to the utmost:

e. g. in times of the Flemish–French divergence they put a great emphasis on the unity of the Belgian state; their government took an oath of allegiance on the Belgian state in the past decade and repeatedly called upon the Flemish and French community to save the country's unity.

As today is almost nothing heard about the possible problems of the Germans in Belgium, it is presumable that their status was settled successfully and adequately. Though the workplaces of the German speakers are usually on the other side of the state border (i. e. in Germany), the vast majority of them, by their own admission, are satisfied with the present situation and don't wish to change it in any way.

In the light of all these arises the question that is meant to be poetic: which (even very rich) country of Europe would let a community of 74000 to have its own Prime Minister, Secretaries of State and parliament?

The Swedish minority in Finland nowadays makes up only 5,5 per cent of the country's total population but they are regarded as the one in the most "comfortable" position among the minorities of Europe. Today they are concentrating on a relatively small area, mainly in the Åland or Ahvenanmaa Islands and the western and southern coast, though here we can find several settlements with Swedish majority. According to the Finnish laws every town and village counts as bilingual in case the share of the minority in it exceeds 6 per cent or 3000 people. In the bilingual settlements the official notices, laws, decrees, announcements, inscriptions, labels, street nameboards are bilingual. If the territory is bilingual the civil servants are obliged to speak both languages. This is because the constitution assures everybody's right to conduct one's business at law-courts and offices in the native language (and also to get the answers in it), all the more, it orders the state to satisfy the cultural and economic needs of both the Finnish and Swedish-speaking citizens along the same principles. Both languages can be used at the parliament sessions. The language of commanding the army is the Finnish, but the Swedish speakers are called up to separate garrisons. Interestingly enough, many Finnish speakers also ask for enlisting them into these garrisons to be able to practice the Swedish language. In the health service it is also required that the employees should communicate with the patients in their native tongue. The Swede-populated Åland Islands have a special status, which is ensured by the prescriptions of the international law and the Finnish constitution. The cultural autonomy of the islands is now widened in legal and economic terms, what is recognized as a special status by the UN. In addition, the Swedish community in Finland has a full and independent system of education from the kindergartens to the universities.

The Finland Swedish Parliament (Svenska Finlands Folkting) of 60 doesn't possess legal competences, but has an important role in representation of interests beside the Finnish congress. Its members are indirectly elected by the Swedish-speaking population for the period of four years. The body holds its plenary sessions every two years, where the actual issues raised by the committees and representatives are put on the agenda. Another important element of the minority institutions is the Swedish Programme Department at the Finnish State Radio and Television, which produces its own materials while the programmes are edited and supervised by a Swedish programme council. Out of the three channels of the state radio one is Swedish-speaking, and also there are several private Swedish channels in the country.

After so many examples of the state's positive discrimination the question arises rightly here: can we call a minority the Swedish community in Finland?

The settling of the status of South Tirol (Südtirol in German, Alto Adige in Italian) now belonging to Italy, respectively the status of local German-speaking (Austrian) population in the second half of the 20th century is often regarded as the model example of the European minority policy, even though the co-existence of the Austrians and Italians in South Tirol for a long period of time wasn't peaceful and friendly at all. Nowadays each South Tirolian state and local authority employee is obliged to speak both the German and the Italian language. The children start to study each other's language already at school. The cultural financial aids, the places of work and the flats

in each settlement are distributed according to the share of different ethnic groups living there. While in case of Europe's several minorities a big problem is caused by the assimilation, the number of Austrians in South Tirol is constantly increasing. Meanwhile, the province has become one of Europe's richest regions. Probably due to this fact the secrets of the success of South Tirol's autonomy are being analysed in several parts of the world.

According to the Statute that declares the region's autonomy members of all the language groups within the autonomous district (German, Italian, Ladin) are equal in legal terms, their ethnic and cultural peculiarities are under protection. The German-speaking citizens of South Tirol have the right to use their native language in the communication at law-courts, with the administrative organs and institutions, respectively with the concession companies providing public services. Concerning the higher education, the Statute makes it possible for Austria to play the role of cultural homeland for the South Tirolians. One sign of this is the mutual acknowledgement of university and college diploma, academic titles and degrees between Austria and Italy.

Thinking all these results over it is also questionable here, if can the Austrians in South Tirol be regarded as a real ethnic minority. But maybe this is not the main point. It is rather the fact, that numerous positive examples of mutually satisfactory handling of the minority issues are given for all the European (and not just European) minorities and majorities, only one should be able to choose the relations which are well applicable and promising in a certain case. Just some reciprocal good intentions, a little will and determination and, of course, some money are needed for that. This issue is particularly actual in the present Ukraine, where the nationalist political lines are being grown stronger...

The position of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Transcarpathia after the Trianon peace treaty has been formed in a changing but usually "hostile" environment; despite this fact, it has retained its vitality and will to live up to the present, though with decreasing demographic indices. This has been proved by the aforementioned prominence inquiry, in which even the non-Hungarian informants admitted the important role of the Hungarian nation in the ethnic spatial structure of Transcarpathia.

Among the subjects of the prominence inquiry were: Ukrainian council leader, Hungarian politician, Hungarian college teacher, Hungarian dean of the Reformed Church, Rusyn priest of the Greek Catholic Church and many others. They were asked about the present ethnic structure of Transcarpathia's population and its changes in the close future, the relations between the biggest nationality groups (Ukrainians, Rusyns, Hungarians, Romanians, Russians, Gypsies), the possible change-overs in these relationships, the role of the state and local power in the formation of the interethnic affairs etc.

After systematizing and valuating the information collected during the interviews the results of the inquiry can be summed up as follows: according to the informants the present ethnic structure of Transcarpathia is very vivid, though the number of really determining national groups is small. Nowadays, the biggest share is represented by the Ukrainians; they are followed by the Hungarians who, despite all the recent losses in their number, still secure the second position among the ethnic groups of Transcarpathia. Apart from the "big two" the number of Romanians, Russians, Slovaks and Gypsies is remarkable, though only the latter is increasing, thanks to their quick natural reproduction. The waves of emigration in the recent decades have practically made the German and partly the Jewish minority disappear from the ethnic map of the region. This danger doesn't threaten the Transcarpathian Hungarians yet, but it is a fact that the decrease in their number due to the depopulation and emigration is more and more significant. If these tendencies will prove to be permanent, the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority can shortly be endangered in its existence. It is generally known, that places of the emigrating Hungarians are mainly possessed by the settling Ukrainians, whereby the ethnic composition becomes even less favourable as from the point of view of the Hungarians.

The nationalities of Transcarpathia, as a rule, have lived in peace and understanding during the region's whole history and this (apart from one or two exceptions) is also true for today. There is only one serious conflict, between the Ukrainians and the Rusyns practically "annihilated" by them. Nowadays the latter minority has resigned itself to its position, doesn't fight too passionately for its rights, thus this conflict also doesn't cause daily problems. What is striking, in the last 1-2 years the Ukrainian nationalist political lines have exceedingly strengthened in the country, and they started to affect several segments of the minorities' everyday life, their way of thinking. As an example it's enough to mention the educational law which has been passed nearly two years ago. Instead of the usual system of final and entrance examinations it has ordered the establishment of so called independent exam centres, where from this year on each school-leaver has to pass increased-level examinations in Ukrainian language which also count as entrance exams to universities or colleges. The examination in Ukrainian Language and Literature is compulsory for every pupil, no one is able to enter any of the Ukraine's accredited institutions of higher education without that. In 2008 and 2009 the school-leavers of the ethnic minority schools were allowed to pass the exams in the language of their studies, but from 2010 it has been changed. I. e. it is evident that the equality of chances of the pupils from native language (e. g. Hungarian) schools suffers a considerable damage, as in their case the Ukrainian language exams will measure not the knowledge of the special subject, but rather the Ukrainian (technical) language skills. According to the general opinion the level of teaching the Ukrainian language at the ethnic schools is low, thus their school-leavers will start the competition for the places in the system of higher education with a huge disadvantage. This, in turn, will threaten with driving the Hungarians out from the higher education or at least with a remarkable decrease in their number. An even more important fact is, that the establishment of the independent final/entrance exam centres will greatly affect the minority schools (first of all the ones with Hungarian language of teaching), will question their *raison d'être*. Even today, just two years after the law's coming into force the reduction of the pupil's numbers at the Hungarian schools is perceptible, as now many Hungarian parents send their children to schools with Ukrainian language of teaching, hoping that they can prepare better for the Ukrainian language final exams.

Thus, the Hungarian-Ukrainian relation is the most cardinal in terms of Transcarpathia's general development. As for now it is free of any serious restlessness, though in state political circles there are more frequent and rough attempts to "suppress" the national minorities of the Ukraine, among them the Hungarians. Similar attempts occurring in the form of laws and government decrees weren't discriminating till the recent past, rather tended to the ambition that in the young Ukrainian state the Ukrainians should de facto possess the power, their language should be official, the state wealth should concentrate in their hands etc. Nowadays this tendency has been shifted towards the extreme state nationalism, which is a very disquieting phenomenon from the point of view of the interethnic relationships in Transcarpathia.

Lately, "keeping a socially tight hold" on the region's Gypsy population has also become a serious question. The reasons of problems connected with them are ramifying, but each of them, after all, is traceable to their basic attitude, mentality and unsystematic lifestyle. This mentality by no means coincides with that of the other Transcarpathian nationalities, some problems occurring because of that, though they are not really ethnic-, rather social-based ones. Thus the segregation of the Gypsies from the other ethnic groups grows to bigger proportions, their way of life and living standards are far behind the others. Very few Gypsies are able to "struggle out" of this "devil's circle", but who succeed with this (the so called "gentle Gypsies") will in a short time behave as disapprovingly with the rest of the Gypsies, as the representatives of other nationalities do. I. e. the Gypsies' social stratification has also begun, all the more, the biggest social differences can be observed between their strata! In addition all the signs are that the "civilization" of the Gypsies' bigger masses (impeded mainly by themselves) won't be possible in the close future, so the problems concerning them will exist for long in our region (too).

According to the majority of our informants remarkable changes in the Transcarpathian interethnic relationships (especially in the most important Hungarian–Ukrainian aspect) can be caused by faster economic growth of Hungary, its EU-membership and even a possible change of the government there. The positive results of these can be the strengthening of Transcarpathia's role as a bridge between the Ukraine and the European Union, the increase of the prestige of the local Hungarians, the growing care of the mother country towards us etc.) what would affect life and chances of “surviving” of the Transcarpathian Hungarians in a favourable way.

These latter chances don't only depend on Hungary, but also on the Hungarians in Transcarpathia, on possible continuing of the emancipation process lately lead by the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association and its branch organizations, respectively by the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College. Much depends on the latter's ability to fulfil its task, the reproduction of the local Hungarian intellectuals, who will later on be able to seriously undertake the destiny of the Transcarpathian Hungarians. Hopefully, the state and local political management will not hinder this process, thus in many decades or centuries we will be able to talk about a well-organised Hungarian community in Transcarpathia, which exists in peace and understanding with the other nationalities of the region...

In the course of our researches we proved that the Hungarian ethnic group in Transcarpathia – at the cost of serious struggle – have built up its own infrastructure of higher education which is of crucial importance for the improvement of human resources. The present task is to convince the state of the Ukraine that, after all, this enriches the human resources of the country, all the more, can strengthen its EU-conformity.

Before the great social-political changes in the beginning of the 1990's Transcarpathia have had only one institution of higher education: the Ungvár State (at present National) University. The central loop of the region's higher education and professional training was founded on October 18, 1945 according to the mutual resolution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Nowadays the institution has 82 departments on 17 different faculties, its students number approaches 11000. The training runs in 42 different branches and 24 fields of study with the lead of more than a thousand full-time lecturers and research workers (out of which more than 100 are professors). Among the available branches is the “Hungarian Language and Literature” which had 121 regular and 20 correspondence course students in the academic year 2006/2007 (all but one of Hungarian nationality). On the basis of the university there functions a doctoral school and three scientific-research institutes. The Ungvár National University is involved in international scientific cooperations with 44 institutions of higher education in 13 countries of the world.

As for the Transcarpathian Hungarian community the foundation of the Centre of Hungarology in 1987 (also functioning on the basis of the university) was a serious result. This was made possible by a bilateral Hungarian–Soviet agreement signed a year earlier by the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Culture, respectively the Soviet Union Ministry of Education (as part of the agreement, a Rusistic Centre was created on the basis of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest). The main aim of the Centre of Hungarology is to help and coordinate the scientific-pedagogical activity connected with Hungarian language, literature, historic, ethnographic etc. researches, to gather and urge to cooperate the scientists of these branches and to vivify the research of the Hungarian culture in interaction with the culture and traditions of the Ukrainians and other nationalities of Transcarpathia.

After the change of the political power the number of institutions of higher education in Transcarpathia has increased rapidly. Although most of these were (and have remained) transferred sections of other Ukrainian institutions, expanding predilectly within the new market relationships, some independent colleges and even universities also were founded in the region.

One of those is the Transcarpathian State University founded in November, 2004, which have merged the Ungvár State College of Informatics, Economy and Law created in 1995. As for

its structure it consists of 5 faculties and 2 institutes. Its profile has been widened gradually and now it issues bachelor degrees in 7 and master degrees in 11 different fields of study. The number of students reaches 3200, more than half (1700) of which are regular students. Beside the regular and correspondence courses there functions an open university and private student system, and also a doctoral school.

The Munkács Teacher-Training Institute has obtained a status of a college in 2003. Till then it counted as a so called secondary special institution of professional training. Its present name is the Munkács College of Human Pedagogy and it is entitled to issue bachelor and master degrees as well (though the secondary teacher training is also left). The institution is also an important place of training for the Hungarians of Transcarpathia as year by year it starts groups with Hungarian language of teaching. Nowadays the training takes place in 5 fields of study, with more than 1000 students, in the form of regular and correspondence courses.

The Munkács College of Technology was founded in 1995, though in the first two years of its existence it functioned as a transferred section of the Hmelnitskiy-based Podolian University of Technology. By 1997 it became an independent institution. At present the training takes place in 3 different faculties and 9 fields of study, containing regular and correspondence courses as well. The college is entitled to issue both bachelor and master degrees.

In September, 2008 it was decided that the two colleges of Munkács are to be amalgamated thus forming the Munkács State University. This change is being made within the framework of comprehensive reforms in the system of Ukraine's higher education aiming to fully fit into the Bologna process and to satisfy its requirements. The list of branches for the present academic year is announced as university training, though it hasn't changed much from the one before the amalgamation. The only difference is that the Music Pedagogy branch, earlier belonging to the College of Human Pedagogy was closed down.

From the point of view of surviving of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia the creation of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College was a crucial event. Till the foundation of the institution the school-leavers of Hungarian nationality and native language could only enter institutions of higher education with Ukrainian (or Russian) language of teaching, what, obviously, have spoilt their chances towards the Ukrainian and Russian applicants. Mainly because of that the Hungarians of the region were seriously underrepresented in the higher education till the mid and late 1990's. This unfavourable situation has changed with the foundation in 1994 of the college with Hungarian language of teaching, by what the Hungarian community's educational system now reaches from the kindergartens to the higher education. The student number of the college has constantly increased till the 2007/2008 academic year (reaching 958 students), but from that time (mainly resulting from the new educational law, sketched out above) a slow decrease started (854 students in the present, 2009/2010 academic year). The main task of the college for the next period of time is to prove for the state power again (within the new circumstances) its *raison d'être* and necessity, achieving that the region's other institutions would regard it as an allied force, not as enemy or rival, while the high politics would also recognize the role of Hungarians as a bridge towards Hungary and, thus, the European Union.