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**CULTURAL POLICY
AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY**

A TRANSVERSAL STUDY
YEAR TWO

REPORT

HUNGARY

**CULTURAL POLICY AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY
A TRANSVERSAL STUDY**

Hungarian national report

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Budapest**

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Summary Overview

The present Summary Overview intends to provide a summary view of the cultural policies and cultural diversity, a summary view of the cultural policies which has helped maintain the freedom of the cultural diversity, ever since the change of the political systems, intending to ensure and maintain the freedom of cultural diversity in Hungary. The past twelve years liquidated the state-centred, centrally directed cultural politics, and created the possibility of the citizens and individuals would form the culture of everyday life by their own initiatives. A basic foundation of the new cultural politics is to let individuals be the primary shapers of culture, of the conditions of their happiness in other words. The State, the Government may establish priorities only in ranks co-operating with their goals. One of the basic priorities is to ensure letting cultural activities be determined by each to him/herself, and all other foundations of cultural policies wishes to establish a harmony with the requirements of both the written and the unwritten standards of norms of the European Union. Although cultural self-organisation and the system of private enterprise has totally transformed the life of culture in Hungary in the past decade and half, initiatives, imagined plans and possibilities are not yet in harmony with the financial resources at hand. Neither the amounts provided by the State, not private capital is strong enough or willing to satisfy the demand. It is obvious that self-active cultural life can only be realised in its entirety if it is backed primarily by enough - decisively determined - private resources of financing. *Cultural citizenship* may only fulfil its function, if every citizen can say not only that *the state is me*, but also that *culture is me*. In other words, the measure of true democracy lies in cultural freedom, and in the opportunity for self-actualisation of individuals.

Practically the same can be said of another basic condition of cultural diversity, the opportunities for national and ethnic minorities for cultural self-actualisation. A thousand-year old policy of the State of Hungary has been to provide the autonomous cultural and many times even political life of national and ethnic minorities. This has been a factor in preserving the cultural survival and development of the peoples of Central Europe during the past centuries. Nationalism, flaring up in every people in the region during the 19th century, followed by totalitarian systems, has resulted in deformities in the common survival patterns of peoples. Our task now, in the matter of national priority of cultural politics is to ensure that cultural self-actualisation and mutual tolerance would lead in same time to establishment of harmonic conditions of joint survival and cultural diversity. The obstruction of the opportunities guaranteed by the law and political practice is the meagreness of private and state resources compared to the task, and in certain cases the lack of self-will. We intend to present cultural diversity, and within that, the cultural situation, the opportunities and difficulties of national and cultural minorities, applying the points of view recommended by the European Council.

1. **Mapping Cultural Diversity** intends to provide a brief summary of the situation of the minorities in Hungary, and to present the regulatory environment of the 1993 Minority Act and the circumstances providing opportunities for minorities during the past 12 years. Demographic change which appeared in the past one hundred years, and fundamental state financial assistance are the basic preconditions of cultural self-realisation and cultural self-actualisation. The study closes with the introduction of the nationalities listed in the Minority Act and their present respective situation.

2. **Mapping Cultural Policy – 'arts and media policy,'** the second chapter introduces the cultural politics of Hungary partly on the basis of the chances for cultural diversity and self-realisation and from the points of view of diversity. The special problems raised by national and ethnic minorities are those that could mean new and new challenges to cultural politics. The same part, within an examination of the cultural politics of the years between 1945 – 1990 in respect of the arts and the media whether there was an opportunity in those decades for self-organised cultural activities. Can we talk about culture in those decades in the present sense of the word?

3. The chapter **Intersection of Policies Related to Cultural Diversity and 'Arts and Media'** accounts those difficulties, contradictions and common tasks which have been raised by cultural diversity being realised during the past 12 years. The formation and establishment of political democracy and pluralistic society, the transformation of the system of financial assistance and cultural direction is yet incomplete. The present situation is only a transient stage towards the objectives to be realised.

4. The last chapter is **Priority Policy Concerns**, the key words of which are tolerance, a dialogue among various cultures, and policies against discrimination. In accordance with the goals of the study, when raising

these issues, the examination of the situation of national and ethnic minorities naturally gives rise to the question of cultural emancipation and cultural citizenship, and their preconditions in education, the media and within or without the operating system of institutions.

The answers to the questions asked in the individual chapters of the study are statements at the same time, which statements contain the answers to the questions about how one could go on. Cultural diversity is not a permanent state of affairs, it is constant motion and transformation, which always requires new answers to the new questions constantly surfacing anew.

Finally, the **Addendum** has a draft schedule of activities for the expected visit by a delegation of the European Council.

May, 2002,
Ministry of Cultural Heritage
Budapest, Hungary

1. Introduction

1.a. The position of the national minorities and the ethnic composition of the population before 1945

a.) Since the period of the great migration a diversity of people have lived together in the Carpathian basin. 1100 years ago (according to other scientific analysis earlier) the arriving Hungarian tribes who occupied this territory found various peoples already settled here, i.e. the Avars, the Slavs, and the Celts. The Exhortation (which later became the Hungarian statute book) written by Saint Stephen, the founder of the Christian Hungarian state, to his son St. Imre, urged that the country embrace these diverse foreign peoples, since a monolingual country is perishable, while one with many languages is strong. "Such acceptance enhances justice and humiliates the proud (both inside and outside Hungary)." Based on this principle several nationalities i.e. the Saxons and the Cumanians, etc. gained territorial autonomy in the historical Hungarian state and retained it until the middle of the 19th century. (The 800-year-old Hungarian-Croatian commonwealth was made possible by these two tribes being able to live together in peace). According to the Hungarian historical constitution (The Golden Bull of Hungary, 1222) the phenomenon of the Hungarian political nation was not bound to ethnic origin. The phenomenon of the Hungarian political nation was defined in the Acts brought in

1848-49 and in the Act XLIV of 1868 on National Minorities, on the basis of this tradition.

The Minorities' Act, which was the first of its kind in Europe, by the extension of the rights, made all citizens to participants of the divided power, regardless of their social status, material wealth or occupation, and ensured equal rights to every citizen whatever their national origin. (In the Eastern part of the country, an independent principality existed in the 16-17th century, where the equal rights of the denominations was declared by Act, however, the equal political rights and religious freedom of the Protestants could not be enjoyed undisturbed until the middle of the 19th century. The restrictions imposed on those of the Jewish faith, were milder compared to the usual practice in Europe at the time. The full emancipation of the Jews came into being in the 19th century). The Act XLIV of 1868 stipulated that the use of national languages in public administration be obligatory when a 20% proportion of the population was of a nationality. The Act ensured national education and cultural autonomy, as well as the use of the mother tongue based on state, church and civil self-administration. Nationalistic tendencies and the implementation of the Act in the 19th century - containing certain difficulties and contradictions-, i.e. an obligation for all educational instruction be in Hungarian, as well as the tying of favourable state support for church and private schools to the teaching of the Hungarian language led to further social tensions between nationalities at the turn of the 19- 20th centuries.

During the Turkish wars in the 15th century and later during the 150 years of Turkish occupation the middle part of the country saw a drastic fall in its population. In the meantime (continuing on from a process which started centuries earlier) a mass influx of Romanian and Serbian ethnic groups had got under way on the country's eastern and southern outer borders. After the expulsion of the Turks Hungary became an autonomous kingdom of the Habsburg empire, which then set about populating the territories formally inhabited by Hungarians with mainly Germans and Slovaks, inducing them to resettle through offering various royal favours. A consequence of this was that by the end of the 18th century the total number of the nationalities living in the country exceeded that of the Hungarians. By the middle of the 19th century a mere 41-48% of the population was Hungarian in the Carpathian basin and this figure only exceeded 50% at the turn of the century. The majority of the Hungarian minorities did not become minorities because of the modification of the borders in modern times.

b.) The Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920 after World War I radically altered the political and ethnic map of Central Europe. Historical Hungary lost two thirds of its territory and population. The number of the national minorities left in the country as a result of the redrawing of the borders fell to a fraction of what it had been before, and the Hungarian population remained in the successor states albeit with 40% of their number outside the borders. After the peace treaty came into force more than 400,000 ethnic Hungarians who had been locked out in the territory of the newly formed states, fled into Hungary. In 1920, the mother tongue of 89.6% of the population in the country was Hungarian, while the total of all those with another mother tongue came to 10.4%. In the period between the two world wars the obligations undertaken in the peace treaty to protect national minorities did not in their content exceed those provisions earlier in force under the Minorities' Act of 1868. Between the two world wars tuition in the public elementary schools for the nationalities manifested itself in three forms. The first one was the so-called pure mother tongue language of instruction, in which the language

of every subject was that of the nationality with the exception of Hungarian language and literature. The second was the so-called unified bilingual system, in which approximately half of the subjects were taught in Hungarian and half in the language of the nationality. In the third (national language instruction) type, the language of instruction was Hungarian and the languages of the nationalities were taught merely as separate subjects. In the school year of 1937 to 1938 education for nationalities was being provided in 573 public elementary schools.

1.b. The position of the national minorities in Hungary between 1945 and 1990

In the years following the end of World War II there was another radical change in the numerical proportion of the population. In accordance with the decision of the allied great powers close to 200,000 Germans were expatriated from Hungary between 1946 and 1948, though according to other estimations this was more like 300,000. As a result of the pressure brought to bear by the great powers the Hungarian-Czechoslovak population exchange resulted in 73,273 individuals who had declared themselves to be Slovak being expatriated to Czechoslovakia in the period from after the war up until April 1948 while - according to estimates - 80,000-100,000 Hungarians "voluntarily" left Slovakia. The number of Hungarians who fled from or were driven out of Romania and Yugoslavia (mainly because of the murderous rampage carried out by Tito's partisans from 1944-1945) was also in the tens of thousands. According to the 1949 census in that year there were 376,173 persons living in Hungary who in 1938 had been living abroad: 133,563 of them were Romanian, 118,582 were Czechoslovakian and 65,877 had formally resided in Yugoslavia. The victims of the population exchange were the Germans and the Slovaks. Among the domestic national minorities the Romanians were actually the only people not to be effected by the "migration of peoples" after World War II. As a result of the deteriorated relations between the eastern block and Yugoslavia between 1948 and 1949 the two countries found themselves entangled in a conflict. The Hungarian-Yugoslav border became the front-line of the cold war between 1949 and 1953 and the position of the population of "Southern Slav" nationality reached its nadir. The "rehabilitation of the German minority took place between 1951 and 1953. (In 1953 the Hungarian Germans regained their active and passive constitutional rights). Restructured education for German nationals was resumed in the school year of 1952-1953. At the same time mother tongue education for the domestic national minorities with less or greater degrees of delay had already commenced after the war; by the 1945-1946 school year in 92 national schools altogether.

The principle lacking in the 1945 decree supporting mother tongue national education was that basic individual and collective national rights to ethnic minority education were not recognised, but was rather something that came about and was ensured by the individual request of the parents. Despite all of this raising the issue of national education and carrying out its legal regulation were something unique on the entire territory of Central and Eastern Europe. The decree on education for nationalities issued at the beginning of 1946 by the prime minister and the minister for religion and public education did in principle guarantee and safeguard all rights of national minorities to education in their mother tongue, and furthermore recognised that mother tongue education was a fundamental individual and collective right for all national minorities.

The recognition of the principle granting the ethnic minorities a right to national minority education - independent of the international regulation of law on the position of the national minorities, and the lagging behind thereof, as well as of Hungary's external political status - (until 1947, the acceptance of the Paris peace treaty, according to international law Hungary was not a sovereign state) - was looked at as being among the first in the then forming eastern European peoples' democracies and served as an example, or more accurately also as an "anti-example".

The Act which came into effect in June 1948 on the nationalisation of church schools also effected education for nationalities, since the Hungarian public elementary schools using a national language as the one of instruction had up to this point traditionally been almost without exception in the hands of the church. In regard to the breakdown into denominations of the national minorities - and churches supporting the national schools - the most primarily effected groups were those of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches. The Germans and Slovaks in Hungary were partly Roman Catholic and partly Lutheran. The Romanians were divided between the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Churches while the Croatians were Roman Catholic and the Serbs were Greek Orthodox.

On the basis of the peace treaties ending World War II as well as the international operative agreements the question of the nationalities became an exclusively internal affair in Europe, cutting off the possibility of any inspection under the institutions of international law or "the mother country ". (This situation was only changed in the 70's by the principle recognised by the United Nations at the Ohrid seminary in 1974, according to which the relationship between the mother nation and the national minorities living in various countries had to be supported). In the peoples' democracies the national minorities issue was thus one of internal politics as well as becoming a part of the prevailing "federal politics" among the peoples' democracies.

Between 1949 and 1989 the state party brought in numerous resolutions (which were not made public) in respect to the policies concerning the nationalities (in May 1956, October 1958, September 1968 and January 1978), but no Act on nationalities was passed. The neglect built into the ideology was justified by the so-called "automatism theory approach", according to which the nationality issue would "in the environment of building socialism", "sort itself out". The automatism approach as well as the peculiar interpretation of the struggle against nationalistic tendencies that appeared in other documents showing contempt for nationalities and in equal measure the aspirations of nationalities towards nationalism (for example the resolutions of 1958 and 1968) - encouraged assimilation.

Lacking a comprehensive conception the Acts (the Constitution, administrative, procedural, labour laws, etc) and other regulations of law (educational, public educational Acts and decrees) regulated the individual civic as well as the collective national rights of the national minorities in Hungary.

It can generally be claimed about the Kádár period (1957-1988) that the point of their policy concerning nationalities was to prove that the onus was on the nationalities living in Hungary to protect their ethnic characteristics and language and it was also their duty to support those in power. The nationalities were to transform into something, which the authorities at the centre envisioned them as being. The policy did not seek to suppress the natural aspirations held by the nationalities at the time, but rather to replace them with something else. The resolutions of the party clearly stated that the basic interests of the nationalities were in tandem with those of the Hungarian population, but that along with such identical interests the nationalities had others too, i.e. their own language, culture and traditions. In the 1970's policies concerning nationalities took on a new element with minorities filling a "bridging role" that served to intensify good relations between the mother country and the "accepting" state. (In the background of this was the European "process of détente", as well as the closing document of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation held in Helsinki in 1975.) However, even after this the issue of enforcement of state supervision remained a primary concern.

In summary, it can be stated that in this period when a two levels of school systems was in operation for nationalities (for the larger nationalities there were secondary schools) the interests of minorities were taken care of by the so-called nationality federations, which were supervised by the Ministry of Culture. The nationality federations primarily dealt with cultural activities. In the 1970's and 80's the directorship split into two levels, which provided the opportunity for the slow civic reorganisation of nationalities and slowed down and prevented further assimilation.

In the period from 1949 to 1980 the authorities did not recognise the Hungarian Romany/Gypsies as a separate nationality or ethnic group. From the 1950's the government aggressively eliminated the traditional self-governing *voivode* system. The strata of Roma engaged in trade and playing music, the majority of whom had become fully integrated citizens in the majority society were utterly crushed by the government, both financially and socially. Simultaneous to this from the 1950's to the 1970's came enforced modernisation, which was often violently imposed. During this time those Roma who had still lived a nomadic life were forcibly settled, and the obligation to work (avoidance of work was classed as a crime), which applied to the whole of society, was consequently also applied to the Roma people, the mass of whom were employed in industrial and agricultural work as unskilled workers. Since the Romany were generally unskilled and it was rare for them to have graduated from university the economic transformation begun in 1989 caused mass unemployment among them, and created a new challenge for the government and the whole of society.

2. The legal position of the national and ethnic minorities between 1990 and 2002. The 1993 Minorities' Act.

In the programmes of every successive government since the change of the system in 1990 there has been an undertaking to ensure that the rights of national and ethnic minorities are in complete harmony with European

standards. The national and ethnic collective rights of minorities were not recognised in present international law; however, the policies of the Hungarian government on minorities strive to create individual, communal and collective minority rights to ensure the principle of personal autonomy and self-government for Hungarian minorities. The documents of the European Convention on Security and Co-operation as well as those of the Europe Council assist in the protection of minorities. In the ratification of the Europe Regional Council or European Minority Languages Charter (1995) the country undertook the obligation to support six minority languages (Croatian, German, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak and Slovenian) in regard to education, courts of law, public administration, the means of public information, cultural, as well as in social life through economic means. (There is no law in Hungary stipulating that the language of the state is Hungarian). The framework agreement on the Protection of National Minorities (1995), as well as the 1201 (1993) recommendation as accepted by the General Assembly of the European Council attached to the European Agreement on Human Rights (1950) appear as an obligation. The other way of finding a solution to the situation of the minorities - on an international level - is the concluding of bi-lateral interstate treaties implying an international legal obligation, which means that Hungary should sign such treaties with the mother countries of Hungarian minorities that guarantee the protection of the minorities living in the two states. In some cases these constitute a part of the basic treaties between the two states (Slovakia, Romania), while in other cases take shape in a separate declaration or agreement on the protection of minorities (the Ukraine, Slovenia, The German Federal Republic, Croatia).

On numerous occasions Hungary has proclaimed the respect in which it holds the rights of the national and ethnic minorities to individual and communal fundamental human rights and that the Hungarian Republic will enforce these.

Act XX of 1949 on the Constitution of the Hungarian Republic (hereinafter Constitution) - a modification to Act XXXI of 1989, stipulates the position of the Hungarian national and ethnic minorities in society. Section (1) of § 68 of the Constitution states that the national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary are participants in the power of the people - they are state constituents. Guaranteed by the Constitution in regard to the minorities are: collective participation in public life, the right to establish local and national self-government, the right to use names derived from their own language (e.g. if anyone belonging to an ethnic group requests that their name be registered in their identification card in two languages, it must be done thus). Since the change in the system the various governments have sought to create such an atmosphere whereby no single minority be the subject of any kind of discrimination, be it national, cultural or social. In accordance with the principles of a multi-cultural society Hungarian legislation and judicial practise accept that based on equality and equal opportunities under the law and organisation in a free civic society distinct groups with a cultural and communal self-affinity should bring into being various self-organisations with the same rights. The right to select one's own identity and religion is ensured. However, the national and ethnic minorities are extended separate rights as compared to other cultural communities in that the declaration and undertaking of belonging to a national and ethnic groups or minority are an exclusive and inalienable right of the individual. At the same time the right to national and ethnic self-identification and the declaration of belonging to a certain group, nation, national and ethnic minority does not exclude the recognition of dual or multiple attachments. The Constitution does not define being Hungarian as a constituent part of the nation; however, in the interest of protecting and developing the cultural identity of national and ethnic minorities it seeks to provide the suitable legal framework and ensures the budgetary resources to implement the same. Since 1990 after the establishment of strong self-organisations within civic society the national and ethnic groups have enjoyed positive discrimination as compared to the rest of the cultural community, the aim of which is to strengthen the self-awareness of the nationalities and to halt and indeed reverse the process of mother languages being assimilated.

In accordance with this, Parliament - with the co-operation of the national and ethnic minorities - accepted Act LXXVII of 1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities (hereinafter: Minorities' Act, Act on Minorities) in 1993, which ensures the individual and collective rights of minorities living in Hungary. The Act declares that the right to national and ethnic self-identification be regarded as a part of universal human rights, and that the individual and communal rights are fundamental human rights all of which the Republic of Hungary respects and makes effective. The Act further declares that the right to national and ethnic self-identification is a basic human right and the legal due of both the individual and the community. Every minority is entitled to exist and continue to exist as a national or ethnic community.

The Minorities' Act defines the concept of national and ethnic minorities (which is practically the adoption of the so-called Capotorti definition), wherein: Chapter I., 1.§ (2): „For purpose of the present Act a national or

ethnic minority (hereinafter „minority”) is any ethnic group with a history of at least one century of living in the territory of the Republic of Hungary, which represents a numerical minority among the citizens of the state, the members of which are Hungarian citizens, and are distinguished from the rest of the citizens by their own language, culture and traditions, and at the same time demonstrate a sense of belonging together, which is aimed at the preservation of all these, and the expression and protection of the interests of their communities, which have been formed in the course of history”. Furthermore, in accordance with 3.§ (1): „Minorities living in Hungary share the power of the people: they are components in the formation of state (Section (1) § 68. of the Constitution). Their culture is part of the culture of Hungary.”

In accordance with the law in Hungary, the ideas of national and ethnic minority are used as synonyms for ethnic group. The definitions national and ethnic are not used to differentiate, but are rather two names each having evolved differently in history, and expressing the same idea. Other terms used in Hungary are nationality and national minority, which include both national and ethnic minorities as defined by Hungarian law. In Hungary it is also accepted by the representatives of the Gypsy community that the terms Gypsy and Roma /Romany are equally used. The name given to the Gypsy/Romany local and national minority municipality is also National (or local) Roma Minority Self-Government.

In accordance with the law the following are regarded as ethnic groups resident in Hungary: Bulgarian, Gypsy, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Romanian, Ruthene, Serbian, Slovakian, Slovenian, and Ukrainian. The second paragraph of the same article allows that any further national and ethnic minority which fulfils the requirements concerning the definition of minority laid down by law can submit a petition to the President of Parliament requesting that they be recognised as a national minority provided their number reaches at least 1000 all of whom regard themselves as belonging to that minority. Such a petition has not been submitted since 1993, the year of the ratification of the Minorities’ Act.

(During the making of the law the leaders and representatives of the Hungarian Jewish population expressed their wish not to be regarded as a national and ethnic minority group. Therefore, the Hungarian Jewish community represents itself through religious and civic organisations, as a community participating in the cultural life of the country. This is why the present study does not deal with this group's demographic situation in contrast to that of national and ethnic minorities.) In accordance with the Minorities’ Act any other ethnic group which is not defined as an ethnic minority - for instance Asian, Chinese, Vietnamese, or even African - is entitled to establish their own civil organisations, cultural associations, institutions and even schools. However, they are not entitled to establish such systems of administration and cultural autonomy that are already operated by the 13 above listed ethnic groups. Moreover, these institutions are not entitled to the normative support given by the state, but - besides private donations and their income - can only access sources from the budget through municipalities and tenders. (The Hungarian Tax Law allows every citizen paying tax to give 1 per cent of their personal income to support a civic organisation of their choice, and an additional 1 per cent to one of the churches.)

Besides regulating the rights of individuals and communities the Minorities’ Act also regulates the system of the structure of the minority self-government of ethnic groups, the tasks and authority, cultural and educational administration, management and resources of the minority municipal government (where the minority is in the majority), the local minority self-government (where the number of people belonging to a national and ethnic minority is actually lower than the minority), as well as the national self-government. The Act provides for the Local Spokesperson for Minorities, who is to be elected if there is no established minority municipal government or local minority self-government in the settlement. A minority municipal government or local minority self-government can be established in townships, towns and in the districts of the capital. Minorities are also entitled to establish a minority self-government in the capital. Section 20 § (1) of the Minorities’ Act stipulates that minorities are entitled to represent themselves in the Parliament. Until 2002 minority representatives could only get into the Parliament as candidates of a national political party (in 2002, for example, 4 of Romany origin), and on their own right as a state-constituent minority. As opposed to the national law on elections, this special form of representation is not yet regulated.)

The Ministry of Cultural Heritage has already prepared the Bill to amend the Minorities’ Act primarily providing for the legal and financial conditions of the handing over to the minority self-governments of institutions, which had been run by county self-governments and primarily carried out activities in the areas of minority education and culture. The operation of the minority self-governments so far guarantees that they are able to undertake the running of additional institutions. The amendment bill - together with other amendments to

the Minorities' Act - will be debated by the competent bodies of Parliament, i.e. the committees of Human Rights, religious and minority affairs.

The legal framework of the cultural provision of national and ethnic minorities are ensured by the Constitution (Article 68), the Minorities' Act, as well as Act CXL of 1997 on the Protection of Cultural Goods, Museum Institutions, Public Library Services and Community Culture) (Cultural Act), and the resolutions of bilateral agreements between governments. The Cultural Act guarantees the opportunity for minorities to preserve, pass on and present their culture primarily by right of citizenship. The cultural rights of minorities as communities are provided for in more detail in the Minorities' Act. This Act grants a wide range of opportunities for minorities' cultural autonomy that have formed in the last nine years. The legal harmonisation between the Cultural Act, which ensures the rights of individuals, and the Minorities' Act, ensuring the rights of communities, is being worked out. This is the aim that the amendment bill of the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage is also designed to fulfil. The national and local minority self-governments have an extensive right to report, and they also have the right of approval in the case of the majority of Acts on culture and education.

At present, the support of minority culture in Hungary is dominated by the state. One part of the support financed from the budget is allocated as nominative support given to the cultural and educational institutions of the settlement with a minority population. This support is the same as the one given to other institutions carrying out similar cultural activities in the country. The other part of the support are attained by minorities through public foundations and tenders announced by ministries. The conditions of applying for these tenders in the areas of minority culture, education, science, etc. are the same for minority organisations, institutions, associations and for minority municipal government and local minority self-governments. The decision-making about tenders announced by public foundations and ministries is carried out with the participation of minorities in every case. It is the aim of both the government and the minorities that civic organisations become strengthened and using an increasing amount of their own resources be more and more active in the shaping of the country's social and cultural life. Minority self-governments as well as local, regional, and national minority civic organisations play an important role in the preservation and development of minority culture. The vast majority of these organisations have made it their goal to maintain and pass on the culture of minorities.

Act CLVI of 1997, On Public Interest Organisations includes activities related to national and ethnic minorities among the activities defined as serving the public interest.

In connection with the establishment of the self-governments of national and ethnic minorities, Act LXV of 1990, On Local Self-Governments contains a separate chapter devoted to minority self-organisations. Moreover, during the amendment of Act LXIV of 1990, On the Election of the Representatives of Local Self-Governments and Mayors, the legal framework of the election of the representatives of minority self-governments was agreed upon.

With the amendment of Act XXXVIII of 1992, On the State Budget, the autonomy of financial activities and management has been legally secured. The Budget Act makes certain allowances during the sponsoring of plans and activities initiated by minorities. These forms of support are aimed at the decreasing of unequal opportunities as well as at compensation for objective disadvantages suffered by minorities.

Paragraph (2) of Act 32/B of the Constitution has established the institution of parliamentary ombudsman dealing with the rights of national and ethnic minorities. The task of the parliamentary ombudsman dealing with the rights of national and ethnic minorities (hereinafter minority ombudsman) is to examine or have examined instances of abuse in connection with national and ethnic minority rights, and to initiate general or specific measures to remedy them. The tasks of the minority ombudsman are defined in detail by Act LIXX of 1993, On the Parliamentary Ombudsman dealing with citizenship rights. Citizens, communities, local or national minority self-governments can appeal to the minority ombudsman in every case when according to their judgement some authority or organisation performing public interest activities undermined their constitutional rights during official proceedings, when taking or failing to take a measure, as well as when such occurrences are impending. Offences may include racial discrimination, the delay in administration, providing false information or refusing to give information. The minority ombudsman is authorised to initiate an examination in connection with the offence, have access to the relevant official documents to do so, bring a proposal to take measures for the remedying of the offence, as well as to recommend to Parliament the amendment of the Act that allowed the offence to take place. The minority ombudsman reports to Parliament once a year.

In accordance with the Constitution Parliament brought into being Act LXIII of 1992, On the Protection of Personal Data and the Open Access of Information of Public Interest. The Act contains basic regulations to ensure the protection of personal data as well as the right to gain access to information of public interest. According to the Act, providing data in connection with national and ethnic origin is on a voluntary basis. As a consequence, however, when carrying out a demographic survey only estimates can be made about the size of various ethnic groups. There is no official record in Hungary providing information on which national or ethnic group citizens belong to. The lack of such a record has historical reasons: the radical demographic changes imposed upon and affecting national and ethnic minorities in the 1940's. The present situation sometimes leads to controversial situations making it difficult for various organisations providing human services to carry out a needs analysis in certain areas. The voluntary nature of providing data can and has in some cases caused difficulties in the election of the local minority self-government and representatives since nothing and no one can force candidates to reveal their national origin. It is the inalienable right of citizens to profess and reveal their belonging to a minority. No one can be forced in connection with their belonging to a minority group. After the minority self-governmental elections in 1998 some minority organisations claimed that in their opinion some candidates did not belong to the nationality of the minority community the body of which they wanted to represent. In the preparation of the amendment of the Minorities' Act there is close co-operation with the national self-governments in working out the solution for this problem. They wish to keep the provision stated by the Minorities' Act according to which it is the right of the citizen belonging to a national or ethnic minority to confess their belonging to a minority during the national census secretly and anonymously. At the same time they cannot be forced to declare that they belong to a minority group.

By bringing Act LXXIX of 1993, On Public Education into force, as well as with its amendment of 1996 the most important steps were taken to harmonise it with the Minorities' Act. In accordance with the Act the person belonging to a minority is entitled to equal rights in politics and culture, which the government is obliged to assist by taking efficient measures. For this reason one of the highlighted components of the government support of public education is the provision of supplementary quota in minority education. In accordance with the effective Act on the State Budget the state must provide a specified standard amount of support for education in minority nurseries, as well as school education in the mother tongue. In order to carry out the overall modernisation of public education the Government issued the National Curriculum by its decree 130/1995 (X. 26.). The National Curriculum includes specific guidelines concerning minority education in accordance with which the education of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary forms an organic part of the Hungarian education system; it must provide the same level of education which can be further developed, as well as secure equal opportunities for all. These educational institutions must teach subjects about minorities, about the history of the mother country and minorities as well as cultural tradition and values. At the request of eight parents or legal representatives belonging to the same minority it is obligatory to start and maintain a class or study group taught in the mother tongue or having such lessons. Minority education has three forms according to different needs. The education in the mother tongue type requires that the language of learning is the mother tongue of the minority. Minority education in the mother tongue must ensure that Hungarian is taught as a second language (in the term 1999-2000 2,838 children took part in kindergarten education and 1,760 in primary school programmes). Bilingual minority education aims at the balanced development of two language skills. In bilingual minority education the language of instruction is the mother tongue of the minority - at least half of the subjects are taught in this language - and Hungarian (in the 1999-2000 term 16,611 children participated in the kindergarten programme and 5,799 in primary school education). The aim in third type of minority education - teaching of the mother tongue - is to make it possible for pupils predominantly speaking Hungarian as their mother tongue to acquire their second mother tongue as their second language (47,330 participants in the 1999-2000 term). Since 2000 it is exclusively the state (previously it was with the involvement of the local governments) that bears the extra costs resulting from minority education. The so-called Romany minority education guarantees the teaching of culture and the mother tongue - according to various needs - to children and pupils belonging to the Romany minority and it also ensures equal opportunities and the nurturing of talent. (In the 1999-2000 term Romany minority education was organised in 250 kindergartens and approximately 650 primary schools with the participation of an estimated 25,000 children in nurseries and 55,000 children in schools.) Educational institutions receive a standard amount of support for each of their pupils. Self-governments running minority educational institutions are given a minority supplementary standard support from the budget on top of the basic educational support per child. In the 1997-1998 term 3432 educational institutions and schools were run by municipal governments, out of which 398 primary schools had minority education (apart from Romany minority education).

In Hungary there are 19 secondary schools, one Roma secondary school as well as four specialised secondary schools teaching in the minority language or both the minority language and Hungarian. (Out of these two are Croatian, two Romanian, one Serbian, one Slovenian, one Bulgarian, and one is a Romany secondary school. In 2000-2001 investment was begun to establish two Romany student centres and create 300 new dormitory places.) In addition, bilingual technical training was also started. Minority higher education in Hungary still only means minority training of the arts and within this primarily teacher training. In the majority of Hungarian institutions of higher education the accreditation of the programmes at independent minority departments or groups of departments has been recently accomplished. In accordance with bilateral international agreements a native lector should assist instructors; apart from Hungarian training several minorities are entitled to scholarships and partial training in their native countries as well.

By its Amendment, XVIII of 1996 to Act IV of 1978, On the Criminal Code the Hungarian Republic, fulfilled the requirements laid down by the "International Agreement on Fighting and Punishing Apartheid Criminal Offences", accepted by the UN Convention on 30 November, 1973. The amendment provides the legal framework for the persecution of criminal acts of racial discrimination. The notion of a new criminal act has been introduced so that the crime committed against a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group can be punished even if the crime was committed because the offended party belonged to such a group. (The Constitution itself states the prohibition of any form of racial discrimination, and promotes the realisation of equality before the law through measures aimed at the securing of equal opportunities. Should illegal discrimination specified by the Constitution occur, the offended party has a right of personal appeal to the Constitutional Court /par (1)-(3) of Article 70/A of the Constitution/.

Act I of 1996, On Radio and Television Broadcasting made it an obligatory task for the public media to prepare programmes on the culture and life of minorities. The public service provider must provide information in the minorities' mother tongue. Act CXXVII of 1996 on National News Agencies also includes a provision ensuring equal opportunities for national and ethnic minorities. The programme supervisory and service of the Hungarian Radio and Television Board regularly examines and monitors that both Acts be observed. It can also impose sanctions in the event of law being violated.

Naturally, there are additional Acts and other regulations of law containing provisions regarding minority rights. For instance, Act III of 1952, On Civil Procedure, Act IV of 1957, On State Administration, stipulate that everybody is entitled to use their own mother tongue during legal procedures and that no one should suffer harm as a result of the lack of the Hungarian language. Act XIX of 1998 on criminal procedure states that the presence of an advocate is obligatory in every event when the accused is not familiar with Hungarian or the language of the procedure. Everyone is entitled to use their mother tongue during the procedure and the proceeding authority is obliged to employ - as their official duty or upon request - an interpreter for the non-Hungarian speaking party at its own expense.

The Hungarian Parliament regularly monitors the peculiar situation of people belonging to national and ethnic minorities. As laid down by the Minorities' Act every two years the Government must review the situation of national and ethnic minorities living in the Hungarian Republic and must report on this to Parliament. It is the Committee for Human Rights, Religious and Minority Affairs, which continuously deals with issues concerning minorities.

3. Demography 1941-2001

The latest census of Hungary took place in 2001 on the basis of Act CVIII of 1999. The processing of all the data, however, will only be completed towards the end of 2002. Research on ethnic distribution can therefore only take results of the census in 1990 into consideration. The Central Bureau of Statistics annually records demographic indices for the entire country.

The population of Hungary was 10,135,000 on January 1, 1998. Hungary had 10,709,463 inhabitants in 1980, and 10,374,823 in 1990. The number of deaths has surpassed the number of live births for years, which leads to a decrease in the number of inhabitants during the past fifteen years.

Following the census of 1990, after the acceptance of Act LXVIII of 1992, On the Protection of Personal Information (the "Privacy Act"), no general data or survey concerning ethnic minorities in Hungary could be

collected. The Privacy Act classifies national, minority or ethnic affiliations among “special information.” There is no general registry today to feature the national or ethnic minority affiliations of Hungarian citizens. No one can be required to make statements concerning his/her minority affiliations. The census of 1990 was asking a question about the interviewees’ national identity and another about their native tongue. Compared to earlier censuses, the census of 2001 was significantly different: the questionnaire did not require names or personal data, thereby making identification by name impossible. This way two more questions could be inserted relating to language and nationality. One of these two targeted language proficiency among family and friendly circles, the other affiliations in cultural values and traditions. All four questions had three options each to mark multiple affiliations. People could choose if they wanted to answer several questions on nationality /ethnic background or only one. In contrast to earlier censuses, there were separate boxes for *Romungro*, *Beash*, and *Romani* (*Lovari*) Roma. Answer to none of these questions was obligatory.

The actual numbers of people with minority identities and affiliations could therefore be estimated between the census and the numbers given as estimates. The difference between these estimates and the numbers presented at the census could partly be attributed to the unique historical, social and socio-psychological situations of the various minorities in Central-Eastern-European countries. The dilemma of those who hold dual (or more) emotional and cultural affiliations was also reflected at the census, by people declaring Hungarian and minority identities at the same time - which was not yet allowed by the census of 1990.

There were 3,131 settlements in Hungary in 1998: 2,913 villages and 218 cities. 7.8% of the inhabitants of Hungary lived in settlements having less than 1,000 people, while 30% lived in cities over 100,000. 1,500 settlements in Hungary had communities of national or ethnic minorities in 1990. The number of minority self-governments formed during the elections for minority self-governments in 1994-1995 was 822. By October 1998, due to cessation of activities, only 738 minority self-governments were operational. Taking up on 1,554 initiatives during the 1998 elections for minority self-governments, 1,360 local minority self-governments and 9 [national self-governments] in the Capital City were formed in Hungary. This means a roughly 65.5% increase compared to the number of minority self-governments elected in the first cycle. (By the year 2001, only 1,326 minority self-governments were operational, due to cessation of activities.)

National and ethnic minorities live widely spread within the area of Hungary, living in the majority of cases in settlements in sizeable minorities within the local settlement, forming the community of the local settlement together with Hungarians and other minorities. The rate of minorities within any given settlement is generally 3-5%. Therefore no independent network of institutions can be maintained on the local level without state assistance. Thus Slovaks - mostly of double affiliation - live only in 11 of the 19 counties of Hungary, in 105 settlements altogether. Not many minorities live in a block within the same local region, only Ruthenians in the Northeast of Hungary, the seven settlements populated by Slovenians in Western Hungary, and the majority of Romanians of Hungary living near the border with Romania.

Based upon the data of the 1990 census, 97.8 percent of the inhabitants of Hungary were Hungarian while 98.5% professed Hungarian as native tongue. Out of the 10,374,823 inhabitants of the country, 232,751 declared their [different] national origins. (19,640 out of these belonged to the category specified in the questionnaire under „other nationalities,” members of Armenian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian ethnic minorities.) 137,724 people declared a minority language as a native tongue.

Trustworthy estimates maintain that the number of nationalities and ethnic minorities in Hungary is higher: they may comprise as much as 8-10 percent of the 10 million population. These estimates range the numbers of minority inhabitants from almost half a million (Gypsies) to a few thousand (e.g. Ukrainians or Poles). The estimates given by the minority organisations on the number of inhabitants of each community - based upon their own statistics, results of research, or the analysis of the census statistics relating to “proficiency in languages” – may differ from the official statistics in the case of certain minorities, or coincide with it, as in the case of Romanians and Slovenians.

Regarding the number of Roma in Hungary – compared to estimated data from the EU – Hungary is the 4th among 38 countries having Roma population, after Romania, Bulgaria, and Spain. Hungary is followed by Slovakia and Turkey. The census of 1990 says 40% of the inhabitants of Hungary with Roma nationality are concentrated in two counties (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Szabolcs), while most of the population with Romani as native tongue can be found in villages of Baranya, Somogy and Tolna counties.

The following chart is a summary of the data referring to the nationality of the inhabitants of Hungary from the statistics of the Census Bureau.

[Nationality]	1941	1960
Hungarian	8,918,868	9,837,275
Slovak	16,677	14,340
Romanian	7,565	12,326
Croatian	4,177	14,710
Serbian	3,629	3,888
Slovene, Vendish	2,058	-
German	302,198	8,640
Roma	27,033	56,121
Other	33,869	13,744
Total:	9,316,074	9,961,044

(Source: MAPSTAT Central Bureau of Statistics software, Budapest, 1992)

The following data were recorded regarding the nationalities and the languages of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary in the years 1980 and 1990.

By language

Minority	Native speakers 1980	Native speakers 1990	% of all inhabitants in 1990
Slovak	16,054	12,745	0,1228
Romanian	10,141	8,730	0,0841
Croatian	20,484	17,577	0,1694
Serbian	3,426	2,953	0,0285
Slovene, Vendish	3,142	2,627	0,0253
German	31,231	37,511	0,3616
Roma	27,915	48,072	0,4634
Armenian	-	37	0,0004
Greek	-	1,640	0,0158
Bulgarian	-	1,370	0,0132
Polish	-	3,788	0,0365
Ukrainian, Ruthenian	-	674	0,0065
Total:	112,393	137,724	1,3275

(Source: MAPSTAT Central Bureau of Statistics software, Budapest, 1992)

The statistics from the 1990 census show a puzzling antagonism: while the population with minority mother's tongues – with the exception of German and Gypsy speakers – has gone through a general decrease, the population with a non-Hungarian nationality has gone up – with the exception of Croats.

Regarding age group distribution, several minorities, for example Slovenes and Croats, display a uniform decrease as you approach the numbers of younger and younger people. The lack of replacement is reflected mainly by the statistics on languages. Similarly to Hungarians, big families of earlier times are being replaced by ageing households.

Full and natural social integration, the freedom to choose an identity or the number of mixed marriages may also contribute to the decrease of minority identity. 40-60% of minority adults – with Slovaks leading – live in ethnically mixed marriages. Many children coming from mixed marriages are obviously “lost” from the point of view of the given minority, decreasing an already compromised replacement capacity. The total population of Hungary had 20.5% minors in 1990, and 18.9% over 60. With German nationals, the rate of people younger

than 15 decreased from 25.6% in 1941 to 12.1% [1990], while those over 60 has grown from 13.2% to 27.8%. Among Slovaks, the proportion of children is 6.8%, and 9.1% among Serbs.

Significant differences from the official statistics can be observed in estimates by the minority organisations in 1990.

Minority	Estimated numbers
Roma	400,000 – 600,000
German	200,000 – 220,000
Slovak	100,000 – 110,000
Croatian	80,000 - 90,000
Romanian	25,000
Polish	10,000
Serbian	5,000 – 10,000
Slovenian	5,000
Bulgarian	3,000 – 3,500
Greek	4,000 – 4,500
Armenian	3,500 – 10,000
Ukrainian	2,000
Ruthenian	6,000
Total :	835,000 – 1,083,955

(Source: information from the minority organisations)

4. The government structure involving minority affairs

Minority affairs involve several Ministries in the governmental structure – which itself has been modified several times – following the change of political systems in 1990. A prominent place in administration is accorded to the treatment of minority issues, as recorded in the legal rules ruling their operation.

A Division of Civilian Relationships and Minorities in Hungary, in the Office of the Prime Minister, is engaged with social organisations, therefore also with keeping in contacts with minority non-profit organisations.

The professional background of the Ministry of Justice ensures the quality of legislation and the preparatory work on bills involving minorities in Hungary. The National Office of Ethnic Minorities (hereinafter: the “Office of Minorities”), created in 1990, has been operating under the supervision of the Ministry of Justice since 1998 (before which time it was subordinated to the Office of the Prime Minister). The Office of Minorities co-ordinates, as an independent organ of state administration with national competence, all the tasks in Hungary related to national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary. A President presides over the Office of Minorities, appointed /absolved by the Prime Minister, on recommendations of the Minister of Justice. A paramount task of the Office of Minorities is the preparation of government decisions with an effect on minorities as well as the concepts of minority policies in general. The OM continuously evaluates the realisation of the rights, entitlements and the situation of national and ethnic minorities, preparing analyses to help assist government decisions which affect minorities. The OM co-ordinates the execution of the tasks of government programs with other Ministries. The Office mediates between national minority self-governments and involved Ministries when preparing government decisions affecting minorities, and keeps continuous contacts with the Minority Ombudsman.

The Ministry of Education has its own Division of Public Education and Minority Relationships, the Ministry for Cultural Heritage has its own Division of National and Ethnic Minorities (and within that division, a separate Department of Civilian Relationships and Minorities in Hungary). Separate divisions or other organisational units handle the affairs of national and ethnic minorities at several Ministries, with one of their paramount tasks being the social integration of the Gypsy/Roma ethnic group: the Ministry of Social and Family Affairs, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Economics, the Ministry of Agriculture and Country Development, and the Ministry of Youth and Sports. A separate division has been created at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the name Division of Human and Minority Rights. (Since 1998, it is the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs that supervises the Office of Hungarian Minorities Abroad, which performs governmental tasks related to the Hungarian national minorities living outside of the borders of Hungary. That office was reporting to the Office of the Prime Minister until 1998.)

Since 1998, it is the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Relationships within the Ministry of Cultural Heritage that keeps contacts with the church communities of minorities on the part of the government. (Before 1998, the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Relationships also reported to the Office of the Prime Minister).

The Government has created an Interministry Committee in 1995, to make the bridging of the gap with the Gypsy/Roma population more efficient. The President of the Interministry Committee for Gypsy Affairs has been the Minister of Justice since 1998, and the Vice-President is the President of the Office of Minorities; its permanent members are the Assistant State Secretaries of the involved ten Ministries. The President of the National Gypsy Self-Government also works as a permanent member of the Interministry Committee for Gypsy Affairs. A permanently invited member of the Interministry Committee is the Chairman of the Parliament Subcommittee for National and Ethnic Minorities' Rights. The membership of the Interministry Committee also include the President of the Public Foundation for Gypsies in Hungary, as well as the President of the Board of Trustees of the Gandhi Public Foundation. The secretarial tasks of the Interministry Committee and continuous reconciliation with the involved organs are performed by the Office of Minorities. Time to time, the sessions of the Committee are visited by the Co-ordinator for Gypsy Affairs of the European Council, experts delegated by the EC, and even the leader of the EU Delegation to Hungary. The Committee prepares bills for legal rules and administrative measures, while co-ordinating among the various ministries the annual plans for execution of the medium-term government programme to help social integration of the Roma population, which was approved in 1999, also controlling partial performance of the programmes. The amounts turned by the Ministries and the public foundations towards social integration of Roma have doubled between 1997 and 2002.

5. The System of State Financial Assistance

The amount of the government budget directly affecting national and ethnic minorities in Hungary is contained in the Budget Act. Resources coming from several channels appear in earmarked funds, and funds for public foundations, as well as funds for financing the specific tasks and projects handled by the various Ministries. (The governmental structure and the number of ministries have themselves changed several times during the past 12 years, which, however, did not decrease or terminate the overall chapter assistance extended to national and ethnic minorities. Assistance may be handled by a different ministry now as before in certain cases, however.)

A

1. THE CHAPTER OF THE PARLIAMENT CONTAINS THE BUDGET FOR THE ANNUAL OPERATION OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC MINORITY ORGANISATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS, EXTENDED BY COMPETITION FOR GRANTS BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT SUBCOMMITTEE FOR HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS.

B

1. THE CHAPTER OF THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE, SUPERVISING HUNGARY'S MINORITY POLICIES SINCE 1998 (SUPERVISION BETWEEN 1990-1998 WAS THE TASK OF THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER) INCLUDES:

- a.) earmarked funds to cover the annual operational costs of national minority self-governments (13 by number)
- b.) the budget of the National and Ethnic Office of Minorities (the Office of Minorities)
- c.) the "co-ordination and intervention budget," to be used for urgent problems and minority crisis situations. It is the Political Secretary of State of the Ministry of Justice that decides over the utilisation of the "co-ordination and intervention budget," based on recommendations by the Office of Minorities
- d.) earmarked budget for the scholarship funds of Roma students
- e.) earmarked funds for the Public Foundation for Minorities

The Civil Code of Hungary states that *public foundations* may only be founded by the Government, the Parliament or by local self-governments /municipalities. Public foundations are important, emphasised institutions of the financial support system of the State Budget: thus the Public Foundation for National and Ethnic Minorities in Hungary, founded by the Government in 1995 (in short: "Public Foundation for Minorities"), operating as a [non-public] foundation since 1990, and the Public Foundation for Gypsies in

Hungary (in short: “Public Foundation for Gypsies”). Boards of Trustees direct the work of public foundations, including among their ranks the representatives of minorities in the decision-making process (every national self-government delegates a representative to the Board of Trustees). The system of assistance relying upon public foundations allows task financing based upon previous survey of demand.

The Public Foundation for Minorities extends assistance for the preservation of minority identity and the development of native culture (in native minority languages) and for programmes defending the rights of minorities. It comprises a significant resource in organising events and feasts centring around the religious life, the traditions, and the art of minorities, as well as an important resource for publishing [minority] periodicals and books. The Public Foundation has extended funds for 3,433 projects in 2001, 1,608 grants, 85 creative scholarships, 18 journals and 1,722 programmes [or events].

The Public Foundation provides scholarship for the studies of high-school students and students of universities and colleges. The funds for assistance of Roma students are handled by the Ministry of Justice, which serves the purpose of realising the government objective that each Roma youth completing high school or university education would be awarded a scholarship, and that no such study should be broken for financial reasons alone. From the school year of 1999-2000, the co-operation of state and public foundations ensured the awarding of a scholarship to every single Roma student who qualified. Starting from the school year 1999-2000, there are various methods to extend scholarships from the budget, from the 5th form of elementary school up to graduation at a university or a college. In the school year of 2001-2002, the government supported the studying of 12,588 young Roma students with scholarships (while only 785 students received scholarships for the school year of 1996-1997). A basic foundation of government policies is that breaking out of the vicious circle of poverty - which all too often reaffirms itself - can only start with education of young people today, with acquisition of knowledge leading to marketable skills, therefore the government wishes to ensure further education practically without limits. This system assumes responsibility for causing some tension in the majority society and in other minority communities, since the latter have as yet meagre resources for similar initiatives.

Assistance of the press publications of nationalities and ethnic minorities is also handled by the Public Foundation for Minorities. It extends budgetary funds for at least one national newspaper per ethnic minority. In the case of the Roma minority, the PFM supports, due to the special status of the Roma population and their special organisational requirements, more than one such press organ. In addition to the assistance given to national newspapers, the PFM also extends financial help to create supplements of the local press in the given native language, as well as special journals of minorities. The national news publications of minorities are in the proprietorship of minority self-governments, either as municipal property or organisational property.

The resources of the Public Foundation for Gypsies serve the realisation of programmes for survival assistance, enterprise, grants, community centres, legal bureaux and organisations extending attorney’s protection and legal counselling, training for public life and educational workshops, health protection and crisis management. That public foundation helps the Roma civil organisations and stimulates Roma economic enterprise. The Board of Trustees issues annual Awards for Public Performance.

2. THE CHAPTER OF THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR INCLUDES:

- a.) the budget for the support of the general operations of the local minority self-government (the annual budgetary amounts of local minority self-governments are provided by the Act on the given annual budget by the Republic of Hungary)
- b.) supplementary assistance for education and training in non-Hungarian languages, as well as Roma minority education – given to the municipal self-government, or the local minority self-government, for the schools maintained by them (the state will extend extra assistance for all self-governments which operate institutions of education ensuring that nursery, primary and high schools fulfil the purposes of public education - or training supplied in a native language - based on the norms put down in the Act on the Budget)
- c.) furthermore, it covers supplementary assistance for the maintenance of educational institutions (operated by municipal self-governments or local minority self-governments).

3. THE CHAPTER OF THE MINISTRY FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE FEATURES:

- a.) funds earmarked for the support of the cultural issues of national and ethnic minorities (primarily national /ethnic cultural programmes, publication of books, camping for Roma children, and making films with Roma /Gypsy themes can apply for grants by the Ministry)
- b.) earmarked assistance for the operation of the National Gypsy Centre for Information and Education, launched in 1999,
- c.) grants to civil cultural organisations, performing tasks for national /ethnic minorities,
- d.) grants by the Ministries to minority and ethnic theatres maintained or supported by local self-governments,
- e.) the Budget gives a normative support to the Deutsche Bühne (German Theatre) maintained by the Tolna County Association of [German Minority] Self-Governments,
- f.) minority national libraries, so-called “basis libraries,” minority museums and places of exhibition.

4. THE CHAPTER OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION CONTAINS THE FUNDS EARMARKED FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC MINORITY TASKS,

- a.) starting with the support extended to the development of the minority education system (supplementing the funds earmarked to increase dormitory /hostel vacancies for Roma /minority students, supporting exceptional performance in Roma minority education, minority nurseries and elementary schools) with educational programmes, and also supporting activities of research on minority issues (primarily around the questions of education),
- b.) the Ministry supported the operation of the National Committee on Minorities, consisting of representatives of ethnic groups, with a separate amount before 2001. The Budget Act of 2001-2002 no longer features that Committee under a separate title, its operation is ensured in the same manner as that of other committees created by Ministries (no legal rule affecting minorities can be changed, no minority schoolbooks or school aids can be introduced without approval of the Committee),
- c.) the Budget Act used to contain earmarked annual funds for the Gandhi Public Foundation as a separate item until 2001, with the exact amount determined by an expert proposal by the Ministry of Education. The Public Foundation operates the Gandhi High School – one of the main goals of which is the maintenance of a boarding school for talented Roma youth. Since 2001 this public foundation also failed to be featured as an independent item in the Chapter of this Ministry, and Gandhi High has received budgetary support similarly to other ethnic high schools. The Ministry of Education, however, undertook a guarantee for the completion of the enlargement of the institution, already under way,
- d.) As of 2000, the Ministry of Education has assumed all the operating costs of primary schools with minority language education /bilingual schools, in addition to the normative support regulated in the Budget Act for the assistance of schools of national /ethnic minorities (Ministry for the Interior).

5. THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AND FAMILY AFFAIRS

has the following commitments:

- a.) assistance of the public employment programme, created primarily for the abatement of Roma /Gypsy unemployment,
- b.) the programme for Social Crisis Management (supporting mainly the poor Roma population)
- c.) one-time social assistance grants.

6. THE SOURCES OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH

include:

- a.) a health development programme for members of ethnic minorities with disadvantageous backgrounds.

7. THE SOURCES WITHIN THE CHAPTER OF THE MINISTRY OF YOUTH AND SPORTS

support the civil organisations of all the 13 ethnic groups, with grants extended via the following organisations:

- a.) „Miklós Wesselényi” Public Sports Foundation
- b.) the Government Programme for Children and Youth,
- c.) the National Public Foundation for Children and Youth.

8. The sources of the Ministry of Agriculture and Country Development, with one programme emphasised:

- a.) the fund for the planned concept elimination of so-called Roma Slums.

9. PROJECTS AT THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMICS

support the entrepreneurs of Hungary, among which programmes for regional development - creating jobs - are strongly favoured. Within that, a special role is accorded to enterprises and projects alleviating Gypsy /Roma unemployment. Certain programmes of the Ministry decidedly help ethnic enterprise and minority civil organisation, e.g. the project for helping tourism. The Ministry has concluded an agreement of co-operation with the National Gypsy Self-Government in 1999 for the construction of 200-233 apartments. This is the Ministry which supervises the National Public Foundation for Employment.

10. THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- within its own chapter - extends a separate sum to cover an Award for Minority Causes every December, on Minorities Day. The Prime Minister, in the presence of the President of the Republic, issues 3 awards each to the representatives of minorities in Hungary and to special representatives of Hungarians across the border.

11. THE EU PROGRAMME OFFICE OF COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON MINORITIES

The organ created by the government in 1997 as a Public Foundation wishes to fulfil a role of a nexus between science and politics in minority research issues. Its projects support primarily research around the issues of national and ethnic identity, and factors of assimilation.

12. ECONOMIC AND HUMANE PROGRAMMES OF COUNTY ASSEMBLIES SINCE 1990

feature all the tasks related to minorities not prescribed obligatorily for county self-governments but undertaken voluntarily.

13. PHARE ASSISTANCE

of a significant amount has been extended to various Ministry programmes which aim at closing the gap with Roma people.

C.

The amounts turned towards the goals of national and ethnic minorities, aiming at closing the gap with Gypsy society have been continually growing since 1990 with significant amounts. It has been an across-the-board policy of all the governments of Hungary to involve affected minorities not only in the preparation of decisions but also in the distribution of available Ministry funds. A significant portion of the available amounts is extended to civil /social organisations and the local self-governments of national and ethnic minorities (and thus of the resources of the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry for the Interior, the Ministry for Cultural Heritage, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, and the Public Foundation for the Minorities as well as the Public Foundation for Gypsies). A permanent objective of minority self-governments has been to achieve exclusive control over the state and government sources, or even to integrate them into their own budgets. It has been government policy

that the more state organisations are taken over by local, or national minority self-governments, the better – as long as adequate professional operations are guaranteed. Civil organisations of minorities and the cultural associations of nationalities /ethnic groups (formed under the former regime and still operational), local minority self-governments are frequently against nation-wide control and handling of state resources by national minority self-governments and by their leadership. A joint objective, however, is to make the civil organisations of nationalities stronger and stronger, thereby increasing the cultural multi-faceted character of society, creating adequate self-consciousness and financial basis for the strong participation of individuals belonging to various cultural groups in the shaping of their culture, in order to realise a “citizenry of cultural differences”. Most of the work done by cultural associations of nationalities at a national level of operation is realised in the form of economic partnerships. The number of non-profit organisations for nationalities has also been growing. Certain programmes of the Ministry of Economics to support certain enterprises, and the assistance by county self-governments primarily help overall national and ethnic cultural multiplicity.

6. The Situation of Nationalities /Ethnic Groups listed in the Act on Minorities

1. Bulgarians of Hungary

Bulgarians settled in the Carpathian basin in several waves. The ancestors of today's Bulgarians in Hungary came to Hungary as gardeners or traders, coming in significant numbers also in the past few decades. The Association of Bulgarians in Hungary has been founded in 1914 in Budapest: it has been providing a basis for continuing Bulgarian traditions and community life. They built schools and chapels in several cities of Hungary out of own resources, then a Bulgarian Orthodox Church in the capital of Hungary. The Bulgarian House of Culture was completed in 1957 from public donations. The theatre Malko Teatro (Little Theatre), the first Bulgarian theatre in Hungary was founded in 1996. The only institution of public education of Bulgarians in Hungary operates in Budapest. The 12-grade school - with nursery school - operates under joint Hungarian-Bulgarian state management. The Hungarian party has assumed the extension of normative state assistance – base assistance and minority assistance - on the basis of student numbers. The school works on the basis of the Bulgarian educational programme, and all other operational costs are borne by the State of Bulgaria. The number of students changes between an annual 100-120. The Bulgarian Self-Government has been operating a Sunday school with state assistance since the year 2000. Only 16 Bulgarian minority self-governments were elected in 1998. The State of Hungary has purchased land in 1997 to house the National Bulgarian Self-Government and the Capital City Bulgarian Self-Government. The National Bulgarian Self-Government wishes to establish closer ties to the mother country. The programme reception of all Bulgarian delegations visiting Hungary has become an accepted practice.

2. The Roma of Hungary

a.) The social situation and composition of the Roma people

The Roma /Gypsy people arrived in Hungary from the 13th-15th century in several waves. Parallel to general social modernisation, they started to change from a nomadic way of life to a settled one from the 18th century onwards, which shift has practically been completed during the second half of the twentieth century. The Roma population is quite heterogeneous from a language /cultural aspect: several tongues and cultural layers must be supported at the same time. Existing traditional Roma communities are essentially the last groups in Hungary where folk art is an organic part and parcel of everyday life. The use of written records is a relative novelty for Roma culture. The literary tongue of the Roma has established a strong formative foundation during the past two decades: this language is basically founded upon the Romani - or Lovari – language and its dialects. Roma intellectuals in Hungary and Europe have created a Language Committee in 2002 – with support from the Ministry for Cultural Heritage – aiming at the establishment of an international Roma tongue of literacy, in addition to development and language reform. You can already have a State Language Certification of the Romani language in Hungary. The discovery of the hidden values of Roma culture is undergoing a virtual renaissance today.

The Roma of Hungary can be divided into three main groups from a cultural and language aspect. The first and largest group is „Romungro,” the group of Hungarian Roma with Hungarian as native tongue, derived from ancestors who came to Hungary the earliest. The main means of support of Romungro people before the Second World War was music (the public of the City of Szeged has erected a monument at the turn of the 19th and 20th

centuries to Pista Dankó, the internationally known Gypsy musician), mudwork (making adobe, baking bricks), and above all, agricultural hired labour. Their proportion within the Roma group is over 70-75%-ot. The second largest group is the Lovari or “oláh¹” Gypsies, speaking Romani, who made their support between the two world wars as wandering craftsmen, blacksmiths and traders (e.g. animal trading) and partly as agricultural day labourers. Their proportion is around 10-15%. The 2% “Sinto” group, conserving a unique dialect of the Romani tongue, also belongs here. The third group is that of “Beash” Gypsies, living primarily in the Southwest of Hungary, who speak an archaic version of the Romanian language. Beash Roma lived by hollowing troughs and tubs and making other woodwork between the two world wars, and also supported themselves as agricultural day labourers. Their proportion can be estimated at 10%. These days the use of the native tongues of the Romani and Beash groups is observed to undergo a slow recession.

Minority Roma education started in the beginning of the 1990's. Education of Gypsy children includes all the tasks of public education which are due to the children and students belonging to this minority group, in addition to the tasks due to all students.

The Roma are the largest minority of Hungary. Among the 3,131 settlements of the country, roughly 2,000 is inhabited by Roma. Most Roma lived in the eastern region in the 1970's, the North of Hungary and the Southern Trans-Danubian region had the highest number of Roma in 1994, however. These new regional proportions are due to the increase of internal population and not to migration. The types of settlements have also been affected by shifts. The Budapest Roma population has doubled within twenty years. The increase is even sharper in the case of non-Budapest cities, where the proportion of Roma has tripled compared to the 70's. It is observable across Hungary that the streaming of Roma into the cities results in the development of ghetto and slum processes. Small villages in densely populated counties face a grave problem in increasing replacement of the population. While the non-Roma population leaves, the Roma move into the vacant lots which lost their value. These settlements now face all the problems added together from the lack of inherited cultural traditions, the lack of schooling and professional training, and the location of the settlement.

There is no full professional consensus in evaluating the most important demographic characteristics of Roma society in Hungary resulting from data gathered by various different methods of calculation and estimates. The results of all the research show, however, a significant difference in the demographic characteristics of the Roma of Hungary from the national average, a difference that stretches back a long way.

The Roma was often said to be the greatest economic losers of the change of political systems. Unemployment, appearing first in the period of time after 1989 affected the Roma in masses, they left the labour market in the largest numbers. Today it is this group that faces the worst difficulties in trying to adapt to a market-based society. The rate of unemployment in Hungary has generally been an average 8-10% in the past ten years, while with the Roma, it has been four or five times that number. There are settlements where 90-100% of Roma inhabitants are unemployed. This can be directly attributed to the fact that the first jobs to cease were those that can be filled with little formal education and which required no professional education, which is what the majority of Roma used to target.

The conventional wisdom relating to the Roma minority is divided. Everyday assumptions of average people are frequently simplified and across-the-board, frequently using negative statements full of prejudice about various Roma communities.

b.) Operational Experiences of the Roma minority self-governments

Following the second elections for minority self-government in 1998 (the first was based upon the Act on Minorities in 1994), 766 local Roma minority self-governments were formed, out of which one (in Somogy county) operates as a municipal self-government (in other words, the Roma comprise the majority of the population of the settlement). Presently there are 724 local minority self-governments. Several counties formed local minority self-governments at the county level, for the fulfillment of countywide tasks, involving local minority spokespersons. They ensure middle-level realisation of interests in the form of county associations. (The Act on Minorities only allows the formation of local and national minority self-governments, and not county-level self-governments. The reason is that most minorities of Hungary do not live in blocks, but

¹ = Oláh - *Walachian* – is an out-of date Hungarian name for Romanians

scattered all across the nation.) The system of self-governments allows more than three thousand Roma persons to play parts in public life.

One can say - concerning the operational experiences of Roma minority self-governments - that – despite early difficulties and operational troubles of the model – they show promising values and results. It is an important experience for future reference that minority self-governments have become really efficient in those settlements where they were based upon the self-organising activities of civilians, and upon earlier existing minority activities. From the point of view of the future of the entire structure of self-governments, an important increment has been the connecting of several active, committed people, or their re-entry into the public life of the given minority, either at local or national levels.

The ability of the Roma to promote their interests has grown significantly during the past 10 years. They are involved in problem-solving even in settlements where they have never been involved before, their opinions are considered, and decisions affecting the Roma are brought in co-operation with the Roma. A partner-relationship has formed at many settlements between the municipal self-government and its institutions on one part, and the Roma minority self-government on the other part. Joint programmes are started in the fields of education, employment and habitation construction, they apply for scholarships, grants and funds from public foundations jointly (for example at the Public Foundation for Gypsies, the Public Foundation for Minorities, the National Public Foundation for Employment) and other foundations (Autonómia Foundation, Soros Foundation). Presently there are nearly 250 registered Roma civilian organisations and foundations, which fulfil the task of representation of the Roma interests in the areas of the law, general protection of interests and employment, in social, cultural and educational fields. The cultural sphere has the outstanding performance of the world-famous cultural associations „Gypsy Band with a 100 Members”, „Kalyi Jag” and „Andro Drom”, which, in addition to the operation of the ensembles under their respective names, have assumed responsibility for realisation of school and talent scouting programmes. The majority of the counties of Hungary has associations formed to co-ordinate the work of the local Gypsy minority self-government with the local civilian organisations at a professional level. These associations have created regional cultural centres for public education. Other significant Roma enterprises in the field of culture are National Gypsy Centre for Information and Education, the ROM ABC Foundation, the ROM ART Foundation, the Roma Mission Foundation, and the Radio C – a not-for-profit-company with Minority Broadcast, etc.

The operation of the Roma minority self-governments helps social integration of the Roma people, as a result of which there is usually a better dialogue in any given settlement between the Roma and the non-Roma, even leading to co-operation, and the process of Roma entering civil society has sped up.

In summary: the system of minority self-governments in Hungary has gone through over half a decade. There was some impatience especially in the circles of Roma minority self-governments regarding operations. This impatience, knowing the mountain of tasks to be solved and the contradictions oppressing at the local level, is understandable. At the same time, one should see that there are not only financial barriers before transformation of a local minority to a minority self-government from the local municipality, rather, another barrier is the extent to which the involved minority community is ready to overtake a given task from the points of view of public administration, professionalism and economics.

Roma minority self-governments are in a special situation. While the activities of other minority self-governments centre basically around the fields of culture, education and keeping of traditions, where they can usually solicit some help from the mother country, the Roma minority self-governments must tackle the problems of health, employment and discrimination affecting Roma people in addition to the above – and this without any support from a mother country. These challenges can only be faced in co-operation with local municipal governments and the county self-government. For efficiency in operation, it is paramount to have the support of the municipal self-government, the Mayor, and the Notary. Due to the meagreness of financial resources, they are mostly unable to utilise experts' knowledge and help.

Generally, the operations of local municipal governments show an improving tendency – compared to previous years - from the point of view of compliance with legal rules. Earlier problems in the interpretation of the law, operations in excess of competence happen all the less frequently these days, and those that do can be settled by consultation with the County Office of Public Administration and finally by signals to legal organs.

The state of Hungary determines the amount of normative assistance helping local minority self-governments each year in an Act on the Budget. The financial conditions of the minority self-governments – in addition to state assistance - may come from contributions by county or municipal self-governments as well as from own income, support received from foundations, or assistance received from Hungarian or foreign associations, increments on the available assets, and donations. In many cases, however, the entire budget of a minority self-government is covered by state budgetary support. The most frequent reason for cessation of activities is the lack or meagreness of operational conditions.

c.) Government measures to improve the circumstances of life and the social situation of the Roma

The situation of Roma communities is different from that of all the other minorities in Hungary. The problems of the Roma are not primarily of a language and cultural character. Their case involves redoubled rates of problems in the social, health, employment, educational spheres, as well as in the fields of training for a profession and facing discrimination. Due to the complex nature of all that, solution cannot be expected to come from minority law, a different type of state measures are required. This heap of grave and complex problems should be treated with co-ordinated complex solutions, in accordance with general concepts. The programs of all governments of Hungary have maintained that every citizen – thereby also those of the Roma minority – should be able to live in Hungary willingly. Similarly to other socially disadvantaged groups, establishment of appropriate conditions of living for the Roma is in the interest of the entire society, being a task involving the entire society. In order to increase the chances of social integration of the Roma, the execution of tasks should be co-ordinated with exactly delineated responsibilities, among the government, local municipal governments, the National Gypsy Self-Government, the local Roma minority self-governments, the civilian organisations and churches. Helping social integration requires a social atmosphere where the realisation of basic citizen's rights as well as the performance of obligations appear as a guiding policy and joint interest. Social integration, the elimination of the tendencies for segregation, in other words, the harmonious living together of the Roma and non-Roma inhabitants has the precondition of self-organisation by the people, co-operation by individuals and their civil organisations.

The government, summing up the experiences of the past decade, and building upon those experiences in co-operation with the National Gypsy Self-Government and the experts at Ministries, on the basis of the reconciliation with the representatives of civilian organisations has passed a Government Decree in 1999 (1047/1999 (V.5)) for a medium-term package of measures to improve the life conditions and the social situation of the Roma. This Decree has been modified in 2001 due to consideration of the results reached and new tasks faced (1073/2001 (VII.13)). This package of a complex approach mandates tasks in the field of education, culture, employment, agrarian economy, regional development, social affairs, health care, habitation, the problem disadvantageous discrimination and the communication with the Roma. The Government Decree appoints the ministries responsible for the execution, together with the deadline for the execution of tasks. Part of the tasks are directed especially towards the Roma (e.g. in the areas of education, culture, and employment), while in other cases, the programmes target the Roma as a disadvantaged layer of the population (e.g. social, habitation, employment and regional tasks). The objective in assisting social layers of disadvantageous situation includes the goal that Roma people be reached all the more efficiently and directly.

The Ministries, reconciling with the National Gypsy Self-Government and the Office of Minorities, have determined their own annual action plans to execute these medium-term tasks. They control specific financial resources within their own budgetary Chapter.

The action plans contain details of the essential details of the annual plans for the realisation of tasks defined in the medium-term package of measures, the areas involved, the regions involved, the target groups, planned costs and sources, the time schedule of realisation, its organisational-institutional background, and the process of reconciliation with various partners. The action plans detail the projected results, possible risks, discuss the maintenance possibilities of the programmes, the methods of evaluation, checks and controls, and contain the communication plan relating to the realisation of specific tasks.

Co-ordination and control of the execution of the medium-term package of measures is performed by the Interministry Committee for Gypsy Affairs, which holds sessions every quarter, and brings resolutions for that purpose.

(The Interministry Committee for Gypsy Affairs began to work out a long-term Roma minority social and minority policies starting in 1999, using the help of an appointed expert by the European Council, and co-ordination of the Office of Minorities, relying upon the involvement of the competent ministries, the National Gypsy Self-Government, the Gandhi Public Foundation, the Public Foundation for Gypsies, the Minority Research Unit of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and other experts.)

The main programmes conducted with involvement of civil societies /associations, organisations and minority self-governments are as follows:

a.) The working out of programmes for increasing employment of the Roma minority, preparation of legal bills and their execution are the tasks of the system of labour organisation directed by the Ministry of Social and Family Affairs and the county employment centres. Both Act IV of 1991, On Promotion of Employment and Care of the Unemployed, and XXII of 1992, On the Labour Code, Article 5 contain both the ban on negative discrimination and the possibility of positive discrimination². The system of labour and employment management, relying upon the possibility of application of the positive discrimination allowed by the law, will prefer to hire Roma unemployed for not-for-profit public employment. In the interest of the employment of the Roma, a continuous practice has been for the past years of County Employment Centres to establish partner relationships which help the reintegration in the employment market of the Roma. Written agreements for co-operation with the Roma minority self-governments and local civilian organisations are widespread, with their county-level organisations and associations. These agreements are similar with respect to contents. Taking the problems of the Roma into consideration, they determined the possibilities of preferences in employment policies, relating to the layers of society with accumulated problems. They have recorded the special employment and training programmes as well as the manner of uninterrupted contacts in co-operation of partners. When executing the agreements, the gravest employment market problems are addressed by harmonising all the tools and services of employment in starting programs of employment market lasting for 2-3 years. These aim at supporting of putting Roma unemployed into jobs and organising their employment.

The number of the permanently unemployed targeted at the time the programme was initiated (1997) based upon the Government Decree of 1997 on Employment Policies was 125,000. As a result of the programme involving Roma organisations, over 30% of the layer involved (42,000) acquired a job in 1997-1998. About 23,000 people received employment policy assistance (training, assistance of wages, covering various charges or travel expenses, performing not-for-profit work and jobs for the public).

As part of the tasks of the Ministry of Social and Family Affairs, in the interest of the improvement of the employment chances of the permanently unemployed, programmes of non-profit work and public works are organised, in harmony with regional development plans. The number of people of Roma origin employed by the public work programmes in 1999-2000 is estimated at 4,000 for each year, comprising a 40% of the total employment number. Within the resources of the Employment Market Fund, it is possible to extend 'advantaged support' (90%) to the public work organised by municipal and/or minority self-governments or Roma civilian organisations. The Employment Market Fund is handled by the employment centres, assistance amounts may be distributed to extend or preserve employment. The Fund's support to municipal governments is normative, which allows transient, public work performed by the individuals receiving assistance.

The Regional Centres for the Development and Training of the Labour Force, which participate in the training of the unemployed for the labour market, devote a special attention to training courses aiming at closing the gaps with permanently unemployed people in disadvantageous situations with public work /non-profit jobs, and to extension of existing programmes. Training centres establish close relationship with local and regional Roma organisations and the representatives of county and national minority self-governments. The training programmes in 1999-2000 were frequented by 4-5,000 people, 30% of who were unemployed of Roma origin. These cases showed an employment rate of 80%, based on surveys prepared on the basis of follow-up questionnaires completed after the training.

b.) The National Employment Fund (NEF), supervised by the Ministry of Economics, has devoted special attention to the development and improvement of the tools and methods assisting the socially disadvantaged unemployed layers, supporting the experiments and efforts in that direction, furthermore, the adaptation of

² Similar to 'Affirmative Action' in the US – *the tr.*

international models and experiences. The 379 programmes conducted by the NEF between 1997-1999 had 162,430 individuals – with roughly 37,000 of Roma origin – utilise the services of the employment market, or gained shorter or longer income through work or employment. The NEF worked out an independent Roma permanent employment programme in 2000, which is in harmony with the objectives stated in the National Employment Strategy worked out by the Government. The Roma programme aims at the development of the capabilities of the Roma organisations directing the programme and the decrease of the numbers of the Roma unemployed. A main objective has been, furthermore, was to achieve the realisation of complex employment project strategy directed by Roma organisations, which could fulfil the demands of the target groups. Preparation and training of the managers of the supported projects, to ensure the success of the assistance granted to non-profit Roma organisations and to cut down on risks, has been completed, as well as preparation of the Roma organisations to participate in the long term in the national programmes posted by the foundations and Ministries aiming at cutting down the numbers of Roma unemployed. Applicants were stimulated to combine NEF sources with local resources if possible. Accordingly, those projects were preferred at the evaluation of the applications, which have been realised by joint financing by the municipal and the minority self-government of the County Employment Centres, as well as those which could be integrated into regional development strategies. Based on these experiences, 500-600 Roma unemployed could realistically gain permanent employment.

3.) Greeks in Hungary

Greek merchants arrived first in the 16th century to Hungary. They had churches or chaplains in 19 cities by the end of the 18th century. Several Greek schools operated in Hungary, among them a teacher training college in Pest. The new wave of Greek immigrants arrived to Hungary between 1948 and 1950, settling as refugees of the Greek civil war in Budapest, Pécs, Tatabánya, Miskolc and Beloianis³. Greek minority self-governments were formed in 11 districts of the capital city in 1998, and in 7 other cities and villages. The State of Hungary bought real property to house the national self-government and the self-government of the capital city of Budapest in 1997, then gave it in permanent lease to the above two organisations. The most significant Greek civil organisation is the Cultural Society of the Greeks of Hungary, which regards as its most important task the maintenance of the Greek language, culture and traditions. Greeks of Hungary do not have either a school with own curriculum or a bilingual one. One language school operates in Beloianis, where roughly two-thirds of students are studying the Greek language and literature. The Greek National Self-Government and local minority self-governments devote a special attention to the maintenance of the native tongue, therefore they organised Sunday schools in Budapest and six other cities. The Ministry of Education, following the number of students increasing year by year, is raising the amount of financial assistance of these schools. (The school year of 2000-2001 had 279 people attend Sunday classes in Budapest.) The Greek Orthodox Church of the village of Beloianis was completed in 1996. The Greek National Self-government keeps contacts with the state organs of the mother country, primarily for the maintenance of the native tongue and Greek culture.

The most significant cultural enterprises are the music bands Ilios and Sirtos, Greek dance-houses are very popular in Hungary as is the grand event titled the Greek Festival.

4.) Croats of Hungary

The ancestors of Croats living in today's Hungary arrived as settlers, mainly fleeing the Turkish Empire. Their situation is special, considering that Hungary and Croatia used to be in one country for eight hundred years, ending after World War I. The Croatian minority lives scattered, they are a sum of ethnic groups not very divergent from the point of view of dialects and traditions. Most Croats live in districts near the state border between Hungary and Croatia, but significant Croatian communities can also be found in the heartland as well. Croats of Hungary are of the Roman Catholic denomination, and during history, the Catholic Church has frequently played a significant role among the Croats of Hungary.

The 1998 elections for minority self-governments saw the formation of 74 Croatian minority self-governments. It must be emphasised that 18 settlements had the elected municipal government transform into minority municipal self-governments, realising thereby the full extent of the autonomy model of minorities specified in the Act on Minorities. Parallel to that, eight mayors of Croatian nationality won mandates. The State of Hungary

³ The name of this Greek settlement in Hungary is *Beloianisz* in Hungarian – *tr.*

gave real estate to both the National Croatian Self-Government and the Croatian Self-Government of the Capital City in 1997.

Every sub-ethnic group uniformly joined the system of minority self-governments in Hungary. The self-governments thus formed include the bodies consisting of the representatives of the Gradist'e Croats, the Mura⁴ – or Kai – Croats, the Drava⁵ Croats, the "Sokac" of Baranya [county], the "Bunyevac" Croats⁶ and the Croats of Bácska, the Catholic "Rác"⁷ Croats, and Dalmatian Croats.

The National Croatian Self-Government posted as its most important goal the extension of minority autonomy, however, there are significant financial barriers. The self-government brought an important ruling in respect of two institutions, when it included in the ranks of its institutions the Nursery and Primary School of Hercegszántó – the latter with boarding facilities – which have Croatian as the language of instruction, and when it founded the Croatica Cultural, Information and Publication not-for-profit company, jointly with the largest Croatian civil organisation, the Association of Croats of Hungary. The City of Pécs has had a Croatian Theatre since 1994.

Croats of Hungary have an established educational system from nursery school to university. The number of participants in Croatian ethnic education has decreased during the past decade, in nursery school as well as in primary school. The school year of 1999-2000 saw 1,388 children in 37 Croatian nurseries, and 2,526 kids in 34 primary schools enjoying education in the native tongue. There are two Croatian high schools in Hungary, where the language of instruction is Croatian. 220 students study in these two institutions. Higher education in Croatian is performed at 2 universities and 3 colleges.

The events of the past few years have modified the life of the Croatian minority in Hungary. With the forming of the independent Croatian Republic, then with the cessation of the war situation a real mother-country relationship could spring into flower. This is fortified by the statement voiced by [the state organs of] Croatia several times, which regarded the Croatian minority in Hungary as an indivisible part of the Croatian nation. The Croatian minority and its organisations enjoy a favourable relationship with the Croatian Republic, local relationships extended in an increasing way have only fortified this. Due to the war and its consequences, the Croatian Republic could only start supporting the operation of the institutions and societies of Croats in Hungary from its state budget from the year 2000 on.

The most significant cultural enterprise is the not-for-profit Croatica Cultural, Information and Publishing Co.

5. Poles in Hungary

Although Polish presence in Hungary can be dated back to the 10th-11th centuries, continuity can only be mentioned from the 18th century on. Polish communities in Hungary were most populous in the middle of the 19th century. The first permanent Sunday school was founded in 1922, the first Polish church in 1930, the Polish House was built in 1932. After the aggression against Poland in 1939, Hungary accepted an estimated number of 100-140 thousand military and civilian persons as refugees, up to the [German] occupation of Hungary in 1944. The greatest activity of Polish associations in Hungary can be thus dated back to the wartime era. During World War II, there were 27 Polish primary schools in Hungary, and the town of Balatonboglár – uniquely in Europe – boasted a Polish High School for boys⁸ and girls.⁹ Poles live scattered in Hungary. The 1998 elections saw Poles create 9 district self-governments in Budapest and 24 self-governments at settlements elsewhere. The State of Hungary gave a building to the National Polish Minority Self-Government in 1997. The social organisations of Poles in Hungary, among them the two largest ones: the József Bem Society of Hungary and the St. Adalbert Society have operated uninterruptedly. Although the organisation of the foundation of a Polish school has started, presently only Sunday schools are operating. There is a Polish Theatre group. The national minority self-government has weakened during the past years, as did the network of relationships - earlier stronger – of international Polish civilian organisations.

⁴ The Mura is a river bordering between Hungary and Croatia

⁵ The Drava is a large river bordering between Hungary and Croatia

⁶ The dictionary definition says: *Catholic Serbs*

⁷ *Rác* (pronounced with a ts) is a former name for Serbs

⁸ Gimnázium

⁹ Líceum

6.) Germans in Hungary

Germans settling in Hungary during the Middle Ages came primarily from the Northern and middle parts of the German-Roman Empire, while the settlers of the 18th century came mostly from the Southern and Western parts of [what is today] Germany. Thus six settlement regions of Germans in Hungary were created in the Carpathian basin. The 20th century situation of the German minority living in modern Hungary was radically shattered by the events following the conclusion of World War II. Application of the principle of collective responsibility resulted in a total transformation of the economic and social structures of Germans in Hungary. Out of the people who declared German nationality in Hungary at the census of 1941, police translocation starting in January 1946 moved at least 135,000 into the US occupation zone of Germany, while the number of those who ended up in the Soviet occupation zone was at least 50-60,000. By recent times, the German communities of Hungary have regained some strength.

The 1998 elections for self-governments and minority self-governments saw the formation of 271 German minority self-governments, out of which 30 became minority municipal governments. 30 settlements elected mayors belonging to the German minority. The [building to house the] National Self-Government of Germans in Hungary was purchased by the State of Hungary in 1995. The National Self-Government of Germans in Hungary helps the work of the local minority self-governments through its regional offices. The 10 regional offices work alongside the county association of minority self-governments. The national self-government co-operates closely with the national societies and institutions of Germans via its committees, paying a special attention to the institutions of education. Germans of Hungary have three independent German national high schools and eight high schools have German faculty classes. Presently 10 institutions of higher education have studies of the German nationalities alongside a teaching degree in the native language. Still, the most serious problem is the provision of bilingual schools with teacher faculty.

There are several hundred German societies in Hungary. Nation-wide societies are the Association of German Writers and Artists of Hungary, the St. Gullet Society of Catholic Germans, the Jacob Bluer Society, the Community of Young Germans of Hungary, the Society of Ethnic German Entrepreneurs of Hungary, the Association of German Schoolboards of Hungary, the National Council of German Song, Music and Dance Choirs of Hungary, which consolidates 426 societies, cultural organisations for the maintenance of tradition, and the Ethnic German Society for Village Tourism of Southern Trans-Danube. The Society for Tourism helps economic partnerships in developing regional issues and improving the life circumstances of the inhabitants with the assistance of local municipal governments and the minority self-governments. Several national societies publish newspapers and periodicals. The Nikolaus Lenau Society in the City of Pécs was the first 1985 German minority society since the 1950's. The headquarters of the Society, built with assistance from Germany, has turned into a cultural and training centre of the area around Pécs and for southern Trans-Danubian Germans in particular, while also conducting cultural enterprises. The Ethnic German Museum of Tata was founded in 1972. The German Theatre of Szekszárd, founded in the mid-1980's - Deutsche Bühne Ungarn – has been operating in its own theatre building since 1994. 1998 saw the formation of a not-for-profit company for the Reestablishment and Support of a German Theatre in Budapest, which aims at awakening German theatrical traditions of the capital city. The goal of the national minority self-government is to take the management of the German Theatre of Szekszárd as well as the Ethnic German Museum of Tata into its own hands.

Many German settlements saw the deliveries of German Community Centres during the past few years. The buildings have usually been donated by the municipal government to the minority, and are operated jointly with the minority self-governments. Utilising the financial support of the Ministry for the Interior of Germany, these buildings were furnished and supplied with technology. The Public Foundation 'House of Germans in Hungary' operates both as a not-for-profit cultural enterprise and as a company limited in the sphere of cultural enterprise.

The usage of Germans of Hungary shows a recession of local German dialects. Progressing from the older generation, the knowledge and usage of dialects is on the decrease. With the recession – and sometimes disappearance - of dialects, a higher and higher proportion of people has been using High German - the German literary dialect - since the beginning of the 1980's. Assistance coming from German-speaking countries and by the Trentino-Southern Tyrolian Autonomous Region – the relationship with which has become quite close during the past few years - means a significant financial and moral background provided for the preservation of identity of the German minority. About 200 settlements in Hungary populated by Germans have partners in

Germany or Austria. In addition to cultural societies, and the exchange travel programs of student groups and teachers, the economic advantages of co-operation are starting to be used. The National Self-Government of Germans of Hungary enjoys manifold relationships with the mother country, the minority German organisations of the neighbouring countries, and the minorities of different languages residing in German-speaking countries.

German culture, and thereby the cultural identity of the Germans of Hungary, will be further fortified by the opening of the Andrassy Gyula University in 2002-2003 in Budapest, with German as the language of instruction, supported by the State of Germany and the State of Hungary.

7. Armenians in Hungary

Armenians moved to Hungary mostly in the 17th century. The members of their communities escaped total natural assimilation by their separate standing in religion, Catholicism with Armenian rites. Armenians preserved their language and culture to this day have also settled in Hungary after the two World Wars. Two strikingly different groups of Armenians of Hungary are those who moved from Transylvania (Romania), assimilated in language and declaring themselves Hungarian-Armenians on the one hand, and those arriving following 1915 and then after 1978, the so-called Oriental Armenians. The first group comprises the core supporters of the Cultural Society of Transylvanian Armenian Roots, formed in 1997, while the latter group is behind the People of Armenia Cultural Society, formed in 1992. The 1998 elections for minority self-governments saw 16 districts in the Capital City elect Armenian self-governments, and 8 cities elsewhere, altogether 24 local self-governments. The management of the National Armenian Self-Government, formed in 1999, consists of members of the People of Armenia Cultural Society and independent members. No one of the Cultural Society of Transylvanian Armenian Roots was elected in the national self-government. The State of Hungary provided a building to house the National Armenian Self-Government in 1997.

The Armenian Cultural and Information Centre opened in 1997, with lively cultural scenes. Their religious organisation, the Armenian Catholic Church of Budapest was founded in 1924. This church and vicarage, built in the Capital City, still being the only one of its kind in Hungary, operates not only for religious reasons. Its walls frequently harbour high-level exhibits, worthy of the spirit of the place, and chamber concerts. The People of Armenia Cultural Society also conducts dynamic enterprises of a cultural character. Armenians have no independent school network. Language education undergoes in the framework of Sunday schools in Budapest and four other cities, supported by the Ministry of Education.

The National Armenian Self-Government keeps good relationships continuously with the mother country and with the Armenians living in a diaspora all over the world, where it has acquired an authoritative standing. Thanks to that, the Second Forum of Armenians in Europe was organised in Budapest in the year 2000.

8. Romanians of Hungary

During its known history, the Romanian minority living in the area of modern Hungary has always lived within the organisational framework of the State of Hungary, outside of the territorial borders of the Romanian state. During the centuries, these communities created institutions and schools, or societies for representation of interest and cultural associations within the organisation of the native-language Romanian Orthodox Church. The single most significant foundation for Romanian cultural life was operating at the end of the 19th century in the capital city of Hungary. Due to the 1920 Trianon Treaty, with the establishment of the new borders, these communities were isolated from the national context of Transylvanian Romanians numbering in millions, and stayed isolated as small populations. These days the majority of the Romanian minority of Hungary lives alongside the Hungarian-Romanian state border.

Following the 1998 elections of local self-governments, 34 local minority self-governments formed. In the earlier cycle, Budapest had no Romanian minority self-government, in 1998, however, 15 district minority self-government was created. The National Self-Government of Romanians of Hungary chose its headquarters the city of Gyula. This is where the National Self-Government received a building for headquarters, since most of Hungary's Romanians live in that region¹⁰. The Romanian minority self-governments do not have own income, they fully depend upon budgetary support. Romanian minority self-governments – mostly founded at small

¹⁰ Southwest Hungary

villages – cannot count on financial support from the local municipal governments, due to the financial situation of the latter. (The exceptions are Budapest and Békéscsaba.)

The number of organisations legally qualifying as societies has grown among Romanians of Hungary during the past few years. Presently 18 civil organisations operate, primarily organising cultural events. The basis organisation of these societies is the Cultural Association of Romanians of Hungary, which consolidates 15 local communities. The greater proportion of settlements populated by Romanians have some local cultural institution or cultural centre which can satisfy the cultural demands of the minority. Romanians of Hungary preserve their folk culture mainly by its amateur ensembles and bands.

Presently Romanian minority is available at all levels of public education. The school year of 2000-2001 saw 10 nurseries, 13 primary and 1 high schools with Romanian minority education. Over 1,700 children received Romanian-language education. In addition to the N. Balcescu High School in the city of Gyula, Romanian language is taught at the Mihály Munkácsy Technical School (also in Gyula), and the Kelemen Mikes High School of Gyula and Battonya. The new Romanian boarding school and cultural centre was delivered in the year 2000 in the city of Gyula. Higher education in Romanian is performed at four institutions, it only provides, however, teacher training of the Romanian language. More and more Romanian young people from Hungary choose to study at the universities of Romania, especially in cities near the border. The State of Romania also extends a significant support towards raising the level of the Romanian minority education in Hungary and towards the maintenance of community institutions.

The Romanian Orthodox Church still plays an important role in the preservation of the language and culture, as well as the identity of Romanians in Hungary. The Church maintains 21 parishes at 20 settlements. The Romanian Orthodox Church of Hungary is organisationally independent, church law, however, classifies it under the authority of the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchy (Bucharest). The Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church elevated the Romanian Orthodox Church of Hungary to the level of an Episcopate in 1997, and delegated a Bishop in 1999 to head the Orthodox Episcopate headquartered in Gyula. „Noi,” the Romanian Press and Book Publishing Co. operates as a regular economic enterprise.

The geographical location of the Romanian minority of Hungary is quite favourable from the point of view of preservation of cultural identity. The overwhelming majority live in a county neighbouring Romania, which eases maintenance of contacts with the Romanian language and cultural contexts. Regarding the establishment of foreign relationships to help preserve the position of Romanian language and culture, the national self-government evaluated positively that the Romanian minority had been actively involved in the formation of official Hungarian-Romanian relations.

9. Ruthenians of Hungary

Ruthenians have lived in the area of historical Hungary from the Middle Ages, with populous communities in the country before 1920. These days it is primarily at small settlements in the Northeast that Ruthenian communities live. 4 settlements and 5 districts of Budapest elected a Ruthenian minority self-governments at the 1998 elections. The National Ruthenian Minority Self-Government was founded in 1999. The State of Hungary provided a building to the Ruthenian National Minority Self-Government as well.

The civil organisation representing the Ruthenian minority is provided by the Association of Ruthenians of Hungary and the National Association of Ruthenians (Ruthens) of Hungary. The Andy Warhol Association of Hungary, with members of Ruthenian visual artists, operates within the framework of the Association of Ruthenians of Hungary, as does ‘Drany’ Folk Dancing Society, founded to maintain Ruthenian folk culture. The Ruthenian language in Hungary is only formally taught at one primary school, and at one Sunday school. The association of Ruthenians of Hungary has been a member of the World Council of Ruthenians since 1991, and the National Ruthenian Minority Self-Government since 1998. It was the World Council that entrusted Ruthenians of Hungary with creating the Foundation for Ruthenians. The Union of European Ruthenians was formed in Hungary in 2000.

10. Serbs of Hungary

Serbs of Hungary maintain that they have been living together with Hungarians for 1,000 years. Due to the penetration of the Turkish Empire into the Balkans and later to the Danubian Basin, Serbs in masses settled in the area of historical Hungary during the 15th-16th centuries. Based upon privileges from the Habsburg Kings, the Serbs of Hungary received personal religious autonomy – and a connected national autonomy - during the 18th-19th centuries. In addition to the autonomous operation of the (Serbian Orthodox) church, Serbs formed their own National Assembly, competent in the affairs of autonomy. They created a network of denominational primary schools by the end of the 18th century, followed by a teacher training college and a theological college. Then Serbian cultural life centred around Buda, Pest and Szentendre, where the definitive Serbian national cultural institutions have been formed. The civic middle class of Serbs of Hungary played a significant role in connecting the entire Serb nation to the civilising processes of the Europe of those times. During the 1920's, following the Peace Accords at Trianon after World War I, the majority of Serbs living scattered so far in the area of modern Hungary settled in Yugoslavia.

As a result of the 1998 elections for minority self-governments, 14 districts of Budapest and 20 other settlements formed their Serbian Self-Government. The State of Hungary bought a building to house the National Serbian Self-Government and the Capital City Serbian Self-Government in Budapest, which was leased to the Serbian self-governments free of charge.

Education in the native language of Serbs of Hungary was provided by the denominational network of elementary schools until 1948. All denominational schools were appropriated by the State in 1948, they either ceased to exist or were consolidated in so-called Southern Slavic schools. An independent Serbian network of schools came back into operation in 1992. The school year of 1999-2000 saw 181 children receive native language education in 9 Serbian nurseries across the nation, and 275 children in 11 primary schools. The most important Serbian institution of education is the Serbian Primary and High school of Budapest. The high school had 121 students in the school year of 2000-2001. Serbian teacher training is conducted in three institutions of higher learning. The most significant Serbian cultural institutions of public education and science are the Library of the Serbian National Self-Government, the Serbian Theatre, the Jakov Ignat'ov Foundation, and the Serbian Artists' Colony of Szentendre; all significant cultural and economic enterprises at the same time.

The main scene of preserving Serbian culture and traditions is the network of Serbian Community Centres and clubs operating in the denominational schools, once nationalised then returned. The Serbian Orthodox Church plays an important role in the preservation of the language, culture and identity of the Serbs of Hungary. The Serbian Church has 41 parishes in Hungary. In addition to the Bishop, religious life is served by ten priests. One of the highest-ranking institutions of the Serbs of Hungary is the incomparable collection of religious art and library at the Buda Serbian Orthodox Episcopate in the town of Szentendre, which is at the same time the scientific centre of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Serbs of Hungary attribute an enormous significance to the development of understanding and connections between the Serbian and the Hungarian nations. The international embargo against Yugoslavia for ten years mounted significant difficulties before maintenance of relationships with the mother country, necessary for the preservation of the national identity of the Serbian community. Many people from Yugoslavia sought and found refuge in Hungary during the past decade. The Office of Refugees, the Buda Serbian Orthodox Episcopate, the Serbian National Self-Government and other charity organisations provided for the refugees. The Serbian School of Budapest accepted nearly two hundred refugee children from Vojvodina and Serbia, assisted by the Municipal Government of the Capital City of Budapest, and the Ministry of Education. Serbs of Hungary have historically striven for maintenance of relationships with Serbs living in other countries than Serbia and Hungary.

11. Slovaks of Hungary

The presence of the Slovak minority in the area of modern Hungary can be primarily connected to the language islands created during the great migrations and waves of settlement in the 17th-18th centuries. The majority of Slovaks lived (and continue to live) in the area of historical Hungary. The bilateral exchange of nationality populations following World War II saw roughly 73,000 Slovaks of Hungary settle in Slovakia. Those most self-conscious of their nationality, and most Slovak intellectuals of Hungary was included among those resettling in the Slovak state. This broke up the ethnically close-knit communities after over two hundred years

of tradition, thanks to which the Slovaks of Hungary could retain their native language customs and culture. The 1998 elections saw the founding of 75 Slovak Minority Self-Governments among them 7 minority settlements with Slovak self-governments. The State of Hungary donated a building to the National Slovak Self-Government in 1997. The civil organisations of the Slovaks of Hungary and the National Slovak Self-Government has concluded an agreement of co-operation with the largest civil organisations of the Slovak minority: the Association of Slovaks of Hungary, the Association of Slovaks of Csaba and the Cultural Society of the Slovaks of Szarvas, and assisted the foundation of the Regional Society of Pilis Slovaks. The House of Slovak Culture is an enterprise with cultural activities.

Contradictory trends can be observed in the education of Slovaks of Hungary. The Slovak minority educational institutions, numbering 66 a few years ago, have decreased to 59 by the year 2001, while the number of students studying there has increased. The number of guest teachers participating in the assistance of the public education of Slovaks of Hungary – from the mother country – was 11 in the school year of 2000-2001. A basis for Slovak-language teacher training for nursery school and elementary school has been established at the Minority Research and Education Department at the Tessedik Sámuel College. The Slovak language and literature is taught at 5 institutions of higher learning in Hungary. The operation of the four regional Slovak cultural centres has stabilised. the past two years saw regular contacts between the National Slovak Self-Government and the official organs of the Slovak Republic. The national self-government and the national civilian organisations have traditionally enjoyed excellent relations with the Bratislava-based House of Slovaks across the Border, and with the Matica Slovenska.

12. Slovenes of Hungary

The Slovenes of Hungary live in a geographically closed area, in the corner of the Slovenian and Austrian borders with Hungary [the Szentgotthárd area], in seven neighbouring villages. The Slovenian community, which retained its language, cultural traditions and ethnic identity to this day, is one of the most ancient of the indigenous national communities living together with Hungarians for the longest time in history. The State of Hungary purchased buildings to house the National Slovenian Self-Government in the village of Felsőszölnök and in Budapest. The 1998 elections for minority self-governments saw the formation of 10 Slovenian minority self-governments. Outside of the Szentgotthárd area, three cities of Hungary have Slovenian self-governments. Education in the Slovenian native language starts from nursery school (there are six such nursery schools) to higher education within the public framework. Constant decrease in the number of students has been a problem. One of the possible reasons is demographic trends and the weakening of interest in certain cases. Presently 120 children have Slovenian primary school education. High-school level education is provided at the Mihály Vörösmarty High School in the city of Szentgotthárd. Higher education in Slovenian language and literature and teacher training is offered at the Slavic Research Department of Dániel Berzsenyi Teacher Training College in the city of Szombathely. Further higher education is possible in the institutions of Slovenia. Self-governments and schools in towns bordering Slovenia maintain sister relations with settlements of Slovenia. Every Slovenian settlement has cultural associations. The activity of the minority self-governments greatly contributes to the lively preservation of traditions in small villages.

The largest civil organisation of Slovenes of Hungary is the Association of Slovenes of Hungary, founded in 1990, regarding as its main task the maintenance and preservation of the Slovenian language and culture, also pursuing activities of publication. The Szentgotthárd Slovenian Cultural and Information Centre, opened in 1998, harbours the single most important Slovenian cultural institution and enterprise [in Hungary], Radio Monoster, broadcasting in Slovenian, was launched in the year 2000. The station is operated by the not-for-profit company 'Slovenian Radio Co.,' owned by the National Slovenian Self-Government. The Slovenian community also has a basis library and a museum collection.

Since the founding of the independent Republic of Slovenia, local communities, self-governments, the Slovenes Association and the people have been building direct contacts with the cultural and economic organisations of the neighbouring mother nation. The Slovenian Republic devotes a special significance to Slovenian communities outside of Slovenia. This allows continuous progress for co-operation among the mother country, its state and government organs, the National Slovenian Self-Government, and the Association of Slovenes of Hungary.

13. Ukrainians of Hungary

Hungary has held a historical relationship with the state centred in Kiev since the Middle Ages. The most significant Ukrainians living in Hungary today can be found in the big cities of the nation. They founded the Society of Ukrainians of Hungary to maintain their cultural heritage in 1991. The 1998 elections for minority self-governments resulted in the establishment of four local Ukrainian minority self-governments. Following that, the Ukrainian Self-Government of the Capital City was formed, then in 1999, the National Ukrainian Self-Government. The National Ukrainian Self-Government has not yet found a place suiting its demands. The Ukrainian language is taught with the support of the Ministry of Education in Budapest and Komárom in weekend or Sunday schools. The Cultural Society of Ukrainians of Hungary has been a member of the Congress of Ukrainians of Europe since 1991, and the Ukrainian National Self-Government since 1999. The national self-government maintains close relations with the mother country and with the organisations of the Ukrainian diaspora of the neighbouring countries. Nearly every Ukrainian event in Hungary is frequented by artists and guests coming from the Ukraine, from Croatia, Slovakia or Romania.

7. Ethnic groups not regarded as national or ethnic minorities in accordance with the Act on Minorities

Despite the fact that nationalities other than those enumerated in the Act on Minorities have appeared in the area of the Republic of Hungary during the last decade (people fleeing wars, people establishing enterprises etc.), the State of Hungary does not regard these groups in accordance with the criteria in the Act as nation-forming national or ethnic minorities, and holds that its responsibilities and obligations towards them are different. If they receive permits for permanent residence, or citizenship, they may, based on civil rights, form or become members of civil societies, which can receive assistance from municipal self-governments, Ministries or other sources, or may acquire the income necessary for their operations. The Ministry for Cultural Heritage has extended assistance at times to programmes of the Africa House of Budapest. The Municipal Government of the Capital City of Budapest also extends support to the communities not included [in the Act]. The effect of the Act on Minorities does not cover refugees, immigrants, foreign citizens with permanent residency, or the homeless. Article 2 of the Act on Minorities states: „This Act does not apply to refugees, immigrants, foreign citizens settled in Hungary, or to persons of no fixed abode.” There are no barriers before anybody connecting to a recognised [minority] group if that person had lived in another state, settled subsequently in Hungary and acquired Hungarian citizenship. Non-Hungarian citizens permanently settled in Hungary hold active voting rights at the local elections. That means they can vote, but are ineligible themselves.

According to statistics from the Ministry for the Interior, 79,203 people arrived as refugees to Hungary between 1989 and 2001. This contains illegal immigrants numbering 20,740. There were 32,487 applications for refugee status, and 5,183 people were awarded. In the meantime, refugee status was revoked in the case of 1,908 individuals. 2,688 people received the status of settled refugees, while 10,099 applications were rejected and 12,832 applications annulled. Presently 5,140 cases are being processed, involving 7,104 people altogether. From those who are granted refugee status, 2,955 are Romanian, 1,278 Yugoslavian, and 438 Afghan by citizenship. All the others, Soviet, Russian, Armenian, Georgian, Croatian, Iraqi, Cameroonian, Algerian, Nigerian and other citizens number in the hundreds, or even under one hundred. The majority of refugees from Romania and Yugoslavia are of Hungarian nationality. During the past few years, tens of thousands of permanent residency permits have been granted, however, to people arriving from Asia, Europe, and the Americas.

II. Mapping Cultural Policy (Cultural policy, the arts and the media)

1. Policies and cultural politics from 1945 to 1989

Hungary after World War 2 belonged to the Soviet sphere of influence, based on the treaty among the victorious superpowers, together with the neighbouring countries and territories. This circumstance, this *force majeure* basically determined the policies and cultural politics of the decades following 1945. The years between 1945 – 1948 were the years of a multi-party coalition democracy under heavy influence from the Communist Party. The change from the form of state of royalty to a republic in 1946 signalled the few years when ancient traditions mixed with the freedom of a new kind and the fresh winds of freedom, together with the Communist Party, which was looming over the public life and the processes of government with a heavier and heavier shadow, formed the public life, politics and cultural life. With the Communist Party coming fully into power in 1948, completing the triumph of Communism, with the 1949 “Treaty for Friendship Forever” concluded with the Soviet Union, with the 1949 Constitution, rewritten after a Soviet pattern - which introduced, along with the form of state of People’s Republic, the system of a one-party exercise of power, determining cultural politics directed and dictated by the government, which itself was under the exclusive direction of the Communist Party. Systematic annihilation of civilian organisations starting from 1945 was completed between 1948 – 1950. Large enterprise and medium enterprise were all nationalised, small enterprise was practically banned, and the introduction of the *kolkhoz* system of agricultural production by the 1960’s precluded even the thought of academic cultural enterprises born of own initiative until the 1980’s. Civilian organisations until the second half of the 1980’s could only operate with state and Party permits, direction and influence, and under political control at any rate. With the almost complete nationalisation or closing of all denominational schools – over 90% -, with closing down hundreds of cafés, which played a prominent part of the social and public life in Hungary of Hungarians and non-Hungarians equally, already from the second half of the 19th century up to the end of the 1940’s, the nationalisation of sports associations, every scene of civilian and cultural life that was self-organised was liquidated. On the wake of the 1948 – 1949 Communist take-over, the system of diverse institutions of the art life was also liquidated and transformed into a monolithic system. In spite of frequently reorganisation – sometimes with a forced frequency – of the system of state institutions then formed, this state of affairs continued practically until 1990.

Looking at the structure from the point of view of the basic political structure, the situation of culture and cultural politics appears as one long monolithic block starting in the Year of Change (1948 – 1949) - and the coalition years preceding that block appears as a prelude giving a taste of that system and a preparation thereof. The reality was that the Party-State system was meeting repeated challenges – mainly due to events abroad, the international environment, and primarily the Soviet Union, but sometimes internal factors. The result of these internal motions in Hungary every four or eight years, almost on schedule, smaller or greater turns were taken in the direction of Hungarian politics. All that had an effect over cultural public life and cultural politics in general. Marking the changes with years: 1945 (the end of the War, the liberation of the country and its new occupation), 1949 (full Communist take-over) up to 1953, 1953 (Imre Nagy becomes Prime Minister on Soviet pressure, the terror is replaced by milder policies) up to 1955, the fall back to the old pattern, 1956 – 1957 (the Revolution and its brutal suppression, retaliations), 1963 – 1964 (closing down the retaliations, beginning of reform policies), 1968 (introduction of the so-called “new economic mechanism,” a compromise within total power, more liberal economic policies, a gradual appearance of private enterprise – „goulash Communism,” the intervention in Czechoslovakia), 1972 – 1973 (a transient swing back to the enemies of reform), 1980 – 1981 (the putsch in Poland, then an open entering into the scene by the Hungarian democratic opposition), 1988 – 1989 (due to the shattered Soviet Union, the one-party state gets weaker and weaker in Hungary, too).

The influence of cultural politics will then be examined in certain areas of the Hungarian cultural life of the times, along with the freedom to pursue self-organised cultural activities creation, the freedom of bringing created things into the public of what one creates, and the freedom to deviate from uniformity.

1. Literature

During the entire era following 1945, and partly in the times after 1989 as well, politics and literature were closely intertwined and connected. Political activism of literature has been a living tradition in Hungary since

the Age of Reform in the beginning of the 19th century, part of the national engagement in politics. At the same time, within the framework of the Communist one-party state, something else is being talked about. Here politics looms large and determinant and only requires the support of literature in words, in reality, intends to support literature itself. The War and the years that followed caused great losses in the ranks of Hungarian literary life. The persecution of the Jewry, the victims of war, and emigration required a heavy toll. The publicists of the coalition years centred long debates around the subject of what tradition could be assumed and the various variants of modern civilisation, as modernisation was a posted goal of the state socialist doctrines, eliminating any rival alternatives. The literature of the era between 1945 – 1948 was not given a chance to have enough time to shape an independent facade. In the Year of Change of politics in 1948 – 1949, nationalisation of literary life drew a sharp cut, the change was so radical that in its light, even the heritage of those few years appeared as a veritable golden age. The leadership of the Communist Party still refused to realise the plan of a monopolistic cultural policy in 1945, and was rather looking for allies, trying to win influential personalities (which gesture later appeared a tactical step only), and from the very first moment attempted to take control over all the main forums of cultural life. After the Year of Change, old civil organisations of long standing were terminated, or cleansed. The civil public that primarily supported literary life was literally eliminated. Only three literary journals operated between 1949 and 1956, the cream of literature was banned from publication, while “the circle of those approved” continually narrowed. Politics, however, also lifted up young talented writers already considered as those educated in Socialist Hungary. The “unity of Hungarian literature” was realised by 1951. Cultural politics of the monopolistic kind was thinking in terms of “unified” and „total” politics, one manifestation of which would only be culture, and expected literature to serve the political goals of the one-party-state. The genres it required brought “the struggle between the old and the new” into centre stage, openly calling for a refusal of traditional village or city values. Political power was unrestrained in its intervention in everything, and aimed at putting the entire private sphere of life under its control, attempting to take over the role of religion in the leading of modern life. Politics strove for dispensing with separate interests also in literature as in general. It wished to see cultural life homogenous and inarticulate, demanding art to call to everybody. It wished to annihilate the traditional gap between elite culture and the culture of the masses in the happy marriage of general national literature and general national public. The relative abatement of internal political fever in 1953, the return of those interned and jailed innocently, and getting acquainted with their stories shattered left intellectuals, forcing Communist writers and journalists to exercise an examination of their conscience. The swing back starting in 1955 created even more waves of movement among the advocates of reform among writers and journalists, than the “opening” in 1953.

After the brutal suppression of the Revolution of 1956, many of the writers significantly contributing to the outbreak of the Revolution were arrested, and confined. Many were not allowed to publish for years, some emigrated. Hegemony style cultural politics after 1963 - 1964 was trying to achieve a sort of agreement with the opinion shapers of literary society. It was shaping literary and artistic public life according to a policy of using, as a general policy to classify artistic creations and literary works of art, the three main categories known in Hungarian as the “Triple T” – **prohibiTed, ToleratEd, supporTEd** - [*the names of the categories start in Hungarian with a T: tiltott = banned, türt = tolerated and támogatott = supported - the tr.*]. The middle one among the three, *Tolerated* was the real novelty in comparison to earlier practice. All products of intellectual or artistic endeavours (the fine arts, theatre, film, etc.), but especially literature, which was judged ample to carry ideological messages, was subject to the application of the Triple T. From the 1970's, political power only very rarely applied raw force against intellectuals. The category of *prohibiTed*, i.e. banning – affected artists and writers who exposed themselves openly as members of the political opposition. Jailing or forced arrests to punish any writer's or artists' publications or exposures were no longer usually applied. ProhibiTion was used rather as a gesture of patriarchal punishment. Opposition writers were many times rather encouraged to emigrate, which meant a special moral dilemma: those who took advantage of this „freedom” renounced their representation of the nation. By the end of the 1980's, cultural politics were more and more characterised by disintegration and lack of concepts, which in practice led to a more yielding behaviour trying to spare conflicts. In the era starting in the 1960's, more and more patience was shown towards civil and socialist art, and international movements of modernism. A part of the ruling elite realised that it was in vain and it was not making sense to force its order of values onto society in a monolithic way. Efficiency cannot be increased without taking demand of interest into consideration, and the latter are impossible without some autonomy and pluralism. This is how the intimate sphere of life and expert knowledge has become values respected by those in political power. Artists sentenced to silence for years and many generation of writers at the same time entered – because they could - into public life. In the meantime, the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 finally put an end to the illusion of a renaissance and renewal on a Marxist base. The values held by the new generation of writers in

the 1970's were ranking in a list starting from individuality and the values of freedom at the top, and national traditions next. The isolation of the intelligentsia was not only aiming a separation from political power, but also from conformist society. The ideas arriving from the West could not be restrained or turned back, stop at the border, therefore politics proved unable to stop people from getting informed and further expansions of adaptation. Western works of literature were published in greater and greater numbers. The political leadership, having a vested interest in the control of literary life was unable to tackle the new situation. The list of *prohibited* in the 1980's included only a few taboo themes. The foremost of these was 1956, since telling the truth in that regard would have been equal to questioning the legitimacy of the system. Another ban was over questioning the historical role played by the Soviet Union, and a third one the matters of the Treaty of Trianon from 1920. Showing existing domestic problems was gradually shifted into the category *Tolerated* from the 1970's. Categorisation of the banned segment by themes also meant that aesthetic censorship was gradually relaxed and weakened, then - from the end of the 1970's and the 80's - ceased altogether, with the benchmark of "socialist realism", in parallel, becoming extinct in literature and in other fields of art. The publicity of university clubs became one of the most important mainstays of the *Tolerated* group. Strong, cohesive literary communities formed around many literary journals in cities outside Budapest. Political commissars were no longer always present at the editing and publishing sites, editors could make independent decisions according to their professional judgement, aware of the fact, though, that a bad decision may lead to loss of their job. Political power was counting on the self-censorship of authors and editors. The basic tone of the congress of the Association of Writers of Hungary in 1986 was already a cancelling of the dialogue with cultural politics and Party leadership, an open confrontation faced by the political power with immaturity and threats. Events started to speed up from 1988 on in an unknown pace and the Triple T was swept away by history in the course of a few months.

One of the greatest shortcomings of the era between 1949 – 1988 – a factor also contributing to its later fall – was the general insensitivity born towards Hungarian ethnic groups in neighbouring countries. Despite that, over-the-border literature enjoyed several periods of flowering, independent of the policies towards ethnic minorities of the given country and period.

2. The arts of Hungary between 1945 and 1989

The epochal historical-political division of 1945 coincided with a virtual cessation of art history.

The framework of art life between the two world wars was destroyed after 1945, and the structures of controlling art and groups of artists broke up. The expression "official art" cannot be used for the years between 1945 and 1947. Modern and traditional schools turned into the final defensive by 1948, their reception was becoming colder and colder and more inimical. Even the role and function of exhibitions changed in 1948. The important shows were those organised around the intentions of art politics and aesthetics. Finally, by 1949, the so-called *soc-real* - "socialist realism" became the only officially approved branch. many artists who were unable to shift into the socialist realist gear exactly prescribed by the competent authorities was forced into internal emigration. Even though cultural political leaders broke away from untenable orthodox descriptions of socialist realism in the 1960's, it was trying to help a canon of a renewed socialist art to prevail. The monolithic rule of official art finally suffered a deadly blow in the 1970's. Hungary was reached by the post-modern turn of art everywhere in the beginning of the 1980's, bringing a crisis both to the „avant-garde" and official art. At the same time, in a misconceived fit of modernisation, Hungary's construction industry was developed into a major industry, the annihilation of handcrafted methods in other words. A new element of architecture came to the scene: pre-manufactured reinforced concrete. The functionalist-bureaucratic view with a total lack of understanding towards city life and a vision of homogenisation resulted in the cities of Hungary having suddenly a mushrooming mass of project housing bursting out around their edges, consisting of 5-10 story buildings, from the start of the 1960's to the beginning of the 1980's. The change starts in art and cultural politics around the end of the 1970's and in the 1980's. The most important change in architecture is the re-evaluation of the relationship of the natural and the constructed environments, even architects joined such initiatives besides the movements for city protection and environmentalists. Regarding musical life, the democratisation of music and musical life has been a constant theme during the twentieth century, with the programme „bring closer art to the people and people to art." It was a declared goal of Socialist politics of arts to get the values of high art out to the wide masses. We can state at the beginning of the 21st century that goals of spreading musical high culture and the ability to read and write music within the masses remained an unrealised ideal. At the same time, pop music (from 1964), and the [folk] dance house movement that began in the 1970's spreading Hungarian (primarily from across-the-border) music, music of some neighbouring folks, and international tunes, became such an organising power that entire generations relied upon it for self-

definition, rather than upon some other cultural value. The dance house movement contributed to the reawakening of the cultures of the national and ethnic minorities of Hungary. In spite of the significant differences between the beat and the dance house movement, the similarity rules that both cases are movements organised from the bottom up, carrying an opposition ethos, which has not lost any of its dynamism with the decrease of the political role it played to this day. Folk music had a positive feedback loop with the environment: local communities became aware of the importance of the preservation of folk music and its power of cohesiveness. Nationalisation of theatres in 1949 eliminated the era when the National Theatre, an official symbol representing the nation on one hand, and (with others) the top of the professional hierarchy on the other hand, faced a school of private theatres, not necessarily of a high quality and artistic character, but diverse and allowing much freedom of artistic expression. At the same time, the history of Hungarian theatres has always - since 1837 - had a special relationship with the history of the theatre which embodied the national theatre industry, the National Theatre, that had to move to different buildings, for various reasons. At last, the new building of the National Theatre, built on the bank of the river Danube, was opened in the spring of 2002. Alternative theatre, a counter force to the mechanisms of the cultural politics, came to the scene during the 1960's - 1980's. The most decisive turning point of the film industry of Hungary after World War II was nationalisation in 1948. Film - due to its effect on the masses - was a tool of cultural politics. Cinemas were built in quick succession after nationalisation in the entire country, even at the most far-out, hidden villages. The number of people frequenting picture theatres decreased from the 1960's due to an effect of television. During the various changes of cultural politics, film - in accordance with constantly changing standards - remained a captive of politics and ideology. It is characteristic, though, that international trends and waves, as well as the traditions of Hungarian cinema and literature have become determinant from the 1960's in Hungarian cinema, the Triple T, however, surfaced in cinema, too.

3. Communal life, self-organisation of culture

One important direction of the self-organised civil activities in Hungary was the strangulation of religious public life. The state from 1947 had recognised only two denominations and the rest were unrecognised. The narrowing down then strangulation of the participation in public life of churches was thought to be the way to realise the separation of church and state. One important milestone in the liquidation of civil society was the annihilation of all the associations and movements that were basing themselves upon a Christian moral background. The goal was to disarrange the social bases of the churches, and an atheistic education of the young. Based on the partial agreement with the Holy See in 1964, through hard concessions and compromises finally they allowed the functioning of ministers, and this was applied to recognised sects as well. Some positive steps taken by the more and more tolerant church politics in certain partial issues in the 1980's helped a great deal. Freedom of religion was partially realised, only the activities of churches with the young people that irritated political power. It is true, the gestures made towards the churches were in connection with a general tendency to live without religion. The religious world view characterising traditional peasant communities for long time and which retreated to a passive role in the decades after 1945, has significantly been reformed to our days. Religious spirit, once a formative power in the village communities before war, is in disappearance, together with those that kept religiosity alive.

After the war, a consensus was made among those shaping education and public education that education in general should be democratised, with equal opportunities created for young people of various backgrounds, and that the earlier information-centred school materials along with the ideals of education should be altered. The government was already in search of "workers and peasants in good form for" occupying various directive positions. This was why they began to organise the so-called "workers' schools", where, during a shorter period of study, a transmission of a quite ruffled selection of information was used to train the "cadres." The system of people's colleges, created parallel to this spontaneously by the people, for the formation of institutions helping cultural life education and public cultural life was dissolved in 1949. Simultaneously to the nationalisation of public education, the autonomy of the greatest institutions of scientific life, such as the Hungarian Academy of sciences, was revoked. The school system between 1956 and 1989 was from both the point of view of form and contents the result of the reforms in education between 1945 and 1950. It was self-evident that the Kádár-era willingly assumed - and maintained throughout - the avowed goals of rendering elementary education into eight forms, nationalising denominational schools, and replacement of religious education by Marxism-Leninism, completing daytime training by evening and correspondence courses. Differentiation on the basis of origins, such as advantages extend to young people when applying to university from a worker or peasant family was

stopped in 1962, but the children of the nomenclature continued to enjoy privileged positions at entrance examinations and later at the awarding of scholarships to Western countries.

Cinema and radio has run an astronomical career in the 1950's (as a continuation of pre-war tendencies). Going to the pictures has become the main public pastime. In spite of the gaining of popularity of modern devices of telecommunication, the printed press retained its exclusive role in news communication and in influencing people's opinions. Its diversity was, naturally among the circumstances of a dictatorship, a thing of the past. In addition to the network of film theatres, the number of libraries and centres of education was also developing. It was mainly such "centres of education" that harboured the dance house movement from the 1970's, as did to the writer-reader meetings, the clubs and other groups formed to preserve tradition, that started as civil organisations. Centres of education gave home to thousands of hobby circles, dancing groups, theatre groups and choirs. Sports also became a mass pastime. The close connection of sports and society, and sports and the power structure was mainly observable in the 1950's – 60's. The cultural interest of society, its circumstances of education were characterised in the 1970's – 1980's by two permanent main tendencies. One was that demand for the products of culture kept on growing, as a result of which everyone became a consumer of some or another one of the branches of culture by the 1980's. The other tendency is that the interest in certain branches has shifted. Communal forms of education and their institutions became devalued. Cultural consumerism more and more centred around the scene of the private home. During the decades, the role of the radio and its influence has changed from the appearance and the quick spreading of television. Hungary's regular TV broadcast started in 1958. Spreading of television significantly changed the entertainment habits of people along with their cultural activities. Television is a prime culprit in squeezing out communal forms of spending leisure time. The overwhelming majority of Hungarian families have spent an average of daily 2-3 hours in front of their TV sets in their own homes, starting from the 1970's on – practically with no regard for the quality or the character of the programme. During the last third of the 1980's, with the appearance of satellite, the monopolistic role in shaping public taste played by the Hungarian Television Co. was cut back considerably. Besides reading and watching TV, tourism and summer holidays have become an organic part of Hungarian society. A typically socialist form of the latter is the 'social tourism,' in other words, company or trade union vacationing. Families that were well-to-do in the 1970 - 1980's built or purchased an own weekend house. In addition to such domestic vacationing, the political and material preconditions of mass tourism of foreigners in Hungary were established during the 1960's. From the 1980's, the framework of everyday life in Hungary started to be similar to the richer and Western and Central European societies from more favourable social and political circumstances. Both showed the signs of a modern consumer society. The difference was primarily in quality and levels.

The various groups of opposition centred around the institutions of higher education and cultural life by the 1980's, but executing their activities within the framework of independent civil organisations. These years it was the People's Patriotic Front, itself under the influence of the ruling Party [Hazafias Népfront] gave room to civil initiatives which later participated in the change of political systems later as opposition forces, shaping the change with their activities.

2. Cultural policies and the system of cultural institutions 1990 - 2002

2.1. About the national cultural system in general

2.1.a. Administrative organisations of culture and their respective functions

The current administrative structure emerged in the course of the change of regimes, culminating in the 1990 Parliamentary elections. Later changes affected, or still affect the distribution of competence and functions rather than the overall structure.

The official licensing obligation (censorship) by the Ministry of works of art to be shown in public was eliminated in 1989; in 1990, the licensing of the various cultural activities was replaced by their registration; in 1992, the proprietary management of cultural companies was transferred from the Ministry to the organisations responsible for privatisation. In our days, state functions suitable for decentralisation and viable in a market context are being taken over by professional organisations and by the municipal self-governments, and the circle of the cultural institutions of the state is being reviewed in the framework of the public finance reform, with a

view to reducing the direct involvement of the state: in the future, the competent ministry will only be responsible for the circle of the national cultural institutions and for supporting nation-wide events.

Hungary is a parliamentary democracy, representatives of which are elected for four years, which is how long the mandate of its government also lasts. The latest elections for Parliament were in April 2002. The Constitution of the country ensures a restricted president's power to the president of the republic, to be elected by the Parliament every five years.

The Cultural Commission is a permanent Parliamentary commission empowered, apart from the preliminary discussion of bills to be presented to Parliament, to investigate any cultural topic or initiative, to make the ministers report to it (but not instruct them), and to draw up proposals.

The Ministry of Culture and Education has been divided since the parliamentary elections in 1998 into two separate ministries: the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage (or Cultural Heritage) and the Ministry of Education. The authority and competence of the Minister for Cultural Heritage is specified by a Government Order stating the Minister shall promote the exertion of the freedom of artistic activities and the freedom of conscience and religion, and contribute to ensuring the cultural rights and protection of the national and ethnic minorities (minorities in Hungary, and Hungarian minorities abroad). The Ministry include the task of protection of historical monuments. The Ministry of Cultural Heritage comprises the following branches: public collections, non-formal education, arts, international cultural relations, preservation of cultural heritage (including historical monuments), culture of the ethnic and national minorities, relations between the state and the churches.

The most important administrative link is with the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Justice. The first one, in charge of the implementation of government financial policy and the annual Budget Act, evaluates the financial aspects of any propositions or legal drafts by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, and finalises its budgetary proposal. Co-operation with the Ministry of the Interior is based on the fact that state assistance choirs and orchestras maintained by the municipalities, the same as certain definite targeted and earmarked allocations are listed in the Budget under the chapter of this Ministry. Functions shared with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs include cultural diplomacy and legal harmonisation with the European Union. With the approval of the Media Act in 1996, the audio-visual sector was removed from the Ministry's sphere of competence.

2.2 Institutions, companies, funds, foundations

This circle has seen incessant changes and reforms due to the decreasing role of the state and democratisation of the system of cultural subsidies ever since the early nineties. The cultural transition in Hungary took place in a controlled way, over a period of time. Key steps included: assignment of cultural industries (publishing, book distribution, film production and distribution, music publishing {record/video production} to the state holding agency on privatisation (1992); wholesale decentralisation of cultural institutions and organisations, mainly lower ties of government {also to associations and foundations}. In order to implement the novel system of financing cultural products and services, the Ministry created its fund-raising and allocating foundations covering the majority of the arts and, from 1994 on, its public foundations as well.

Apart from the foundations, the main financial supporter of Hungarian culture is the National Cultural Fund Program, an extra-budgetary fund operating as an independent subsystem of the central government, established by separate act of Parliament in 1993 in order to assist the creation, preservation and domestic and foreign distribution of national and universal values. The source of the Fund's income is the so-called cultural contributions from the sales revenue of products and services listed under the Act. The contribution rate is 1-3 per cent in general, but it may be as much as 20 per cent for kitsch products or pornography. The chairman of the Fund is appointed by the Minister, whereas the members of the Commission (its main decision-making body) and those of the area-specific colleges are (with the exception of one person) recommended by the representatives of the relevant professions.

That is to say that the structure described above is related to the introduction of a model of multi-channel financing system: Government provides assistance for central investment projects, major artistic productions and large-scale international programmes, while the evaluation of other artistic projects shall be assigned to the competence of assessment boards consisting of representatives of the given area.

The Act on Municipalities provides specifically the (various) cultural-activity-related functions of settlements and countries. The local (cf. settlement) municipality must provide communal space and assist public education, scientific and artistic activities. The provincial (cf. county) municipality must ensure the protection of regionally significant monuments of historical value, the collection, safeguarding and scientific processing of historical documents, provide county library services and professional pedagogical and public education related counselling and services. It has to maintain various institutions for these purposes, independent hierarchically, from the local institutions. The multi-channel funding model aims at drawing support from other municipal, civilian and private resources and foundations as well, in addition to the provision by the operating organisation.

2.3 The Budgetary Financing of Culture

The distinctive feature of our days is the introduced multi-channel financing mechanism of culture: in addition to the central budget, the entrepreneurial and non-profit sectors play an ever greater and greater part in generating cultural products and services. However, transition, i.e., over the gap between the ideal and actual agents – income owners/resources – of the emerging financing model, comes as serious burden for the entire cultural sector. Cultural products and services tend to be paid for increasingly by the population; their segment financed from other resources keeps declining and budgetary funding allocated for cultural purposes also tends to decline in real terms. The above states affairs hinders both the efforts of the public institutions to increase their own income resources, and the strengthening of the entrepreneurial and non-profit agents of culture. The governments make a conscious effort to withdraw the largest segment of centralised revenues subjects to redistribution from under the supervision of the state and to assign an ever larger share to the competence of the civil sphere. The above endeavours also aim at making role of the state predictable and stable anew after changes in the 90's, to enforce certain standards of budgetary financing and making out the limits of state interference as well. Within the framework of the public finances reform, the system of social insurance contribution was also reformed: from 1997 on, income originating from personal creative activities subject to copyright act is also subject to contribution payment. Another major achievement was the annulment of the act on dedication of certain part of one's personal income tax for some specific public purpose specified by the taxpayer. From 1997 on, citizens shall be entitled to allocate 1 per cent of their personal income tax to any cultural foundations, national public arts collections or cultural institutions they wish.

The maintenance of representative cultural institutions and public arts collections, the depositories of the national cultural values, is the duty of the state. The government finances three main areas of culture:

- central institutions
- municipal institutions and
- specific cultural activities (via tendering)

After the change in the political system of the country all political parties agreed that in culture decentralisation has vital importance, and so a full privatisation is needed to be done. Regardless of the actual political orientation of the governments in power, since that date decentralising culture has become part of all political programs. The following groups of institutions were created:

- a.) National cultural institutions (22 institutions), which have to be kept under direct control of the government. (There is no special regulation for NCI-s. Institutions fall under all Acts of Law that regulates the operation and financial management of other legal entities in Hungary – Act on Taxes, Act on National Insurance. etc. However there are some regulations which alter depending on the organisational form of the institution. If it operates as a not-for-company ltd. for the benefit of the public, it falls under the Act on Not-for-profit organisations, under the Code of Civil, and under the Act on Enterprises. But if it operates as a budgetary institution, it falls under the Act on State Management.)

(The not-for-profit company for the benefit of the public is a special type of joining assets to perform, most typically, some public-benefit activity. In order to promote the activity in question, it carries out a certain business activity, re-investing the resulting profit. Not-profit-companies may also undertake entrepreneurial activities which, however cannot become the primary objective of the organisation. If the entrepreneurial activity promotes the target objective, the income it generates is not subject to corporate tax payment.)

- b.) Other institutions like theatres, libraries, museums, culture homes, were passed over to local self-government of towns and regions.
- c.) The third group of institutions, were kept in the ownership of government, but to secure their operation public foundations and corporations were founded. This is how public media companies, like radio and television.
- d.) In the fourth group institutions were partially privatised, in a way that more shares would be owned by government. Publishing companies, book shops, film making and distributing companies belong to this group.
- e.) In the fifth group, institutions went under total privatisation. Some TV and radio channels, and the newly founded commercial television and radio channels belong to this group.

III. Intersection of Policies Related to Cultural Diversity and 'Arts and Media' (Cultural Politics and the present situation of cultural diversity)

1. Arts

Museum institutions (812 in the beginning of 2001) divided by their owner /maintainer will reflect the greatly polarised nature of institutions formed after the Change [of political systems], with the entry into force of the Act on Self-Governments and Municipalities in 1990. Based upon obligatory allocation of tasks, the majority of institutions operate under 67.24% municipal /self-government maintenance. Out of the state institutional network only cc. 13.5% remained (110 institutions), among which are those national institutions - 22 – for the maintenance of which the state undertakes full guarantee. Economic enterprise owned 7.76% of museums, the church denominations 4.06%, foundations 4.56%, and private owners have 23, in other words, 2.83% of all institutions. The financial basis for operating the full network of institutions came independent from the owner, from mostly the state budget. Institutions in state ownership receive support primarily from the ministries, and within that, foremost from the Ministry of Culture. Among the circles maintained by municipalities /self-governments, the State Budget, through so-called *normative financing*, guarantees the operational – material and salary – expenses of the institutions. The form of Budget support for professional tasks is the assistance by grants. A separate grant package A at the Ministry of Culture aids the support of private and foundation museums.

The Change [of political systems] no doubt brought a change into the institutions of literature: the monopoly on financing expired, new publishers, new periodicals appeared, new boards of trustees deciding over the awarding of new decorations and scholarship grants. Some of the elements of the former system of institutions were terminated, some died away by itself, and some found a new meaning to its activities. Taboos were dissolved. One result of that was that interest towards literature of over-the-border Hungarians was also rekindled. Publishing books and periodicals, and as a result, the roots of the entire literary culture changed radically when the freedom of the market crashed over a system so far controlled and kept in an artificial state of balance. As turned out, the greater public was hungry not only to unmasked historical truth, but also to kinds of entertainment reading so far missed. Literature itself also needs support among the conditions of the free market, though as before. The support of books and periodicals, and thereby the maintenance of literary life in the 1990's is largely due to two great sources – aside from smaller mecenature: the National Cultural Base Programme, and the Soros Foundation. Towards the end of the decade the Soros Foundation gradually pulled out of this activity. Self-government and municipal support of theatres (with the exception of the National Theatre) forces the management of theatres to the establishment of policies oriented towards the market and to success. After the Change, the conditions and circumstances of Hungarian filmmaking also changed radically. Elements of the system formed at the beginning of the 60's, reorganised and consolidated in several steps, the various studios became independent enterprises towards the end of the 1980's. In addition to the old studios, recent years saw the breaking of independent workshops and private producer offices into the forefront. The sharp borders between official and amateur or independent parts of the profession were washed away by then: it was possible to get to filmmaking and to apply for grants with more freedom – due to lack of money, though, these opportunities are hard to take advantage of. Due to a privatisation of the network of cinemas, the number of cinemas, earlier supported by the state, and thereby the number of people attending cinema suffered a drastic fallback. Television with multiple channels – cable or satellite – and video replaced books, newspapers, cinema and theatre. Internet, which became a commercial product, can forward a lot of information inexpensively and quickly to users. The number of its active users can be estimated at one million at the Hungary of the Millennium. School utilisation of computers and Internet is especially significant.

2. Specific conditions of cultural diversity

a.) The Act CXL of 1997, On Culture, Annex 1, paragraph q) defines the notion of activities in the interest of educating the public: „activities of citizens outside of school, organised by themselves, educating themselves, learning and exploring cultures, getting informed and creating, which is characteristically pursued in co-operative efforts in communities.” The pursuit of these activities is the right and entitlement of every citizen, which allows for the consummation of cultural citizenship in the name of diversity. Educating the public has many functions: helping regional development and settlement development, primarily through development of

communities, development of the human resources, shaping lifestyles, developing culture of everyday life, propagation of general knowledge, the formation of public life, with promoting art which does not create objects or performances of the official manner, folk art, applied folk arts, maintenance of traditions, local history, maintenance of knowledge of own country, maintenance of native language and development of a culture of the environment. The institutions of educating the public furthermore engage in: organising better spending of leisure time with recreational programmes, by guaranteeing entertainment, by organising local public information, and social assistance skills. One of the basic preconditions and determinants of civil society is social life forming local society. A priority is usually given among the institutions providing education for the public to accept and back self-organising communities. The Act on Culture rules the maintenance of institutions serving the education of the public, primarily cultural centres. Local municipal governments receive Central Budget support for that. At the same time, the same institutions are forced to operate in a for-profit model, and self-support. The year 2000 saw the operation of 3,265 institutions providing tasks of educating the public. Among those providing tasks of educating the public 683 organisations in 2000, a full 25% of the providers of tasks were non-profit, or other organisations. Among the non-profit providers of tasks, the number of associations and not-for-profit companies grew with the most dynamism. There are more and more agreements for educating the public, contracts in the public interest, and the number of such organisations participating in the activities obligatory to self-governments for educating the public. By maintainers, the breakdown of institutions providing education to the public is that 78.5% are maintained by self-governments or municipalities, 0.6% by trade unions, 4.6% by various foundations, 12.8% by associations, 0.3% by church denominations, and 3.2% by other legal or natural entity.

b.) The most important scenes of local society are the institutions for educating the public. This circle of institutions primarily includes local civil organisations, these institutions serve the background of public life of local society in most cases. The ownership structure of Hungarian networks of institutions for educating the public differs significantly from the ownership structures of EU countries. The civil sphere, acting in the segment of educating the public, is more underdeveloped and has weaker resources. The year 2000 saw Hungary have 48,171 non-profit organisations registered as legal entities. (Foundations, public foundations, associations, unions, public organs, interest representatives of employers, employees, and professional groups, not-for-profit companies and non-profit institutions). 12.4% of the full income of these institutions was received by non-profit organisations executing cultural activities. Income of cultural organisations was distributed as follows in 2000:

State assistance	Private assistance	Funds	Economic income	Other income	Total income
39,6	11,0	34,3	14,7	0,4	100

Source: Statistical service of the Central Bureau of Statistics

c.) The Ministry of Cultural Heritage started numerous programmes in the past few years, the goal of which were the assistance of civil self-organisations promoting cultural activities and cultural diversity. The Ministry divides significant amounts itself for operations and programme implementation year by year by grants.

The Government Decree to start the Action Programme for the Handicapped in 2000 posted the objective to announce tenders for grants by handicapped artists and programmes involving handicapped people, to organise or support regular professional events, introduce grants and scholarships, and make a foundation for a decoration of the experts active in the affairs of the handicapped. The programme for easing the traffic of the handicapped, obligatory at cultural investment projects, and with a certain amount of the films in TV, subtitles for the deaf and those hard of hearing.

The Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Economics announces grants every year from the year 2000 for the preservation and maintenance of cultural heritage and co-operates in efforts to develop cultural tourism. The attraction of cultural tourism stimulates the investments aiming at the protection of cultural heritage and exerts thereby a drawing influence to bridging of the gap between economically lagging areas, and also play a role in creating new jobs and strengthening new civil organisations, and foremost in the strengthening of enterprise with a cultural character. EUR 20-22 million will be devoted to this purpose in 2002. Within that, one can apply for the tourist utilisation of castles and forts, the realisation of international or nation-wide events, operation of

tourist theme parks, enterprises involving thermal tourism, horseback tourism, village tourism and the enterprises involving traditional or modern handicrafts.

The Ministry of Culture created the Institute of Central-Eastern European Culture in 2000, the goal and primary task of which is to introduce and publicise the diversity of the cultures of area of Central Eastern Europe, in and outside of Hungary. The goal of supporting over-the-border Hungarians serves the objective of preservation of self-identity, thereby the supporting all the activities of educating the public in all regions and settlements, providing a financial background to the groups and communities preserving traditions and communities.

3. The media – the situation of open publicity in Hungary

The institutional background of democratic openness and the rights that go with it developed in Hungary in a specific way, differently from the Western European countries in some respects. The two pillars of democratic openness in the EU are the human rights in respect of communication and the freedom of the press, prevail unharmed and their prevalence leads to processes of freedom mutually strengthening to each other. In contrast, Hungary – as an oppressed ex-member of former Soviet Bloc – has not seen either the prevalence of the freedom of the press, or human rights in respect of communication. among the freedoms of the Change expected with the greatest hopes, the establishment of a Western-style openness was paramount: ensuring the citizenry forced to remain in silence for decades the human rights for communication, and ensuring rights to the representatives of the press the in the name of freedom of the press. Politologists say the “fourth branch of power” became the press, and due to the hegemony of certain professional groups for longer or changing times the situation of democracy of the press in Hungary was subject of a debate on culture. The basis of the debate was the opinion of professionals and the majority. As a result of the debate, defence of the interests of the press is now provided by two organisations. These debates were mentioned in the 1990’s as the „media wars.” The constant conflict of media power and political power is a conflict of hegemony or democracy in the press. Due to that, the Media Act of 1996, a provision for the defence of the majority, with keeping respects towards the minorities and minority opinions was written with equal weight. The opinion of certain politologists and media researchers say that human rights for communication, and the influence of the local, regional and national communities of communication generating alternatives fails to exert sufficient influence in the present media structure of Hungary, and in the basic structures of open publicity. This is significant because the masses of the cultural sacrifices of the former system, unable to form their individual opinions, in the lack of their natural abilities to communicate, will rely upon the press and within that, television especially.

With the launching of two large commercial channels providing nation-wide broadcast, viewer statistics of the public service companies basically plummeted but did not collapse so drastically as in other places of former Soviet influence. The average number of viewers in public television hardly reaches the third of the average number of viewers. Commercial TV brought such a dumping of supply into the scene of private life, contrary to the earlier everyday culture of Hungary, but rather took an active part in the political aspect of the supply of television programmes as well. This also induces continuous political and cultural debates, thereby the question of national sovereignty is also raised with respect to media in foreign hands, and the roles played in the debates involving national, ethnic and religious minorities.

IV. Priority Policy Concerns

1. Tolerance, dialogue between cultures, antidiscrimination policy

In recent decades, Hungarian governments sought to pursue minority and cultural policies the objective of which was the formation of a minority-friendly environment, in which national minorities would be able to preserve and further perpetuate their cultural identities. Hungary regards the country's ethnic diversity dating back centuries as a positive value. Within the framework of such, the conscious fostering of the culture of national and ethnic minorities is not only considered as an internationally undertaken duty, but also as a long term national interest. From among the programmes which have been designed to support the spirit of tolerance, the inclusion of the one entitled All Different/All Equal proclaimed by the Council of Europe is worthy of a special mention. In 1995, the ministry of culture introduced the Interlocution Programme Foundation, the purpose of which was the strengthening of majority-minority interlocution in the fields of culture and the media. By supporting programmes that initiate the majority-minority interlocution, the Interlocution Programme Foundation helps to ensure that government subsidies reach their target destination. In the years 1995-1997 this Foundation was supporting 138 programmes the purpose of which was to increase empathy. The Public Foundation of Minorities and the Ministry of Cultural Heritage also significantly subsidise intercultural and multicultural programmes, all of which are aimed at creating an atmosphere of tolerance. Educating people to understand and to tolerate different aspects of cultures as well as to respect the values of other nationalities, form an intrinsic part of the National Curriculum's basic principles. Requirements on the detailed knowledge of one's country and nation, the Hungarian language and literature, studies of the society, civic education and economic studies as well as arts and other cultural areas are emphatically included in the educational material related to minorities, their literature, music and organisations. Also to be mentioned are the daily broadcasting of the best examples of coexistence through television and the radio, through society commercials and public-interest announcements, which further motivate businesses.

The fact that we do not have exact data at our disposal creates significant difficulties in the assessment of the socio-linguistic situation. The formation of the minority self-government system does automatically solve all the problems related to the protection and encouragement of the languages spoken by the minorities. With the exception of the Roma, minority language communities have managed to integrate well. At the same time, the process of transmitting the language in the natural way i.e. from parent to child has ground to a halt in most scattered ethnic minority families, and has been replaced by Hungarian. Practically all persons who speak an ethnic minority language are bilingual and speak Hungarian at a native level and use Hungarian in their everyday life as their main communication tool. The different dialogues spoken by minorities are not in a continual state of development and enrichment, and as a result their role as a tool of communication within society is on the decrease. Another contributory factor to the loss of languages was the former political system in Hungary, which dominated for decades and did not allow the formation of communities at a grass roots level. When certain minority settlements ceased to be isolated this also contributed towards language assimilation. Effective monolingual tuition can only be established in a relatively pure mother-tongue environment. Bilingualism develops primarily in spontaneous way, and it is less up to the tasks of the school. The value of the mother tongue exactly lies in its every day use, and the fact that it is a tool of communication of life and living. Those involved, often consider the use of their mother tongue in everyday life to be pointless. There is a lack of purposefulness among people when it comes to using their mother language on the street, or in shops and offices. This especially applies to those heterogeneous settlements, where minorities indeed live in the minority. In more homogeneous areas where the minority is the majority, the minority language is a living environment. According to studies, economic relations and cultural exchange programmes with the mother country can reinforce the use of a language. Surveys prepared by certain minority self-governments also support the theory, that simply fostering the traditions of a culture, which has long lost its sociological and economic foundations, cannot preserve the cultural image of minorities. The value of a language is also increased if its used on the labour market, in other words, it is a language related to making a living. Economic relations along the boundaries of Hungary, and furthermore the significance of the German language in Europe can reinforce the usage of certain minority languages, and similar tendencies can also be observed in the cases of Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian. Approximately 40-60% of the ethnic minority adult population live in mixed marriages, where passing on the minority language to the next generation often fails to take place. As a result, the number of those people who speak the minority language as their mother tongue either decreases or stagnates, with two significant exceptions: the Germanic and Romany languages (Romany and Beash), which

have seen a significant upsurge in popularity in the past ten years among those who actively speak the language. The Roma situation is especially complex. The Romany language is only spoken by 20% of the Roma people, while a further 10% uses Beash, which is an archaic version of Romanian. The societal authority and acknowledgement of languages spoken by the Roma as a communication tool is tied to the position of the Roma in society. At the same time the cultural identity of those Roma who have lost their languages in the past centuries is not language dependent. Many Roma trying to be emancipated by giving up on traditional culture and language, which is one of the side effects of modernisation, due to positive discrimination policy and the Roma integration into society. As regards language, nurseries, primary and private schools as well as the Gandhi secondary grammar school have made significant progress, the latter one having brought the bilingual education model into realisation where both the Romany and Beash languages are taught.

One of the basic initiatives for establishing the minority self-governments was to hand over the responsibilities over the minority language education to those self-governments, which had previously been part of the state education system. The hand-over process is taking place at a slow pace and on the whole speaking - has not yet been accomplished. In the case of separating bilingual schools (into a Hungarian and a bilingual national one), the most common basic obstacles are the lack of organisational and practical procedures as well as the sharing of the dual professional and financial responsibilities. The reason behind this lies in the fact, that the national self-governments maintaining all institutions cannot apply for those supplementary subsidies, (the so called supplementary normative subsidy for small settlements - a budget separated for the maintenance and support of ethnic minorities' public educational institutions) - which are addressed to the local self-governments. The channel through which the missing budget sources could be forwarded to the entitled national self-governments is lacking. A solution to this problem was initiated within the framework of amending the Minorities' Act. Professional training on minority languages is still in the experimental stage, however, as the first programmes were only set up in the nineties. Professional training currently takes place in the German, Slovak and Romanian languages.

By joining the "European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages" Hungary has undertaken the rendering of six minority languages into the practice of public administration. However, due to those languages being used by scattered minorities, this could only take place at the level of local public administration despite all efforts to the contrary. The submission of official documents in a minority language is part of the general practice within those geographical areas, where the users of a given minority language represent a significant proportion. State authorities are not always prepared for the use of the minority languages, which usually results in many bilingual citizens having to use Hungarian when dealing with official matters. The situation is similar in the case of public service providers, too (such as gas, water and electricity supply).

Even though none of the cultural minorities or ethnic groups is persecuted in Hungary, the majority of the Roma population is struggling with serious problems. Despite anti-discrimination policies, legislation and the application of such legislation, discrimination, prejudice and inequality of opportunity still exist in everyday life. Even though policies of the governments support multiculturalism, the Roma are still often faced with prejudice and ignorance from society's majority. The effective Penal Code charges the executor of any act of hatred against any "national, ethnic, racial or religious group" with the criminal act of "propaganda against a community". During the decade from 1990 to 2000, the average of 10-20 criminal acts with the charge of propaganda against a community was made known to the public. Due to the prohibitions of ethnic registration, the extent and size of the increase in discrimination cannot be assessed. There is no unified anti-discrimination Act in Hungary, instead the practice of legislation installs the various decrees on discrimination into the different sectoral rules of law, which form the entire legislation process. The statement made by the parliamentary commissioner on the rights of national and ethnic minorities, declaring that "the discrimination Act needs to be revised within the framework of the legislation harmonisation process generated by the country's intentions to integrate into Europe", is regarded as an idea which seeks to break away from the current traditions of legislation. The Constitutional Court took a stand in this matter in its resolution CC 45/2000 (XII), according to which our current legislation "generally operates as a multi-level defence to eliminate discrimination, and by the application of this type of legislation, Parliament has fulfilled its legislative obligations". Furthermore, the Constitutional Court declares, that the application of decrees, which prohibit discrimination, has not yet been exhausted, and the determination of the required legislation method is the task of the legislative.

Hungary was the first country, which established a considerable and comprehensive strategy in order to improve the situation of the Roma people. Within the framework of this strategy, a significant amount – namely HUF 7.2

thousand million (over 27 million euros) were spent on this project. Still, the reinforcement of minority rights can create contradictions. For example during the process of making people consciously aware of their differences, the decision makers can more clearly see which issues should be given more emphasis in order to improve the academic achievement of Roma pupils. At the same time, this could also result in the strengthening of prejudice and the mentality according to which Roma children cannot be expected to produce the same results as other pupils. Auxiliary schools and classrooms that were established with the purpose of bridging the knowledge gap of Roma pupils can and often do strengthen segregation. It is also not uncommon, that non-Roma parents take their children out of classrooms where Roma pupils are studying or where they form the majority.

2. The feasibility of cultural emancipation and cultural citizenship

Cultural diversity is conditioned to the creative work of free individuals and groups in an active society and culture. The theoretical opportunity for the realisation of cultural diversity in Hungary is ensured by Hungarian law. Besides the state's political intentions and support given to the organisations of civil society, another condition of the practical realisation is the organisational as well as financial strengthening of civil organisations. This however, is entirely dependent upon the broadening of the organisations' independent financial resources as well as the strengthening of economic enterprises, which includes the cultural and other ventures set up by the different national and ethnic groups. In recent decades, a prosperous entrepreneur and trading strata has developed within most national minority groups. These families and individuals actively contribute towards the cultural life of the given minority. Their participation is also significant in the organising and financial supporting of festivals, dancing parties and social gatherings among the members of minorities. Such would especially be the characteristic feature of German, Serbian, Greek, Armenian and certain Roma communities, but also of other nationalities. An additional reason why the strengthening of the economy as well as the identity-forming potential of culture are required is the fact that despite their willingness and good intentions the state budget will never be able to undertake the entire subsidy of the minorities. Cultural emancipation and cultural citizenship, - in other words a tolerant participation in public life built on cultural identity can only result in a colourful and peaceful society, if the national and cultural identity is not based on hatred. None of the communities can identify themselves as being compared to another community, and this statement is especially true regarding national identity. A national identity that can only position itself against another nation, ethnic group or community is weakened and unable to culturally emancipate or to tolerate the cultural citizenship of other communities. Peaceful coexistence must be formed jointly, with the members of the communities tolerating other communities and the people who form them.

The large number of civil organisations, clubs and bands are a reflection of both the existence and the extent of practising the gathering and unification rights among Hungary's minorities. Act CLVI of 1997, On Public Benefit Organisations, rules the functioning of the civil strata by taking new aspects into consideration. Activities related to national and ethnic minorities are included among the activities of public benefit; therefore the Act allows an opportunity for the operation of organisations, which were established with the purpose of serving the special needs and demands of national and ethnic minorities. The number of minority-related non-profit organisations and their members saw a continuous increase between 1989 and 2000. The number of foundations, public foundations and non-profit organisation which were set up to protect the rights of minorities was 322 in 2000 with a membership of 68,353 members. The number of associations established with the aim of fostering minority culture was 397 in 2000, with a membership of 26,250 members, (based on data provided by the Central Statistics Agency). These include such organisations and associations, which have gained the right to operate as legal entities during their registration at a court. However, in addition to these there are hundreds of other active cultural organisations, which are not registered by the court.

For the breakdown by income source of non-profit organisations in 2000, the following data are at disposal:

Activity group	State subsidy	Private subsidy	Basic income	Economic income	Other income	Total income
<i>all cultural</i>	39,6	11,0	34,3	14,7	0,4	100,0
<i>from this, minority organisations</i>	53,5	172	13,2	15,4	0,7	100,0

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics

In the year 2000, the work of Roma self-governments, nearly 50 minority legal aid organisations as well as bureau's (in 1997, some 355 non profit organisations claimed to have undertaken the protection of minority rights in their articles of association) were granted support from the Minority Bureau, the For Gypsies Public Foundation, Phare sources and from other foundations. Minority organisations performing cultural activities are mainly subsidised by the Foundation for Minorities and by the Ministry of Culture as well as from other ministries and foundations, but the county and municipal self-governments and the national and local minority self-governments also support them. As a result of such support, in order to reduce and to prevent discrimination, a network of Gypsies' Legal Aid Bureaux were established by 2000 and 2001. Besides civil legal aid, from 2001 the Ministry of Justice introduced the Anti-Discrimination Roma Public Service network, which operates nation-wide.

The participation of civil organisations specialised in fostering the traditions and cultures of different nationalities and minorities, furthermore, the participation of organisations related to but not directed by the churches, the participation of organisations operating in the form of unions and the participation of other organisations such as the legal aid bureaux for minorities in public life, media, education and research are all evidence for cultural diversity.

1) The Media

a) Television and radio

Both sections 1., §.26. and paragraph c., §.25. of Act I of 1996, On Radio and Television Broadcast, ensure that radio and television broadcast transmissions and programmes for minority language speakers in minority languages. This Act stipulates that a public service broadcaster is obliged to be instrumental in the fostering of the culture and mother tongue of ethnic minorities, and to regularly announce public information in the minorities' mother tongue, especially in regard to cultural values. Taking the geographical location of the minorities, this duty is performed through the regional and local broadcast programmes and by the regional or local broadcast programmes with a repertoire that is in line with the requirements of the minorities, or, on television by subtitling or broadcasting in several languages.

The national self-governments of the national and ethnic minorities independently decide on the time limit for broadcasting through public service providers and on the principles of the utilisation of the chosen time. The Act obliges the public service broadcaster to take the decisions made by the minority self-governments into consideration. In order to ensure the minority self-governments' rights of consultation, a co-operation agreement was signed between the president of the Hungarian Television and the chairmen of the national minority self governments in the year 2000. This co-operation agreement institutionalised regular consultation between Hungarian Television and the minority self-governments.

According to the Media Act, broadcasting may be performed by Hungarian resident natural persons, registered legal persons, or economic companies without a legal entity. The licence for broadcasting can be obtained through a tender. Taking the requirements of national and ethnic minorities into consideration throughout broadcasting is one of the conditions of the tender, especially if the freedom of information flow and cultural diversity is not given enough opportunities.

If the broadcasting does not take the minorities' needs into consideration, those public interest companies which exclusively belong to the national or ethnic minorities' self-governments may be given the rights for broadcast without a tender.

The national self-governments of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary can jointly delegate a member each to the Advisory Board of the Hungarian Radio, Hungarian Television and the Hungarian Television Public Foundation.

Hungarian Television has been broadcasting minority programmes since 1978. Since the year 2000, Hungarian Television has been producing mother-tongue programmes for all 13 nationalities. The public service television

broadcasts nation-wide programmes for the Gypsy, German, Croatian, Romanian, Slovak and Serbian minorities weekly, for the Slovenian minority every fortnight, and once a month for the Bulgarian Greek, Polish, Armenian, Trans-Carpathian Ukrainian and Ukrainian communities. The editorial offices of the minority programmes are situated in four different cities of the country. The length of television programmes broadcast weekly and fortnightly are 26-26 minutes and this figure in the case of the remaining six minorities broadcast monthly, is 52 minutes. The average number of hours of the productions of minority programmes is the following: 208 minutes per week, 832 minutes per month, and 2,696 minutes per quarter of a year.

Similarly to the public service television, Hungarian radio transmits mother-tongue radio programmes for all national and ethnic minorities in Hungary. The current length of transmission is over 10 hours per day.

Besides the two public service television companies Hungarian Television and Duna Television and Hungarian Radio, media in the property of the municipal self-governments and other operators also regularly broadcasts minority programmes. Through aimed tenders, the Public Foundation for Minorities motivates the operation of minority media and the broadcasting of mother tongue minority programmes through cable television channels. The above-mentioned Public Foundation subsidised 46 tenders in 2000, but the Ministry of Cultural Heritage also supports specific programmes of national or regional broadcasting stations.

Out of the minority self-governments in Hungary, the Slovenian was the one to first establish its own radio studio. Radio Monoster has its independent frequency, which transmits programmes in the Slovenian language. Radio C, - Hungary's one and only Roma radio station began its operations in 2001. As opposed to being public a service or commercial radio, the latter one identified itself as a community one. According to its founders, the programmes are exclusively produced by Roma, and its targeted audience group is also Roma.

b) Publications

The owners of minority publications written in their native language and distributed nation-wide are either the national self-governments, or other minority organisations such as cultural ones. The publication of countrywide distributed journals are primarily subsidised by the Public Foundation for Minorities. With the purpose of giving emphasis to informing the Gypsy minorities, independent civilian public relations office began its operation under the title of Roma Press Centre. Weekly issued minority magazines also appear on the world wide web (Internet). The Etronet or the Romapage are independent web sites on the Internet, but the European Roma Rights Centre (a national organisation based in Budapest) also issues other virtual publications. The issuing of minority publications are also supported by other foundations, such as the Soros foundation.

c) Books

Books are printed in minority languages are mainly published by minority organisations. The Cultural Association of Romanians in Hungary established a publishing house for the minorities in 1992, and the Serbian Democratic Union in 1993. The Croatian Croatica Public Interest Company publishes not only in Croatian, but other languages, too. The union foundation based minority cultural institutions, the Nationality Department of the Hungarian Ethnographic Association as well as the Minority Research Institution of the Hungarian Academy of Science also deal with thematical and other publications for the minorities. The publication of books is significantly subsidised by the Public Foundation for Minorities and the Ministry of Culture.

Communication at a societal level regarding issues of the largest ethnic minority the Roma, is a highlighted task of the government. Within the framework of such, providing information which is based on factual reality, the maintenance of Interlocution between the majority and the minority as well as the promotion of getting to know and accepting one another are the primary objectives. It is necessary to point out, that the integration of Roma into society is not only a financial issue. The existence or the establishment of social conditions is useless without non-prejudice dialogues. One of the most important tools of communication is the written and electronic journal, within which national and local television and radio broadcasting can be primarily highlighted. The Ministry of Culture and the Minority Bureau financially support programmes aimed at the Interlocution between Roma and the rest of the society, and which help to form a realistic picture of the Roma. It is a progressive step that public service and commercial channels employ Roma presenters.

2.) The cultural activities of civil organisations, community centres, research institutions

The Minority and Cultural Act ensures the participation of minority organisations in public cultural life, and the establishment of institutions related to such. The national minority self-governments are entitled to establish and maintain minority theatres, exhibition rooms in museums, public collections, libraries, publishers, national cultural, art or scientific institutions, as well as national secondary and higher educational institutions. Even though government's role is dominant in the subsidising of minority culture, the cultural activities are nevertheless performed by minority organisations. Libraries, theatrical performances and museums for the minority all reflect the close link between the State and community life of minorities.

a.) As stipulated in the relevant Act, the supplying of minority libraries is the duty of the municipal self-governments' public libraries. The public library network in co-operation with the minority self-governments are able to offer services for the Croatian, German, Serbian, Slovak and Slovenian minorities, in hundreds of settlements. Within the system of county public libraries, the library service for the minorities is also supported by 19 base libraries. In the cases of Greek, Polish, Armenian, Trans-Carpathian Ukrainian and Ukrainian minorities, their national self-governments are making an effort to establish the library stock. The duties of the methodological base library are performed by the National Foreign Language Library. Besides the National Széchenyi Library, (which receives a compulsory copy of all publications issued in Hungary) a more complete collection of Roma thematic books and Roma-language books can be found in the Hungarian Cultural Institution as well as the Romological Research Institution of Szekszárd, the latter of which was privately founded.

b.) The county and regional museums and the Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts deal with the collection of minority-related relics. The Ministry of Culture maintains 16 minority-related museums and another 41 minority memorial houses, along with three museums with a national sphere of authority dealing with the collection of minority relics. Church museums, which preserve the records of minorities, belong to and are maintained by the minorities. One to be mentioned is the Erdőss Kamill museum, which belongs to the Gypsy Community Centre in Pécs. In recent years more and more minorities such as the Gypsy or Transcarpathian Ukrainians are seeking to establish such museums or exhibition halls, which can themselves. The largest Roma-related collection can be found in the Hungarian Museum of fine Arts.

c.) The three nationality theatres (the German, Croatian and the Serbian) are under the operation and ownership of regional and county self-governments, with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture. The national minority self-government seeks to handle both the Croatian and German theatres. The Serbian Theatre was founded by the Serbian Democratic Association. For the Gypsy minorities, theatre workshops are available which can usually be viewed in the public cultural institution of Budapest. One of the aims of the National Gypsy Information and Cultural Centre opening in 1999, was the establishment of theatrical art. The Slovak professional theatre play operates as a civic organisation.

d.) The establishment of an independent national and local public cultural institution system for the minorities has began to take place in the last decade. The institutions are owned by unions or minority self-governments and receive government subsidies. Besides the community and cultural centres, which have been operating countrywide for decades for the Bulgarian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Armenian and German minorities, the Gypsy and Slovenian cultural and information centres also opened their doors in 1999. In the year 2000 the German Centre of Hungary also opened (with the help of the German government).

The shaping of a network of local Roma community centres plays an especially significant role. The 78 Roma community centres are non-profit multifunctional service organisations, which are able to utilise certain resources of infrastructure and manpower. More than one third of Roma community centres are maintained by Roma civic organisations and one quarter jointly by non-profit organisations and minority self-governments. The work of the latter category serves the purpose of both preserving traditions and supporting the Roma integration into society. They operate with a more or less permanent and paid staff. These community centres can be mostly related to non-profits centres successfully operating abroad.

Since the formation of the 78 community centres, they have realised nearly 1300 programmes. Most tenders prepared by the maintained Roma organisations were targeted and won for cultural events and children's summer camps, still, the largest amount of financial support was utilised by business development and different training projects. The most significant sponsors of the programmes of community centres are the Soros

Foundation, the For Gypsies Public Foundation, The United Holland Foundation, National Employment Fund, the Autonomy Foundation and the Ministry of Culture.

The most serious problem the community centres are faced with is the unpredictability of the financial background of their operations (a solution would be a multi-level subsidisation system). The For Gypsies Public Foundation and the Ministry of Culture support different programmes set up for those working in Roma public communities.

e.) Religious life in the mother tongue of minorities - including services and religious instructions - furthermore, religious ceremonies such as christenings, marriages and funerals strengthen the nationality awareness and broadens the usage of the mother language among national and ethnic minorities. In recent years, subsidies given to Churches including those of the minorities' from the central budget have increased, and the compensation policy regarding Church properties has continued. Furthermore, the reconstruction of the religious cultural heritage and architecture are still under procedure.

f.) The work of minority research institutions in Hungary in the minorities' mother language most often consists of studies of the history and education of a certain minority, or is based on linguistic, sociological and methodological research. The majority of the research institutions were either founded privately or by cultural unions and maintain different links with the minority self-governments. The rest of the research institutions are primarily related to higher education institutions and (base)museums. The former applies to the Slovak, Romanian, Ukrainian, Trans-Carpathian Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Roma, Polish and Serbian minorities while the former to those of German, Croatian and Slovenian nationalities. The newly accredited two university and college Romological departments also operate as research workshops. In 1998, as part of its development programme, the Hungarian Academy of Science established the Academic Minority Research Workshop, which has been operating as a minority Research Institution since 2001. The activity of the established mother-tongue research institutional network is mainly subsidised by central budgets and public foundation resources. The tenders which aim to support the programme, are often insufficient in the reassuring and continuous maintenance of these institutions.

The primary subject of minority research is the examination of the minority identity. Besides the marks of ethnic identity, the research focuses on examining the relationship between the minorities and the State as well as different communities, the political, economic, cultural and legal awareness of the certain groups, the group identity of the minority communities and its member individuals, its acceptance, attitude and ambivalence. Furthermore, they study group cohesion, internal solidarity and its level of organisation. Another research area is the relationship between the language and identity, and the discontinuation of the transmission of the language mechanisms and cultural heritage to the next generation. It is also an issue, whether the "dual banter model" which is the current role model – can be a permanent base of minority identity. The language tuition and forming of identity awareness by the minority educational institutions, require a separate analysis.

3.) Education

There are two types of preparatory schools ("kindergarten" type institutions) in existence, which carry out minority language tuition: in one of them all preparatory activities are performed in a minority language whilst in the other type of school the teaching of subjects takes place in two languages, in other words Hungarian and the minority language are used simultaneously. Preparatory schools have been established for all minorities with a minority education system. The state education authorities worked out the school preparatory model programme in all cases and provide a budget subsidy for the preparatory schools in a normative form.

Roma education is still a highly debated issue. It is a fact, that all Roma children are now registered for schools, and that most pupils complete their primary studies. 85% of Roma pupils chose to study further (out of which 16% in schools qualifying for GCE). The fact that the opportunities for education of socially disadvantaged Roma children mainly take place within the framework of Roma minority education of primary and other specialised schools often raises controversial issues. Though special schools were introduced for socially disadvantaged children regardless of their ethnic origin, it still raises the chance and suspicion of segregation. The preparatory year prior to the beginning of primary school studies and the individual progress right up to the end of the fourth year increases the chances of those pupils who were in a disadvantageous position to begin with or at the beginning of their studies. Those Roma children who are socially or social-culturally disadvantaged may also belong to this category. Acts on public education have to simultaneously support the

preparatory studies of Roma children and to increase equal opportunities. At the same time they must ensure the consistent enforcement of prohibition on discrimination and the protection of minority rights. As one of its tools the Act stipulates that the study into the learning abilities of children can only take place by the initiation and agreement of the parents, and as regards the decision the parents can request a legal remedy. The private foundations support cultural and social emancipation, such as the Pedamóka Foundation subsidised by the Dutch Government, the aim of which is to further the integration of Roma children by organising community events based around school education and by involving the parents.

In 1998, 52 minority-foundation-based schools and private schools were operating and educating 4,849 pupils. The number of teachers was 632, and the number of classrooms was 401, in which 321 classes were held. Out of the schools established for Roma children the following are deserving of a special mention, the Kalyi Jag Roma Nationality Specialised Secondary School founded in 1993, which is supported by the Budapest City Self-Government, the Ministry of Culture, the School of Józsefváros the maintainer of which is the School of Józsefváros Foundation, the Roma Opportunities Foundation Specialised High School maintained by the Lungo Drom National Association of the Safeguarding of Interests and by the self-government of Szolnok, and last but not least, the Foundation Specialised High School of Edelény, and the Gandhi High School in Pécs.

Addendum

Scenes for proposed visits made by the delegation of the European Council

1. Proposed time of the visit: June 17 – 21, 2002

2. Proposed programmes:

- Day 1: Budapest Meeting the presidents of the national minority self-governments
visiting the national and ethnic minority institutions of culture of Budapest:
- The German House, the publishers of Neue Zeitung (with Otto Heinek, President of
the National German Self-Government)
- Visiting the National Gypsy Centre for Information and Education (meeting Flórián
Farkas, Representative at the houses of Parliament and President of the National Gypsy
Self-Government)
- visiting the Croatian Croatica not-for-profit company with Csaba Horváth, Director of
the not-for-profit company
- in the case of a change: visit at the Bulgarian Cultural Centre and the Orthodox
church, meeting Dimiter Czuczumanov, President of the National Bulgarian Self-
Government, visiting the National Polish Self-Government and the Polish church,
meeting dr. Konrad Sutarski, President of the National Polish Self-Government, or
visiting the Association of Slovenes in Budapest.
- meeting at the Bronze Club founded by Roma university students.
- Day 2: Szentendre The Serbian monuments and the Serbian collection of religious art
meeting Gábor Eredics, the leader of the Vujicsics Band
- visiting the German Self-Government (dr. Györgyi Bindorferr)
Pilisszentkereszt, Pilisszántó – visiting settlements with Slovak nationality inhabitants
- Day 3: Szekszárd Visiting the German Theatre
- (visiting the Institute of Romology, the most important Roma scientific collection in
private hands,)
Pécs - visiting the Croatian Theatre
- visiting the Roma theme museum Erdőss Kamill, forum
for national and ethnic groups in the Gypsy Community House of Pécs
- in the case of change: visiting the German Lenau Haus
- Day 4: Köröm Visit at a Roma settlement
Kisköre Visiting the regional Roma Community Centre
- Day 5: Nagykanizsa Visiting the Roma Community Centre, meeting László Teleki, President of the local
Roma Minority Self-Government, representative at the Parliament

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