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Transcarpathia in Ukrainian-Hungarian Relations 1991-2022

Abstract. The relevance of the research lies in the fact that in the conditions of the modern stage, cooperation and relations between Ukraine and Hungary are tense. This is related to the pro-Russian position of Hungarian politicians, which arose after the appearance of the conflict in Donbas in 2014. Additionally, Hungarians defend their position regarding the level of protection and support of their minorities on the territory of Ukraine. It is reasonable to believe that Hungary is blocking Ukraine's path to European integration through open conflicts. The purpose of the article is the study of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations in the period 1991-2022, as well as the resolution of the conflict regarding Transcarpathia to stabilize relations between the countries. The methods used in the work include the historical method, based on which the dynamics of the development of relations between countries were studied; the statistical method, which consists in studying the demography of Transcarpathia; a comparative method based on which the consequences of the influence of relations on Ukraine's integration into Europe were considered. The results of the study determined that the improvement of relations between the countries can take place through the provision of simplified conditions for obtaining Hungarian citizenship for Hungarians from other countries, as well as the promotion of the development of cross-border infrastructure in Transcarpathia to provide new opportunities for the population, which will be an impetus for development in the political and cultural aspect, as well as the termination of cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary. The found ways of resolving conflicts between the countries will be an incentive for the development of both states: Ukraine will be able to continue its integration into Europe and establish favorable conditions for cooperation with Hungary; Hungary will be able to improve its relations with neighboring countries and stabilize the political aspect of these relations. The practical value of the research lies in the use of scientific material and its results to create a unified strategy for the establishment of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, as well as the continuation of the integration movement of Ukraine into Europe

Key words: politics, cooperation, European integration, state, good neighborliness

Introduction

Since the beginning of Ukraine's development as an independent state, it has been necessary to establish trusting relations with neighbouring states to obtain mutually beneficial ties between them. The first country to meet and cooperate was Hungary, which was the first to sign the "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" [1]. Based on the market economy, the countries managed to establish a democratic society on their territories. In addition, after the proclamation of Ukraine as an independent state, Hungarian minorities remained on the territory of Transcarpathia and are still trying to defend themselves and confirm their presence on this land. As a result, there have been confrontations between representatives of the Ukrainian and Hungarian sides, which have become progressively worse with each passing year. In addition to this problem, after the outbreak of hostilities in Donbas in 2014, Hungary demonstrated its pro-Russian position on

the situation, which caused outrage in Ukraine. It has affected cooperation between the countries to some extent, which may lead to more widespread conflict in the future if the problems are not solved urgently. Currently, the situation is even worse after the outbreak of a full-scale war between Russia and Ukraine, as Hungary has long concealed its views on Russian actions on Ukrainian territory.

Ukrainian-Hungarian relations were previously studied in the works of such authors as: D. Tkach [2], who described in detail the specific features of the establishment of friendly relations between Ukraine and Hungary from the beginning of Ukraine's independence; V. Shramovich and O. Torop [3] were able to explain the specific features of NATO's partnership with Ukraine, and the organisation's attitude towards Russia's military actions on Ukrainian territory; R. Speck [4] identified particular actions that are necessary for the development of Ukraine and its integration

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into Europe and described the necessity of establishing Ukrainian-Hungarian relations and continuing cooperation with the Visegrad Four; E. Kish [5] in his work explained the necessity of improving Ukrainian-Hungarian relations for further development of infrastructure in Transcarpathia and the development of relations between neighbouring countries at a new level; O. Kovaleva [6] in her study indicated the necessity of establishing special rules and laws for national minorities on both the Hungarian and Ukrainian side to regulate the situation in Transcarpathia; S. Vasilenko [7] mentioned the necessity of Ukraine's development towards Europe and the establishment of friendly relations with neighbouring European states; A. Dergachev [8] investigated the subject of Ukraine's European integration and noted that Ukraine's membership in the European Union would be a necessary action for the country's further development. Among foreign authors who studied the subject of improving relations between countries were J. Groszkowski, T. Iwanski, A. Sadecki [9], and A. Brzozowski [10; 11]. The authors of these studies argue that the establishment and consolidation of relations between the countries should be at the regional and bloc levels, and not through the continuation of negotiations between the two countries. Notably, the studies do not fully address the problems between the countries, in particular the problem with Transcarpathia and the Hungarian minorities on its territory, nor do they explore the essence of neighbouring country relations in the context of Ukraine's European integration, which is the relevance of the study.

In addition to using research and literary works by Ukrainian and foreign authors, the study uses data from Ukrainian and Hungarian legislation to investigate the subject in more depth. The study had a particular purpose, namely to analyse the historical aspect of the interaction between the two countries and identify the specific features of their interaction, to explore the politicians' opinions of both countries during 1991-2022, to trace the demographic features of the Transcarpathian region, and to identify the advantages, disadvantages, risks and possible solutions to the conflicts between Ukraine and Hungary.

The purpose of the research is, first of all, to analyse the specific features of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations and their impact and reproduction in Transcarpathia, to identify the main conflicts and their causes, to specify the main benefits of cooperation between the countries and the disadvantages that can cause conflicts, and to indicate ways to solve already aggravated conflicts to improve cooperation with each other and to continue the integration of Ukraine into Europe. The novelty of the research stems from the necessity to establish Ukrainian-Hungarian relations in economic and political terms to improve international trade, solve the issue of national minorities in Transcarpathia, re-establish good neighbourly relations and continue the integration of Ukraine into Europe.

Materials and Methods

In writing the study, research methods were used, namely the historical, statistical, and comparative methods. The historical method was used to highlight the specific

features of the establishment of interrelations between Ukraine and Hungary from 1991 up to the present, the specific features of the emergence of national minorities in Transcarpathia, and was essential for explaining the pre-conditions for the main Ukrainian-Hungarian conflicts and the development of Hungarian-Russian relations, which had a direct impact on the situation of the neighbouring countries. In addition, based on the historical method, the most significant events were considered in chronological order, which influenced the state of relations between Ukraine and Hungary, and the specific features of Ukraine's European integration. The statistical method of research was required to demonstrate the current demographic situation of the Transcarpathian region, to examine the number of national minorities and other aspects that are specifically related to the Hungarian minorities (education, language, settlement in Transcarpathian towns, age categories learning the Hungarian language). In addition, the import and export dynamics of international trade between Ukraine and Hungary were determined, which demonstrated how the economic indicators changed in the context of the events of those years. The comparative method provided an auxiliary tool for analysing the political attitudes of Ukraine and Hungary towards each other, and their economic performance and established the main positive and adverse aspects of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, which allowed identifying the main aspects for overcoming the current disagreements regarding the Transcarpathian region and its national minorities, which is an adverse factor influencing Hungarian-Ukrainian relations, and ways for both countries to enter the international arena and cooperate with other European countries to further integrate into Europe. The overall view of the information gathered based on the methods listed above helped to identify the necessary measures to re-establish stability in the countries' relations and to identify possible options for the deployment of various events.

The source base of the study was the scientific research of such authors as D. Tkach, V. Shramovich, O. Torop, R. Shpek, O. Kovalova, S. Vasilenko, O. Dergachov, O. Melnik, Zh. Deriy, G. Petrenko, and the legislation of both countries, including the Treaty on Good Neighbourhood and Cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Hungary [1], "On the Fundamentals of the State Language Policy" [16], the Law of Ukraine "On Education" [18], "On ensuring the functioning of the Ukrainian language as the State language" [21], and the Hungarian "Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities" [29]. In addition, the demographic composition of Transcarpathia, the number of Hungarian minorities in the region, and other features that have a direct influence from Hungary on the territory of Transcarpathia and Ukraine, in general, were investigated, and the indicators from other neighbouring countries to Ukraine were compared graphically. In addition, support for the two states in the international arena, which is necessary for the development of cooperation between the states and at the European level, is considered, and the situation regarding trade and economic cooperation is analysed. Further forecasts and solutions are based on analytical indicators to provide for various possible

outcomes, options for establishing Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, and a solution for the Transcarpathian region and the national minorities living in that territory.

For a more structured exploration of the subject, three main phases of research were identified: a detailed exploration of the relations and their conditions between Ukraine and Hungary in the period 1991-2022, and the economic and political aspects of relations; the identification of Russia's influence on Ukrainian-Hungarian relations and the specific features of political influence and interaction with the Hungarian side; an analysis of demographic indicators in Transcarpathia and an examination of the ethnic features of the region.

Results

Historical features of the establishment and development of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations in the period from 1991 to 2022

Since the collapse of the USSR in 1991, most of the countries of the former Soviet Union have begun to strive toward Europe. In addition, the countries strived to enhance the economic, political, and military segments by leveraging international interaction between the countries of Europe and the world. Participation in European integration affected Hungary and Ukraine. Since the proclamation of Ukraine as an independent state, it was Hungary that was the first partner for the country in further cooperation and friendship, signing the "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation", opening the Hungarian embassy in Kyiv, and establishing provisions and rules for cooperation between neighbouring countries [2]. After Hungary acceded to NATO in 1999, both countries were offered new opportunities to establish beneficial cooperation, with Ukraine becoming even more active in the course of European integration. Between Hungary and Ukraine, new types of cooperation emerged, among which the cooperation between the Ukrainian and Hungarian defence ministries should be emphasised, and the Euro-Atlantic exercises (dissemination of scientific work and research on NATO and its capabilities) for neighbouring countries [12], which generally considered to have a positive impact on the political climate in the states.

Since the early years of the 21st century, relations and cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary have developed rapidly and have been quite successful, as the interaction has encompassed communication with other European countries and organisations. One of the significant events of the beginning of the new century for Ukrainian-Hungarian relations was the visit of Hungarian Prime Minister V. Orban to Ukraine in February 2000. The negotiations between the President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko and V. Orban discussed the expansion of economic and trade relations between the countries, resulting in the leaders agreeing to introduce the Ukrainian-Hungarian Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation [13]. Notably, since 2001 Hungarians have been more actively raising the issue of national minorities in Ukraine, which has been repeatedly raised during the meetings of representatives of Ukraine and Hungary. However, the consideration of this issue did not prevent the countries from

actively pursuing cooperation with each other, and as early as 2003, the parties accepted new conditions for bilateral cooperation, which prompted the establishment of the Ukrainian-Hungarian strategic partnership. In the same year, Hungary proposed the establishment of a Consultative Council on European Integration, in which the countries of the Visegrad Four (including Central European countries, namely Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia) and Ukraine were involved. The implementation of the Council provided an opportunity to establish a way to consult and spread their experience from the Visegrad Four for Ukraine. The dynamics of relations between the countries of the Council, in particular Hungary, were successful and continued in subsequent years [9]. In addition to the issues of Ukraine's integration into Europe and the Ukrainian-Hungarian economic problems, notably, the subject of national minorities, their rights and opportunities on the territory of Ukraine, and the issue of energy cooperation continued to be addressed. In 2006, during the "gas war" between Russia and Ukraine, the Hungarian side acknowledged Russia as a "...reliable gas supplier", thus supporting Moscow's future energy projects [14]. The situation was discussed at the meetings of Ukrainian and Hungarian representatives, after which the issue of neighbourly cooperation was raised.

The issue of Hungarian minorities on Ukrainian territory was raised more vigorously following the adoption of Hungary's new constitution in 2011, which stated Hungary's responsibility for Hungarians living outside the country. Before the new legislation was passed, Hungary simplified the citizenship procedure in 2010, which angered neighbouring countries, while Hungary itself benefited from the new law [15]. Subsequently, Ukraine adopted the Law "On the Principles of State Language Policy" in 2013, which was designed to improve relations with Russia, allowing parts of Ukraine to use other languages in addition to the state language if more than 10% of the population in a particular area considers a particular language as their mother tongue [16]. Such a law provided Hungary with some expectations, which were reflected in the rejection of Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity in 2013-2014. Subsequently, representatives of the Ukrainian government were able to discard all countries' false expectations regarding the language law and limited the possibility of establishing a pro-Russian cultural space on Ukrainian territory.

Since the end of the Revolution of Dignity, and with the beginning of Russia's annexation of Crimea, the unfolding of hostilities in Donbas and the rapid development of Russian-Hungarian cooperation, relations between the Ukrainian and Hungarian sides have become more strained. The deterioration of trade and investment flows, and Hungary's declining European support for Ukraine indicated that Hungary had changed its political and economic priorities in favour of Russia, after which political dialogues between Ukraine and Hungary ended. The Hungarian-Russian rapprochement was quite rapid, and in 2014, following a meeting between V. Orban with the representative of "Gazprom" O. Miller, the Hungarian side stopped supplying Russian gas from its reserves to Ukraine [17].

The Law on Education adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in 2017 [18], which discussed the specific features of education in minority languages with an increase in teaching in Ukrainian, was a new reason for Hungary to raise questions about its national minorities in Ukraine, and in particular in Transcarpathia. Hungary could balance friendly relations with Ukraine with constructive relations with Russia, but after the education

law was adopted, the Hungarian side changed its behaviour in the international arena and will block cooperation with Ukraine in the political dimension on the European level. In 2018 the results of cooperation could be observed to improve: Ukraine's trade with Hungary increased by almost 18% compared to the previous year, after which the figures went into decline again, as represented in Figure 1.

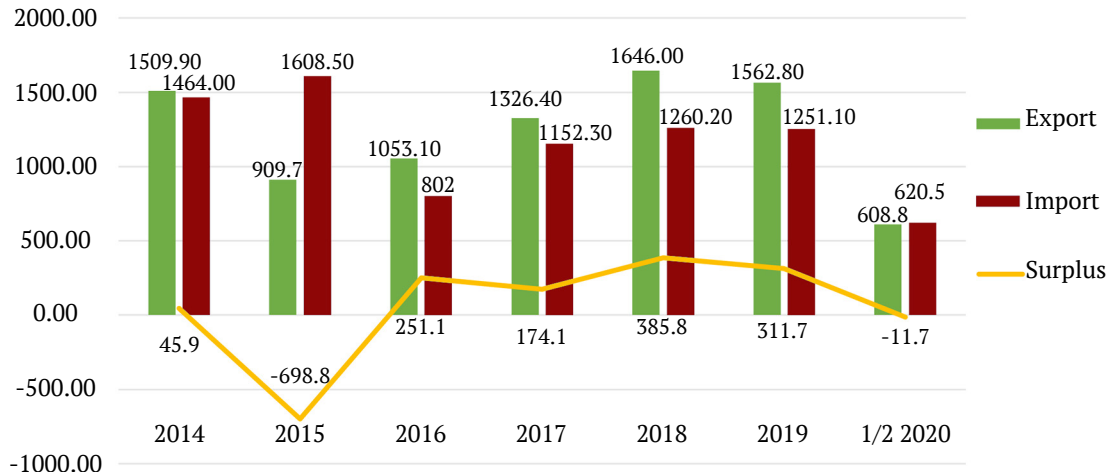


Figure 1. Dynamics of main indicators of bilateral trade between Ukraine and Hungary, mln dollars US [19]

The current relations between the neighbouring countries are defined by new features following the change of power in Ukraine, and by political specific features in Ukrainian-Hungarian relations. Hungary had high expectations of a promising change in relations between the countries and emphasised the desire to regularise the state of relations and adjust bilateral laws. However, there was no dynamic movement towards substantial changes, which was partly explained by the old composition of the government, which still operated on the principles of P. Poroshenko's rule, but by Hungary's uncompromising stance on national minority issues. Notably, Hungary does not support Ukraine's opinion regarding language laws [10], following which the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs P. Szijjártó proposed during his visit to Ukraine additional conditions for improving the problem, but the Ukrainian side was not receptive to the proposed changes, and the agreements only agreed on the treatment of the methodological part, which occurred with representatives of the Hungarian minority [11].

Ukrainian-Hungarian relations in the Russian context

Since the beginning of Russia's aggression against Ukraine in 2014, relations between the two countries have become as tense as possible and have only become strategic in the political aspect, trade and economic relations, and energy cooperation. Although after the temporary occupation of Crimea and parts of Donbas, when the EU started imposing several sanctions against Russia, Hungary decided to continue to actively engage with Russia. Notably, the Hungarians established a separate commissioner for contacts with the aggressor country, and Budapest has repeatedly hosted working and official visits by

Russian representatives [20]. The last such meeting was held in 2019, where the parties discussed new perspectives and innovations in cooperation between them. In addition, Hungary was not the only one who did not want to "become the enemy" of Russia, but NATO indicated that it did not want to establish conflicts with Russia while trying to contain Russian aggression in the East, but that the organisation would be willing to negotiate at any time [3].

Notably, on the political level, the Hungarian and Russian authorities have common features regarding some of the actions taken by Ukraine. An example is the Ukrainian Law on "Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language", adopted in 2019 [21], to which the Hungarian side responded unacceptably to this law, while Russia explained this law as "forced Ukrainisation" [22].

In addition, there was a significant threat of provocations on the part of the Russian side at the expense of national minorities (namely Hungarians) in Transcarpathia, for even greater tension in Ukrainian-Hungarian relations. The involvement of Russia's provocation in the attempts of Hungarian societies to conduct terrorist attacks on the territory of Ukrainian cultural and administrative institutions can be identified [23]. In addition, the issue of the links between Russian secret services and political movements in Hungary, which in turn have expressed support for Russia's occupation of Crimea, and intervention and sabotage operations on Ukrainian territory, has attracted particular attention. The Hungarian side tried to declare the illegally occupied peninsula as Russian, with official and public representatives of Hungary visiting Crimea, which generally indicates a violation of Ukrainian sovereignty (these movements are appropriately considered illegal under Ukrainian law) [24].

Notably, since the start of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, Hungary has remained on the sidelines and has been reluctant to help Ukraine, even though most EU countries and the world at large, have turned to support Ukraine. Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament J. Neymet stated that he does not want to have tense relations with Russia, as it is essential to continue the energy relations between the countries, while Hungarians want to protect their minorities in Ukraine [25]. Such double standards jeopardise agreements of friendship and cooperation with Ukraine, which may have an impact on the unfolding of existing conflicts between Ukraine and Hungary.

Demographic composition and features in Transcarpathia

A review of the demographics of Transcarpathia demonstrates the number of Hungarian national minorities and their specifics of life. The total population of the Transcarpathian region as of January 1, 2022, is 1,244,500 (Fig. 2), but in previous years there have been adverse dynamics of population growth. A decrease in population can be observed from 2001 to 2008, whose indicators were 1,261,300 and 2,242,600 people, respectively. First of all, this is explained by the high mortality rate, including throughout Ukraine. Notably, the situation in Transcarpathia varies from that in other regions of Ukraine, and the highest population growth can be observed in Uzhhorod, Rakhiv, Tiachiv and Vinogradivka districts [26].

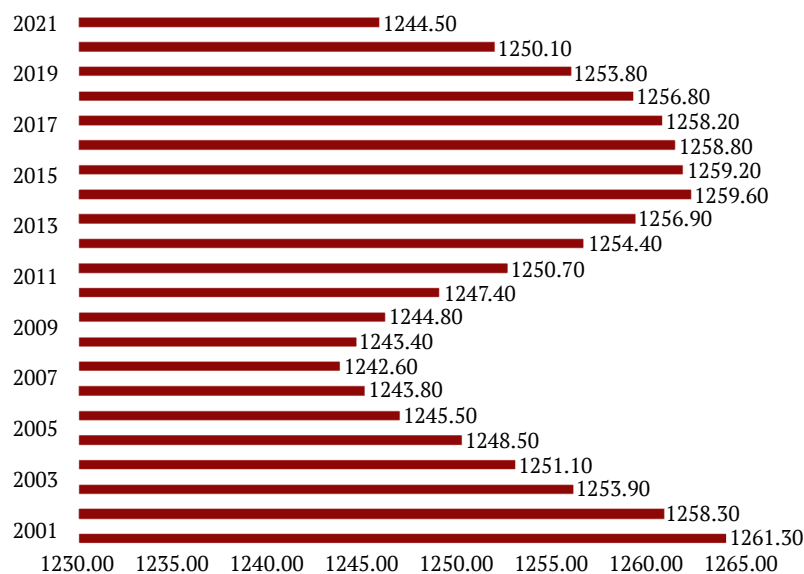


Figure 2. The population of the Transcarpathian region in the period from 2001 to 2022, thousand people [26]

More than 30 nationalities live on the territory of Transcarpathia, most of them are Hungarians, Romanians, Russians and Gypsies. Table 1 demonstrates that 12% of the population of the Transcarpathian region is

Hungarian, thus, Hungary is trying to provide them with as many opportunities as possible and protect them legislatively by pushing Ukraine to introduce relevant laws regarding their national minorities.

Table 1. National composition of the population of the Transcarpathian region as of 2001

Nationality	Number of persons	Percentage of the total population, %
Ukrainians	1 010 127	80.51
Hungarians	151,516	12.08
Romanians	32 152	2.56
Russians	30 993	2.47
Gypsies	14 004	1.12
Slovaks	5 695	0.45
Germans	3 582	0.29
Belarusians	1 540	0.12
Jews	565	0.05
Poles	518	0.04
Others	3 922	0.31

Source: [26]

Notably, no language other than the state language has been able to establish itself in this region, despite a large number of national minorities, as no permanent languages have been distinguished in the last hundred years in which part of the population communicates [27]. At the same time, the Hungarian national minority is demanding

better conditions for them in the territory of Transcarpathia, allowing Hungarians to live comfortably in Ukraine. Currently, in the largest cities of Transcarpathia, there are quite a lot of Hungarians living there (Table 2). Most Hungarians live in Berehove, where they represent almost 50% of the total population of the city.

Table 2. Distribution of Hungarians in the largest cities of Transcarpathia (according to the 2001 census)

City	Number of people	Number of Hungarians	Percentage of the Hungarian population in the total population, %
Berehove	26 554	12 785	48.20
Mukachevo	81 637	6 975	8.50
Uzhhorod	115,568	7 972	6.90
Khust	31 864	1 726	5.40

Source: [28]

Figure 3 demonstrates that the Hungarian language is most preferred by the youngest generations, namely children attending pre-school and primary schools. It explains the fact that parents whose children

learn Hungarian will be able to continue spreading their nationality in Ukraine. Older people, who are studying in Transcarpathia, prefer to study in the state Ukrainian language.

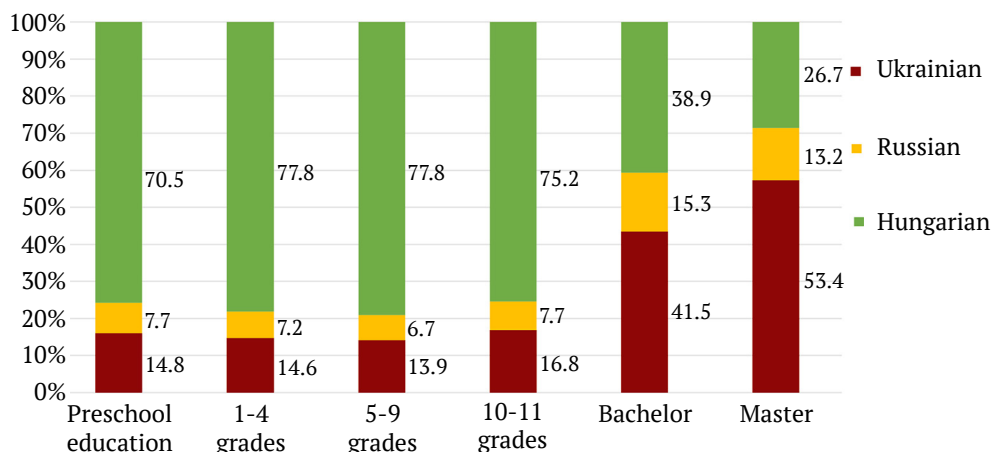


Figure 3. Percentage comparison of the number of the population learning the majority language (Ukrainian and Russian) and Hungarian at each level of education for 2016. [26]

In 2012, new features regarding minority languages on Ukrainian territory appeared in Ukrainian legislation, but with new legislative changes in 2019, the status of the Hungarian language in the country was quite diminished, which may have angered many Hungarians living in Transcarpathia. Currently, they have fewer options compared to the original language law in 1991 (at that time some state institutions and establishments could use Hungarian as an official language), which outrages most of the Hungarian population living in Transcarpathia since then, as it is now forbidden to use Hungarian as an official language at regional and local levels, even if the population of a particular region would speak Hungarian exclusively [26].

Discussion

Based on the study of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations and the analysis of the demographic structure of the Transcarpathian region, the positive and adverse aspects of cooperation between the neighbouring countries can be

identified, and the risks that may provoke even greater differences in the countries' views can be identified. Considering all the developments since the beginning of relations and cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary, the following risk points can be identified that could affect the current state of relations between the two countries:

1. The relations between Hungary and Russia, the introduction of mutually beneficial solutions, and the issue of gas supplies from Hungary, which have been received from Russia to Ukraine.
2. The change of parties and opinions of Hungarian politicians, and the change of Ukrainian government.
3. The issue of dual citizenship in Hungary following the 2010 citizenship law.
4. Implementation of the law on language in Ukraine, which was signed in 2019.
5. The decline in trade between countries and in the European market.

6. Hungary's blocking Ukraine's ability to develop towards European integration.

7. Lack of proper cooperation between the highest levels of officials in both countries and a lack of opportunity for forward-looking negotiations considering the problems involved.

In addition, there are positive developments that could be used to establish Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, namely:

1. The desire of Ukraine to move towards Europe, and partial assistance in this from Hungary.

2. Softening of the visa regime for Ukraine and support of this initiative by Hungary.

3. Conducting electricity imports from Hungary to Ukraine (after all, Hungary is the largest importer that supplies Ukraine with electricity).

4. Conducting cooperative activities with Ukraine and the Visegrad Four, conducting military exercises based on the Visegrad Battle Group.

5. Cross-border cooperation, trade, and development of common infrastructure.

6. Transportation of natural resources to both countries and other European countries, obtaining mutual benefits from transit supplies for both countries.

7. Hungarian assistance to Ukrainian displaced persons and refugees as part of the war, humanitarian aid to victims, and medical assistance to the Ukrainian military.

Thus, it can be stated that Ukrainian-Hungarian relations are not in a critical state currently, which means a possible improvement in the commonwealth and the establishment of economic and political ties shortly. As R. Speck notes in his research, Ukraine and Hungary now require further bilateral negotiations, more active consultations with the Visegrad Four concerning Ukraine's European integration, the development of cross-border and inter-regional aspects, primarily in the Transcarpathian region, increased trade between the two countries and clearer regulation of trade issues, and the provision of mutually beneficial rights and cooperation conditions for national minorities (Ukrainian minorities in Hungary and Hungarian minorities in Ukraine) for the implementation of the interests of both states [4]. The author's opinion on how to solve the problems in Ukrainian-Hungarian relations has room for consideration and implementation, but there is still a great demand to supplement it by considering Hungarian-Russian cooperation, after which some issues could be solved in a shorter period.

First of all, the countries have to actively participate in bilateral negotiations to solve current problems. First of all, the conflict regarding Hungarian minorities in the Transcarpathian region must be resolved to avoid possible provocations by national minorities and to provide them with clearer rules for staying on Ukrainian territory. It can be accomplished by providing Hungarians with the right to use their native language on an official level while encouraging them to learn and use the state Ukrainian language as much as possible; Hungary should protect Hungarians outside the country by establishing appropriate changes in its legislation, and implementing a system of assistance to the same group of people. Currently, the

Law "On the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities", which has been in force since 1993 [29], is still in force in Hungary and requires urgent amendments to consider the current specific features of the life of national minorities abroad. E. Kish, in her scientific work, noted that Hungary and Ukraine should devote particular attention to Transcarpathia, where both countries should develop infrastructure for further European integration and intensify bilateral relations in Transcarpathia at a new level [5]. This opinion may be partly correct, but further regulations on the interaction between the indigenous population of Transcarpathia and the Hungarian national minorities should be established to solve the problem regarding minorities in Transcarpathia, and as researcher A. Kovaleva notes, the specifics of the consular services of Ukraine and Hungary should be expanded to develop the countries economically, politically and culturally [6].

In addition, no less important and relevant issue for both countries is the Hungarian-Russian relations, which have a significant impact on the interaction and cooperation between Hungary and Ukraine. Hungary should determine its position, based on which it will be possible to further develop relations either with Ukraine or only with Russia. The development of relations with Ukraine should be considered more beneficial for Hungary, as it is necessary not only for Ukraine to continue European integration but for Hungary, which will get new economic and political prospects. S. Vassilenko noted that Hungary recognises Ukraine as a sufficiently peaceful and friendly state that has been established on democracy and has used non-violent methods for many years to establish its independence, and is well placed to conclude successful agreements within a market economy to ensure its economic and political development [7]. In addition, the scientist noted that Ukraine should further pursue its path towards European integration, and continue to develop friendly bilateral relations with neighbouring states, in particular, Hungary. Thus, it can be stated that the author supports the necessity to further develop friendly Ukrainian-Hungarian relations for mutual benefits.

The same opinion concerning the continuation of cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary was expressed by A. Dergachov in his work, and he noted that this will be important not only for the neighbouring states but for Europe in general, as it will get new opportunities which Ukraine can offer (economic and political cooperation, the import of natural resources into other European countries, etc.) [8]. O. Dergachov argued that Ukraine should become a member of the European Union as it is impossible to be a full-fledged European country just by being geographically in Europe, thus, it is essential to certify this status with documents.

Summarising all of the above, Transcarpathia is an essential region for both Ukraine and Hungary, and therefore requires further development, including the development of common infrastructure and encouraging the population to live in this particular area. The question of national minorities remains open since it depends on the decision not only of the Ukrainian government but of the Hungarians; in the worst-case scenario, when only one

side agrees to changes regarding the status of Hungarians in Transcarpathia without the agreement of the other side, it could result in a prolongation of the conflict and new disputes over the issue. In addition, notably, a solution to the Transcarpathian question alone in Ukrainian-Hungarian relations will not completely solve the existing differences of opinion between the states, and a comprehensive solution to the problems between Ukraine and Hungary will be necessary, namely to complete Hungarian-Russian cooperation and re-establish a path towards European integration for Ukraine.

Conclusions

As a result of the study, it can be determined that currently, the best option for the Hungarian side to resolve the issue of Transcarpathia is to stimulate and provide the necessary conditions and economic development for Hungarian communities located on the territory of the republic. In addition, there are some additional possible options for solving conflicts between countries, namely:

1. The issues that are causing divergent viewpoints between countries should not be ignored to avoid further disputes.
2. Ukraine should consider positioning Transcarpathia as a region that can unite Ukraine and Hungary and get closer to Europe.
3. The Ukrainian side should more thoroughly explain to the Hungarian side the issue of dual citizenship in Ukraine.
4. Ukraine should consider Hungary's demands regarding its communities in Transcarpathia more seriously to avoid possible ethnically motivated conflicts among the population.
5. Both countries should

encourage each other to engage in international dialogues and address the issue of scientific and educational cooperation between peoples, even if the results of the negotiations are to be ignited in the long term.

In addition, to guarantee relations between neighbouring countries, both sides should work to establish relations, rather than divide them. In this case, it is possible to settle the conflicts and reach a new level of relations, beneficial for Ukraine and Hungary, which will help the countries, and Ukraine to continue their development and integration into Europe. The conflict regarding Hungary's pro-Russian views should be settled by the country itself: it should decide whether it will continue its cooperation, development, and friendly relations with Ukraine, or whether it will completely withdraw to the Russian side, after which it may lose any possibility to cooperate with Ukraine in the future.

In the further study of the subject of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, the situation in which the existing conflicts will not be solved or will be exacerbated even more can be considered, and to explore whether the relations, good neighbourliness, and economic cooperation between the two neighbouring states will remain short. In addition, the subject of Hungarian-Russian relations can be explored in more depth, identifying possible options for ending the engagement and seeking alternatives in other neighbouring states; an in-depth exploration of the Transcarpathian region, the specificities of its ethnic composition, and their impact on the indigenous population; and a consideration of the possibilities of a new development format for the Ukrainian and Hungarian side of the region.

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Закарпаття в українсько-угорських відносинах 1991-2022 рр.

Анотація. Актуальність дослідження полягає в тому, що в умовах сучасного етапу співпраці та взаємозв'язки між Україною та Угорщиною є напруженими. Це пов'язано з проросійською позицією угорських політиків, що зародилась після появи конфлікту на Донбасі у 2014 р. Додатково угорці відстоюють свою позицію щодо рівня захищеності та підтримки своїх меншин на території України. Доцільно вважати, що Угорщина блокує Україні шлях до європейської інтеграції через відкриті конфлікти. Метою статті є дослідження українсько-угорських відносин у періоді 1991-2022 рр., а також розв'язання конфлікту стосовно Закарпаття для стабілізації відносин між країнами. До методів, що використовувались у роботі варто віднести: історичний метод, на основі якого було досліджено динаміку розгортання відносин між країнами; статистичний метод, що полягає у вивченні демографії Закарпаття; порівняльний метод, на основі якого розглянуто наслідки впливу відносин на інтеграцію України до Європи. Результатами дослідження визначено, що покращення відносин між країнами може відбутися через надання спрощених умов отримання громадянства Угорщини для угорців з інших країн, а також сприяння розвитку трансграничної інфраструктури на Закарпатті для надання нових можливостей населенню, стане поштовхом для розвитку у політичному та культурному аспекті, а також припинення співробітництва між Україною та Угорщиною. Знайдені шляхи вирішення конфліктів між країнами стане стимулом для розвитку обох держав: Україна отримає змогу продовжити свою інтеграцію до Європи, та встановити вигідні умови співпраці з Угорщиною; Угорщина зможе покращити свої відносини з сусідніми країнами та стабілізувати політичний аспект у цих взаємовідносинах. Практична цінність дослідження полягає у використанні наукового матеріалу та його результатів для створення єдиної стратегії налагодження українсько-угорських відносин, а також продовження інтеграційного руху України в Європу.

Ключові слова: політика, співробітництво, європейська інтеграція, держава, добросусідство