*Information about interviewee:*

*The interview is a professor of political science Department at a university in Cluj-Napoca. Interview conducted in Cluj-Napoca, Romania.*

*R= Respondent – anonymous professor of political science*

*I=Interviewer – Sam Wrighton*

I: So if I could start with a broad question. How has Hungary's kinship policies affected Romanian politics?

R: Broadly, they’re not Romanians they are not a minority in Romania but broadly.

I: Yes. Both really but we’ll start with the bigger picture. We start with Romanian politics.

R: This is a very good question, but it is a pretty difficult thing to provide an answer to it which is based on facts and which is based on. I’m not sure, I will be able to. I have an idea. I can try to provide you with an answer but I'm not sure I can add to my impressions of hard evidence which proves I believe to be a fact here so. So first of all, I, I would start by saying a little bit about, about the Romanian minority regime, as a broad assessment. And it is easier for me to relate the impact of that Hungarian Kinship policy. If we have this settled. Okay. Very short as I have been dealing with that and I participated in a conference last week, so I have a lot to say about this Romanian regime. I will try to be brief. I hope that it will be also clear enough and comprehensive enough. So what I regularly say about that and what I truly believe about this issue is as Romanian as a very strange paradox. See, Romania minority regime is surprisingly complex and provides a lot of interesting things, including, for the Hungarian minority. And in spite of this the Hungarian minority is not satisfied with what this minority regime offers. More exactly does not see the future of the community secure within the framework of the Romanian state. That is a main reason satisfaction that it is a paradox, on the one hand has a very spectacular provision. And on the other hand that is a failure of these permissions because they don’t achieve what they are meant to achieve to provide guarantees for the reproduction of community into sculpture language. What I mean by, when I say that it is a very spectacular minority regime. By minority regime I regularly understand two things, formal arrangements and a formal agreement. The formal agreements include legislation institutions, which are in charge is diversity management and funding skills. And all this is facts. Something else to add here that the minority regime of first addresses a total picture of the minority in diversity in Romania, which is complex, there are 23 minorities officially recognized in a census, out of the twenty-three. There are three which are in more special situation that is a Chinese who are counted in censuses, but they are not historical minorities, so they don’t enter. This is this refers to the historical regime rooted minorities, in Romania. Then among historically rooted minorities there are two which are not addressed by the Romanian minority regime that is the Changos which is a special, you know the Chango’s? These are not a very large community. It's an interesting situation they are based in. In Moldova around Banco north. It is a community which has Roman Catholic religion. But they are speaking, mainly Romania. Now why they are speaking Romania debated issues, the Hungarian say that they beyond being Roman Catholic, which is of course, a religion characterised to the Hungarian because most of Romanians are born Catholic which is an issue, how can you explain that. They are Hungarians say that they are Hungarians by origin. That has been Romanised and that is why they speak Romanian mainly why the Romania say that no, no these are genuine Romanians and there was some influence of the Hungarian some policy which are addressing, particularly why they have this connection with a Hungarian language. So, to make it short, Romania say that they are Romania, so they don’t need to be addressed by a minority regime. The Hungarian stay that they are Hungarians and they are covered by everything that is provided by the minority regime. They so small that they don't have an organization which is claiming to represent them and for that reason they are out of arrangement. Now within this big picture so we have about 20 minorities who are addressed by the minority regime which we have the Hungarians, Roma, and the others, Hungarian and Roma are two large minorities. Biggest is Roma, but you don’t know exactly. Because, based on identification that is reflected in the census. You have about 600,600 50,000 based on hacker identification estimation they may be well above 2.5 million. And then the other 18 minorities are small minorities so the largest, the third largest after the Hungarian and Romania are the Ukrainians which is 60 thousand. So, it is clear that there are very different challenges for the Romanian state to address the Hungarians which are 1.2 million, very politicized very represented. And there is the Roma who are many. So the number is big, but they are not very cohesive, division form of life of standards of living, political, whatever. And then there are the others. So, this is broadly speaking, the target of the Romanian minorities’ regime. If we focus on the Hungarians within it. Then what we can say is that this is a form of activism in minority regime. We have a very spectacular body of legislation as to June 2017. When I have access to some databases. There are 1092, the legal documents in for Romania, which have had provisions for minority rights, 1092. From these, you have the constitution year laws enforce government degrees in legislative increase court decisions is covered in this one. In some cases, for instance, some of the rules that is just one article. Yes, which is a tried minority right essentially. Other laws have plenty of articles which is referred to legislate. The election law for the parliament for local authorities. The educational law and some other laws have plenty of articles which are very spectacular. Many institutions department for relations in the Romanian government. The Council for national minorities which in cooperation with the Department of elections are channelling state subspace for the minority organisations. There is a council for combating discrimination which is important, especially for the Roma. Then, there is property restitution Council. There are different positions in charge with department, the name is changing. Practically sections, is a minister of education and culture, which is dealing with a large body of educational institutions or culture institutions which operate within the Romania state, the institutional framework subsidized by the Romanian state and conduct activities in Hungarian language. Schools on all three levels. Primary, secondary and tertiary levels and cultural education, which means essentially means theatres, operas, museums, libraries. Now all these things various media institutions are included because public broadcasting is provided in minority languages, mainly Hungarian okay. I’m slipping into this danger of being lost in too many details. Is it of interest what I’m saying?

I: Yes, yes, yes.

R: Okay, so I have time now, it is up. But if it is too much for you, just stop me and say that it is not of interest.

I: Okay.

R: So, within this. So what I've said so far is particle is a form of minority regime. Now to the formal part, it is important to be added a formal element, but which is not part of the regime, which are the churches and the civic organizations. These are very important because these are practically the things which channel the Kinstate policy. Financial part of the Kinstate policy. They have received a lot of this support coming from Hungary has increased spectacularly starting in 2014. And these monies are channelled. This significant amount of money is channelled through the stage for Hungarian churches, Roman castle a Lutheran churches console recovers churches. At this have received a lot of properties confiscated by the companies back, they have buildings. And many of the money is going towards this rectitude properties which are refurbished and hosting activities which are educational, social activities courted by the churches. And then, private media outlets. Yes, which are very, very important in addition to the public media outlet in Hungarian language. Many of them are private and these are also receiving a lot of subsidies to them. And the last third element of the regime, which I am sayings are informal political agreements which are very spectacular in some cases. This includes the cooperation of the RMDSZ. It started in 96 it was an unexpected time to what happened before. And then since then there were a discourse in Romanian public sphere saying that Romanian minority regime provides for Hungarians is impressive and it is unparalleled with the experience of similar states because beyond was, they are provided formerly the legally and others. RMDSZ had in a certain period of time the potential of becoming an association, but it never reached the status effectively because neither the Hungarians invested in that one. Romanians are not prepared to make it a full-fledged constitution arrangement so what it turned out to be, it was particularly a corporation for control. So that was, which is why I use this on form informally element of the Romanian minority regime. A minority party but as a governing coalition was, in fact, quotation for control, providing access to resources and moderating in that discourse of the Hungarian party. So the Hungarian party which was part of the collation gradually gave up claims for economy. Now, this is very short context in which I can come back now to answer your question and try to answer, what was the impact of the kinship policies. Now the kingship policy is very spectacular starting this 2010 governing coalition is in power. I have been following it before, the government which existed between 2004 and six to 2010 sorry. I have been participating, I have been invited as a counsellor for the, kinship policy for the Hungarian states so I have seen what's going on there and I have had the chance to say something about it. But what I presented was never taken into account. And what is the logic I can tell you shortly. So this kinship policy issue comes from this, this kinship policy thing was coming from. From what the Hungarian constitution says which I'm sure in many ways the Hungarian state is responsible for the minorities in the world and that is the question how to give substance to this and all governments since this change in the government in 93 have been active have been trying to do something and what they were doing was that, all that they were doing was based on the ideas that the Hungarians , beyond the borders, minorities in neighbouring countries have to be helped in order to succeed and become efficient in the neighbours. There's a link to that was to provide support in order that they managed to remain there and to live well there. I think there was a long process. Practically, the reason why this ineffectiveness of the Romanian minority regime and what concerns the Hungarian minority, as I said, Hungarians in spite of all the things they have, they do not see the future guaranteed in Romania. Since paradox is due to the fact that Hungarians. The mainstream Hungarian political discourse in Transylvania, but saying that institutional guarantee, which Hungarians need in order to have their future secure, should be autonomy. And what kind of autonomy that was a lot of discussion there was a long process of the law, which I have followed closely to essentially say that the Hungarian minority demographic very practically in Transylvania as is 1.2 million people can be divided broadly in two. There are about 600,000 which are territory concentrated secular lands. And about 600,000 dispersed, there are islands. For that reason, there was so called three types of autonomies which Hungarians would need to have everything according to their wishes. Autonomy to save the land, cultural, or personal autonomy for the rest and local public administration which is the third element. And that was a variable road expect expectations, local public administration exists, but this is very. So that is so say very big autonomy, because it has no financial means attached. It has no local is a very limited decision taking hours, which are attached so what is missing is his other two things, it is culture. Personal cultural autonomy. For the rest, and this claim. As I said, was within the URMA there was two so to say discourses. And it is interesting that didn’t means necessary there were two competing groups of people. The same people were doing this. This course alternatively. So the autonomy claim was very visible during elections. So until elections in 2012 I think that was the last date when elections, when the Hungarian campaign was building on some sort of autonomy, was a very efficient mobilizing call. So people say yes, we want to have autonomy so if UMRA promises autonomy we vote for UMRA. So when they were in the government, starting always forgot it, so they realize it’s a need. The Romanian political need does not want to hear about it. And then, in spite of this very close side, I always said that they are. The people that are in the URMA time and again Campaigning autonomy are the ones that know better than anybody else. This is impossible. So that is something impossible today. But they were building on this Duality. Okay. Good. Now to make it short, the reason why the satisfaction of the minority regime is publishers exist is because the autonomy, couldn't be achieved shortly. Now, and now I see my new policies so in my vision, so I rate in that for the first time, I think in 2003. When I published a book that was the first so to say publication which I can refer to, in which is idea appeared that I was suspecting. So to say a duality of discourses on all levels. What does it mean? When Hungary says that they want to have the Hungarian minorities beyond the borders to stay where they are. That is absolutely not the case. Because the Hungarian state has a very serious demographic program problem. Even back even way back. So in 2000. That was very clear. This problem exists. During this period, The Hungarian state has a very serious demographic problem. I have seen confidential internal government documentation stating the following terms. Hungary, in order to keep its pace of economic development, needs each year, twenty thousand new people for their labour force. That was in around 2000. This paper said that, instead of bringing Chinese who would be happy to come, it is much more normal to bring Hungarians from the countries abroad who are educated, who are prepared, and who are culturally no problem. Okay. Of course nobody assumed that that open. This the declaration from the top level. That support is what I have said is saying that we have to support the Hungarian minorities you know the same errors so communication when The head of the chief statistical institution in Hungary said that he has a big problem with demography, there are no perspectives that this could improve, but we have a demographic reserve outside the border which we can refer to any time we need it. Okay. Now, that is one side so that side. So on the Hungarian side, this is a double discourse, we say something, and they mean something else now in terms of the Romanian minorities beyond what I have said about the Romanian minority regime. That is something which you have to take into account the fact that, Romania is saying about themselves. And that is sometimes in contradiction is a spectacular provision for the Romanian minority regime that it is a very homogeneous nation. That is what they say. That is what they define is a constitution. The Constitution is a, is a contradiction in terms, before. After they say that they include a lot of provisions which are protecting minorities in dysentery that is what they say. This duality also creates a lot of problem I will come back, is a final assessment. Regarding this court arrangement shortly. But that is, you know, in many perspectives, Romania states really considers itself to be homogeneous. That shuts an eye and makes things possible for minorities. This is duality raise is a very significant question. Romania became the actual size in 1920. The first census which was conducted in this new range. 70% of the population was not Romania. And that included the very size of the German minority, as they were about eight hundred thousand. And the sizable Jewish minority minorities which was about 200 thousand. Now these two large minorities have suffered a lot, the Jews were partly exterminated. Germans declared to the responsible for the horrors and the war and more and transported to Russia, as prisoners, war prisoners. So, radically after the Second World War started with 1945, most communities have been halved. So there were about 100 Jewish remaining and about 400,000 Germans which remained. And these two communities were practically sold out by the Germans who started to have economic problems and have this policy making and wanting to pay back. International Monetary Fund, all that the country head. That was one of those things that they did for his regime that may have agreements, is a Jewish state on the one hand which need is the Jews and the German republic. On the other hand, you couldn't leave Romania. It was very difficult to leave; you didn't get a passport it was a close those times. The Germans received license to leave provided the two states that are being affected by this radically the Jews left for Israel in the 70s, and the Germans left to Germany in the 60s 70s 80s 70s 80s. And by that practically the two very significant moment a lot of contribution to the culture life regimes, economic life of the Germans had a very significant urbanization role. Travelled a little bit in Pennsylvania you see you see the legacy of the remnants of this very autonomist very powerful German society changes here. It’s a tragedy. It is so sad to see what is happening with this beautiful buildings and churches. Okay. So these were left, and these were two very significant achievements in order to make Romania a homogenous nation state. The question is what will happen to this Hungarians, which they remain. Also, during the last 5 years before. After 1985 there was a possibility to leave. Not very official but many, many Hungarians left in a similar way. That is why, at time it is estimate the number was actually the first census conducted in 1992 there were 1.6 million existed. Many of those Hungarians were declared to be Transylvanian. They’re already leaving or left. So, even if you compare 1992 census with 2011 census is a loss of 400 families. Okay. Now to comebacks to the main line. In my view, what do we see? Yes, we see Hungary, which say that he wants to Hungarians abroad, but they need them. We have Romania, which provides a lot of minority regime provisions for Hungarians, but that's a question what they say about homogeneous unit. That was in 2003 when I first had the idea and then what I suspect is that there is a tacit agreement between the two states. The Romanians do not need Hungarians. They would like to get rid of them. The Hungarians need Romanians. What is happening beyond seems and beyond? There is a tacit agreement for a long-term solution. And then if I am the same mind, the one thing makes lots of sense yes because Romania say that we have provided lots of things to the Hungarians. Yes. And that's it, that's all. The autonomy is out of question. They cannot be blamed for what they do because it is a spectacular what they provide. But the last step which would be required by the Hungarians to see their future secured. Yes. Is, is very consequently refused, out of question. Yes. And then Romanian says that it is a question of time. So this is a context and now if you going back to your question about kinship policies, I say that many of the kinship policies is practical they can be understood. So, essentially mean first of all we have to, to reinforce Hungarian us to have people to stick to their identity to be proud of them. To provide support to the educating, to be prepared for the Hungarian labour market, then to make sense, which is the tribes and gradually to the Hungarians. Now the second thing was that beyond or embed this providing this is this is kind of support to kinship policies that were crucial moments that the Hungarian state declared the Hungarian Romanian minority regime does not provide the guarantees which are required by Hungarians to. So they were practically repeating words that the Hungarian minority was saying. But beyond saying it they also took measures. And then there were a couple of measures. Because the first thing was taken in 2000 by establishing the Sapientia which is a total so to say very strange thing is, it is a private university according to the Romanian law. State University because it is funded by public money from Hungary 100%. And I have been personally involved in this whole story. Behind the story is that is something that I have to summarize here that existence of the Hungarian language State University in Romania is a symbolic issue for the Hungarian minority. So basically if I were to make a more nuanced assessment of why the Hungarians are unhappy in our Transylvania or Romania State treats them. The one thing is refusal of autonomy and the second is a refusal of establishing of Hungarian State University which exist. In addition, was existed from 19 1945, until 1959. Now how it existed. It's also an interesting thing. Does it make sense?

I: Yeah.

R: I am not spending much of wasting your time?

I: No, no, no. definitely not.

R: So, the issue of the university is a very interesting example of many other things regarding how in traffic relations have evolved and how-to territories back from stories is came very believe that now they are empowered, and they can afford to do whatever they want. Ignoring totally the other side. Now, the universities are very concise story. Making evident what happened here in the theatres. I couldn't repeat the same story as the theatres which I also know very well. University was established in 1873. And it was a first Hungarian university which was established outside Budapest. And it was a big period nationalism, you know, the Hungarians were fighting against war fears. They were defeated in 1948, which lasted until 1876, as it was an outline and agreement. And then that was duality of Hungarians having a certain degree of autonomy keeping some policy areas like defence for policy and monitoring these things. And this established of the university, was this period after 1867 when the Hungarian started to build a nation, Hungarian nation. They were very powerful, economically efficient I even understand how they could afford so much institution building everywhere in Pennsylvania, so you know, about 20 years. They built unexpected. It was about 30 year. So starting with the 70s ending up in 1911. Shortly before the First World War. A lot of important advises were built in Transylvania. Just in Cluj practically a Main Square was built near. The university buildings hospital buildings and everything. A period of nationalism powerful interventions and in his period, Hungarian was established as a beauty of the main building started. And during that time the Romanians asked a share. They wanted to have the faculty or something. This university was created from 1783, its function until 1990. After 1990s the Romanians came to take over Transylvania, as they expand the whole Hungarian University and occupied it environment. And this Hungarian University fled to stay in Hungary and establish a university which didn't exist before. Hungarians take it over exposure here the University, which is going to establishes as a university, which exists today. Okay. And then what happens in 1940 and then what happens? The Hungarians come back, expelled Romania's from the university to go to CVU is established that university which did not exist before and the Hungarians reoccupy totally kicking out all Hungarian all Romanians in the university. That was for four years. And in September. 44. Yes, the Germans already are defeated, and the Russians come and push outside the Germans from the territory they occupy and they sadly in Transylvania. And then in the history of Transylvania, there is a period of two years and something for from September 44 until February 47. The Paris Peace Treaty signed but it is not clear what will happen to north Transylvania, is it going to be given Romania is going to remain indefinitely also a project. Is it going back to Hungary? And is this, and the Russians were here, and keeping an eye on development. And then, Romania did everything they could, in order to convince an international community first of all the Russian because it was his protective force closes in order to convince them that the Hungarian issue is well settled in Transylvania. So, Romania deserves. Since a sign is a policy decision was that they say, Okay, let's have this dispute of the university by radical moves the Romanians the universities. All the same streets were built by the Hungarians main buildings and hospitals because the medical branches were very developed and a lot of hospitals belonging to the university. That remains Romania's but they established a Hungarian language University in 1945 by a decree of preserving King, the first, Master. And this Hungarian university was it was created it was called the (unclear) university, and it was given a faculty, which is now a faculty of chemistry in the main park, in the central park. And this was a Hungarian university, and this was a solution displeased Hungarian. Okay. There was this debate, pushing back and forth, thinking outside to one side or the other is ended, and we have our university. Now, this university represents a very important part of the Hungarian minority’s history in Transylvania. Lots of people are educated so it was a symbolic institution. Okay, and this symbolic institution was particularly dissolved by merger, it's was melted into the Romanian university in 1969 as an outcome of the sea Transylvanian echoes of the Hungarian revolution in 1956. In Transylvania there were some sympathizing movements not very dangerous, but they were openly sympathizing this revolution and that was Transylvania’s first mission as a second or third ranked leader of communist party of Bucharest was set out in 1959 to close down this Hungarian University saying that this was practical is next, next, from which the Hungarian nationalism was falling. Okay. So, after 89 one of that key requirements for the Hungarian minority was to get back the university. Because they said that on a similar logic, as confiscating buildings properties whatever were given back to the Hungarians, we should be added back to this. Now this so the heart issue, and the Romanian states said that question. Romania said they just compromise it provides education of Hungarian language, which is a Romanian teaching. Now, you may remember that in 1956 Hungarian party was invited to the government for the first time. Yes, and it was a big change and they were very hopeful that we can from the positional coalition partner, we can achieve a lot of things and the first foremost important objective was a university for four years till 2000. November 2000 they were fighting to get it back and all sorts of Nanos and worked it was refuse. And then, in 2000, I don’t know exactly when, when the first feeder’s government was in power in Hungary, then they hurried. There was a conclusion and says that the Hungarian University issue in Romania is settled, all the attempts have failed. So we have to provide a solution. And that was the moment when they came and established the university here as a private university which was possible according to the law. So this was the first moment when the Hungarian state took this very clear stance sayings and Romania do not provide what Hungarians need in order to survive. And then I don’t go into detail the second most important was the citizens’ issue, providing citizenship. Now, I remember your message saying that I am amongst the few that are not happy about this. So, of course, I have nothing against saying Sure. And I see that many states do the same thing as Romania is doing the same thing, Croatia and many of those countries so we have this mismatch between state and the nation the question is, what you can expect from this decision. I have been saying a lot of things and participating in debates and I said that one of problem with this policy of extending citizenship and giving citizenship, not asking people to settle in Hungary is a contradiction is a, is a is failed policy or is a wrong policy, particularly as the state is embarking a sovereign position. So if you insist on the one hand, server, you are entitled to decide every single step. Don't allow anybody to interfere. By you provide citizenship or your kin abroad, then you cannot exclude the state neighbouring state procedures the same name. They have also the right to be sovereign its only one is the fact and from this debate from my view, only one outcome can come. The fact that there were means provided by neighbouring state in order to get rid of the citizens who have double citizenship.

I: Like Slovakia.

R: Like Slovakia. So for that reason I believe practically providing citizenship and insisting on the server is course is practically proof in my eye of this agreement that is two states. Yes, that's the citizenship policy of Hungarian state practical is a most powerful saying, which will serve is interest of absorbing central to Hungary. And by them contributing to solve this demographic problem. All the other support from Hungary, can be read in the same key, providing support to kindergarten, support to schools, which are preparing professional schools professional schools, and vocational schools.

I: Yeah.

R: All these things can be ready in the same key. So, to make it short. In my view, is working state policy of the Hungarian state, which of course is very spectacular money's coming. Everything is difficult to contest. What are surveys is undeclared School of absorbing the state, about whom and again here. I have, I have even to need that might be some, some rationale, some logic behind this what I am saying. So what they are saying is that instead of letting these people to be lost by a simulation or be lost by leaving Romania over war is better to absorb them to Hungary, because that is good for everybody. The problem is that, in my view, this declared failure of the Romanian minority regime is socially constructed and is socially constructed in order to service infested of Hungarian state. Because otherwise, I have many problems, and I come back to one of the key problems. To make more sense for you, but I always say that in spite of shortages and failures, which I am going to detail shortly, the Hungarian minority in Romania today in terms of legal terms, political terms. Economical terms have never before been so good. Starting with 1990. Never. So, to say it in other words, I always say that the concept of autonomy is very controversial. There are many discussions around it. I know also Michael Catochi, who published in 2008 a very interesting article in which he is building exactly on what I’m saying that it's very difficult to know what is personal, what is cultural. Whatever. Okay. And he has suggested his concept of functional autonomy. And I practically I was very happy to see that because I was saying before that, of course, there is no formal sort of autonomy in Romania. The states refusal to discuss autonomy is very firm. Why is that firm I have discussed a lot on that we have significantly contributing. Romanian society has developed an immune system issue, which was a reaction to the way how's the Hungarians trying to push it on the agenda so that's also part of the story about different element of level of analysis you can see the level of standardization say that there is a state interest indeed to refuse an autonomic claim. But beyond that, if you look at what exists today institutions that have a broad network of independent Hungarian schools. Cultural institutions, whatever. If you add as a public administrational which is very weak as I said in terms of effective autonomy. Counsellors yes, there are mayors there are local councils dominated by Hungarians. So that sums up the sorry and adding the churches, because in my view this is something, I’ve tried it a couple of times, but it was not very efficient, not successive in doing it. I say that the most eloquent example of a personal autonomy is a church. Yes, which is many churches live on the same territory. They write the same records and they have a list of demands it says today. Take some sort of tax from them and provide this. This service, baptizing so that is effective. Now, if you take into account that Hungarian churches, address Hungarian members only. They received this financial support by getting back properties, which includes lands, forest or whatever. So that is a revenue generated a lot of revenue generating activities which are too impractical so all in all, but I want to say that this whole network of educational institutions existing business, Romania state institution system funded by Romania state culture institutions media outlets the churches, which are institutions of Romania autonomy, all that sum up in a functional autonomy. According to my culture. So, for me for my perspective again going back to this idea that, of course, things are missing. But nobody can ignore that the situation is very good. So, this sense of failure is socially constructed. Yes, socially constructed. There are many possible ways to continue from here but now. So you could have. You could have a political leadership of the Hungarian minority here, which would say that wait we are pretty well off. Let's see how we can take advantage of the situation they exist. Instead of that unfortunately what happened, starting with 2011 there was a change of leadership top level of UTMR and mark left because he disagreed with a few guys and everybody became clear that it is very difficult to make Hungarian minority policy against fillers and then (unclear) came to work, and has practically offered the whole organisation to the fillers. So practically (unclear). For me the most important element, the most serious proof of that fact was that. Now going back to the citizenship issue. You know I was saying the following thing that, of course, making theoretically possible citizenship is a good thing. And that is, of course, a remedy for old people, especially those who have had Hungarian citizenship and lost it. Yes, you know, getting it back, could be a nice thing yes and i don't contest that. That is justified or it's okay. Okay. Then there is a second component of the Hungarian minority in Romania, who is decided to leave they don’t want to stay here for various reasons. Yes. And at the beginning in 2011 2012. It was still an advantage to leave with a Hungarian passport to leave is a Romanian passport. And then again, in addition to the elderly. There might be a Second leader that might say I have an interest in citizenship because that is nice. Okay. Let's hold my 4 million citizens member of the Hungarian minority who want to stay. What gain do they get if they have Romanian citizenship? If they are really interested to stay, I don’t think that Hungarian citizenship will help them. Yes, they should do whatever they can to enforce the Hungarian mass but if they want to stay in Romania, yes, they have to have a cetacean handled and settle in the Romania state, and having Hungarian citizenship it does not help. And I said at the time. Autonomy issue was already well out of the agenda, it was not really a big challenge, but I was saying that, offering Hungarian to the Hungarian minorities abroad is the last nail in the coffin of the autonomy. Yes?

I: Yeah.

R: Why, because Romania was reluctant to provide autonomy those to its citizens, but what about if it’s going to face it claim to get autonomy from Hungarian citizens. So I said, nonsense nobody, they were arguing, I was having this argument (unclear). It was clear that was not the issue, they were not interested any longer. And then (unclear) made this program that they needed to have 1 million citizens abroad from minorities. That was the political objection, there was a real, they say they are successful achieve what they want. Okay, and what happened was I was expecting that people that want to stay in Romania are going to charge with their heads and have a rational choice saying that is Hungarian citizenship, helping me in my interest to stay in Romania. And that was really a period, where the number did not increase spectacularly. And then (unclear) came with this objective we want 1 million. And that was a moment Kellerman law was practically co-opted by the Hungarian government promised a lot of support financial support. And they said in that you have to recruit Hungarian citizens. And what happened then I was absolutely upset. I said that was, that was the most, say, the worst political decision which could be taken (unclear) a lot of bad political decisions that was the worst could do. In order to have this relationship (unclear) has created a network of activists who were going from door to door in the villages convincing people to take Hungarian citizenship and providing assistance. I said what are you doing? So practically intervene exactly in the third block, from which you could expect rational no. Man, the biggest bark of these people are simple people. Yes. Trust UTMI. Yes. It was totally unfeasible to expect that these people would refuse you the more when they come. After a short period of time the Hungarian members existed. And that is what I said. Okay. Everything is over because it is exactly what the Hungarian state wants to have is happening visas support of the UTMI. Now, it clear maybe said that what I have said there is a push and pull effect. A push and pull effect which is creating an outcome, which for me is very clear. Now, that is another element which is a very interesting element of the push and pull effect is that, as I said earlier that Romania state has also had its duality, in this whole story that are on the one hand was generous in providing lots of permissions. On the other hand, it was taking the inside of Romania is a homogeneous unitary nation state. Result is question, and Romaine nationals is prevailing. If something else exists that is not really important. Now, one of my recent conclusions regarding the problem in the Romanian minority regime is that in fact what it implements work so the underlying assumptions, that you can find on the bottom of this spectacular arrangement is what you may call ethnic barrier, ethnic division of labour. So that means that we provide the Hungarians with instruments whatever they need, these Romanians do not need to do anything in this regard. And, what, what is the consequence of this? Now the consequences becoming visible. And that is really so to say, serious. And this is creating a very serious push effect to see what happened. This is a spectacular outcome of the minority regime I mentioned earlier, 92 legal provisions there are many problems with that. So one problem is the same time as this nice, but it is inefficient because, because it is segmented, there are two consequences of this segmentation, in many cases, the potential beneficiaries of the provisions don't know that exists. Secondly, you do this fragmented thing. It may be a lack of interest. But it also could be mere lack of capacity for a legal provision to exist. You know, you need to have application procedures, and you need to empower also sororities who are in charge of implementing it to be capable to do. So there are for instance language provisions in many things for the statute of police, statute of the public officers, statute of the patient with medical healthcare. But no further decisions were taken in order to have them to be capable to implement this thing.

I: So this is there on paper, but in practice it’s not there.

R: Okay. And then, so it will be more logical to have one law and it wouldn’t be. There is absolutely no political stake in it and just put things is provisions which are exist in the legal documents in force. Yes, brings them into one legal body, push through and make it happen. That is also a long story why that is not happening, and I have to add here that it is the UTMI is not interested in this thing. Should they be interested, it would be no complication to achieve. A complicated story. But for this reason. Yes, many of these provisions are, so the source of inefficiency and started to gain efficiency of this spectacular body is one is fragmented, people don't know about. Also the potential beneficiaries don't know that those who would be obliged to implement it, either don't know if they know resist it and say it is it for two reasons. One reason is, is a lack of this additional decisions which would make the relevant authorities capable to implement and have additional resources to have additional personnel hired for those positions, no things as these. Okay. And the second most important. In many cases, it is just depending on Bovine. Is lacking for two reasons because there is not a real convention in the Romanian public opinion that these things which exist on paper are justified. The Hungarians should have it. On the contrary, in many cases they believe that this was the result of blackmail. Which the UTMI applied and they did. In fact, in some cases it’s certain that question will fail. Before, if you don't accept what we ask. Romania public opinion is critically convinced of the fact. Beyond this, ethnic division of labour that what Hungarians are entitled to do. Don't oblige us. So if they can do, they can do to it but they shouldn't expect us to do it for them. Because justified is more than just a normal country. So there is a (unclear). You know, in the Romania public opinion that on the one hand, Romania public opinion expression biases discord as a Unitarian homogeneous nation state. And when they are faced by their activities, who have the rights. Then say come and that the solution is clearly a favour of the first thing. And they resist everything which would come from the other side. So, all in all, as this spectacular body of minority rights coalitions are most, most of the things are inefficient. And as the last two or three years as UTMR became more and more marginalized so they were not needed in order to provide political stability. Then they lost their influence and these problems came, more and more to the fore. Yes, that resistance was manifested in order to currently implemented provision, more. There were cases when practices based on legal provisions of using inscriptions national symbols, there were case by case attacking courts and the courts to binding decision against provisions of the law. Of course in all cases ever a discussion better house. Language right was implemented was it according to the law or not as the national symbols, which are also allowed by the legislation. But they were radically in answer is a person, as a nationalist who is doing that, like, personal motivation says that what the Hungarian has achieved. It justified so he's saying that openly. And then he is going out and attacking case by case, as a court are presently taking one by one. Binding decisions against what the minority rights provision office. So, so this is that you can imagine that this thing, undermines the provision. And that exercise is a very serious Push, push, push, push, saying on the Hungarians.

I: Do you think the citizenship, the Hungarian citizenship has made this problem worse?

R: No.

I: No?

R: In this regard the Romania, public opinion, because there are measurements which is following this relationship in mind. So, only knows these surveys show that Romania's do not find anything, so to say, alarming, or unjustified in the fact that Hungarians in Romania, ask for Hungarian citizenship.

I: Okay.

R: But, for me, that is a significance that they don't consider the Romanian Hungarian as part of the Romanian political community. They believe what they believe. So that is what they have in mind, that is ethnic terrorism, ethnic division. They think of Romania result Hungarians saying that Romanians homogeneous internal state that does not include Romanians, Hungarians sorry. And then Hungarians take citizen. That's fine that is a normal thing to happen. And they expect that this will have consequences that sooner or later they're also going to leave.

I: That’s interesting, I think the same is happening in Serbia in Vojvodina, they, I’ve heard they're quite happy to BMS quite happy to side with right-wing national party because the serves on hope the Hungarians will leave.

R: The finer point I wanted to make if I can recall what that was. Okay yes that it was in 2014. Then there was a shift in Romanian politics and the UTMR lost started to become marginalized. Before that the access to the Romanian state resources through the UTMR have a significant so important, that was a bargaining or whatever but there was still an important part of the money channel from the Romanian safety sources channels through the UTMR towards minority growth projects in 2014. And that was the second moment the third moment (unclear) and in 2014, a very significant amount of money channels through the churches, through private schools and churches, through private. So that was an absolutely unimaginable thing that the Hungarian government created here, and Media City civic organization, and has given a tremendous amount of money in order to control the Hungarian public space of Transylvania and it managed, there are very rare media outlets local radio, radio stations or things which do not echo the propaganda in Transylvania. It's now that can work, but, but was a very short achievement and outcome of this thing. There are also measurements which are done during the last two years. That show that starting 2014 this very significant amount of money channelled into the Hungarian society in Transylvania has practically deepened the gap between the Hungarians and Romanians. The Hungarians living in Transylvania are not represented within the executive power structures in Romania. The political culture has shifted from Bucharest oriented to Budapest oriented. The media consumption. Everything has so practically that is the third very significant proof for me that the Hungarian state does everything to attract to ethnic Hungarians from the Romania state, and to absorb them into, and make them dependent on the Hungarian state.

I: And that is the intent, you believe?

R: Yes that is exactly what I said that I suspect this is tacit agreement with two states, Romania says that we do not want to be rude we provide the things which exist, but nothing more. And, on the contrary, we exercise, pressure, wherever we can. Yes. The Hungarian says we cannot openly declare that we want to move out from Transylvania, because what we are doing is wrong. So that is what I suspect is happening. I could go into deeper analysis. But I don't think it is worse and time does not allow. But practical is this agreement is tested occurred in my view, when the 1996 bilateral agreement was signed, the bilateral agreement was prepared for four years in four years. It was a very, very big so to say effort behind them. The Hungarians hopes to achieve a lot, the Hungarian state mostly it was a socialist government time. But they still hope to achieve a lot in this a bilateral agreement and this effort was put to an end by an intervention by the Romanian state Department. There are documents which proves that that. State Department need this agreement, have been signed in order to speed up the NATO membership of the two countries, and Hungary was reluctant to sign in because of the low guarantees, Hungary, wanted to get as (unclear) going to treat it. And then, in this moment the state department intervened and forced to accept the terms, and that particularly has decided a lot. I think that in this moment the key moment the Hungarians have shifted. Okay. He says, we are support them, but we want them to adopt.

I: Some of these kin state policies do seem to regard, I accept your position about wanting to try. Hungary for demographic reasons, but some of the policies seem to be prioritizing territory is in Vojvodina, the Hungarian states of paying money to giving grants to people to buy property, and it appears on one hand, they want them to stay and the backing that up with real resources. Do you think the territory is still important?

R: Based on what I know of course I may be ignoring important things which happen behind the scenes and I don’t have access to. Of course, the world is so upside down, that you cannot exclude anything. What the world seems to be seemed to look like as the angles. And how this new world order seems to settle multipolar world order, but still settled under principles of your authentic values and whatever. In this context, I was fully convinced that any speculation of the Hungarian politicians. Politicians state representatives, including these things I was saying that it is out of question. So I don't say. Now of course, what you ask to contradict my assessment saying investments which are made, also they are very catchy. Really in order to support those who want to stay, can also be read in a different key at cost which is less being paid for what they want to get. Now. Now, these two things you have particular pointed to this building land or whatever. Maybe an exception, I may not be right in this key.

I: Okay.

R: And may also not be explained this as a framework I taught you earlier. This framework, of course, is strong. Don't know what it will mean is a failure of the European Union, but you don’t know what you trigger. As I might be saying which I cannot foreseen. What I can tell for sure that even these things have a rational you refer to at the bottom. And they are meant to achieve that. I am sure that they will be extremely counterproductive. Extremely counterproductive because I cannot imagine a world order in which existence of Hungarians in Transylvania, which I know that maybe other situations (unclear) Should be secured peacefully should such a thing occur because if that thing happens, then the situation between the majority and the minority both in Serbia and Romania which is so fragile, as it so huge potential anti Hungarian as in most majorities as a search in Romania's. But I cannot imagine a situation as the Romanians would accept this thing peacefully, so practical results people vote feels land. Congress logic Yes, security for me to be same thing happened as maybe the land is there is the ownership, but people will flee like rats from shipping sink, sinking ship

I: I met with an advisor Victor Oban in Budapest 2017. He said, off the record. Perhaps we would like the territory, but we cannot because of the because of NATO because of everything. We can't get to that. So another way to get to that and is through the population.

R: You see, I go back. So a lot of my fixed ideas. When I mentioned that I have been close to the kin style policies. And I am the advisory body of the policies of the socialist government. I was very upset what they were doing, and I said that if you really mean what you say that you want to have minorities to stay where they live. There are two things, on which the biggest part of the case that policy should be spent on the one thing is to invest in a majority minority relationship. So that the majority, except that Hungarians are okay here. They don't offend us, and we don't have we don't lose anything from the fact that there, yes that is one thing. And secondly to invest in the competencies of Hungarian minority members to find their ways. In other words, it requires those competencies. So, this is deepening that gap between the Hungarian is a long story behind, and one beyond this very effective intervention which has been so radically shifted the media consumption and the political culture elements, which has been targeted by the measurements. Before that I was saying for many years that it's really wrong areas to remain and get a consolidated position Transylvania, the educational system which also was very strongly supported by the kinship policies yes, should be focus on that. That Hungarians in Transylvania needs competence which are not needed in Hungary, which are intercultural competences, investing competence, how to handle conflicts and whatever. That is what you should pay nobody was receptive to these ideas, ever. Yes. And, in fact, this is a problem you know that I gave an interview to radio shortly. Then I said, what was achieved by the kinship policies is Hungarian communities, which are provided by a lie, it’s a lie yes. The lie says that you live in a small Hungary, so that everything around you is a small Hungary you have schools, you have whatever. And you all that you need to know. No and tell you that the sink and name is like we're living in Hungary. And this is a very costly and very nasty lie, you know, because what happens. So as a circle of this. So the radios of this little circles which people believes as they are living in middle Hungary is shrinking. And why is it shrinking? Because people who are educated in the spirit, you know, when they get out of the circle. And they realize that I have been not prepared for this world, in which I have to live as if I want to get a job or if I want to have a problem solved as a Romanian, I don't know how to do it. Then what do they do? They flee. They flee and they have nowhere to go. Yes. So that is a problem you know that this lie that you tell people don't have to make this extra for space fine you just live like you were living in Hungary. Schools educational system creates this outcome that people then have the second served experience that this world outside is more complex and I don't know how to deal with it. And they go. They leave. And that is exactly what they want. You know society's biases and they’re very clever that they don't invest in that, because if the kinship policy is really invested in absorbing Hungarians instead of keeping them as they are. And that is what they need to do. And that is what they did.

I: You mentioned that Hungary’s investment is increasing dramatically year on year. Do you think there will be reached a point when the remaining government say stop? That's too much. Or they happy with the division that is caused?

R: No. Romanian politicians, I think, are extremely clever. They also have their level of tolerance. But they’re also very clever about why we should do anything because this money is coming through the legal channels so that means they’re coming through legal ways a lot of taxes are paid which are going to the Romanian state budget.

I: I read an article by Jose Maria Arizas; he was writing about. Good neighbourly policy and good neighbourliness in Europe reference Hungary and Romania. And he stated the extra territory, naturalizations of the think ethnic Hungarians beyond borders was financed by the department Ministry of Defence in Hungary. And I wrote to him to ask which where he found this information, I haven't been able to find it. To do you know whether that's true or not?

R: No. I don’t think it is an important piece of information at all because the money is so significant that it could not go through just one single department. So I think it is coming from a big institution as a foundation which was created for was that was the money. That is money coming from the state department of defence. I don't know, it might be true. That is, it has no importance really because the big bulk is coming from one clear source, we know what it is called it is a restitution created there. For this special case, they’re functioning like that. So, it was not one ministry was sending the money, but it was a public foundation into a visa monumental this public foundation divided. Now the problem now is that as a way of this public money which is channelled into one big organization is decided where they go. Is totally non-transparent. Total non-transparent is not project based and it is personal relationships domains and churches and there is one person trying to find (unclear) and huge amounts of money is decided by this personal relationship. For instance this media outlet which I spoke as, there was a guy was very modest, very intellectually, he went to Hungary made his connections, he was sent back here, put in the chair of receiving a big amount of money. And these are decent people working in media, leaving principles of how public space will be handled. One person. Extremely powerful in the churches. Huge. And then he decides. So I don't think that this piece of information has a big importance. Of course, I do remember that there was one particular Minister of Defence, said a big stupid, very heated moment in Romanian public policy which had an impact. And then the anti-Hungarian sentiments happening to a very serious Romanians remembers that. Beyond it has no importance. The situation is much worse because it is coming from the top, it is not coming from a mainstream just coming from a man himself it is his connection, people who are around him who decides these things. The thing is, that is a similar miracle for me. I have been asked the same thing about. So if you travel from very far away cities like, which is a most eastern part of the former Hungarian kingdom. Others and you see the same kind of public spaces. Main squares buildings. And that was built as I set from 1867, until 1911 everywhere. How the hell did this powerful this potential to build the money to build not to talk about that is different is that if you compare that I have an accidental access to a piece of information which is not very public. Not many people know about that. That in the same years, Hungary, was imagining re imaginings and because they have access to that they have marriage empower and then they decided to build, I apologise for the language, I don’t have the appropriate terms in English. The most modern warships which existence. So (unclear) the most powerful at the time has said that we are going to build one of that. And then I saw some graphics, you know, saying that if the University, which is the main building centre, hospitals, which are affiliated. Were on a graphic. That was that high in terms of what kind of, it was not the currency was transferred into gold or something so that it just, it makes a comparison make sense. So the Hungarian university in Kluge was at high so this ship. It was four or five times higher, huge amount of the story was work that I think it was a 43 or44. When the first time the ship was went out into a mission. And, on the first mission. It was sunk by a small, Japanese, shake, shake small, it was, it was like a David and Goliath, a huge and this little Japanese and it was sunk. From one shot. And so this money is gone. And beyond that, so the Hungarian University was not a second largest because there were some others, which were in Budapest, but it was the third or fourth largest investment here. And then the others were much smaller but adding up all huge almost I don’t know how it’s potentially existed at this time. I don't understand. Now the same thing is true now, you know, Hungary is spending a lot of money on everything, including this foreign Hungarian road. Huge amounts of money. Where does it come from? Is it sustainable? Is it sustainable? So, particularly when I have my arguments. Now, I don’t know if it’s clear for you, what is my bias, I didn't declare it is a beginning, but I wanted to say it at the end so of course I have a bias, but I declare it openly. Yes, my bias is that I'm very committed to myself. So I really am interested in its future. I have made a lot of effort I have invested all my life in order to make this future to become possible. I was on the side saying that this future depends, much more on the side of the Romanian state than on the Hungarian state. Yes, you cannot imagine the actual world order that community is always making these comparisons and the size of the Hungarian community. In spite of the shrinking. That it is shrinking. It's still considerable. There are 45 states in. In, 45 states in. In, geographic Europe, and out of the 45 states, nine, have smaller population than the Hungarian population in Transylvania. Nine, as there are, I think, about almost 10 more probably five or six I don't remember exactly now with a size comparable to the Hungarian. So, about 15 states in Europe, which have a population comparable to the Hungarian community and so that is the size of the community yes, we should be entitled to have a world. So I'm really committed to a future institutional achievement. What I'm always saying that it is a better society. It should define itself political community which is organizing. So, I realized that the autonomy attempt was a failure. It was a failure, to a large extent to the way the Hungarian actors have been using it. But it is still there are other options in order to keep a sizable community like a political community, which has a functional autonomy and services electing leaders. So that was my project, but I always said that in order to achieve that. The key of this solution is in the hands of Bucharest. You cannot ignore Bucharest if you want to ignore Bucharest, practically you are doing a big, big mistake with bigger things a future. So that was what I was doing. 30 years in which I was an activist I was meditating to convince my fellow Hungarians that the same what we need to achieve is to reach an agreement as a Romania state, which gives the institutional guarantees, which we need in order to have our future secured, as I said, is a significant part of the very spectacular provision of the extra minority regime is providing us with quite lot. There are things which are missing. Yes. And that is what we should focus on how these gaps can be. Unfortunately, with a strong international Hungarian state has took this thing out of the agenda as people are not interested. People are not interested in Bucharest because we can all work with on from Hungary. Now can then I come back to the thing which I interrupted shortly. When I have my arguments is my fellow Hungarians for instance this guy in a very well position and getting a lot of money from, from his government. And I asked him the question, what will happen with all these things that you created when this money's been stopped? Because it won't exist forever won't exist it is non-feasible, you can it is a miracle that for short period of time if it was possible, but you cannot leave these are coming that is going to be forever. And then the buildings, which you have taken back refurbished and created this no connection with the Romanian state is no, so to say, guarantee of sustainability resolve the Hungarian government money. What will happen with this? It will collapse like I think, the second day when Orbán Victor is gone, or, or, there is a crisis. Yes, in which fear, make him impossible to provide the money.

I: Maybe immigration to Hungary?

R: Indeed. All these people who are living in the small Hungary's will collapse and flee. And add to that this new guy mention. As I was following, following him closely. He is making an absolutely spectacular performance of political communication. It is so professional. Of course it is a disaster. If you take into account what he wants to achieve but today how he does it. So he's practically lowering the level of his of his communication to the single people is very simple. You know, and he's doing this almost each Friday in the morning. As main broadcasting of Hungarian which I follow, I can access it in Kluge. And in each Friday morning when he's not traveling somewhere. He goes to the radio station, and he stays there and explains for half an hour, openly, not reading texts but answering questions which are of course manipulative and explaining what happened why he do what he does, why he said what he said. And I have this performance. You know, for 3 or 5 years I don’t know exactly, I was amazed. I don't think there is any other Prime Minister who does that. And it is so the fact that now he has this extraordinary support in his elections. Yes, are significant videos, of course, in addition to the money, which is a very important element, and about one month ago. In this series of performances he was talking about his policy of helping of fostering demographic reproductivity in Hungary. He said very clearly. We don't need immigration. We want to resolve it ourselves. And that is what we are going to do and then I asked myself a question. Okay, let's accept that he is sincere. Let's hope that he will achieve what he wants, but when is this policy going to produce a visible result on the labour force once it starts?

I: 18 years

R: 18 years at least. And what will happen is I mean meantime if she's going not to accept any migrants. What is a solution? Does it make sense?

I: I was going to say, true parallels with Vladimir Putin in the way he speaks in the rhetoric regarding of population.

R: No, but I don't know that well Putin.

I: Okay.

R: I think of course, it's very clear. He likes, which he likes France very much escaping. At least until not long ago, he has been openly supporting and we all know what people say about his connections to Putin, which actually may be true. So it's very clear that he is interested in this type of also interior leaders. But I think this he knows his things he has his very unique way of dealing with a situation. He's a very interesting example of his own political. Unfortunately if we take the criteria of success was survival. All things is not important. It's important in order to achieve this goal. I think all these people are interesting examples. So there's a very alarming change in the sense of politics. In a broad level, since I teach politics, I have gone into this is with my students and my colleagues, this whole story of populism which is very. So if you can extract from what the consequences may be for the world it is a very interesting phenomenon itself and we have to admit it is a very serious failure of the ruling elite, which was proved to be very ignorant, so I don't say that. Politicians are right in what they say but I have to admit to some extent unfortunately I justify to say that (unclear). And then shift which seems to be very clear, in my mind, what is happening. Regarding politics is so far so until now. We could say, broadly of course, a very general assessment which is missing a lot of nuances back to the season politics was about a competition between, between the finisher’s problem definitions and solutions offers two sorts of problems, as defined as a public space and those political actors which seemed to provide the best solutions were empowered for short period of time to provide a solution and didn’t work. Now, this whole arrangement practically, broad to this surface its deficiencies was very inefficient. A lot of time was spent on arguments regarding what is, what is the solution? And practically that created the fatigue, demographic fatigue of people. In addition to this, this failure of the elites is ignoring missing touches this democratic city which they represent, this democratic fatigue of simply losing, losing patience regarding what is outcome of the whole thing which has created is a window of opportunity for the alternative. And what is a sense of the alternative in my view. These new politicians like Trump, Orbán and maybe Putin change that is less evident, but I show you who is an enemy. And if you vote me, I will protect you from the enemy. And that’s it. That’s what politics is all about.

I: May I ask one more question?

R: Yeah.

I: If your thesis is right that it's about attracting Hungarians because the demographic problem, you could consider a failed policy because people are taking the Hungarian passport, not moving to Hungary if they do leave, but they’re moving to Austria, Germany, UK.

R: That’s an argument I’ve heard, and I know it too. You know that’s of course part of the story. And many people as I said there was a layer which I was very clearly aware of, people are asking for Hungarian citizenship because they need a passport, and they were interested in is to go to various parts of the world. Now, the difference between a Romanian and Hungarian passport has diminished. So, that is not really an issue, if somebody wants to leave. Now the problem is that I'm talking about those people who because those people who want to leave. They are for them Hungarian is not. So they have made a choice, they want to live better. They won't have access to things which you don’t find in Romania, Hungary, and that's an infancy. I'm talking about people from Hungarian is important. And these people had an idea that this may be exercised in quotation marks in Romania too. And when we will draw the conclusion. That's impossible. They don't believe in others; they believe in Hungary. That is my senses, but as I told you, in many regards, I am talking about impressions that is Michael Kruger regarding moving at a word. I have my biases. So I am interested in making existence collective existence in Romania possible. That is very briefly. Apologize for lack of politeness, it may seem too ambitious but not I was trying, unfortunately I have to admit it. A very sad feeling that I can report regarding to my attempts but that is what I really believe.