THE QUOTA REFERENDUM AND THE ROAD TO IT. HUNGARY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MIGRATION OF 2015-2016

Presentation by Boldizsár Nagy at the roundtable

The Politics of Migration Across Europe

CEU Center for European Neighbourhood Policy Studies – Friedrich Ebert
Stiftung
Budapest, CEU,
10 October 2016

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Securitization

Crimmigration

Majority identitarian populism

Hungary: no genuine response to the increased flows with a view to protection. Instead of protection

Hungary does not need livelihood immigrants" title of the parliamentary debate day on 22 February 2015

DENIAL

"National consultation on terrorism and immigration" (May 2015)

"Waves of illegal immigration threaten Europe with explosion...The European Union is responsible for the emergence of this situation... We have the right to defend our culture, language, values...." Parliament's resolution 22 November 2015

DETERRENCE

OBSTRUCTION

PUNISHMENT

Reluctant reception and transport to reception centers

Fence at the border

Systemic detention of asylum seekers

Non-access to basic services / inhuman treatment

Unpredictable denial / permission to move on to Austria

Crisis situation caused by mass immigration, renewed without legal ground in March 2016

No creation of new reception and processing capacities / Closing down the largest in Debrecen

"Transit zones"
with 100/day
capacity –
decreased to
30 - 50 in
March 2015

Serbia declared safe third country

Unauthorised crossing the "border closure" is a crime

Ineligible applicants are banned from the EU and detained even if removal is hopeless

Applying to peoplesmuggler rules to volunteers transporting refugees

Unlawful detention of applicants in the transit zone (w/out court control)

Hungary: no genuine response to the increased flows with a view to protection. Instead of protection

FREE RIDING and LACK OF SOLIDARITY

BREACHING THE LAW

Closing of the border (September and October 2015) only rerouted the flow	Building the fence in violation of environmental and nature conservation rules	
Waving though approximately 233 000 persons without registration	Violating procedural guarantees in the border procedure (Including the lack of effective remedy)	
Attacking the relocation decision in the CJEU in December 2015	Violating rights of minors and access to translation in the criminal procedure	
Refraining from resettlement, including under the Turkey – EU deal of March 18	Systemic return to Serbia without obeying the EU-Serbia return agreement	
Holding a referendum against the compulsory "settling in" of foreigners, 2 October 2016	Inhuman conditions in front of the "transit zones"	
	Forceful removal of persons caught within eight kilometers of the border in breach of the Return Directive and habeas corpus rights	

The referendum on 2 October 2016

"Do you agree that the European Union should have the power to impose the compulsory relocation [occasionally also translated by the government as resettlement'] of non-Hungarian citizens to Hungary without the consent of the National Assembly of Hungary?"

Use of words: In Hungarian: "betelepítés" = settling into (Hungary) - historic reminiscences – permanent populations brought in after Tatar and Ottoman devastation

Illegal:

Not unequivocal (devoid of legal meaning and real life object)

Not affecting Parliament's power to legislate

Breaches EU law

8 -14 billion Forints on campaign

Opposition calls for no participation or invalid vote

REFERENDUM RESULTS

Category	Figure	Percentage I	Reference gr
Number of those eligible			Voting age and angary or living
to vote	8 272 625	100,00	d registered to vote
Total number of electors	5		artic
turned out to vote o	r	9 olo	
returned a valid mai	l	60	
documen	t 3 646 32	44,08	
Distribution of votor	KIII		
Distribution of votes	190,		
(hallot	224 668	6,17	of all votes cast
(Dallo)	224 008	0,17	or all votes cast
votes	3 418 387	41,32	of all eligible voters
18/0			
"Yes" votes	56 163	1,64	of all valid votes
Number of invalid votes (ballot votes "Yes" votes "No" votes	3 362 224	98,36	of all valid votes
			- C. S 133. 1010
		40,64	of all eligible voters

THE DAY AFTER – FURTHER DISTANCING REALITY AND GOVERNMENT FANCY

"Great victory" "New national unity of 3,3 million citizens" "A message to Brussels they can not ignore"

Amendment to the Fundamental Law (constitution) suggested on 10 October 2016

To be "in line with EU law" (Orbán's letter to Juncker)

Not available at the Parliaments homepage at

11:40 on October 10.

