

Project Summary

- This project proposes a move away from doctrinal legal definitions and solutions to statelessness in Central and Eastern Europe.
- **The first part of the project** focuses on specific histories of forced migration in the post-Soviet era in order to understand particular policy measures and legislative codifications of dispossession based on a regional understanding of mass displacements.
- Vis-à-vis post-1989 developments, it thus examines case-based examples underscoring the inadequacy of the present knowledge of statelessness in the region including the cases of Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingush and Meskhetian Turks, and various displaced groups in Georgia. The alternative conceptualization of statelessness evoke counter-histories, and, offers possibilities for aligning the global phenomenon of statelessness with the 'rights' vocabulary in the region.
- The documents utilized in the archives for the first part of the research are primarily the Forced Migration project reports and correspondence.
- **The second part of the project** explores issues related to the critical relationship between political violence, dispossession, failures and limits of accountability regimes in national law concerning the utilization of statelessness and revocation of citizenship as a weapon against political dissidents and unwanted minorities. For these issues, the records such as legal documents, Samizdat and RFE files pertaining to the revocation of citizenship of Hungarian dissidents in the post-1956 era and Czech and Slovak dissidents in the post-1968 era are to be examined.

Examined Collections

- **My focus has been primarily on documents concerning grave and systemic human rights abuses, more so than human rights activism.**
 - **Of the multitudes of documents in the OSA collection, those pertaining to acts of censorship and infringement of basic freedoms as they relate to citizenship, atrocities, war crimes and acts of genocide again as they relate to forced displacement are of particular significance for my work.**
 - **Collections created both by non-governmental and supra-governmental organizations, as well as individual files documenting human rights violations are of great value.**
- 1) **Records of the Open Society Institute–Russia
Records of Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute**
These records have been inherited from the predecessor of the Open Society Justice Initiative (<http://www.soros.org/initiatives/justice>), COLPI, established to inform, assist and sponsor the constitutional, legal and police reforms and facilitate the establishment of rule of law in the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. What I searched was citizenship laws and special decrees, though

the available materials include correspondence, draft constitutions, constitutional court decisions and other legal documents, as well as experts' reports, background material and specific articles on various countries, working papers and publications.

- II) **The Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty broadcasts and corporate archives**, originally donated to the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University, California and later on digitized and catalogued by Radio Svoboda journalists constitute an immense collection. The cleansed and fully processed collection amounts to over 26 thousand audio files which are published along with their related descriptions.
- III) **HU OSA 124 Records of the Forced Migration Projects**
 - Records of the Forced Migration Projects
 - 83 Archival boxes
 - Founded in 1994 the Forced Migration Projects (FMP) program at Open Society Institute-New York
 - EXCLUSIVE FOCUS on state responsibility and respect for the human rights of refugees and displaced persons.
 - The archival boxes include different types of materials related to the activities of the Forced Migration Projects (FMP) in the period from 1994-1999. They contain administrative files, correspondence, project papers, series of special reports, both thematic and periodical publications such as the magazine Forced Migration Monitor. Though FMP webpage posts some of this material, I chose to read them box by box. I read the reports, field data, and correspondence in tandem with the special collection of books in the research room on Soviet citizenship laws and Commonwealth. The boxes that began to arrive included documents related to the different projects launched and realized by the Forced Migration Projects, all under the leadership of Arthur Helton.
 - They included materials on the FMP's missions in several regions, conferences, seminars, training sessions, and other public events, press clippings, NGOs reports, articles and abstracts from different legal papers. There were a total of 69 Archival boxes
 - Then there were the Executive Files. These contained administrative documents related to the activities of the Forced Migration Projects (FMP) in 1994-1999, correspondence, reports on FMP activities in the different countries as well as the series of the publications created by FMP. These were 14 boxes.
- IV) **Collective Fonds - Records Relating to the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and Beyond**

Audio recordings and video copies of various moving image relating to the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.
- V) **Géza Sáska Collection of Hungarian Samizdat; 8 Archival boxes**

These are copies of Hungarian samizdat periodicals (Speaker, Speaker from Elsewhere, Herald) and samizdat books from various independent publishing houses (Hungarian October) and emigré publications (Magyar Füzetek). They include the records of Miklós Szabó's notes for the lectures that he delivered during the sessions of the Monday Free University. The Monday Free University, (also known as "the flying university") was an

independent initiative that followed the example of a similar Polish scheme. The organizers selected topics and invited lecturers who were excluded from the official higher education. The lectures were delivered in private apartments before an exclusive audience.

VI) **Records of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights**

436 Archival boxes as this is the complete archive of IHF.

The fonds in their totality contain correspondence, administrative records, mission files, conference and seminar material, press releases, media monitoring materials, newsletters, reports and photographs, as well as electronic records. This European watchdog organization organized frequent consultations as well as submitting frequent inquiries and open letters to governments, releasing press statements and conducting fact-finding missions in the countries under their investigation. It thoroughly embedded itself in CSCE. Of particular interest to me are the documentation of overall human rights conditions in signatory countries to the Helsinki Final Act, otherwise known as the country files.

VII) **Collective fonds: Hungarian State Security Documents**

18 Archival boxes

This is what is known as a Parallel Archive which is part of a larger collaborative archive project of the OSA Archivum. The Parallel archive consists of primarily copies of records related to the recent history of Hungary. Most of the records originate from the so-called Historical Office and its successor institution, the Historical Archive of the National Security Services. Most of these records, originated by the secret police, were highly classified documents before 1990. The records document the abuse of fundamental human rights of the communist regime in Hungary.

VIII) Yet to be examined:

Archival Heritage of the Budapest Week

43 archival boxes of black-and-white and color photos.

Mária Heller Research Documentation

9 Archival boxes

Mária Heller led the project entitled, "Intellectuals' Discourses and Role Perception in Contemporary Hungarian Public Life" studying particular debates and theoretical problems of public communication strategies and appearance of opposition between 'private' and 'public' in the strategies of public speakers during the Kádár regime.

János Kis Collection of Hungarian Samizdat and Documents of the Democratic Opposition Date(s)1981 – 1989; 6 Archival boxes

Records of the International Foundation Cultural Initiative; 51 Archival boxes; records related to the activities of the several programs run by the International Foundation Cultural Initiative (IFCI) during 1992-1994

Voices of the 20th Century Archive

In 2009 the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences brought to life The 20th Century Voices Research Group to curate the documentary heritage of Hungarian sociology. The collection includes a qualitative research documentation, structured interviews starting from the 1970s. The unedited "raw data" provide valuable insight into the everyday life of the Communist regime in Hungary.

Records of the Foundation for the Support of European Intellectuals

The Foundation for the Support of European Intellectuals (Fondation pour une entraide intellectuelle européenne, FEIE) had a unique status among Cold War cultural diplomatic programs as it provided help to individual Eastern European artists and intellectuals who were seen as being non-conformists. FEIE was preceded by the Writers' Committee for European Intellectual Cooperation (Comité d'écrivains et d'éditeurs pour une entraide européenne, CEEE), which was created back in 1956.

Overall Conclusions:

My starting assumptions were the following:

- Statelessness/revocation of citizenship were being used only under specific circumstances and for a limited duration.
- The patterns of displacement had similarities.
- Return and reparations may have been possible.

Upon examination of the archival material, I have changed direction in my research and arrived at substantively different conclusion, which I will be publishing in the coming months.