BÉLA BARANYI

Short-term impacts of enlargement in the Romanian and Hungarian border crossing*

1. Border traffic and small border traffic in Hungary

A country's stability and safety call for the continuous monitoring of people and goods crossing its borders. Consequently, the Hungarian Republic closely regulates traffic at it's borders, as is stated in the law on cross-border passenger and freight traffic and traveling abroad. The law identifies the key responsibility of the Hungarian Border Guards to be the supervision of the cross-border passenger and freight traffic and consignments and the insurance of order at the border crossing points in cooperation with other authorities (Act XXXII. in 1997). The law defines the exact conditions and exceptions of crossing the border, the stipulations concerning the opening and/or closing of a border crossing point, and the regulation of border traffic limitations.

Border traffic is affected by a number of different factors. Among these are: tourism, international commerce, economic cooperation, the safety conditions of neighbouring countries, the prices of goods – especially products subject to excise duty (petrol, cigarettes, alcohol), and

^{*} The analyses are mostly based on the following works: Béla Baranyi: A határmentiség dimenziói Magyarországon. (academic doctoral dissertation). Under publication. Debrecen, 2006. 185–213; Baranyi, B. (ed.): Hungarian–Romanian and Hungarian–Ukrainian Border Regions as Areas of Co-operation Along the External Borders of Europe. Pécs: Centre for Regional Studies. 2005.

food products handled as high priorities – and the number, density and type of border stations (table 1).

Along Hungary's state borders, the number and density of highway border crossing points are generally satisfactory; however, there is some unevenness, especially in the cases of the Hungarian-Croatian and Hungarian-Romanian borders. At these points, the distances between border crossing points are often far above the national average of 34 kilometers. However, the density and equipment of border crossing points are only a couple of – though rather important – prerequisites for the "quality" of border traffic; thus, until the SchVE comes into force in 2007, the supervision of border traffic is still an important aspect of border control so that the state borders can only be crossed at the designated places with the necessary travel documents and according to legislative stipulations. Any deviation should only occur in accordance with the regulations of international agreements. Border traffic in EU member states is supervised according to the unified principles of the "Schengen Codex". This is mainly due to the fact that member states consider the strict and consistent execution of border traffic supervision at the EU's external borders - coupled with efficient protection of the green border - to be a guarantee of their own safety.

Table 1. Characteristics of Hungarian Border Sections and Border Stations, 2005

~	er	ler		High	- ze	
Border Sections	Length of border section (km)	Waterway border crossing points	Railway border crossing points	international (permanent)	Local (temporary)	Average distance between highway border crossing points (km)
Austrian	356.2	1	4	10	6	22.3
Slovak	681.0	1	6	14	3	40.1
Ukrainian	136.7	_	1	5	1	27.3
Romanian	447.8	_	6	10	_	44.8
Serb	174.4	1	2	4	1	34.9
Croatian	344.6	1	3	6	_	57.4
Slovenian	102.0	_	1	6	1	14.6
Total	2242.7	4	22	55	11	34.0

 $Source: H\H{O}R\ web.b-m.hu/horweb/hor_szerv.nsf/atkelo_viszonylat.$

As far as passenger traffic is concerned, Table 2 suggests two immediate conclusions. First, the world passport gradually introduced in the former socialist countries and the liberalization of travel in the countries of the Carpathian Basin has led to significant increases in border traffic. In former periods the passenger traffic reached several million people, in some cases up to ten million. Currently, this figure has increased to, and in some cases even exceeds, 100 million. Second, passenger traffic has been directly affected by any political and/or economic changes in the region, the effects of which have immediately been reflected in traffic-related figures. The Yugoslav civil war and the prolonged Russian and Ukrainian acute economic crisis, for example, resulted in declines of several million in the Hungarian border traffic's overall total. Despite this, the volume of Hungarian border traffic is still extremely high. In the approximately 15 years following the change of regime in Eastern-Europe, a total of about 1.6 billion (annual average: 101 million) passengers and 30-40 million vehicles have crossed the Hungarian borders (table 2, figure 1). This suggests the special importance of cross-border regions for Hungary. It demonstrates the peculiarities of the geopolitical situation arising from Hungary's central geographical position as well as the various consequences – both negative and positive – of its position as a transit and gateway region.

Table 2. Changes in Border Traffic in Hungary between 1990–2005

Year	Border traffic (passengers)	Year	Border traffic (passengers)
1990	112 026 533	1998	98 193 630
1991	102 004 750	1999	84 653 960
1992	97 756 673	2000	82 528 851
1993	99 542 273	2001	87 562 207
1994	115 138 420	2002	93 810 066
1995	112 469 496	2003	96 829 291
1996	110 861 204	2004	104 565 971
1997	105 546 526	2005	104 574 654
Total bo	order traffic (1990–2005)		1 608 064 505

Source: HŐR database.

In terms of border traffic, passenger traffic in the period surveyed was significantly motivated by the fact that the citizens of the neighbouring countries (e.g. Romania, the Ukraine, Yugoslavia – Serbia and Montenegro today) used the Hungarian state borders for transit purposes, since they could enter Hungary without a visa. They did not intend to spend much time in Hungary but, rather, used it as a departure point for their journey to other countries. Most of them attempted to illegally cross the border to Austria; some tried to reach EU member states through Slovenia and/or Slovakia. Both the passenger and vehicle border- traffic data clearly reveal a fluctuation for the period surveyed (Figure 1).

The border crossing attitude of law-abiding citizens, i.e. border traffic, has recently been steady. The annual national average of 101 million passengers and 30–40 million vehicles crossing the Hungarian border can be regarded as relatively continuous, with the Hungarian-Austrian and the Hungarian-Slovak state borders being the most popular. In the past 4–5 years, fewer and fewer passengers have crossed the Hungarian-Serbian border; in all other cases, average border traffic has been more or less constant.

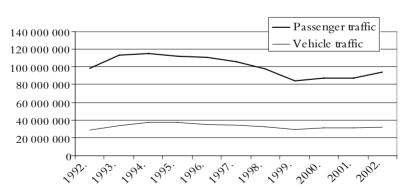


Figure 1. Changes in Passenger and Vehicle Traffic between 1992–2002

Source: HŐR database.

As compared to the present transitory period, the situation is soon expected to change radically. When the Schengen external-internal border protection rule comes into force in 2007, foreign citizens will only be allowed to cross the external border1 when they meet the specifications of the Schengen Codex. This means that passengers and vehicles will need to possess a valid *travel document* – passengers from countries subject to visa-pressure must possess an entry permit, i.e. a visa. Furthermore, if requested to do so, passengers must present the documents justifying the purpose and conditions for their journey as well as the possession of the financial means needed for their sejourn and return. Additionally, an important border-crossing prerequisite is that passengers concerned must not be listed in the Schengen Information System² (SIS), i.e. be a potential source of danger for any Schengen member state. The internal border³ can be crossed at any time and place. In practice, this means that crossing borders internally is independent of designated border crossing points for each individual – for both EU citizens and third country nationals – traveling in the Schengen area. In addition to the highways, this border can also be crossed through any type of land terrain as well, e.g. fields, woods, rivers, etc.

Small border traffic – which is a long established tradition in Hungary – remains an important factor in border traffic. An early antecedent can be identified in the 1888 Hungarian–Romanian border contract. Because the border of this contract bisected a number of properties, small border traffic was introduced to tackle the new problems arising from this situation and remained operational until World War One. After World War One, the Treaty of Trianon created difficulties that had

¹ External borders: the land and sea borders of the Contracting Parties, as well as their airports and seaports if those are not internal borders.

The SIS is one of the most important compensation policy systems of the SchVE, which enables the storage and call down of data with the given conditions. The records of passengers and objects involves the following: data concerning the individuals to be arrested on a request of extradition; data of citizens of third countries, for whom visa issue and entry is to be denied; data of wanted persons to be taken into custody; data of missing persons; data of wanted objects, stolen cars, moneys, travel and blank documents as well as weapons; data of specific persons and cars designated to be recorded secretly.

³ Internal borders: land borders of the Contracting Parties, as well as their airports and seaports handling internal traffic, at which regular crossing ships arrive and depart with destinations and departures exclusively at the ports of the Contracting Parties, without calling at ports other than the above.

never experienced before for those living in the borderland. The Prime Minister's decree nr. 5.300/1923 was issued to handle the situation. This decree stated that small border traffic applied to the territory in cross-border regions, which usually denoted a 10–15 km strip of land parallel to the customs' border. The exact territorial application was presented as an attachment to each case's contract and provided a list of the villages and settlements concerned. Citizens participating in small border traffic were allowed to cross the border with valid passports, borderline passes, proprietary permits and occasional travel passes. The place and conditions of border crossing, the features and exact territorial application of the given relation, etc. were provided in the terms of *small border contracts* with neighboring countries. The bilateral agreements signed lost their importance in the Second World War but temporarily prevailed after the war until the creation of the "iron curtain".

In the 1960's the meaning of small border traffic was redefined through Hungary's relationships with neighboring countries. With the exception of Austria, a series of bilateral small border traffic agreements were signed at this time. As a result of the introduction of world passports in the former socialist countries, the visa pressure exerted by EU member states on citizens of Central European states, and the worsening quality of life, the original aims of small border traffic— i.e. getting across to the neighboring settlement quickly— was quickly replaced by "subsistence tourism", illegal work, and—to a lesser extent—travels related to business, especially those related to the "black" and "grey" economies. As a result, small border traffic lost its original aim and function; most passengers no longer crossed the border to keep contact with their friends, relatives and culture or to reinforce their national status, and Hungarian citizens began to neglect small border traffic. Today, the proportion of small border traffic is practically negligible.

All the above have contributed to the fact that Hungary initiated the termination of small border traffic agreements with neighboring countries – which was completed in 2003 – as it simultaneously negotiated its EU accession. Small border traffic will soon be regulated by a new EU small border traffic that has already been prepared in Brussels and is awaiting final approval. This *decree aims to* regulate the general criteria and conditions of the small border system at the EU's external borders and to introduce a *special visa* to that end. Although the decree provides a new system for small border traffic at the community level, it also

empowers member states to continue bilateral negotiations with neighbours and to conclude necessary agreements, as long as the agreements are in accordance with community stipulations.

The EU's small border traffic draft was intended to facilitate border-crossing for people living legally along third-country borders who wish to cross the external border of a given EU member state for a definite period of time (at most, seven consecutive days and not to exceed total of three months in a 6 month period). According to the proposition, travel documents (which may be either identity cards or special permits to cross the border) are necessary for inhabitants of visa-free cross-border regions to cross the borders. However, inhabitants of cross-border regions subject to visa pressures will not be exempt from the obligation of obtaining a visa; for them, a special visa – marked by an "L" for local – will be introduced. This visa will be issued for citizens of cross-border regions who meet the decree's specified conditions. For the majority of the trans-border Hungarian population living in the cross-border region, the decree on small border traffic presently under consideration would unquestionably be favourable. This is because it would primarily promote "motherland" contacts for Hungarians living in Ukraine, Serbia and Montenegro.

All in all, both historical experiences and EU regulations confirm that the small border traffic system should not be rejected ab ovo along the external border of the Hungarian Republic. It is also in Hungary's primary interest to reintroduce a renewed small border traffic system in order to strengthen cooperation as well as Hungarian-Hungarian and inter-ethnic relations along the borders. Regional experience and discussions among Hungarian experts serve as a suitable base for this process. By allowing regulated small border traffic, the European Union also hopes to maintain cross-border relations between member states and countries that will soon become EU members, such as Bulgaria and Romania. This would also enable rather than inhibit other member states to establish cross-border contacts further to the East.

2. State Borders and Border Traffic with Respect to Border Sections

It has already been mentioned that the Schengen process helps determine border relations in the region, for individual states – including Hungary – between countries in the Carpathian Basin, and especially

those countries along the external borders of the EU. It affects the character and future role of common state borders. Due to its significant impact, the development of border traffic has received special attention in this complex issue. More specifically, the comparison and assessment of data on recent legal and illegal migration has helped elucidate the situation. In border traffic, legal migration refers to the number of passengers crossing a specific border with a legal permit (passport, identity card, small border traffic permission); data on illegal migration, on the other hand, illustrates the number and proportion of those crossing the border without valid permits. Since it is a full-right EU member state, this is an extremely important issue for Hungary. Moreover, Hungary will have a crucial role in the introduction Schengen borders, as approximately half of its borders are external borders of the EU. Currently, Hungary's borders constitute the Eastern and Southern borders of the European Union as well as provide a direct connection to countries presently outside the common Europe.

As evidenced in the large volume of border traffic at specific borders, Hungary maintains its border relations with its neighbours. In addition to these legal crossings, the unique position of Hungary demands that the significant volume of illegal border-crossing also be taken into consideration. An examination of the specific relations of illegal border traffic is important. This is true inasmuch as it would be able to reveal possible reasons for the high volumes of border traffic as well as for the unwanted, illegal trends in migration. Additionally, such an examination would also indirectly address the criminality within individual crossborder regions. The densely located dark-spots in Figure 2 show the presence, locations and regional manifestations of illegal border crossing. From this map, it is possible to see that illegal migration has two main components: illegal inward migration towards the East and South as well as the illegal outward migration towards the West. It should also be noticed that Budapest is also a special and dominant space of illegal migration; this is primarily due to the increased traffic at Ferihegy airport and the large number of attempts to travel by plane illegally into and out of the country.

Figure 2. Locations of Illegal Border Crossing in Hungary, 2005

3. A few characteristics of the border regions in East Hungary

The borders and border regions have special importance in Hungary. This is due to the geographical and geopolitical situation of the country. Hungary is often, and rightly, called a "country along the borders." Among other things, Hungary neighbors seven countries and has state borders totaling 2.242 kilometers in length; there are approximately 3 million Hungarians still live in neighbouring states; ten per cent of the 3,200 municipalities in Hungary are directly on borders while 43%are within a border's proximity. Within Hungary, 35% can be considered a border regions and houses 30% of the population (approximately 2.7 million inhabitants). One-third of Hungary's 168 micro-regions can be found in border zones; 9 of Hungary's 14 counties have state borders. Finally, all seven macro-regions are adjacent to a neighbouring country: the Ukraine directly borders the North Great Plain region, the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, and three Hungarian micro-regions; Romania borders both macro-regions (the North Great Plain and the South Great Plain), four counties (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Hajdú-Bihar, Békés and Csongrád) and ten micro-regions (Figures 3. and 4., Table 3.).

356 km

680,9 km

Northern Rungary

Central

Hyridary

Morthern Great Plain

102 km

Scrithern Great Plain

Scrithern Great Plain

A47,8 km

MONTENEGRO

174,4 km

Figure 3. Cross-border micro-regions and planning-statistical regions in Hungary

Source: Debrecen Department of the Centre for Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Table 3. Weight of the respective border regions in Hungary, 2002

Regions	Number of micro-regions	Population (thousand)	Share from population (%)	Area (%)	Number of settlements	Share of urban population (%)
Austrian and Slovenian	9	391.1	3.86	4.87	252	58.6
border region						
Slovakian border region	15	719.9	7.10	7.23	335	58.6
Ukrainian border region	3	148.3	1.46	2.00	108	30.7
Romanian border region	10	457.3	4.51	7.18	160	49.8
Serbian border region	5	369.7	3.64	3.96	58	67.3
Croatian border region	7	252.4	2.49	4.79	255	46.9
Inner regions	119	7803.7	76.94	69.97	1977	69.6
Border districts	49	2338.7	23.06	30.03	1168	55.2
Total	168	10142,4	100.00	100.00	3145	66.3

Note: Micro-regions and towns on the basis of the categorisation valid in 2004.

Source: T-star database, 2002.

Figure 4. NUTS 3 (county) level border regions in the Hungarian-Romanian and the Hungarian-Ukrainian border region



The east Hungarian borders were very much closed before the political and economic systemic change in 1989. Although the transformation opened up the borders of Eastern and Central Europe, the number and intensity of the cross-border relations is still low. There is little economic co-operation. The ability to strengthen these relationships is hindered by, among other things, ethnic problems. Since the opening of the borders in 1989/1990, these relations have improved with varying intensity; cross-border relations have also become more numerous. As a result of Hungary accession to the European Union, the borders have become more characterized by their ability to connect rather than separate. The economic, social and integration relationships have evidently strengthened; personal relations have intensified, too (due to a lack of visa requirements in the Hungarian-Romanian relationship). The resources devoted to the development of border regions have multiplied (Interreg, Phare CBC, TACIS etc.), yet the quality and intensity of the cross-border economic relations remains poor.

These days uncertainty is no longer a typical feeling for those who reside in the direct border region. It is now certain that Romania (after the Hungarian accession on 1 May 2004) will also join the European Union in 2007.

This raises several issues. People on both borders acknowledge that the region's role will be significantly altered after Romania temporarily becomes an external – and after 2007, an internal – EU border. At this time, Romania will have opportunities for development that were previously unknown it. Despite the large number of unanswered questions, most people on both sides of the Hungarian–Romanian border are looking forward to the possibility of the restoration of the former, organic economic, infrastructural etc. relations and to the diminished possibility that the border will act as a tool of separation.

The *legal frameworks of the border defense and border traffic* will significantly change again with the introduction of the Schengen norms. Hungary must apply these rules when it gains full rights within the EU. Since Romanian citizens have been able to travel to EU member states since 2002 without visas, their main difficulty will be not the more strict legal regulations but the proof of adequate financial means.

In addition to the agreements on border defense and border traffic, several other *inter-state agreements* were made between Hungary and Romania that directly influenced the progress of cross-border relations. The most important is the *Hungarian–Romanian Treaty* (Act No. XLIV. of 1997). This agreement, basically, determines the frameworks of cooperation. In accordance with this Treaty, special inter-governmental special committees (e.g. Special Committee for the Co-operation of the Ethnic Minorities, Special Committee for the Co-operation in the Field of Economy, Trade and Tourism, Special Committee of Cross-border Issues and Inter-municipal Co-operation, Special Committee for the Co-operation in the Field of Transport, Water Management and Environmental Protection etc.) were created to develop and supervise co-operation between Hungary and Romania on "common issues."

Several *co-operative agreements* between Hungary and Romania were and are still in effect. They cover almost all fields of the socio-economic life (e.g. the agreement on inter-modal freight traffic, Hungarian–Romanian investment protection agreement, agreement on the mutual recognition of degrees and certificates issued by accredited educational institutions and of academic degrees, Hungarian Hungarian–Romanian agreement on the co-operation in privatisation, etc.). Because of geographical endowments, those agreements specifically addressing *water management* and environmental protection are especially important.

4. Hungarian-Romanian border region

Although their histories have been quite different, both the *Hungarian–Romanian and the* Hungarian–Ukrainian *border regions* have periodically experienced stormy relations (*Figure 5.*). In addition to the significant losses of territory, the Trianon Peace Treaty resulted in the loss of around two million Hungarian inhabitants. These inhabitants resided within all the states neighbouring Hungary; although these inhabitants and the results of Trianon caused tension between Hungary and its neighbours, the tension between Romania and Hungary seems to have been most extreme and enduring. Because debates and other measures taken further exacerbated ethnic-minority problems, the atmosphere of mutual mistrust did not improve in the subsequent decades. The elevated principles declared in the period of the state socialism, "friendship and brotherhood," were never more than slogans, and until the early 1990s, the border functioned as a wall. Real cooperation – or even normal everyday connections – across the border was impossible in practice.



Figure 5. NUTS 2 border regions of the Hungarian-Romanian border

Source: Debrecen Department of the CRS, HAS.

The 448-kilometre-long Hungarian-Romanian border was created through the Peace Treaty of Trianon at the conclusion of World War I. Presently, the Hungarian-Romanian border region consists of four counties on both sides of the border: Satu Mare, Bihor, Arad and Timiş counties in Romania, which has a total territory of 28,485 km² and a total population of 2.17 million inhabitants; on the Hungarian side Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Hajdú-Bihar, Békés and Csongrád counties, which is composed of a total territory of 22,045 km² and a population of 1.94 million. On both sides of the Hungarian-Romanian border region, it is possible to find Romanian and Hungarian speaking populations. On the Romanian side of the border, however, there are ethnic-blocks in which a decreasing-but-still-significant Hungarian minority lives (Figure 6.). Significant factors hindering Hungarian-Romanian relations are the inherited historical, cultural and ethnic problems and other difficulties like illegal trade and migration, crime.

Hungarian majority (over 50 %)

Satu Marc

Statu Marc

Carei

Nagykarols

Valea lui Mihai

Ermihályfalv

Sacueni

Szekelyin Vargina Zilab

Oradega kajarita Zilab

Oradega kaj

Figure 6. Hungarian ethnic groups in Romania at the time of the census of 2001

Source: Census, 2002 (www.htmh.hu)

4.1. The Hungarian-Romanian relation

Romania is a strategic link between East and West and, because of this, is of special importance for both the European Union and Hungary. Furthermore, because of the large Hungarian population in Romania, the Hungarian-Romanian borders zones are also a high priority for Hungarian foreign policy. Romania has made significant efforts in order to join the EU as quickly as possible. As demonstrated by the repeal of visa pressure on January 1 2002 and its 2005 associated membership. Romania's efforts have been effective. Despite its effectiveness, the Hungarian-Romanian border remains the present EU's external Schengen border. If Romania continues its progress and fulfills its remaining obligations, it may become a full-right member of the European Union as early as 2007. This means that, currently, the common state-border can be considered a space of transition between Schengen and non-Schengen bound territories, but with the full-right EU membership and expectable Schengen membership of Romania, this border section could potentially become an internal EU-border by the end of the decade. Due to its special position, this 447.8 km long border section has always reacted to and revealed the different regional and local political, economic, social and cultural impacts. This is reflected in the border – especially passenger – traffic data displayed in table 4.

Table 4. Changes in Border Traffic at the Hungarian-Romanian Border between 1996–2005

Year	Total borde	r-crossing		Out of it illegal border-crossing (illegal migration)		
	passengers	%	Passengers	Total in %		
1996	12 407 526	100.0	739	0.0060		
1997	10 700 493	100.0	934	0.0087		
1998	11 612 826	100.0	815	0.0070		
1999	10 494 141	100.0	915	0.0087		
2000	12 477 462	100.0	794	0.0064		
2001	12 167 259	100.0	1 128	0.0093		
2002	12 142 209	100.0	666	0.0055		
2003	13 451 544	100.0	282	0.0021		
2004	17 756 994	100.0	305	0.0017		
2005	15 331 162	100.0	438	0.0029		

Table 5. Passenger traffic by border section

Border section	2005. I-III.	Percent- age	2006. IIII.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Austrian	7 501 525	36	8 122 824	36	621 299	8
Slovenian	688 927	3	703 899	3	14 972	2
Croatian	508 172	2	507 242	2	-930	-0,2
Serbian- Montenegrin	1 290 056	6	1 345 286	6	55 230	4
Romanian	3 175 624	15	3 085 458	14	-90 166	-3
Ukrainian	1 797 040	9	1 060 139	5	-736 901	-41
Slovakian	4 770 364	23	6 042 513	27	1 272 149	27
in Budapest	1 372 199	6	1 412 054	6	39 855	3
National Headquarters	11 344	0,05	7163	0,03	-4 181	-37
Total	21 115 251		22 286 578		1 171 327	6

Table 6. Vehicle traffic by border section

Border section	2005.	Percent-	<i>2006</i> .	Percentage	Change	Change
Doraci scenon	I-III.	age	IIII.	1 creeninge	Ghunge	in percent
Austrian	2 775 473	34	2 960 993	36	185 520	7
Slovenian	387 911	5	435 873	5	47 692	12
Croatian	317 627	4	277 573	3	-40 054	-13
Serbian- Montenegrin	449 455	6	517 061	6	67 606	15
Romanian	1 192 692	15	1 186 819	14	-5 873	-0,5
Ukrainian	1 129 669	14	608 730	7	-520 939	-46
Slovakian	1 874 168	23	2 263 720	27	389 552	21
in Budapest	40 477	0,5	43 333	0,5	2856	7
National <u>Headquarters</u>	835	0,01	626	0,01	-209	-25
Total	8 168 307		8 294 728		126 421	2

Though it has also shown some characteristic features, the *total passenger traffic at the Hungarian-Romanian border* has more-or-less adjusted itself to national trends for the past decade. The regime change involved the complete opening of borders and resulted in a sudden increase in the traffic of all border crossing points, which peaked in 1995 with a national total of 115,138 passengers recorded crossing the border. Since then, however, there has been a natural equilibration and gradual decrease in these numbers. Experts expect the traffic to settle at the present level, somewhere between 80 and 90 million (*tables 5*, *6*).

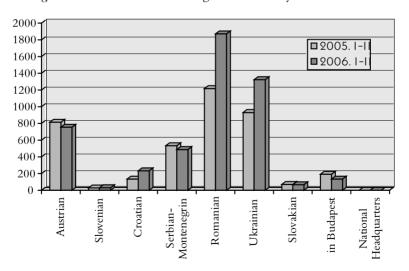
Besides its adjustment to national trends, it is also important to note that Romanian domestic affairs have also impacted the Hungarian-Romanian border. Because of this, it is understandable that the *Hungarian-Romanian border section* was the most frequented in 1990 rather than in 1995. While in 1990 this border was responsible for 19.5% of average, daily vehicle traffic, it has only provided 8–10% of the national average for the past few years. This difference can be attributed to the number of Romanian refugees, which peaked in 1990 and then gradually decreased over a five year period to nearly half of its pre-1990 volume. Since this time, the volume of traffic has become, more or less, stable. If no further obstacles, political events or economic factors emerge, the present volume of traffic is expected to prevail for the next few years. The visa-free entry status Romania's citizens have recently gained means that passenger traffic is not likely to decrease after the introduction of Schengen, either.

Similar to previous years, most border traffic was driven by the considerable differences in the market prices of neighbouring countries. While those inhabitants who live in the direct vicinity of the border, still perform shopping tourism and travel to the other country in large numbers, the number of this type of border crossing has decreased significantly over the course of the past five years. This is because prices have equalized and border control has become tighter in recent years. The reason for the decreasing number of illegal border crossings might also be due to the fact that earlier Romanian citizens used Hungary as a transit country. Previously, they could legally enter Hungarian territory without visas; once in Hungary, they would attempt to travel to other EU countries illegally (table 7., figure 7). This method was used until 1 January 2002.

Table 7. Distribution of sending back events by border sections

Border section	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. IIII.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Austrian	815	21	755	15	-60	-7
Slovenian	29	1	31	0,6	2	7
Croatian	135	3	233	5	98	73
Serbian- Montenegrin	534	14	488	10	-46	-9
Romanian	1 217	31	1 872	38	655	54
Ukrainian	931	24	1 324	27	393	42
Slovakian	70	2	67	1	-3	-4
in Budapest	195	5	135	3	-57	-30
Small airports	0		0		0	
Total	3 923		4 905		982	25

Figure 7. Distribution of sending back events by border sections



Following Hungary's EU accession, Hungary achieved visa-exemption (1 May 2004), under the EU agreement between member states. Since that time, the Hungarian-Romanian border has become an external border and no longer hinders border traffic any longer. As indicated by the increase in criminal activity, however, the smuggling of illegal immigrants and goods pose significant problems. Those smuggling illegal immigrants from Romania are well-organized; they can only be prevented by efficient cooperation of international and national security-forces. The smuggling of goods (e.g. petrol, sugar, and cigarettes) is rooted in price differences that encourage people who are employed and/or find themselves in difficult life situations to procure a livelihood through smuggling (tables 8–10, figure 8).

Table 8. Distribution of people sent back by citizenship

Citizenship	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. IIII.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Romanian	1 407	36	2 006	41	599	43
Ukrainian	949	24	1 334	27	385	41
Serbian- Montenegrin	497	13	506	10	9	2
Moldavian	103	3	147	3	44	43
Bosnian	111	3	142	3	31	28
Turkish	100	3	98	2	-2	-2
Unknown	69	2	82	2	13	19
Macedonian	64	2	81	2	17	27
Bulgarian	115	3	76	2	-39	-34
Russian	65	2	75	2	10	15
Other	443	11	358	7	-85	-19
Total	3 923		4 905		982	25

1400 **□**2005. I-I 1200 **■**2006. I-I 1000 800 600 400 200 National Headquaertes Serbian-Montenegrin Austrian Slovenian Croatian Romanian Ukrainian Slovakian in Budapest

Figure 8. Distribution of people sent back by citizenship

Table 9. Distribution of man-smuggling by border section

				,		
Border section	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. I-III.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Austrian	140	71	109	69	-31	-22
Slovenian	15	8	10	6	-5	-33
Croatian	0		2	1	2	
Serbian- Montenegrin	4	2	8	5	4	100
Romanian	10	5	6	4	-4	-40
Ukrainian	14	7	13	8	-1	-7
Slovakian	6	3	3	2	-3	-50
in Budapest	8	4	6	4	-2	-25
National Headquarters	0		0		0	
Total	197		157		-40	-20

2005. Change 2006. Percentage Citizenship Percentage Change I.-III. I-III. in percent Hungarian 64 32 60 38 -4 -6 Ukrainian 40 20 42 2.7 2 5 Romanian 14 7 15 10 1 7 7 -5 Austrian 13 8 5 -38 5 7 4 Slovakian 10 -3 -30 Other 56 28 25 16 -31 -55

157

-20

-70

Table 10. Distribution of man-smuggling by citizenship of offenders

Source: BM Border Guards database.

197

Total

One reason for considerable border traffic is the fact that many Romanian citizens take legal or illegal jobs in Hungary as well as other countries. The number of Romanian citizens arriving in Hungary for *employment reasons* has been and remains significant from March to October, i.e. in the period of seasonal work for the agriculture, food and building construction industries.

After the recent abrogation of visa pressure for Romanian citizens, more and more Romanian tourist buses arrive at the Hungarian border with an EU country as their final destination; in this case, however, the necessary information concerning potential willingness for employment is not available. By all means it seems certain that following Romania's EU accession, citizens from countries bordering Romania will cross this part of Hungary's border. The future of the Hungarian-Romanian border will be determined by Romania's EU accession and the fact that this border is one of the most highly traveled by Romanian citizens entering other EU states. The Romanian-Hungarian border will be the EU's internal but the SchVE's external border beginning 2007. When Romania is given full SchVE membership, the common confines of these states can become freely penetrable (tables 11–18, figures 9–17).

Table 11. Distribution of wrongful acts connected to illegal migration by border sections

Border section	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. I-III.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Austrian	1 110	39	1 005	28	-105	-9
Slovenian	67	2	59	2	-8	-12
Croatian	52	2	83	2	31	60
Serbian- Montenegrin	152	5	172	5	20	13
Romanian	647	23	1 306	36	659	102
Ukrainian	200	7	441	12	241	121
Slovakian	112	4	165	5	53	47
in Budapest	452	16	285	8	-167	-37
National Headquarters	76	3	67	2	-9	-12
Small airports	0		0		0	
Total	2 868		3 583		715	25

Figure 9. Distribution of wrongful acts connected to illegal migration by border sections

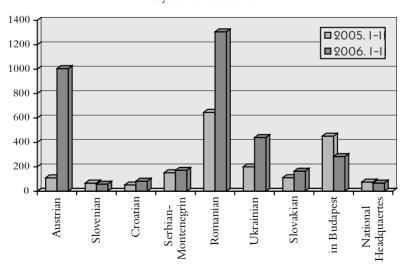


Table 12. Distribution of people committing wrongful acts connected to illegal migration by citizenship

				_		
Citizenship	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. I-III.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Romanian	1 112	39	1 641	46	529	48
Ukrainian	854	30	1 091	30	237	28
Serbian- Montenegrin	280	10	195	5	-85	-30
Moldavian	106	4	144	4	38	36
Hungarian	82	3	107	3	25	30
Turkish	76	3	83	2	7	9
Georgian	32	1	51	1	19	59
Bulgarian	36	1	32	1	-4	-11
Chinese	33	1	26	1	- 7	-21
Unknown	35	1	24	1	-11	-31
Other	222	8	189	5	-33	-15
Total	2 868		3 583		715	25

Figure 10. Distribution of people committing wrongful acts connected to illegal migration by citizenship

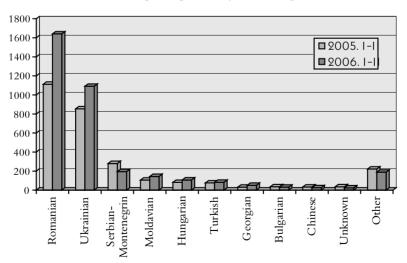


Figure 11. The directions of wrongful acts connected to illegal migration

Table 13. Distribution of violation of entry and staying prohibition by citizenship of offenders

Citizenship	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. I-III.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Romanian	36	64	62	68	26	72
Serbian- Montenegrin	10	18	16	18	6	60
Ukrainian	5	9	7	8	2	40
Bulgarian	0		2	2	2	
Moldavian	0		1	1	1	
Other	5	9	3	3	-2	-40
Total	56		91		35	63

Figure 12.

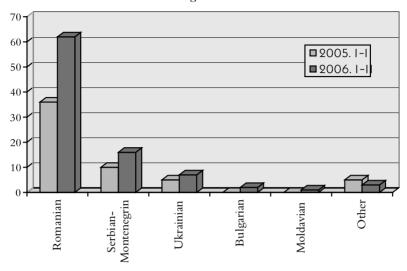


Table 14. Distribution of unauthorized crossing of the border or attempt of it by border sections

Border section	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. IIII.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Austrian	275	64	336	59	61	22
Slovenian	20	5	33	6	13	65
Croatian	6	1	2	0,3	-4	-67
Serbian- Montenegrin	35	8	41	7	6	17
Romanian	64	15	61	11	-3	-5
Ukrainian	11	3	25	4	14	127
Slovakian	15	3	63	11	48	320
in Budapest	2	0,5	9	2	7	350
National Headquarters	1	0,2	3	0,5	2	200
Small airports	0		0		0	
Total	429		573		144	34

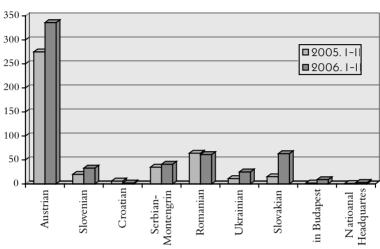


Figure 13. Distribution of unauthorized crossing of the border or attempt of it by border sections

Table 15. Distribution of unauthorized crossing of the border or attempt of it by citizenship of offenders

				-		
Citizenship	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. I-III.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Ukrainian	53	12	174	30	121	228
Serbian- Montenegrin	101	24	104	18	3	3
Romanian	78	18	86	15	8	10
Georgian	27	6	49	9	22	81
Moldavian	39	9	46	8	7	18
Hungarian	3	1	23	4	20	667
Russian	9	2	11	2	2	22
Chinese	1	0,2	10	2	9	900
Bulgarian	6	1	7	1	1	17
Macedonian	6	1	7	1	1	17
Other	106	25	56	10	-50	-47
Total	429		573		144	34

Figure 14. Distribution of unauthorized crossing of the border or attempt of it by citizenship of offenders

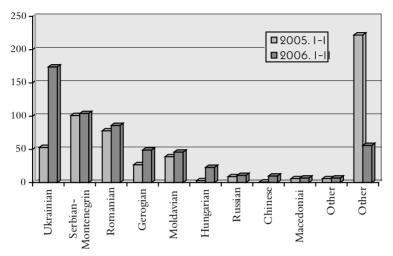


Table 16. Distribution of offences connected to foreign citizens by border section

		,				
Border section	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. IIII.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Austrian	59	5	58	3	-1	-2
Slovenian	9	1	8	0,5	-1	-11
Croatian	35	3	55	3	20	57
Serbian- Montenegrin	35	3	56	3	21	60
Romanian	494	42	1 096	63	602	122
Ukrainian	70	6	143	8	73	104
Slovakian	76	6	86	5	10	13
in Budapest	335	28	178	10	-157	-47
National Headquarters	75	6	64	4	-11	-15
Total	1 188		1 744		556	47

1200 ■2005. I-I 1000 ■2006. I-800 600 400 200 National Headquaertes Romanian Croatian Ukrainian in Budapest Montenegrin Slovakian Slovenian Serbian-

Figure 15. Distribution of offences connected to foreign citizens by border section

Table 17. Distribution of offences connected to foreign citizens by it by citizenship of offenders

	-	-	_			
Citizenship	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. I-III.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Romanian	889	75	1 351	77	462	52
Ukrainian	210	18	234	13	24	11
Turkish	26	2	70	4	44	169
Serbian- Montenegrin	16	1	18	1	2	13
Chinese	9	1	14	1	5	56
Moldavian	5	0,4	10	1	5	100
Vietnamese	4	0,3	10	1	6	150
Israeli	1	0,1	7	0,4	6	600
Iranian	0		5	0,3	5	
Mongolian	3	0,3	3	0,2	0	
Other	25	2	22	1	-3	-12
Total	1 188		1 744		556	34

Figure 16. Distribution of offences connected to foreign citizens by it by citizenship of offenders

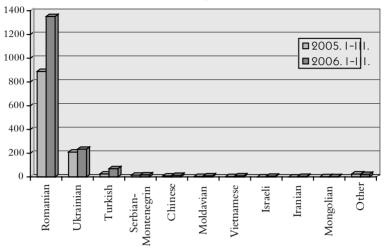


Table 18. Distribution of wrongful acts connected to tobacco products by border section (persons)

		•				
Border section	2005. I-III.	Percentage	2006. IIII.	Percentage	Change	Change in percent
Austrian	58	11	88	13	30	52
Slovenian	1	0,2	5	1	4	400
Croatian	6	1	19	3	13	17
Serbian- Montenegrin	18	3	29	4	11	61
Romanian	246	47	233	34	-13	-5
Ukrainian	129	25	215	31	86	67
Slovakian	59	11	91	13	32	54
in Budapest	6	1	3	0	-3	-50
National Headquarters	0		1		1	
Total	523		684		161	31

50000000 45000000 □ 2005. I-III. 40000000 **2006.** I-III. 35000000 25000000 20000000 15000000 10000000 5000000 M ontenegrin Slovenian Romanian Ukrainian n Budapest Slovakian Headquaertes Serbian-N ational

Figure 17. Distribution of wrongful acts connected to tobacco products by border section (value, HUF)

In conclusion, both sides of the Hungarian-Romanian border are coping with the same problems, but there are great differences between the development levels of each. Although the two countries share grave concerns (lagging behind economic structures and infrastructure, inactive interest from foreign capital, lack of capital), Romania's developmental lag requires that Hungary can Romania be evaluated on different scales and according to different dimensions; however, even as these discrepancies necessitates cooperation, they hinder it as well. It is interesting to note that geographically Satu Mare (Szatmár), Bihor (Bihar), Arad and Timis (Temes) counties on the other side of the Hungarian-Romanian border are twice as far away from their own capital as from Budapest. Doesn't this call for the further development of trans-border relations? More intensive cooperation for realizing common interests, social-economic adjustment and successful Euro-Atlantic integration is a rightful expectation on for both Hungary and Romania. This mutual interest will only prevail or will be enhanced when Hungarian-Romanian borders become freely penetrable.