

Global Opening for Hungary: A New Beginning for Hungarian Africa Policy?

ISTVÁN TARRÓSY AND PÉTER MORENTH

Abstract: Following the rotating Presidency of the Council of the European Union it held between January and June 2011, the Hungarian government introduced a new foreign policy strategy of “Global Opening.” As part of this strategic concept, Hungary intends to revitalize linkages with countries of sub-Saharan Africa with which it once had intensive relations, in particular during the bipolar era. For the first time since the change of the political system in 1989, Africa-related concepts also have been included in plans fostered by the government that has held office since 2010. As one of the very few scholarly articles addressing the issue of relations between Hungary and Africa, the present paper aims first of all to give an overview of historic ties. Second, it analyzes the current potential for Hungarian involvement in Africa, especially after the Budapest Africa Forum of June 2013, with a fuller insight into Hungarian–South African relations as the most thriving framework of cooperation. Finally, it touches upon issues of a long-term strategic Hungarian policy towards Africa.

Introduction

Hungary as a central European country without a record of having colonized territory in the Global South but as a member of the European Union with an extended history of research across countries of the developing world, formulated a global foreign policy strategy in 2011. While keeping a strong Euro-Atlantic orientation at the heart of its diplomacy, the country’s conservative government (led by the party Fidesz–Hungarian Civic Union since the 2010 elections) declared its firm intention to intensify relations with countries and regions beyond the European continent.

This intent seems to be a first pragmatic step considering that after the change of the system in 1989, Hungary’s first non-communist government led by Prime Minister József Antall clearly set the foreign policy agenda: the country’s top priority was to integrate into the European and Atlantic organizations. Therefore, gaining full membership in the European Union (EU) and in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) represented the unanimous aspirations, as well as the related tasks. In addition, major attention was paid to the bigger Hungarian diaspora community in the Carpathian Basin and beyond (in a non-revisionist but undoubtedly cultural-nationalist way).¹ A third pillar of Hungarian foreign policy and a high priority has been improving relations with neighboring countries, in particular with Slovakia and Romania where large Hungarian-speaking populations have

István Tarrósy is Assistant Professor and Director, Africa Research Center, Department of Political Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pécs, and a Fulbright Research Fellow (2013) at the Center for African Studies, University of Florida.

Péter Morenth is the Executive Director, ATDO Africa, External Researcher, Africa Research Center, University of Pécs, and Honorary Consul to Hungary for the Kingdom of Lesotho.

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been living for a long time, together with strengthening good-neighbor relations with all the countries sharing borders with Hungary.

In the official approach not much was talked about the rest of the world, including mention of the African continent. Furthermore, as far as Africa was concerned, one thing was for certain: not to continue supporting countries from the continent, which had been on good “friendship” terms with the former socialist regime. A rather localized foreign policy was beginning to emerge, which did not really mention the significance of a more globally involved national participation. In 2010, however, the second Orbán government established an individual deputy state secretariat for global affairs within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The concept of “global opening” has unquestionably gained momentum since 2010.² A previous government led by Ferenc Gyurcsány of the Hungarian Socialist Party, however, had already realized in 2008 that “Hungary needs to intensify its global presence, and the country needs to address issues of global importance with an increasing visibility.”³

This article has four main aims. It first intends to offer an overview of earlier Hungarian Africanists, their contributions to the universal “Africa knowledge corpus” and their significance for present-day foreign policy aspirations. Second, Soviet-bloc-era linkages and their implications will be discussed to provide a better understanding of the political heritage of the bipolar era. Third, the article will look at what has happened since the change of the system, which, then, in 2011 resulted in an expanded foreign policy that includes Africa. In particular, it will provide a detailed discussion of Hungarian–South-African bilateral relations because the Republic of South Africa has become Hungary’s fourth largest market outside Europe after the United States, China, and the Arab Emirates. Finally, it will critically examine whether or not all the efforts the government has made so far can present a real hope for a (new) Africa policy for the country.

In the Footsteps of Major Hungarian Africanists: The Revival of Past Achievements and the Launch of New Types of Cooperation

Several Hungarians (or people of Hungarian descent) are known for their contribution to the global corpus on African studies, which in fact resulted in a wider and better understanding on the flora, fauna, and peoples of different parts of the continent. Some of them left a legacy for today’s generations with an interest in Africa. Their scientific achievements have been revisited, as we will see in the case of some fieldwork and expeditions in the recent decade.

Emil Torday (1875–1931) was among the few Hungarians with a significant international reputation. He first moved to Belgian Congo in 1900 as a bank clerk and spent four years there, devoting substantial time to studying the local cultures and to collect cultural objects. When he returned to Congo he was working for the British Museum and continued visiting different ethnic groups and collecting thousands of objects and photos, which was relatively easy for him as he spoke fifteen languages, among them eight African.⁴ Torday was a leading scholar of the Congo River Basin. His scholarly stature is due to his extensive work among the Bushongo in the capital of the Kuba Kingdom and among the Bangongo on the east side of that kingdom.⁵ His works included sixty articles, nine books, and more than three thousand material objects and photos, all of which were featured in a 1990 British Museum exhibit entitled “Emil Torday and the Art of the Congo, 1900–1909.”⁶ Torday and his fundamental work in the Congo have been experiencing a revival in Hungarian public dialogue thanks to the efforts of young Hungarian Africanists and the African-Hungarian Union (AHU). Their efforts led to financing major chunks of the 2009

expedition of the centenary of Torday's last African journey.⁷ The younger generation of Africanists in Hungary tries to draw on the works of their predecessors and by revitalizing the legacy to get closer again to Africa and to the mainstream of international scholarly research.

Another major representative of Hungarian involvement with Africa was László Magyar (1818–1864), who was originally trained as a naval officer who then became intrigued with Africa and lived for seventeen years in Angola. He “made important contributions to the study of the geography and ethnography of equatorial Africa.”⁸ He was the first European to travel through and describe some southern African areas, namely the borderland of present-day Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo (1850–1851) and in southeastern Angola (1852–1854) at the divide of the Zambezi and Congo basins.⁹ “He did not only explore one area, but also described the life of the people living there. He . . . recorded geographical and especially ethnographical data.”¹⁰ His legacy also stimulated renewed interest in this part of the African continent. In June 2012 two young Hungarian Africanists launched an expedition following Magyar's routes with the aim, as they stated it, to “rediscover Angola.” The two-month, 7,000-kilometre-long journey was to commemorate the great Hungarian traveller, promote Angolan tourism, and develop Angolan-Hungarian bilateral relations.¹¹ It was well received on the Angolan side, too, and helped raise awareness about the potentials of a reconfirmed cooperation between the two countries. Angola has an embassy in Hungary, and the first resident Angolan ambassador to Hungary also wanted to use the expedition to develop economic cooperation.¹²

Count Sámuel Teleki (1845–1916) and his expeditions across East African regions during the late 1880s, in particular into the Rift Valley, and was the first European together with his travel mate Ludwig von Höhnel to set foot on Mount Kenya or to reach Lake Turkana, meeting with various Maasai and the Kikuyu entities in the process. This constituted yet another major Hungarian individual presence in Africa. Others on a relatively long list would include influential figures such as Gábor Pécsvárady, Móric Benyovszky, Anne Baker alias Flóra Sass, Aurél Török, István Czímermann, to Ferenc Hopp, and László Almásy, to name a few.¹³

More than twenty years ago, however, it was Teleki's activities that encouraged a group of scholars (geographers, ethnographers, geologists, philologists, and economists) to pay tribute to his decisive works while following the routes he had taken in 1887–1888, thus contributing to widening the knowledge about Africa as seen from Hungary. The Hungarian Scientific Africa Expedition of 1987–1988 then offered a solid ground for researchers at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest (ELTE) to launch an Africa Studies Program.¹⁴ Bantu philologist Géza Füssi Nagy (1946–2008) gradually became the engine behind the scenes until his sudden death in 2008 at the age of sixty-two. He was also advocating for a “long-expected Hungarian research center or other kind of academic program, even institution on Africa,” as did some of his predecessors, especially Endre Sík, who “remains to be the most influential [and rather controversial] Africanist of Hungary [whose] greatest mistake was that he failed to establish his own school of Hungarian Africanists.”¹⁵ Géza Füssi Nagy did several study and research tours to East, Central, and West Africa, and as a linguist-anthropologist he translated many local ethnic tales, collected stories, and after his visiting professorship at the University of Dar es Salaam during 1986–87, wrote the first Hungarian–Swahili grammar book and compiled the first Hungarian–Swahili dictionary. He always devoted himself to “our job to understand Africa and teach about Africa,” as he said to his colleagues.¹⁶ At present, the Africa Studies Program at ELTE itself has ceased to exist, while

the Hungarian Accreditation Board has been accredited a Master's program in African Studies, which still awaits its official launch in the course of 2014.

In the meantime another group of young Africanists started establishing their base at Hungary's oldest university (dating from 1367), the University of Pécs. In cooperation with Publikon Publishers they founded the second Hungarian scientific journal on African Studies, *Afrika Tanulmányok* (African Studies), which is in its seventh volume in 2013 and provides a national forum for African issues four times a year.¹⁷ Pécs has also established an Africa Research Center at its Humanities School.¹⁸ It is an interdisciplinary unit with the potential to launch BA level training in African Studies as part of the university's new degree program in International Studies. The program has been launched but does not yet have a specialization in African Studies. The center in the meantime organized its second international Africa conference in June 2012 with the participation of scholars from the Visegrad region (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary) and beyond. The conference was entitled "Emerging Africa – Old Friends, New Partnerships and Perspectives for the 21st Century" and hosted over fifty researchers from Central and Eastern Europe and Russia along with with Africanists from Western Europe.¹⁹ Pécs clearly wishes to foster and therefore to participate actively in a new type of regional networking among Africanists. One set of the results is manifested in the first ever Central European African Studies Network (CEASN) with its permanent seat at the West Bohemian University in Plzen and two other founding institutions from Cracow and Pécs. The network will hold its first international conference in May 2014. Another output of this initial networking is the formulation of the potential involvement of research centers in think tank activities that among other activities provides advice for the respective ministries of foreign affairs of the Visegrad countries. The Pécs center was able to contribute effectively to a "new Hungarian Africa concept."²⁰ The center cooperated with NGOs and played an active role in compiling some fundamental strategic recommendations for the Hungarian government. It held workshops and conferences (two in the fall 2010, first in Pécs and then in collaboration with the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs in Budapest, and a third one in spring 2011 again in Budapest), which were followed by some additional meetings coordinated by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The government subsequently channeled the contributions of these scholarly exchanges into its foreign policy strategy document, acknowledging that the existence of academic Africa programs are important for the re-designed African engagement of Hungary and how Africa can reappear on the country's foreign policy maps.²¹

Is Africa Back on Hungarian Maps?

As member of the Soviet bloc until 1989–1990 the Hungarian People's Republic was active in partnerships with then third-world countries along ideological lines determined by Moscow. Attention needs to be drawn here to the practice that did not offer the newly independent African countries much in real support beyond rhetoric.²² Hungary later on programmed an aid policy in its five-year plans and drew the circle of target countries. In 1962 an operative unit under the name Tesco (International Technical and Scientific Cooperation and Trading Office) was set up with the aim of managing bilateral intergovernmental technical agreements, receiving students holding state scholarships, sending national experts abroad as part of technical assistance, and organizing aid activities in the fields of education, healthcare, agriculture, and water management.²³

After the democratic transformation in 1989–1990 Hungary practically withdrew from sub-Saharan Africa (among many other parts of the increasingly global world) and focused on its new concerns with European and trans-Atlantic integration. This seemed an obvious step on behalf of the government that finally felt the momentum to get “back to Europe,” and became the country’s top foreign affairs priority. Nowadays it is mostly the civil organizations that give substance to the relation with Africa instead of the official presence of the state. NGOs working with African issues in different parts of the continent (e.g., the African-Hungarian Union, the Foundation for Africa, and the Taita Foundation) try to fill the void left by Hungarian foreign policy. An example is the humanitarian involvement of the Foundation for Africa in Kinshasa, Congo. Its long-term humanitarian education-focused project, College Othniel and a recently acquired orphanage, provides schooling and vocational training for about five hundred children of poor families.²⁴

Hungary’s integration into the European Union in 2004 meant an inevitable turning point in its international relations. While joining the community of fellow member states in “playing the game” of the European Union the country has been trying to pursue its interests in the most effective way possible. In addition to its pursuit of a national-interest-based foreign policy, the country must endorse the “Whole-of-the-Union” approach to a common development policy. Although harmonization is still difficult among all its members, the EU cannot do anything else but foster its presence in the international arena as a “global actor.” Hungary, as a member with “limited historical experience of development, and who [was itself a] recipient of EU development resources” arrived at a historic moment.²⁵ Due to the Joint Africa–EU strategy (JAES) adopted at the second Africa–EU Summit in Lisbon in December 2007 a new scope of involvement with Africa became available. “Hungary can only participate actively and take initiatives in [any community programs], if we have our ‘own’ Africa policy at hand: a network of connections, well-defined interests, clear goals, ideas on development policy, and based on all these, firm positions that we can harmonize with other member states,” thinks Ambassador Balázs Bokor, Chief Coordinator of the Budapest Africa Forum.²⁶

As part of this, special attention can now be given to the reshaping of Hungary’s international—in this case pointedly African—relationships. Hungary has the chance to participate more intensively in the Community’s development policy, as since January 1, 2010 Hungary has had access to the European Union’s Development Fund (EDF). This means that the country can and is expected to play an active role in EDF programs. This is also an alternative opportunity for Hungarian enterprises to diversify beyond the European markets. For some Hungarian companies, the sub-Saharan region can be a takeoff point to boost Hungarian ideas regarding economic development. The region offers a new market and an investment target for large, small, and medium size Hungarian enterprises. For example, an entrepreneur might prosper in some East-African countries selling (under a revitalized brand name) Hungarian Hajdu washing machines with a rotating disc, a very popular household item across the Eastern Bloc during Soviet times.

There has been a boost in Hungarian economic activism in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa since April 2013. The Hungarian Trade and Cultural Centers (HTCC) in Accra and Kampala were created for interested businessmen, investors, and entrepreneurs from Hungary in hope of launching business projects all across the region.²⁷ Parallel to developing foreign markets and increasing Hungarian exports, sub-Saharan cooperation can signify multilateral political successes for Hungary’s government. This bids several new economic possibilities that would not be feasible in the Asian or European markets. One good example

is the Economic Cooperation Agreement with the Republic of South Africa (RSA) signed on 26 November 2009. Almost 50 percent of Hungary's total African exports are with the RSA, Hungary's number one African partner. Among all of Hungarian-sub-Saharan relationships the South African partnership is the most extensive up to the present day. The Hungarian-South African bilateral context will be discussed more fully later in the paper.

As György Suha, President of the Honorary Consular Corps Accredited in the Republic of Hungary, noted in 2007: "Hungary's sub-Saharan involvement in Africa [was] still confined to passively support or even contemplate from a distance the Africa-policy determined by the former colonial states across Africa. [...] At the same time political and economic relations with North African states show an explicitly developing tendency."²⁸ This statement has chronological importance, for although Hungary joined the EU in 2004, as of 2007 there was only a passive government approach to Africa. The shift to a more active approach started in 2010, when governmental ideas regarding Africa slightly shifted towards a positive direction. Several events and exchanges of ideas furnished the necessary background. This can be explained by the fact that Africa has become a central target for the EU's joint foreign policy, especially concerning the EU-ACP partnership and international development cooperation. Hungary has several direct serious security policy and geopolitical concerns and interests, for instance, with migration, peacekeeping, and NATO commitments. Events of the Arab Spring and the revolution in Libya proved how successfully such a central European state (i.e. Hungary) can act on behalf of the entire Community by keeping its embassy working as the key diplomatic mission in Tripoli during the conflict. Maja Kociancic, spokesperson for EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton, said at a press conference that the Hungarian embassy was the only diplomatic mission of an EU country still open in Tripoli and still providing official information during the conflict.²⁹

In economic terms Hungary is not present on the African continent and above all not in the sub-Saharan region to the extent it was in the decades preceding the political transformation out of the Soviet bloc. With the lack of active governmental activity at the moment it is often that the Hungarian-African relationship is divided between alleged or real representatives of particular individual, economic, and civil interests. Taking into account the geopolitical reality of a country in central Europe, the government of Hungary acknowledges that any Hungarian strategy should encourage territorial attitude to prevail. After having looked at Hungary-Africa relations on a national basis, one should also look at them in the regional context of the Visegrad Group of countries as a further way of gauging the potential for a fuller engagement with Africa.

It is not new for the Visegrad Group to play a role in African development because under communism all of these countries provided substantial support to African states under the cloak of solidarity and ideology. In the course of political transformations these relationships were immediately curtailed and they often precipitated setbacks, which have even caused long-term disadvantages for the former "friendly supporters" in every Visegrad country. What we see today is the reduction of their diplomatic presence and the lack of promoting other kinds of presence. There is a perceptibly increasing rhetorical tendency to speak of the commitment of the countries of the region to aim at realizing the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations and reducing poverty in general terms across Africa. As far as diplomatic relations are concerned, Hungary's interest lies both in intensifying bilateral ties and contributing to the international agenda within the United Nations. As a member of the European Union Hungary has taken part in European policies and schemes, but each member state can foster its own external affairs aspirations in

bilateral terms. This is what has been reduced to a minimum since the change of the political system in 1989.

Nevertheless, examining the “Africa-content” of certain aid and development policies, we recognize a completely different picture: the question of Africa has been marginal, and there does not seem to be a serious chance for it to become a priority in the near future.³⁰ The scope of diplomatic presence varies in the Visegrad group: Poland maintains five embassies (Angola, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa), the Czech Republic seven (Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Congo, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zimbabwe), Slovakia four (Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa), and Hungary only two (Kenya and South Africa).³¹ It is beyond doubt that reestablishing diplomatic posts will not be enough to spur more Hungarian official interest; some political or economic incentives are needed to get more involved in Africa. Economic activities from the private sector can offer good ground for a new phase of building relations.

In a geopolitically changing transnational world the mutual political trust of the past regimes does not have much significance. New channels of collaboration can be formed on the ground of economic activities, first and foremost, and Hungary has the potential to reformulate its past image as an exporter of technologies, in particular in the fields of agriculture, water purification and management, and cartography.³² In addition, as Suha says, Hungary’s positive image as a non-colonial power and the good experience of Africans with former Hungarian products—such as the Ikarus buses or the already mentioned Hajdu washing machines, and even the Elzett locks and Globus meat cans—hold extra credits for fostering and refining relations.³³ Up until 1935 Ganz and Company of Budapest built several streamlined diesel rail cars for the Egyptian State Railways, which carried passengers between Cairo and Suez.³⁴ From the MÁV M40 series (nicknamed as Humpback) built between 1966–70, thirty were sold to Egypt.³⁵ Still today many people refer to the older type of rail cars as “magari,” which in Hungarian is “Magyar;” also indicating a nostalgic feeling and sense of reliability.³⁶

Since 2010, some diplomatic developments have occurred and others have been promised by the government (for instance, opening and/or re-opening embassies in West Africa and at the headquarters of the African Union in Addis Ababa), but so far there is limited coherent thinking about where to foster what type of presence, and for what reasons. Therefore, Greg Mills’ (2006) suggestion that Hungary’s Africa policy could serve as a model for new EU members today (in six years’ time) resonates with quite different tones. First of all, we cannot yet talk about an existing “Africa policy” as it is still in the making and not yet accepted as the government’s official policy about concerted Hungarian involvement in Africa. Although the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has published its document on Hungarian foreign policy after the Hungarian EU Presidency, which contains sections on Africa, it is still a foreign policy approach, not a coherent government policy about the continent and related Hungarian presence. In the last couple of years Hungarian economic figures worsened, undoubtedly partly due to the global financial turmoil and the ongoing euro crisis, resulting in a more unstable environment, for instance, in terms of foreign investments. Therefore, other central and eastern European countries (CEECs) seem to be more competitive than Hungary in a number of ways, including making themselves attractive for African partnerships. Today, other central European countries might seem to offer better solutions and frameworks for collaboration with African entities compared with Hungary. Second, Hungary is advised to learn from its past achievements on the continent, together with the successes of its neighboring countries’ involvement in African

development. But the major task is to define what it wishes to engage with as far as African cooperation is concerned. As mentioned in the introduction, the first government since the change of the system in 1989–1990 with a fresh and strategic vision on Hungary’s place and role in the global arena is the current one, which is rather an inevitable step as long as Hungary’s EU accession put the country into a much wider context as far as relations with the world is concerned. Third, Hungarian civil organizations (both NGOs and NGDOs) active in Africa agree that the country needs to learn more about Africa and African ways of thinking about their needs and aspirations for cooperation.³⁷ A “learning by doing” approach, which rests upon the activism of civil society and the business community, is an appropriate one for a successful Hungarian involvement in the long run.

Building Bridges: Africans in Hungary

To be able to understand more of African everyday life, Africa and the Africans themselves need to be part of public discourse. This can be supported by those African immigrants who for various reasons chose Hungary as their second home and settled in the country. For almost ten years, African immigrants have been seen among Hungarian intellectuals as potential bridges between Hungary and African states. Setting up a database of the Africans who earned their university degree in Hungary during the 1970s and 1980s has been defined as a central task for any government wishing to foster African relations. So far, no such database exists. During the course of 2011 the Pécs-based think tank ID Research realized a project entitled “Black and white – Here we are!” supported by the European Integration Fund, conducting a survey about the legal African communities in Hungary.³⁸ The project had its fourth phase between March and July 2013 with a special summer school designed for university students aiming at meeting with African migrants (and others of other cultural and ethnic backgrounds) in Budapest. These legal African migrants are active in the cultural and NGO sectors as well as taking part in humanitarian and philanthropic activities—for instance, trying to collect money and in-kind support for schools and orphanages in different African countries (mostly their countries of origin). Most of them arrived in Hungary as students with state scholarships during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, married Hungarians, and established their families in Hungary. Their children refer to themselves as “white coffee” rather than the outdated term “half-blood.” Although they are few in number (less than 3,000 in a total population of about ten million), their partial Hungarian identity and commitment toward their new home country serves as a good ground for fostering bilateral ties between Hungary and their countries of origin. “The thousands of African professionals who graduated from Hungarian universities in the 1970s and ‘80s form an unbreakable link between our country and the continent,” advocates the Budapest Africa Forum.³⁹

According to the data of the last two years published by the Central Statistics Authority the number of the African immigrants to Hungary has considerably increased. The number of African citizens having a permit to stay or establish themselves in Hungary reached 2,513 persons on January 1, 2010, showing an increase of 26 percent compared to 2009 (1,998 persons according to the then-statistics); 1,080 persons, 43 percent of the African migrants, came to Hungary from North African countries. As for the regions south of the Sahara 739 persons migrated from Nigeria to Hungary—this is more than half (51.6 percent) of the entire sub-Saharan migrant community. In 2011, the total number increased to 2,779 according to the latest census from.⁴⁰

Tendencies show that the majority of the immigrants came to Hungary with the purpose of studying. This kind of mobility is “a very important part of migration as a whole, which does not mean settling down definitively, but results in a stay for a long time, which also supposes getting to know one’s environment, eventually for the person to learn the language and/or feel comfortable in other domains, compare the possibilities of his actual and earlier domicile, it increases the intention to definitively migrate and the person might settle down.”⁴¹ From this point of view a clear governmental concept, intention, and strategy is even more necessary concerning the question how one “could make the most of” the person about to settle, along with the interests of the receptive nation. Fostering such bilateral links is crucial for policy-making, as bilateral links in general or targeted to specific countries are in line with other policy and business goals and objectives. These days one of the most heated debates in the European institutions is the issue of migrant communities, the diaspora, and their active contributions to economic development of the receiving countries, in particular where migrant entrepreneurs are concerned. In Hungary the debate is not yet heated, but the issue has been put on the political agenda. A future Hungarian Africa policy can surely utilize these diaspora-related ties.

Hungary–Africa Relations: Tasks, Obligations, and Possibilities

This section turns attention to Hungary–Africa relations from the Soviet Bloc period onward, discussing some important moments during the political regime change at the end of the 1980s. Today, Hungary as a donor country gives money to international organizations as well as for humanitarian purposes. The European Union and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) then disburse this money to states in need in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean (ACP countries). Hungary also needs to align itself with the “norms and principles of the international development aid regime.”⁴² Between 2008 and 2013 Hungary has contributed 125 million Euros to the 10th Development Program of the European Development Fund, with the expectation that a considerable part of this amount would go to Africa. All this is not only important from the aid point of view. Thanks to this program Hungarian civil associations have opportunities to participate in EU projects in Africa, the Caribbean, and Pacific regions. However, as members of the roundtable debates held in Pécs and Budapest between September 2010 and June 2011 pointed out, the contribution is only “rewarding” if the Hungarian economic, trade, and civil organizations actually apply for ACP–EU programs that have become accessible to them with Hungary’s joining the EU.⁴³

Participation in industry-related developments relevant to Hungarian engineering skills and expertise is an option for Hungarian associations. It has potential today, though after the political transformation Hungarian missions in Angola and Mozambique were closed, and the intensity of bilateral relations has decreased accordingly, which makes it hard to encourage participation. In the last few years, however, Angolan–Hungarian relations have developed, and the aforementioned Magyar-expedition could also contribute to further expansion. According to the first Angolan ambassador to Hungary, João Miguel Vahekeni, “areas of interest [in 2010] were civil engineering, railway, energy, agriculture, and air-condition specialization,” but a Hungarian company in wood processing and furniture built ties with Angolan counterparts in the course of 2010.⁴⁴ All these efforts are also supported by the Angolan-Hungarian Economic Association established in Hungary.

International aid programs are coordinated in the Department for International Development Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, established in November 2002. According to the ministry, Hungary's OECD- and EU-conforming donor activities began in 2003. Quite independently, there were international development and support programs earlier, which were not handled uniformly, and for which Hungary spent between USD 17.8 million to USD 24.8 million. At the same time in 2010 Hungary's entire available development funds, including Asia, South America, and Africa, amounted to only (about USD 391,000). As noted earlier, before the political transformation Hungary used to take a considerable share of Soviet Bloc development cooperation, providing technical-professional support mainly through the Hungarian Tesco Company. By the 1980s, it was present (therefore, Hungary was present) in fifty-seven third world countries. This is also an asset in terms of redefining potential future cooperation. Thanks to active civil organizations and individual initiatives, Africa is on the way to be (positively) reevaluated in the coming years, which is predicted to increase wider attention in the 2010's.

In addition to all these, a new type of "race (or even scramble) for Africa" needs mentioning, i.e., the latest worldwide trend in which the leading Asian powers (China, Japan, India, Malaysia, and Indonesia) as well as Russia, Brazil, and other emerging economies (e.g., Turkey) have become the most serious challengers of the EU and the USA. First and foremost, this is a race for natural resources, their locations, and the exploitation rights of raw materials. Comparing investment portfolios it leaps to attention that while, for example, China participates in African development and investment in a much more diversified way and in several different regions, Europe keeps speculating on investments in connection with the continent's natural resources.

In the course of investigating a potential and viable Hungarian Africa policy in the making, there is yet another dimension to examine: educating society about Africa. It seems a prerequisite to speak more sensibly and without bias about Africa to Hungarian society at large. "Educating" is therefore to help enable Hungarian society "to the reception and better understanding of Africa." In the light of these commitments, during the Hungarian Presidency of the European Council of the EU NGOs the umbrella organization HAND (Hungarian Association of NGOs for Development and Humanitarian Aid) compiled a package of strategic recommendations for reconsidering and reshaping Hungarian foreign political and economic strategy and development policy and to, lay the foundation of an effective and proactive Hungarian contribution to the EU Development Policy.⁴⁵ For the first time since the change of the system these recommendations were channeled into a new government approach, which includes a separate chapter on African relations.⁴⁶ The document emphasizes: "Hungary is connected to Africa through the EU's common foreign and security policy, as well as the EU programs for cooperation and humanitarian aid. Hungary can only participate actively and take initiatives in these, however, if we have our 'own' Africa policy at hand: a network of connections, well-defined interests, clear goals, ideas on development policy, and based on all these, firm positions that we can harmonize (or eventually clash) with other member states."⁴⁷ This constitutes a substantive basis for an emerging view that Hungary is indeed increasing attention on Africa.

The "African issue" is not merely a foreign relations or a foreign economic question but rather a complex government mission for Hungary. In the last few years—among other instances the 2004 Africa Conference held in Budapest—the idea originally formulated by former State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs László Várkonyi has been repeated several times: "The time has come to reconsider our objectives and interests concerning the

African continent and give new perspectives to our endeavors. We have to situate Africa in our foreign relations' system rationally and with the future in mind. As a matter of fact, we should point out why a relatively small Central European country with practically no colonial background needs an Africa policy."⁴⁸

At the same time Hungary cannot isolate itself from the problems of the sub-Saharan region. For the economic and political refugees streaming from this region, Hungary is about to gradually become a target country instead of a transit country. Parts of Africa have faced continued crises for several years and are not exempt from problems with international impact. Organized crime, international terrorism, AIDS, etc., all reach Hungary too. To reduce poverty and create political stability is in Hungary's best interest and is also a moral obligation.

A 2007 document of the former African Research Unit of the Hungarian Geopolitical Council highlighted four areas were as important items to be considered when drawing up a national Africa policy: aid programs linked to economic activities (investment); close working relationships with the scientific-professional network of the country; maintaining constant contact with voluntary and civil organizations; and launching social awareness programs.⁴⁹ The current strategic approach in foreign affairs builds upon these and states that "it is a priority for [Hungary's] Africa policy to closely follow the humanitarian issues, including food aid, along with agricultural, environmental, water-management and health issues, and to assess the needs for sharing [Hungarian] experiences related to democratic transition, if possible, in connection with involvement in relevant international projects."⁵⁰

While opening windows to various parts of the world as part of a global approach (in Hungarian *globális nyitás*), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs offers some examples of Hungarian-African co-operation to be considered for repositioning itself. South Africa seems to be the best example from a number of angles.

Twenty Years of Diplomatic Relations: South Africa and Hungary

Hungary and South Africa have had diplomatic relations for more than twenty years.⁵¹ Hungary's most important commercial partner in Africa is the Republic of South Africa.⁵² It is not surprising therefore that as part of the new strategy backed by the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the position of Economic and Commercial Counselor at the Embassy of Hungary in Pretoria was created in August 2011. The counselor's report about the first half of 2012 points to a stable increase in trade with a gradually diverging interest in bilateral cooperation from actors in various sectors including environmental protection, medical equipment and pharmaceuticals, financial solutions, cars, and car parts.⁵³ South Africa has become Hungary's fourth largest market outside Europe after the USA, China, and the United Arab Emirates. The volume of exports in 2011 was USD 840 million, with USD 186 million in the first quarter of 2012. Former South African Ambassador to Hungary, Esther Takalani Netshitenzhe, noted that trade between the two countries has increased over the years and the percentage annual average growth rate indicates that exports from South Africa to Hungary increased by about 54 percent per annum compared to imports at around 19 percent per annum over the last ten years.⁵⁴ The trade balance is currently in Hungary's favor. "Trade is dominated by large corporations in the automotive, ITC, electronics and medical sectors. In order to widen and stabilize trade relations and to boost contacts among SMEs [small business enterprises], business networks were launched in the second half of 2011 in both countries. By now monthly [there are] 20-25 business offers, projects are

intermediated primarily in the ITC, medical, bio-health, energy efficiency, clean tech, and agribusiness sectors with dozens of contracts already signed and scores in the pipeline.”⁵⁵

Ambassador Netshitenzhe also underlined the importance of the Hungarian diaspora that settled in South Africa after 1956 in terms of contributing to the economies of both countries. Hungarian Ambassador to South Africa Béla László considers the Hungarian community in South Africa “as an important connecting link between the two countries. ... Several South African-Hungarian businessmen are active in the Hungarian market,” and with their active involvement the South Africa–Hungary Joint Economic Commission was established on May 13, 2013.⁵⁶ In the protocol of the inaugural session of the commission the parties identified the fields and sectors of mutual interest to develop and diversify bilateral relations—ranging from industrial automation, machine tools, and safety and security equipment to the exchange of experience and technology in the field of coal, copper and uranium mining, to waste and water management and tourism.⁵⁷

Not only Hungary but other central and eastern European countries (CEEC) were important for South Africa, and as Mills indicates, CEEC were also “the site of the beginning of the end of Pretoria’s diplomatic isolation.”⁵⁸ Hungary in particular became a significant scene for South African direct investment. SABMiller, for instance, has become a success story for both countries. The first major RSA investment was the purchase of the Kőbánya Brewery for some USD 100 million.⁵⁹ According to management estimates, SABMiller has 30 percent of the total share of the Hungarian beer market and has a steady presence in central Europe.⁶⁰ As long as South Africa has a regional approach in its foreign policy toward central Europe, it makes more sense to compare the Visegrad states from the point of view of “close and comprehensive cooperation,” which seems to be more important than “competition in concrete business deals.”⁶¹

In the field of education and research, Ambassador Netshitenzhe contributed to African Studies programs to be launched in the near future at universities in Budapest and Pécs with public lectures and book donations to new sub-libraries on African topics.⁶² There is unanimous agreement within government, business, and academic circles about the changed situation, within which Hungary can foster its relations with the world after its EU Presidency period in the first six months of 2011. As is stated in the foreign policy document of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, “Hungary’s Africa relations were nonetheless strengthened during [the] EU presidency, as a result of staging many joint events with the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.”⁶³ In terms of further events, a clear commitment is seen in the government sponsored “Budapest Africa Forum” (June 6-7, 2013). Events are important tools for a successful foreign policy but not sufficient on their own to argue that a country has an individual policy for any of its relations—in this case, African relations. It is too early to state anything about what the Africa Forum can bring to revitalizing Hungary–Africa relations in general, but to the ‘South African connection’ it can add more projects, in particular. What then to expect from 2013 on as far as a potential Africa policy is concerned?

After the Budapest Africa Forum: Real Hope for a New Africa Policy?

There is an obvious change in the communications of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs about Africa and other parts of the world, suggesting that Hungary has tasks, duties, and opportunities in these realms. Beyond official rhetoric, however, steps of action will be tested from 2013 onwards, and even with the new EU planning period, the Multiannual Financial Framework 2014–2020, not to mention the results of national elections scheduled

for spring 2014. Will there be more Hungarian diplomatic posts across sub-Saharan Africa or not? This is not an issue to neglect. Kopinski rightly underlines that “embassies and consulates and their personnel do play a strategic role in development cooperation across the world. It is infinitely more difficult to coordinate and implement aid, particularly project aid, from overseas without officials and trusted people on the ground.”⁶⁴ Hungary’s only current sub-Saharan African embassies are in Kenya and South Africa. There is, however, a strong likelihood of reopening the embassy in Nigeria, which “could happen as early as this year” according to former Deputy State Secretary for Global Affairs Szabolcs Takács.⁶⁵ Building and maintaining trust is ever so crucial, and rebuilding trust is always more difficult in diplomacy. Therefore, more efforts and financial means need to be mobilized.

The present paper gives an overview of what Hungary has as a pool of academic assets from previous centuries of African contacts and involvement, which can support its current government’s foreign policy strategic concept to open up more globally, including also the African continent. In the course of 2010 and 2011, following a joint initiative of the academic and civic circles having an interest in African engagement and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, more workshops and conferences were organized in Pécs and Budapest with the aim of encouraging nation-wide discourse on Hungary’s possible Africa policy. As of December 18, 2012, when another important roundtable was held in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Szabolcs Takács stated that Hungary first “needs to change at home in order to become a global player, and therefore, needs flexible and innovative thinking.”⁶⁶ To construct a functioning Africa policy, the ministry decided to organize a milestone international event, the “Budapest Africa Forum” in early June 2013, which was planned to channel all documents, thoughts, and plans into a coherent strategic document for the long run. Since its political transition Hungary had never hosted such a forum, with more than two hundred delegates representing governments, academics, civil society, and businesses from over twenty-five African countries.

The main speaker of the Forum, African Union Commission (AUC) Chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, was the first to call for closer cooperation and collaboration between Hungary and Africa. By enumerating indicators of Africa’s great potentials and a litany of challenges she advocated for renewed engagement for Hungary. She also spoke at the education panel, stating that “Hungary and other Central and Eastern European countries played an important role during our anti-colonial struggles and our early years of nation formation and state building in the development of African human capital, with many of our leaders and professionals passing through your universities.”⁶⁷

Concurring with the AUC Chairperson, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs János Martonyi said that “Africa has taken its new place in the world and that the rest of the world should adjust to it.”⁶⁸ The minister confirmed Hungary’s commitment to contribute to prosperity, peace, and security in Africa through multilateral and bilateral relations and cooperation. As an EU member state, Hungary, according to Martonyi, will actively participate in reshaping relations with Africa and will increase its role in education by increasing the number of African students wishing to study in Hungary. He also promised increased potential for sports diplomacy and academic and business forums as well.⁶⁹ Ghana’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hanna Tetteh, the child of a Ghanaian father and a Hungarian mother, born in Hungary, and a graduate of the Medical University in Szeged, reassured the Forum that “Africa is not asking for handouts, but looking for partnerships.” She noted that what local Africanists repeatedly say: Hungarian trade with Africa has more potential than trade with other regions. She called on the Hungarian government to open all

doors to students again as it did in the 1960–80s.⁷⁰ Alongside the Forum there were about thirty related events such as film shows, art exhibitions, receptions, etc. The Budapest Declaration read out and approved by acclamation at the end of the Forum charts the way forward to enhance new engagement between Hungary and the African continent.⁷¹

In conclusion, the present analysis showed that since the change of the political regime in 1989–90 Hungary has the intention, and at the appropriate level of the government, to implement an expanded foreign policy that includes Africa. To do this the country already has an exemplary framework of such relations with South Africa, which is Hungary's fourth largest market beyond Europe, following the USA, China, and the Arab Emirates. The most recent developments of Hungarian–South African bilateral ties signal a mutually growing interest in further expansion. When discussing what assets Hungary has for the construction of an Africa policy, human relations and the network of Africans with a Hungarian university degree is pertinent. Many of the former students are in leading political or business positions, thus providing considerable social capital for Hungary to foster its Africa policy. Developing Hungarian “soft power” via this network has considerable relevance for the country. Drawing upon Nye's power theory, the development of the educational-cultural relations, scientific-technological cooperation, and the enlargement of the institutional network into a position to represent Hungary and make it (more) attractive seem fundamental tasks.⁷² Should these factors be of great(er) importance in a prospective Africa-strategy/policy, Hungary will certainly be able to bring other, more specific areas (e.g. those of the economy, trade, security policy, etc., and their Hungarian actors) into a more favorable position, thus reinforcing and further developing its “smart power.”

Although there are perceptibly more and more young Africans (better still their parents and family) who are able to study at European universities as “tuition fee-paying students,” it is of relevance for the Hungarian Africa policy that the government draws up and offers a new Hungarian State scholarship program focusing on Africa. The emerging economies of our global world annually offer an increasing number of state grants to young Africans. With this kind of support Africans can gain professional training and knowledge, in possession of which—and this is supported by the most recent research and surveys—they establish contacts with the state that provided the grant for them plus business and other sectors' actors. The result is that they join intensively in the long-term development of bilateral cooperation, since they have the necessary qualifications and correctly speak the language of the state providing the grant, which has crucial importance in the development of relations in general terms.

All these are to be coupled with high-level (President of State, Head of Government, Speaker of the House) and other official and state delegations' visits. In addition, to implement a relevant Africa policy Hungary should take a more efficient part in the activities of the African Union. Furthermore, in overall terms, Hungary needs to become more attractive for African investors, since by now they exist in an increasing number. Ad hoc policies and policy formulation need to be avoided, and a strategic planning with long-term efforts and developments must take over. There are obvious resources available, but these need to be channeled into a coherent and visionary national policy that is in line with the long-term strategic interests of Hungary in Africa. This also makes sense in the closer vicinity of Hungary, in the Visegrad region, as well as in a broader context of EU common foreign, security, and development policy concerns. In this respect, Hungary's global opening is timely and the reformulation of an African strategy makes sense, especially in a broader European context. To stay critical in a constructive way about the implementation

and how this new approach of repositioning the country on the world map will actually happen, however, is crucial for success.

Notes

- 1 Non-revisionist here means not in the “post-Trianon” way. The Treaty of Versailles signed with Hungary in the Grand Trianon Palace of Versailles (called therefore the Trianon Treaty) on 4 June 1920 resulted in the loss of more than two thirds of its original territories (72 percent) and 64 percent of the total population of the country (21 million), which was for aligning with the defeated Axis (Central) Powers led by Germany. The total number of Hungarians living beyond the borders of the Republic of Hungary (today Magyarország) is about 5.2 million out of which 2.6 million ethnic Hungarians can be found in present-day neighboring countries (about 1.5 million in Romania), 1.8 million in North America (about 1.5 million in the USA), and the rest all across the world.
- 2 For more on this topic, see Tarrósy and Vörös 2013.
- 3 Rácz 2012, p. 6.
- 4 Búr 2007, p. 161.
- 5 More on his life and research can be read at the 2009 Torday-Congo Expedition’s website: <http://kongoexpedicio.hu/torday/index.php/en/who-was-emil-torday>
- 6 This was organized by social anthropologist professor John Mack, University of East Anglia, UK.
- 7 About the expedition: <http://www.kongoexpedicio.hu/>. See also: Szilasi 2010.
- 8 For more see World Digital Library, <http://www.wdl.org/en/item/2925/> (accessed June 15, 2012).
- 9 Bartos-Elek and Nemerkenyi 2009.
- 10 Búr 2007, p. 157.
- 11 The field trip is documented in the magazine *Földgömb*, 2012/9, pp. 18–31.
- 12 In an interview Vahekeni talked about his focus on his mission to encourage more Hungarian economic actors to get engaged with Angola in a number of ways. See the interview at: <http://africanewshungary.blogspot.com/2010/12/i-want-more-hungarian-economic-actors.html>.
- 13 For more, see Régi 2007a, pp. 147–156, and Vidacs 1984, pp. 119–129. Count Móric Benyovszky, “Emperor of Madagascar” as he called himself in addition to his numerous commitments such as military officer, adventurer, and born aristocrat, through his diary of his years in Madagascar between 1772 and 1776 contributed to the understanding of the island’s people. For more on him and other Hungarian Africanists, travellers, and scholars see Búr 2007, pp. 157–62.
- 14 It may seem interesting that this took place during the last years of the Soviet-backed one-party system. However, it was the 100th anniversary that motivated all the scientists to commemorate Teleki’s unquestionably achievements in African research. See: Vojnits 2013a and 2013b.
- 15 Búr, 2007. pp. 165–166. See also: Darch – Littlejohn 1983
- 16 More on him at: <http://old.integralakademia.hu/en/school-of-integral-psychology/faculty/geza-fuessi-nagy/>

- 17 The first journal was *Africana Hungarica*, the journal of the then Hungarian Africa Society, and was published only twice in ten years.
- 18 Szabó 2013.
- 19 Its official homepage is: http://www.africa.pte.hu/?page_id=1057
- 20 Morenth and Tarrósy 2011.
- 21 Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011, p. 49. Available at: http://www.kulugyiintezet.hu/default_eng.asp (accessed June 4, 2012).
- 22 Paragi 2007, pp. 145–46.
- 23 Ibid. pp. 146–47.
- 24 For more, see Tarrósy 2013.
- 25 Mangala 2013, pp. 124–25.
- 26 Interview with Balázs Bokor, April 14, 2013, <http://budapestafricaforum.kormany.hu> (accessed May 9, 2013).
- 27 As reported on the day of the opening of the center, “there was no need for interpreter . . . as the Ghanaian participants, among them Dr. Laurence Tete, Anglican clergyman, Mr. Francis Kwasnyi, doctor colonel, Mr. Benjamin Dagadoo, deputy minister for the oil and gas industry, all got their degrees in Hungary.” Available at : <http://afriport.hu/index.php/angol-nyelv-hirek/17463-the-opening-ceremony-of-the-hungarian-trade-center-in-ghana--in-hungarian-.html> (accessed May 25, 2013).
- 28 Suha 2007, p. 8.
- 29 <http://www.acus.org/natosource/hungary-has-eus-last-functioning-embassy-tripoli> accessed on May 28, 2013
- 30 See also Kopinski 2012, pp. 33–49.
- 31 The third one Greg Mills mentions in Abuja in his 2006 article closed after his article appeared, but the Hungarian government stated in early 2013 that it would in 2013.
- 32 Interview with György Suha about the system of Hungarian–African relations. See Földi 2010, pp. 69–75.
- 33 Ibid. p. 71.
- 34 <http://mikes.railhistory.railfan.net/r050.html> (accessed May 30, 2013).
- 35 See www.railroadforums.com (accessed September 10, 2013).
- 36 See Hungarian Ambassador to Egypt Dr. Péter Kveck’s address on the official website of the Hungarian Embassy in Cairo at: http://www.mfa.gov.hu/kulkepviselet/EG/en/en_Koszonto/welcome.htm; and <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2010/1008/sk4.htm> (accessed September 5, 2013).
- 37 Their opinion was elaborated upon during the series of workshops and conferences organized partly by the Africa Research Center of the University of Pécs in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between September 2010 and April 2011, as documented in the minutes of the meetings. Source: Africa Research Center, University of Pécs.
- 38 More on the project and its results can be found at www.ittvagyunk.eu.
- 39 “Hungary and Africa.” Opening page of the Budapest Africa Forum at: <http://budapestafricaforum.kormany.hu> accessed May 9, 2013.
- 40 Data obtained from: http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_wvn001b.html (accessed May 4, 2012).

- 41 L. Rédei 2007, p. 11.
- 42 Szent-Iványi 2012, p. 65.
- 43 From the records of the roundtables. Notes were taken by the authors.
- 44 Interview with Joao Miguel Vahekeni. Source:
<http://africannewshungary.blogspot.com/2010/12/i-want-more-hungarian-economic-actors.html> (accessed May 20, 2013).
- 45 See Morenth and Tarrósy 2012.
- 46 Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011, pp. 47-49.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 48 Várkonyi 2004, p. 5.
- 49 For more see Régi 2007b, pp. 13–16.
- 50 Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011, p. 49.
- 51 South African Ministry of International Relations and Cooperation 2011, pp. 12–13.
- 52 It is worth noting that other Visegrad countries also nurture flourishing ties with South Africa. With Poland, which was the fastest-growing member state of the European Union in 2012, “bilateral trade totalled \$941.8-million in 2011, an increase of 27% over the past three years, according to Polish government data.” (for more, see: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/business/trade/2012/12/02/prosperous-poland-boosts-ties-with-south-africa> [accessed May 28, 2013].) In its 2012-2020 Export Strategy, the Czech Republic considers South Africa as one of the “Countries of Interest” with which the Czech Republic intends to develop bilateral ties in the long run. (For more see: <http://oldsanews.gcis.gov.za/rss/12/12092612251001> [accessed May 28, 2013].)
- 53 Received in an electronic circular on June 26, 2012.
- 54 The interview was made on September 10, 2012 with the involvement of Judit Bagi, research assistant.
- 55 Interview with Ambassador Béla László, May 29, 2013.
- 56 The interview was on May 29, 2013. More about the joint economic commission at: <http://www.hungarianambiance.com/2013/05/closer-economic-and-trade-relations.html> (accessed May 28, 2013).
- 57 Protocol of the First Session of the South Africa–Hungary Joint Economic Commission (May 13, 2013), pp. 1-4.
- 58 Mills 2006, p. 171.
- 59 “Hungarian–South African Relations” 2005, p. 1.
- 60 Data accessed June 22, 2012 from <http://www.sabmiller.com/index.asp?pageid=1065>.
- 61 Interview with Ambassador Béla László, May 29, 2013.
- 62 See the program of the conference at which the South African Ambassador gave an opening speech and presented a book donation to the Africa Research Center of the University of Pécs: http://www.africa.pte.hu/?page_id=543
- 63 Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011, p. 47.
- 64 Kopinski 2012, p. 44.
- 65 <http://www.dteurope.com/politics/non-eu-countries/opening-towards-sub-saharan-africa.html> (accessed May 30, 2013).
- 66 From the official notes of the roundtable taken by Ildikó Szilasi (accessed 25 December 25, 2012). On October 29, 2013, State Secretary Péter Szijártó informed the Hungarian News Agency MTI that Hungary reopened its embassy in Abuja. See:

<http://www.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister-s-office/news/hungary-reopened-its-embassy-in-abuja> accessed November 6, 2013.

67 Notes taken by Péter Morenth.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 See: <http://budapestafricaforum.kormany.hu/download/e/61/70000/BAF-Declaration.pdf>.

72 Nye 2011. Good examples come from various different parts of the world: the German Goethe Institute, the French Alliance Française (AF) network, the Chinese Confucius Institutes worldwide, and the Russians' Russkiy Mir Foundation opening of Russian Centers. This means that it can have relevance that the network of the Hungarian cultural institutes should be enlarged and could be widened by incorporating civil actors on the model of AF.

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