

Popyk, Anzhela

Working Paper

Dual-citizenship as an instrument for the diaspora policy: The comparative analysis of Lithuania, Hungary and Poland

CMR Working Papers, No. 127/185

Provided in Cooperation with:

Centre of Migration Research (CMR), University of Warsaw

Suggested Citation: Popyk, Anzhela (2021) : Dual-citizenship as an instrument for the diaspora policy: The comparative analysis of Lithuania, Hungary and Poland, CMR Working Papers, No. 127/185, University of Warsaw, Centre of Migration Research (CMR), Warsaw

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/259399>

Standard-Nutzungsbedingungen:

Die Dokumente auf EconStor dürfen zu eigenen wissenschaftlichen Zwecken und zum Privatgebrauch gespeichert und kopiert werden.

Sie dürfen die Dokumente nicht für öffentliche oder kommerzielle Zwecke vervielfältigen, öffentlich ausstellen, öffentlich zugänglich machen, vertreiben oder anderweitig nutzen.

Sofern die Verfasser die Dokumente unter Open-Content-Lizenzen (insbesondere CC-Lizenzen) zur Verfügung gestellt haben sollten, gelten abweichend von diesen Nutzungsbedingungen die in der dort genannten Lizenz gewährten Nutzungsrechte.

Terms of use:

Documents in EconStor may be saved and copied for your personal and scholarly purposes.

You are not to copy documents for public or commercial purposes, to exhibit the documents publicly, to make them publicly available on the internet, or to distribute or otherwise use the documents in public.

If the documents have been made available under an Open Content Licence (especially Creative Commons Licences), you may exercise further usage rights as specified in the indicated licence.



CMR Working Papers

127/185

ANZHELA POPYK

DUAL-CITIZENSHIP AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE DIASPORA POLICY. THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LITHUANIA, HUNGARY AND POLAND

December 2021

www.migracje.uw.edu.pl

Anzhela Popyk – Centre for Migration Research, University of Warsaw, University SWPS,
Warsaw, a.popyk@uw.edu.pl

Summary

The aim of this report is to present different types of dual citizenship regulations as a part of diaspora policy in three Central and Eastern European countries, Lithuania, Hungary and Poland. This paper presents an overview of current citizenship approaches and ways one can acquire or lose home state's citizenship. Besides, it presents the analysis of political, public and academic discourse on the process of introduction of dual citizenship to the states' diaspora, interior and foreign policies. The report ends with a comparative analysis of dual citizenship as a policy instrument in three chosen states.

Keywords: dual citizenship, diaspora policy, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland

Podwójne obywatelstwo jako instrument polityki diaspory. Analiza porównawcza Litwy, Węgier i Polski

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego raportu jest przedstawienie różnego rodzaju regulacji dotyczących podwójnego obywatelstwa w ramach polityki diaspory w trzech krajach Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej: Litwy, Węgier i Polski. Niniejszy tekst przedstawia przegląd aktualnych podejść do obywatelstwa oraz sposobów nabywania i utraty obywatelstwa państwa pochodzenia. Ponadto prezentuje analizę dyskursu politycznego, publicznego i akademickiego na temat procesu wprowadzania podwójnego obywatelstwa do polityki diaspory, polityki wewnętrznej i zagranicznej. Raport kończy się analizą porównawczą podwójnego obywatelstwa jako instrumentu polityki w trzech wybranych państwach.

Słowa kluczowe: podwójne obywatelstwo, polityka diaspory, Litwa, Węgry, Polska

Contents

Introduction	5
PART I. DUAL CITIZENSHIP REGULATIONS	8
Lithuanian Citizenship Regulations	8
Citizenship by Birth.....	8
Citizenship by Descent	9
Hungarian Citizenship Regulations.....	11
Polish Citizenship Regulations.....	12
Citizenship by law	12
Citizenship by restoration.....	12
PART II. DUAL CITIZENSHIP HISTORY AND DISCOURSE	14
Citizenship Discourse in Lithuania	14
Citizenship Discourse in Hungary.....	20
Citizenship Discourse in Poland	22
Conclusions	23
References	26
Annexe 1	35
Annexe 2	40
Annexe 3	43

Introduction¹

The transformation of a diaspora policy, which is, to a great extent, affected by the diaspora nature (Popyk et al., in print), anticipates various aspects of establishing relations with the diaspora members. One of the key policy's elements is normalizing citizenship and multiple citizenship questions.

Thomas Faist's (2010) reflections on the dichotomic notions of transnationalism and diaspora, on the one hand, mean spreading globally, becoming transnational, multicultural and cross-border, while, on the other, intend seeking the unity of the single nation, ethnicity (or religion) while being spread globally. By following these reflection, dual citizenship can be also used to display as a contradicting phenomenon which presents 'internal globalisation' (Faist, 2007, p. 3). On the one side, dual citizenship is adopted with the state's intentions to keep ties with its diaspora members (especially the following generations), because citizenship is central in nation-building processes (Brubaker, 1992). Whereas, on the other side, it concerns the loss of those ties by facilitating migration decisions and processes (Alarian & Goodman, 2017). Dual citizenship has been used as a tool in that political arena (Waterbury, 2010) because it does not only provide members of diaspora with a chance of preserving home citizenship while acquiring the other one, but also creates a ground for developing means of influencing the interior and international affairs of the home country (Bauböck, 2019; Harpaz, 2019; Joppke, 2019; Kovács et al., 2016; Lesińska & Héjj, 2021; Nyyssönen & Metsälä, 2019; Pogonyi, 2015).

Opposition to dual citizenship was common before World War II and remained hardly amended till the 1970s when the states saw a risk to their political and territorial sovereignty. Single nationality was viewed as beneficial and prudent for the countries with small diaspora residing abroad and having no potential threat from other states (see also Shevel, 2019). However, along with a growing migration outflow from the Central and Eastern European countries, particularly in the 1990s and since joining the European Union in 2004 (and the following years for Bulgaria and Romania), the dual citizenship policy has changed in many countries (Dumbrava, 2017; van der Baaren, 2020).

Reconsideration on the dual citizenship policy in the 'new' EU members states was induced by the massive migration outflow to the Western countries, and an intention to preserve contact with recent emigrants (see Pudzianowska, 2017). Besides, a growing naturalization rate

¹ The text is based on Research Project no. 2018/31/B/HS5/00913, funded by the National Science Centre, Poland.

and childbirths abroad indicated an increasing emigration for permanent residence and the rise of the ‘new’ diaspora. This, as a consequence, forced some states to review the citizenship policy in order to keep contact with permanent emigrants and children born abroad (see Popyk et al., in print).

Although being a Member State of the European Union, different states apply different types of regulations on dual citizenship. In the EU, there are 17 countries do not impose any restrictions on citizens while acquiring citizenship of a different state. Whereas 10 of the countries impose some of the restrictions of dual citizenship (van der Baaren, 2020), which, on the one side, upholds the EU intentions to create the unity of the nations, while on the other, became an important tool in governing the diaspora (Conway et al., 2008; Kochenov, 2011; Spiro, 2019). Though, twenty-two of the EU states allow or do not prohibit having dual/multiple citizenship for the emigrants from these states. While only five states do not allow having multiple citizenships (Austria, Germany, Lithuania, the Netherlands, and Slovakia).

There are three types of restrictions on possessing dual citizenship in the EU countries:

- 1) requirements to renounce the original citizenship upon the acquisition of citizenship;
- 2) provisions stipulating the (automatic or not- automatic) loss of citizenship upon the acquisition of foreign citizenship;
- 3) provisions stipulating the (automatic or non-automatic) loss of citizenship upon the retention of foreign citizenship (van der Baaren, 2020, p. 2).

The significance of dual citizenship is reinforced by the EU context itself, as a citizen of one state automatically becomes a European Union citizen, and can benefit from a bunch of rights (van der Baaren, 2020), e.g. crossing borders, living/residing, employment, studying in other EU states. Though, a type of interior and foreign policy home state runs would project the aim of using a tool of multiple citizenships. For some states (e.g. Hungary), granting dual citizenship was justified by a kin state protection (Faist, 2010) of the ethnic minorities in the neighbouring countries, though, in fact, it also became a tool for political lobbying (Waterbury, 2010). For the other states, however, it became an important mean for encouraging financial investments, such as remittances (see Leblang, 2015) or active contribution to the development of a home state (e.g. Lithuania) and promoting ‘political loyalty among economically successful expatriates’ (Faist, 2010, p. 10). Though, in the states with a significant ethnic group of a country of contradictory politics, dual citizenship can be perceived as a threat to the ‘state’s sovereignty and territorial integrity’ (Shevel, 2019), which can be violated by other states,

especially the neighbouring ones (e.g. in cases of Russian ethnic groups in Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia or Ukraine).

While a bunch of works analyse dual citizenship as an individual right, migration right or strategy (Bauböck, 2019; Conway et al., 2008; Danero et al., 2014; Harpaz & Mateos, 2019; Spiro, 2019), this paper aims to contribute the discussions on citizenship issues as a part of diaspora policy in Central and Eastern European countries (Joppke, 2019; Kovács, 2006; Nyssönen & Metsälä, 2019; Pogonyi, 2017; Vass, 2018).

The analysis of the political and public discourse on dual citizenship in Lithuania, Hungary and Poland applies the comparative analysis and institutional approach. Besides, it is based on the narrative dimension of the three-dimensional model of studying diaspora policy, presented by Lesińska and Popyk (2021) as a part of the research project entitled ‘Diaspora policy in the context of post-accession emigration. The comparative perspective of Poland, Hungary and Lithuania’, realized at the Centre for Migration Research of Warsaw University. The narrative dimension anticipates the analysis of the official documents (e.g. laws, bills, regulations), oral and written statements of the representatives of governments and administrative institutions. Additionally, this report draws on the analysis of existing literature and data on the dual citizenship policies in three countries.

This report aims to present a comprehensive comparative analysis of the dual citizenship policy and regulations in three countries for Central and Eastern Europe: Lithuania, Hungary and Poland. It consists of two parts: the first presents current citizenship regulations in three states, with particular attention paid to the regulations and laws on preserving and acquiring dual citizenship by the post-accession emigrants on the example of the chosen countries. The second part encloses an overview of the history, discourse and narrative of dual citizenship laws in Lithuania, Hungary and Poland. Besides, this section also includes analyses of other ways of establishing/maintaining formal ties with the diaspora members (including the members of ethnic minorities in the neighbouring countries), such as ethnic cards or ethnic visas. The report ends with a comparison of the approaches towards dual citizenship regulations and an analysis of dual citizenship as an instrument of the diaspora policies in three chosen states.

PART I. DUAL CITIZENSHIP REGULATIONS

This part presents an overview of the three states', Lithuania, Hungary and Poland, regulations on citizenship (acquiring, preserving, loosing or restoring citizenship)². Particular attention is given to the dual citizenship policy and regulations, terms and conditions of acquiring, possessing and losing the citizenship of home state while becoming a citizen of another state(s).

Lithuanian Citizenship Regulations

The citizens of the Republic of Lithuania are the ones who establish the 'permanent legal relationship with the Republic of Lithuania based on mutual rights and obligations' (Art.2.8 of the Law on Citizenship, 2010). Moreover, the Law of Citizenship claims that Lithuania 'defend and protect its citizens outside the territory of the Republic of Lithuania' (Article 6.3). The Law of Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania is dated on 2010, with the recent consolidated version of the Law, published on January 1st, 2021.

The Law of Citizenship declares a few (major) ways of acquiring Lithuanian Citizenship³:

1. By birth (*jus sanguinis*);
2. Citizenship by descent. By exercising the right to citizenship: reinstated and retained citizenship under the Republic of Lithuania Law on Citizenship;
 - 2.1. Citizenship restoration;
 - 2.2. Citizenship reinstatement.

Citizenship by Birth

The Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania is granted to children, whose both parents hold Lithuanian citizenship at the moment of the child's birth, regardless of the country of residence. In the case of one of the parents holding the citizenship of different state(s), children up to the age of 18, can be granted both Lithuanian and different state's citizenship (and hold dual citizenship). After reaching the age of 21, the person should choose to leave or resign from Lithuanian citizenship, as the Lithuanian state doesn't recognize dual citizenship (with some exceptions).

² Note: the selected regulations on citizenship and dual citizenship are mostly limited to those relevant for the emigrants and the diaspora members.

³ This report presents the (dual) citizenship regulations, which refer to the diaspora members. Hence, the regulations on acquiring citizenship by non-diaspora members (immigrants) is not covered here.

Citizenship by Descent

Lithuanian descendants and members of the diaspora, who have lost or not acquired Lithuanian citizenship from birth, marriage, etc. can restore the citizenship if they or their ancestors held the Lithuanian citizenship before 15 June 1940. However, it requires the renouncement of their current citizenship.

According to Article 9 of Law on Citizenship (2010(2021)) Lithuanian citizens are:

- 1) Persons, before June 15, 1940, who have the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania and their descendants who have not acquired the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania before the entry into force of this Law have the indefinite right to restore the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania, regardless of the state of residence;
- 2) The persons specified in Paragraph 1 of this Article may restore the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania if they are not citizens of another state. The requirement to renounce the citizenship of another state does not apply to persons who, in accordance with Item 2, 3 or 4 of Article 7 of this Law (Item 2 – is a person deported from the occupied Republic of Lithuania before March 1, 1990; Item 3 – is a person who left Lithuania before March 11, 1990; Item 4 – is a descendant of a person specified in Paragraph 2 or 3), can be citizens of the Republic of Lithuania and another state together.

The Republic of Lithuania allows for holding dual citizenship if only:

- 1) gained Lithuanian citizenship and citizenship a different state by birth and are under 21 years of age (regardless his/her parents lose the Lithuanian citizenship);
- 2) the person was exiled from the occupied Republic of Lithuania prior to March 11, 1990 and has acquired citizenship of a different state⁴;
- 3) the person who left Lithuania prior to March 11, 1990 and acquired citizenship of a different state;
- 4) the person who is a descendant of a person mentioned in points 2 and 3;
- 5) gained foreign citizenship by virtue of marriage to a citizen of a different state⁵;

⁴ Article 2.2. Law on Citizenship of Lithuania. A person who was deported from the occupied Republic of Lithuania before June 15th, 1940 and March, 11th, 1990. And a person who had the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania, or his/her descendant, who was forcibly expelled from Lithuania between June 15th, 1940 and March 11th, 1990 due to resistance to the occupation regimes, political, social or origin motives.

⁵ In case of acquiring the citizenship of a different state by a fact (*ipso facto*) of marrying a person of that state.

- 6) are under 21 years of age, provided they were adopted by a citizen (-s) of Lithuania before reaching 18 years of age and, as a result of the adoption, acquired Lithuanian citizenship;
- 7) acquired Lithuanian citizenship while having a refugee status in Lithuania (Migration Law Centre, n.d.);
- 8) by the ways of exception.

At the same time,

A citizen of the Republic of Lithuania who is a citizen of another state at the same time shall be considered by the State of Lithuania to be only a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania. The possession of citizenship of another state shall not relieve him of the responsibilities as a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania under the Constitution, laws and other legal acts of the Republic of Lithuania (Article 8, Law on Citizenship).

It should be also noted, that the loss of Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania (based on Article 24) can take place:

- 1) upon renunciation of citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania;
- 2) upon acquisition of citizenship of another state;
- 3) on the grounds provided for by international treaties of the Republic of Lithuania;
- 4) if a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania serves in the service of another state without the permission of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania;
- 5) if a person who is subject to the requirement to submit evidence of loss of citizenship of another state has not submitted it within the term.

Consequently, the post-transformation and post-accession Lithuanian migrants can benefit from holding Lithuanian Citizenship until its renunciation or acquisition of citizenship of a different state. Lithuania has been a country that allows dual citizenship in rare cases. Due to the large-scale emigration and childbirths abroad, in 2015, the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania adopted the amendment to the Law of Citizenship and allowed children who are born either abroad or in Lithuania to Lithuanian parent(s) to hold dual citizenship by the age of 21. At that time, persons have to decide whether to leave or renunciate their Lithuanian Citizenship.

Hungarian Citizenship Regulations

Like the majority of the European Union states, Hungary According to the Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian Citizenship (including some amendments, the latest dates 2019)⁶, Hungarian citizen can be:

1. Any person who has Hungarian citizenship at the time of this Act entering into force and any person who becomes a Hungarian citizen on the strength of the Fundamental Law or this Act, or who acquires Hungarian citizenship under this Act, shall be recognized as a Hungarian citizen, until his/her citizenship terminates.
2. Unless an Act provides otherwise, any Hungarian citizen who also holds citizenship in another country shall be regarded as a Hungarian citizen for the purposes of the application of Hungarian law.

Paragraph 2 of Article 2 of this Act signifies that Hungarian law does not require its citizens to renounce citizenship in case of acquiring one from a different state. Though, the state of Hungary views its citizens as Hungarian only, regardless of holding dual (multiple) citizenship(s).

Hungarian citizenship may be granted due to the **repatriation** or **naturalization**, under the following conditions, stated in Section 5A of the Act on Citizenship. One can become a citizen by repatriation (verification of Hungarian citizenship) if:

1. Having been deprived of Hungarian citizenship by virtue of Act X of 1947 and Act XXVI of 1948 on the Deprivation of Hungarian Citizenship of Certain Persons Residing Abroad, or under Act LX of 1948 on Hungarian Citizenship or Act V of 1957 on Citizenship, or if having lost his/her citizenship by virtue of Decree No. 7970/1946 ME, Government Decree 10.515/1947 Korm. or Government Decree 12.200/1947 Korm. Furthermore, whose Hungarian citizenship was terminated by expatriation between September 15, 1947 and May 2, 1990;
2. The person was born before October 1, 1957 to a mother who was a Hungarian citizen and a father who was a foreign national and if no Hungarian citizenship was granted at birth.

⁶ Source: Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian Citizenship
https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/5925/file/Hungary_Citizenship_act_2012_en.pdf

Though, a descendant of Hungarian expats, who lost their citizenship (as stated in two paragraphs mentioned above), can become Hungarian citizens by simplified naturalization process. The naturalization process, however, can be applied in the following cases:

1. By the descendants of non-Hungarian father and Hungarian mother, who acquired citizenship not by birth but the statement before October 1, 1957;
2. In case of having ancestors, who emigrated from Hungary before September 1, 1929, but whose parents did not hold Hungarian citizenship (Embassy of Hungary in Washington).

The repatriation and simplified naturalisation procedures do not require the knowledge of the Hungarian language, while the naturalization does.

It should be mentioned, that according to Section 8.1. of Act LV on Citizenship, Hungarian citizens may be deprived of citizenship only by abjuration. It is stated that ‘a Hungarian citizen may renounce his Hungarian citizenship by a declaration addressed to the President of the Republic’.

Polish Citizenship Regulations

The actual Act on Citizenship of Poland, dated on 2009, does not directly state who is a citizen of Poland, but lists the ways Polish citizenship can be acquired. According to Article 4 of this Act, Polish citizenship can be acquired in one of four cases:

1. by law;
2. by granting;
3. by recognition as a Polish citizen;
4. by restoration.

Citizenship by law

According to the Article 14 of the Act on Citizenship, the new-born child can acquire Polish Citizenship if one of the parents holds Polish citizenship (regardless the residence place).

Citizenship by granting and recognition articles reveal the regulations directed to the foreigners, who can acquire Polish citizenship.

Citizenship by restoration

The members of the Polish diaspora can apply for Polish citizenship in terms of the citizenship **restoration** procedure (Art 38.). Polish citizenship can be restored by the

application of a foreigner, who lost Polish citizenship before 1999 on the basis of 1920, 1951, and 1962 Laws on Citizenship. Foreigners, who joined the Axis Alliance (Germany, Italy, and Japan) states from 1939 to 1945, cannot apply for citizenship restoration.

Besides, since 2008, Polish descents and the members of ethnic minorities in the Post-Soviet countries can apply for the ethnic card, The Polish Ethnicity Attestation Card (the “Pole’s Card”⁷) [*Karta Polaka*] (The Bill on the Pole’s Card, 2007).

Similarly to Hungary, Poland *de iure* does not state the permission of holding dual (multiple) citizenships. Though, it also does not prohibit it. According to the valid Act on Citizenship of 2009, citizens of the Republic of Poland should not lose Polish citizenship in the effect of acquiring citizenship of another state. Citizens with multiple citizenship should be viewed as Polish citizens on the territory of the Republic of Poland and can benefit from the same rights as other persons with single citizenship.

To sum up, the members of the “old” (Polonia) and “new” Polish diaspora can benefit from keeping Polish citizenship regardless of acquiring the citizenship of another state. Though, on the territory of the Republic of Poland, any Polish citizenship holders are viewed as Poles and should use their Polish passports/ID cards in all governmental institutions and procedures.

⁷ The definition of the Pole’s Card is provided by the Office for Foreigners. <https://udsc.gov.pl/faqudsc/en/legality-of-residence/i-have-a-valid-roles-card-does-it-make-me-eligible-to-enter-poland-and-work-here/>

PART II. DUAL CITIZENSHIP HISTORY AND DISCOURSE

Citizenship Discourse in Lithuania

The case of The Republic of Lithuania demonstrates a clear division of the members of the “old” and “new” diasporas (before and after 1990) by introducing the laws on citizenship, particularly regulations on obtaining dual citizenship (see Annex 1 for the timeline of political debate on the citizenship of Lithuania). The members of the ‘old’ diaspora, who hold the Lithuanian citizenship before June 15, 1940 (the day of Soviet Occupation), and their descendants; or those who left the country before 1990 (when Lithuania was a part of the Soviet Union) and obtained citizenship of a different country, as well as their descendants, could apply for restoration of the Lithuanian Citizenship. Moreover, Lithuanians who emigrated or were deported in times of occupation can benefit from holding dual citizenship.

The Lithuania Citizenship restoration and dual citizenship have become a prevalent topic in the country’s diaspora and state policies. Aimed to access the more Lithuanian descendants and establish a formal connection with the “old” diaspora members, the Lithuanian Government adopted a simplified procedure of acquiring citizenship (Economic Migration Services). Moreover, the state provides easy access to the information on the procedure, which can be found on the web pages and portals, such as Electronic Migration Services, Renkuosi Lietuvą, Migration Law Center, and Lithuanian Consulates webpages. Besides, the DeCivitate Group provides services on assisting the citizenship restoration procedure. By encouraging people to obtain citizenship, the portal points to its benefits: live and work freely in any EU country, a simplified process of setting up a business across EU, university education is free or more than 50% cheaper for EU nationals, visa-free or visa on arrival to 181 countries, healthcare is free or highly subsidised in most EU countries, access to all Social Security benefits, pass your EU citizenship on to your future children. Hence, this encourages the diaspora members, who are currently citizens of non-European countries, to take advantage of dual citizenship, cheaper EU education, EU insurance, social benefits, etc., while keeping current citizenship and becoming an EU citizen with Lithuanian heritage (DeCivitate).

Nevertheless, dual citizenship in Lithuania has been quite a disputable issue among the politicians, Lithuanians and the members of the Lithuanian Diaspora. Lithuanian government introduced several changes to the Law on Citizenship. The Law, passed in 2002, and amended in 2006, provided similar citizenship regulation as the valid Law. Though, since the EU accession and rapid migration outflow from Lithuania, there was a discussion on changing the Law on Citizenship in order to allow Lithuanian emigrants to preserve their citizenship while

acquiring the one from another state. This postulate, however, was not supported either by Seimas or Constitutional Court, which pointed to the violation of Article 12 of the Constitution of Lithuania stating that ‘With the exception of individual cases provided for by law, no one may be a citizen of both the Republic of Lithuania and another state at the same time’.

The discussion on dual citizenship was raised on June 30th, 2008, during the 56th unscheduled meeting of Seimas, and ended by adopting the amendments to the Law on Citizenship and introducing the right of having two citizenships. Gintaras Steponavičius, who was a former Senior Deputy Chair of the Lithuanian Liberal Movement Party and a Minister of Education and Science, raised a question of giving the right to dual citizenship to the Lithuanian emigrants in the EU or NATO countries. He pointed to the Seimas’s legislative power to introduce changes to the Constitution due to the changing nature of society and migration issues:

I want to say straightforwardly that no one but the Seimas is the institution that has the power and competence to make decisions independently, understanding the development and spirit of the Constitution, just as it must take responsibility for understanding the situation in Lithuania and our nation today, that hundreds of thousands of our people have gone abroad for longer or shorter periods of time.

I think I will not be mistaken in saying that the representatives of the older and younger generation of the diaspora are waiting with anxiety and hope for our vote. I am glad that, after a long debate, a solution has finally been found here in the Seimas to involve not only our citizens living in the countries of the European Union but also our people living in the countries of NATO. Consequently, the largest Lithuanian communities will have a chance to preserve Lithuanian citizenship if they so wish. I think we are not such a big country and a rich nation that we can easily sweep away our people who have left for a longer or shorter period of time. There will come a time when many of these people will return.

By passing the Citizenship Act in this version today, we are telling them that the door to return is open. I think this is a good decision to show those people, who are part of our nation, who care about politicians, the Seimas, and our country, that their return is very important to us⁸ (G. Steponavičius as cited in E-Seimas, 2008).

⁸ As translated from Lithuanian by author.

The opposites criticised the proposed amendment by calling it a policy of dual standards and pointing to the greater division of Lithuanians living abroad to those, who resided in EU/NATO and those who did not. Besides, Julius Veselka⁹ also disregarded the proposition of dual citizenship as it collided with the military service obligations in Lithuania and the obligation to defend the State of Lithuania from foreign armed aggression¹⁰.

The June 2008 amendments to the Law of Citizenship did not last long. In two weeks, the President of Lithuania signed new law On Amending the Law on Citizenship, which stated the prohibition of possessing dual citizenship (apart from the extremely rare cases, noted in the previous Law).

Another Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania was approved in 2010 (and came into force on April 1, 2011). One of the decisive amendments was ratified on November 28, 2015. The changes were primarily introduced to the regulations of having dual citizenship by children born in Lithuania or to the Lithuanian parent(s). Thus, children up to the age of 21 can be both citizens of Lithuania and the other state, despite the fact of their parents' loss of Lithuanian citizenship.

Though, following the flow of transnationalism and large-scale emigration waves (see Héjj et al., 2021 for the diaspora descriptions), the members of the Lithuania government have triggered dual citizenship issues. The initial intention was to change the Law by organising a referendum during the parliamentary elections on October 9, 2016. Due to the insufficient organization of the referendum, it did not take place, though. The Chairwoman of the World Lithuanian Community, Dalia Henke, highlighted the need of running the e-voting, which would attract more voters abroad. Besides, she noted that those Lithuanians, who had already lost their citizenship, should also be eligible to vote: "Dual citizenship is an issue that is relevant only for some citizens entitled to vote. This issue is important for those who no longer have Lithuanian citizenship and have no right to express their position" (The Lithuania Tribune, 2016).

Another attempt to make changes in the Law on Citizenships, and, thus, changes to Article 12 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, were set for a referendum, which took place on May 12, 2019. It was scheduled during the presidential elections in order to raise the voters' turnout.

⁹ A member of Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party, and Order and Justice in 2008-2012.

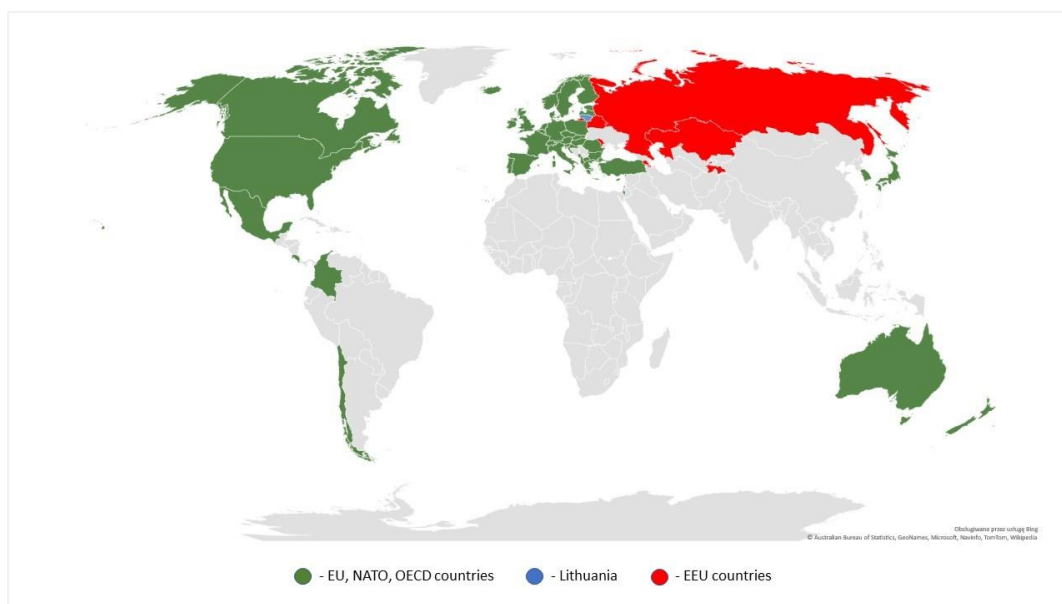
¹⁰ The compulsory military duty of the Lithuanian citizens aged 18-26 existed till 2008. On September 1st, 2016, the Military Conscription Reinstated due to the potential threat caused by Russian Federation.

While supporting the referendum, Henke claimed the necessity for changing the Constitution due to the changing worlds' and Lithuania's situation:

Cases in Europe show that the Constitutional Court's rulings can be changed in response to changed conditions. We no longer live in 1992, we are a country that is losing a lot of its citizens, and speaking of Brexit, when Lithuanian citizens living there [in the UK] have to make their decision, the Constitutional Court needs to react to those changed conditions (Milena Andrukaitytė from Baltic News Service, cited in Lithuanian National Radio and Television, 2019a).

Hence, during the 2019 referendum, Lithuanians voted on whether to amend Article 12 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and to allow preserving Lithuanian citizenship in case of acquiring the citizenship of a state which is a part of 'European and transatlantic integration criteria', which includes the countries of EU (European Union), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and OECD (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) (see Figure 1). This would exclude Lithuanians from other regions, including those explicitly stated in the law, namely 'All of the members of post-Soviet groupings like the Commonwealth of the Independent States and the Eurasian Economic Union: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenia' (Lithuanian National Radio and Television, 2019b).

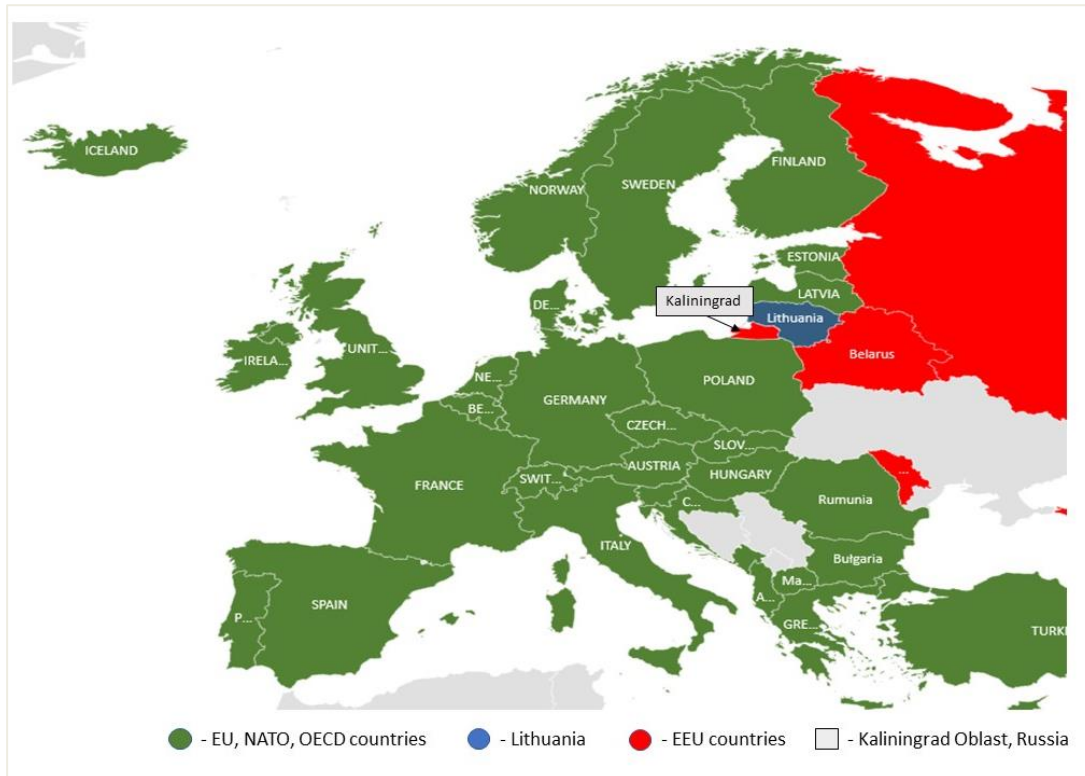
Figure 1. Dual Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania for Lithuanian citizens in allowed and excluded countries



Source: Own Elaboration

This exclusion caused a wave of dissent among the Lithuanian communities in the countries not included under the ‘European and Transatlantic Integration Criteria’. Particularly, the boycott of the referendum in Kaliningrad, Russian Oblast (see Figure 2), and protests in Argentina (ibid).

Figure 2. Map of Europe, including the Kaliningrad oblast of Russia



Source: Own Elaboration

Nonetheless, the Lithuanian politicians did not perceive the countries restriction of holding dual citizenship as discriminative. On the contrary, it was treated as a matter of political choice and protection, as mentioned by the Government Vice-Chancellor, Deividas Matulionis. He also pointed to the guardianship of the public services and politics from engaging citizens of post-Soviet background:

Say, a Russian-Lithuanian citizen decides to return to Lithuania and work in public service or enter politics. That person may have a signed agreement with the other government about collaborating with its services – we would be welcoming into our government a person who might cause trouble (cited in Lithuanian Radio and Television, 2019a)

Apart from the political issues, Vytautas Sinkevičius, former judge of Lithuania's Constitutional Court, pointed out similar concerns as Julius Veselka in 2008, that dual citizenship can become a threat to the military services of the Lithuanian Republic. This means, that in case of giving a right to the Lithuanian citizens/descends in all the countries to hold dual citizenship, a person who holds both Lithuanian and Russian citizenship and gave an oath to both states to protect from the foreign enemies, would violate his oath by serving to one of the states.

Notwithstanding, the referendum on dual citizenship failed due to the low turnout (about 53 %), despite the majority (about 74%) of given voices being in favour of introducing dual citizenship (see Table 1). Amending the constitution requires at least half of the eligible voters (about 1.24 million) (Beniušis, 2019) as the number of registered voters was 2,486,915.

Table 1. Results of 12 May 2019 Referendum on the Amendment of Article 12 of the Constitution

Question:									
<u>I approve the amendment of articles 12 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania</u>									
Number of cast votes									
in districts		by post		total		% of valid ballot-papers		% of turnout	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
747 628	278 566	208 936	58 938	956 564	337 504	73.92	26.08	72.35	25.53
The issue has not been adopted									

Source: The Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Lithuania

The other reason, as called by some Lithuanian politicians and citizens, for the failing referendum was ambiguous information of the amendment, which was not properly explained during the Referendum Information Campaign. The voters were not sure of whether they had to choose the 'yes' or 'no' answer. Dalia Henke, on behalf of the World Lithuanian Community, pointed to the importance of providing a clear message and information campaign, as well as running the e-voting, which would lead to the adoption of the amendment (Lithuanian National Radio and Television, 2020). While the Lithuanian president, promises to get back to the dual

citizenship question soon, Rimvydas Baltaduonis, chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament Seimas and Lithuanian World Community commission, urges this decision, particularly because of the Lithuanian citizens in the UK:

Maybe there are decisions, which we could take quite quickly – making additions to the law on citizenship that would answer those who need the most – especially in the UK, where people are worried about what will happen to their families and business. (cited in Lithuanian Radio and Television, 2019b)

Still, the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania does not allow for holding dual citizenship (except in rare cases). This can change during the next referendum may be held along with the next presidential and parliamentary elections in 2024, or by the approval of the Constitutional Court.

Citizenship Discourse in Hungary

Dual citizenship, which, to a large extent, was initiated by the Fidesz (Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége) party, led by Victor Orbán, caused an extensive discussion not only among politics but also in academy (Kallius, 2016; Kovács et al., 2016; Moreh, 2014; Nyssönen & Metsälä, 2019; Pogonyi, 2017; Tóth, 2018; Vass, 2018). Most of the discussions went around Orbán's contentious policy since the early 2000s, which was reinforced by the party's defeat in the 2002 and 2006 parliamentary elections (see Annex 2) (Pogonyi, 2015; Waterbury, 2010). Fidesz's leader saw potential support from the members of ethnic minorities, residing in the neighbouring countries (Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Ukraine). As a result, Viktor Orbán sought to enable their electoral supportive votes by granting them Hungarian citizenship. This, in fact, was rather perceived as 'ethnizenship' (Bauböck, 2007), in the meaning of symbolic citizenship, aimed to extract benefits from the diaspora members without physical relocation. Waterbury (2010) mentioned that the non-resident dual citizenship, which was presented as intentions to unite 'Hungarian 15 million nation', was aimed to 'reshape political power in Hungary by changing the size and the composition of the electorate' (p. 124).

The notable milestones in a 'quasi-citizenship' law went back to 2001 of adopting the Status Law (Act LXII) and establishing a forum for maintaining the relations with ethnic Hungarians (Magyar Állandó Értekezlet, MÁÉRT). According to this law, co-ethnics in the neighbouring countries (excluding the other members of Hungarian diaspora in other countries)

were granted a number of benefits, including the certificate of national belonging. This caused tensions with the neighbouring states, though (Kovács, 2020).

The following actions to set the relations with the diaspora members (but rather the co-ethnics) were the intentions to hold a referendum on supporting dual citizenship, which was held on December 5, 2004. The referendum failed due to the low turnout (37%), though the majority of the votes (about 52%) were in favour of the citizenship to non-residents. Following, the extended rights to the ethnic minorities became an even more controversial topic after Hungary's EU accession in 2004. The main arguments against the dual citizenship policy were provided by the left-wing parties, which stressed the threat of the migration inflow from non-EU countries to the EU but becoming Hungarian (Waterbury, 2010). The representatives of the Hungarian government declared:

Based on their dual citizenship, those who – as foreign citizens – needed a working permit in Hungary until now, in order to work, will be able to get jobs of any kind without permission – as Hungarian citizens. We believe that this can lead to serious pressures on the labour market, especially in the Eastern and Northern regions that are close to the borders. This particularly affects younger generations. Newcomers can crown out those who are employed now. Every 100,000 newcomers bring an increase in expenses of unemployment benefits by 50 million forints (The Hungarian Government, 2004 as cited in Maatsch, 2011).

The 'intensified phase of kin-state engagement' (Kovács, 2020, p. 10) and establishing dual citizenship legislation took place soon after the victory of the Fidesz party in the parliamentary elections in 2010. Since then, Fidesz reinforced 'nation-centric' campaign aimed to reunify the nation beyond the borders (Pogonyi, 2015). The party introduced the amendments to the Law on Citizenship (Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian Citizenship amendments) in 2010 (which entered into force in 2011). The Law included the naturalization and repatriation regulations, which were followed by the voting rights extension to the non-residential Hungarians (Lesińska & Héjj, 2021; Pogonyi, 2017).

Because of the new citizenship legislation, it has been hard to evaluate the exact data of naturalization of ethnic Hungarians because naturalisation can be applied by both, Hungarian descendants residing abroad and immigrants (Tóth, 2018). Though, the evident growth of naturalization is noticed. To compare, in 2009-2010, the number of Hungarian citizenship granted was around 6,000, while in 2011 and 2012, the number reached 20,500 and 18,300 respectively (European Commission, n.d.). Nevertheless, some data (Tóth, 2018) indicates that

from 2011 till 2017 about one million people were naturalized in Hungary, the majority (about 70%) of whom were citizens of neighbouring countries. Besides, Harpaz (2019) stated that citizenship is based on the instrumental calculation of values of current citizenship and the one that can be gained. For this reason, in 2011-2014, the majority of those who acquired Hungarian citizenship was from three non-EU countries, Ukraine, Russia and Serbia, while at the same period, only 1,500 Hungarians applied for USA citizenship.

To conclude, dual citizenship law in Hungary has been a subject of discussion since its adoption in 2010. Most of the arguments refer to dual citizenship as an instrument of current Hungarian politicians to engage the kin minorities in the neighbouring countries into the political and economic lives of the state, and to reunite the Hungarian state after being ‘torn apart in the storms of the last century’ (The Preamble of the Fundamental Law of Hungary, 2011). It is hard to evaluate the diaspora policy towards the post-accession Hungarian migrants in other EU countries and overseas, because formally and statistically they remain Hungarian citizens after gaining a citizen of other EU state, and the diaspora policy ‘legal framework does not differentiate between nationals temporary or permanently resigning abroad’ (Kovács, 2020, p. 249).

Citizenship Discourse in Poland

In Poland, the discussion on dual citizenship was not ‘heated’ (Górny et al., 2003, p. 4) as in the previous two country cases, Lithuania and Hungary. Though, a peak of consideration of *de iure* dual citizenship took place in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 2000s (ibid), while *de facto*, dual (multiple) citizenships were rather liberally treated in Poland because of the ‘long history of large-scale emigration from Poland and from efforts to maintain contacts and good relations with Polish emigrants abroad’ (Górny et al. 2007, p. 148).

Among the first notable steps in regulating dual citizenship were three Bills¹¹ proposed between 1999 and 2001 (see Górny et al., 2003). Though, neither of the bills was adopted. Poland’s accession to the EU in 2004 blurred the citizenship regulations, as Polish citizens were able to benefit from a border-free regime, the open labour market of most of the EU states, e.g., EU insurance etc. Nevertheless, mass emigration flow and low return migration (Anacka & Fihel, 2014; Fihel et al., 2012; Grabowska-Lusińska & Okólski, 2008; Lesińska, 2015;

¹¹ As mentioned in Górny et al. (2003): ‘They include: (1) the Senat’s Bill on Polish Citizenship submitted to the Sejm on 28.04.1999 (the Sejm document (1999), No. 1222); (2) the Government’s Bill on Polish Citizenship submitted to the Sejm on 5.10.1999 (the Sejm document (1999), No. 1408); (3) the Deputies’ Bill on Polish Citizenship submitted to the Sejm on 11.04.2001 (the Sejm document (2001), No. 2842)’ (p. 11).

Szczepański, 2010) brought in light to a new wave of discussion on adopting the multiple citizenship law in order to manage the multiple cases of holding dual citizenship of Poles residing abroad. This ended in the adoption of the Act on Polish Citizenship on April 2, 2009 (valid since August 15, 2012), which was supported by the majority of parties and was not followed by a discussion or contradictory arguments. The key difference from the previous valid law of 1962 was rather linguistic than legislative (Zawada, 2018) as the formulation of Polish citizens changed. Article 3 of the 2009 Act states the following:

1. The Polish citizen who is also a citizen of another country shall enjoy the same rights and shall be liable to the same duties in respect of the Republic of Poland as any other person holding Polish citizenship only.
2. In relation to the Republic of Poland, a Polish citizen shall not obtain any legal effect from relying on the citizenship of another state or on the rights and duties arising thereunder.

This indicated that Polish law did not prohibit holding dual or multiple citizenships (see also Pudzianowska, 2017), though in Poland a person should be perceived as a Polish citizen only. Moreover, Polish citizens holding single or multiple citizenships should be able to benefit from the same rights and perform the same duties.

Nevertheless, some changes were introduced concerning holding dual citizenship in Poland and holding functions in some public institutions, e.g. The Public Prosecutor's Office (The Act of January 28, 2016,) The Supreme Court (The Act of December 8, 2017) and the Regional Courts, The Military Counterintelligence Service and the Military Intelligence Service (The Act of June 9, 2006; amendments November 5, 2021), The Internal Security Agency and the Foreign Intelligence Agency (The Act of May 24, 2002), and The Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (The Act of December 18, 1998). These acts state that a person applying for a position of head and judge of the mentioned institutions should hold Polish citizenship only.

Conclusions

This report presents the ways three states, Lithuania, Hungary and Poland, have regulated the issues of dual (multiple) citizenships. The first part of the paper demonstrates different approaches to citizenship acquisition, presentation and loss (see Table 2). The citizens of Hungary and Poland can benefit from possessing dual citizenship despite acquiring citizenship of another state. These regulations are uniform for all citizens despite residence place (on the territory of Hungary or Poland or abroad), emigration period or age. Besides, the members of

kin-minorities can apply for a simplified naturalisation procedure (in Hungary) or the ethnic card (in Poland) (see also Annexes 2 and 3). To compare, the Lithuanian law appears to be more selective and cautious, as dual citizenship is allowed only for the members of ‘old diaspora’ (before 1990) with the particular requirements and procedures, and young Lithuanians who emigrated or were born to Lithuanian citizens abroad (see also Annex 1). Additionally, the members of kin-minorities can apply for naturalization by descent (if applicable).

Table 2. Citizenship acquisition, preservation and loss regulations in Lithuania, Hungary and Poland

Citizenship acquisition and loss		LT	HU	PL
<i>Jus sanguinis</i>		Yes	Yes	Yes
Dual citizenship		Rarely, in particular cases	Yes	Yes
Dual citizenship	‘old’ diaspora (before 1990)	Yes Citizenship by descent (before 1990)	Yes Naturalization by Descent	Yes Citizenship restoration
	‘new’ diaspora (after 1990)	No	Yes	Yes
	Minors	Yes, Till the age of 18 (21)	Yes	Yes
	Kin-minorities	No	Yes	No, The Pole’s Card
Loss/Renouncement of citizenship		1. By renouncing 2. By acquiring citizenship of another state	By renouncing	By renouncing

Source: Own elaboration

This report demonstrates not only the laws on dual citizenship but also analysis the history and formal discourse on adopting these regulations. It shows that adopting dual citizenship laws was supported not solely by the liberal state’s approach (Pudzianowska, 2017),

but various states intentions and perceptions of diaspora and kin-minorities which depend on the state's policies (domestic, foreign, and/or diaspora) and history.

The most rigorous citizenship laws are presented by the case of the Republic of Lithuania. Lithuanian authorities perceive dual citizenship as a political and sovereignty thread, which can be brought out by the immigrants or descendants with roots in neighbouring countries. Certain cautious actions have been considered by the Lithuanian government on limited granting the Lithuanian citizenship to the citizens (or future citizens) of Russia. At the same time, Lithuania has been carrying a multidirectional diaspora policy, including inducement, partnership, and embracement directions (Popyk et al., in print), which resulted in quite liberal citizenship regulations for the “old” diaspora members and minors.

To compare, the Hungarian government have led quite enhancing dual citizenship policy since the early 2000s. Aimed to reunify the ‘torn’ nation by the 1920's Treaty of Trianon, the Hungarian authorities have carried emancipatory policy by adopting ethnic visas, non-residential citizenship and a simplified naturalisation procedure for applying for Hungarian citizenship. These actions were sceptically assessed and discussed by the politicians, scholars and public in Hungary and abroad, by calling it the ‘nationalistic’ approach (Kovács et al., 2016; Lesińska & Héjj, 2021; Pogonyi, 2015; Vass, 2018), which perceives diaspora and ethnic minorities as an instrument for political lobbying.

Last, but not least, the case of the Republic of Poland illustrates quite liberal perceptions of the dual citizenship law, which is, on the one hand, held up by the ethnic card (The Pole's Card) regulations, while, on the other hand, was not a subject of substantial political discussions, but rather was perceived as a consequential act in response to the big “old” and massive “new” emerging diasporas (Górny et al., 2003; Pudzianowska, 2017; Zawada, 2018).

References

- Alarian, H. M., & Goodman, S. W. (2017). Dual Citizenship Allowance and Migration Flow: An Origin Story. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(1), 133–167. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414015626443>
- Anacka, M., & Fihel, A. (2014). Migracje powrotne Polaków. In M. Lesińska & M. Okólski (Eds.), *Dekada członkostwa Polski w UE. Społeczne skutki emigracji Polaków po 2004 roku* (pp. 71–85). Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- Andrukaitytė, M. (2019). *Constitutional court should change position on dual citizenship, expat Lithuanian leader says*. November 18, 2019. Available at <https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/news-in-english/19/1116894/constitutional-court-should-change-position-on-dual-citizenship-expat-lithuanian-leader-says>. (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Bauböck, R. (2007). Stakeholder citizenship and transnational political participation: A normative evaluation of external voting. *Fordham Law Review*, 75(5), 2393–2447.
- Bauböck, R. (2019). Genuine links and useful passports: evaluating strategic uses of citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6), 1015–1026. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440495>
- Beniušis, V. (2019). *Lithuanian president revives dual citizenship question*. December 6, 2019. Available at <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1122810/lithuanian-president-revives-dual-citizenship-question> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Brubaker, R. W. (1992), *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Conway, D., Potter, R. B., & St Bernard, G. (2008). Dual citizenship or dual identity? Does ‘transnationalism’ supplant ‘nationalism’ among returning Trinidadians? *Global Networks*, 8(4), 373–397. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2008.00230.x>
- Danero, I. J., Sata, R., & Vass, Á. (2014). Citizenship and Identity: Being Hungarian in Slovakia and Romanian in Serbia and Ukraine. *Minority Studies*, 18, 15–32.
- DeCivitate Group. (n.d.). <https://www.lithuaniancitizenship.com/> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Dumbrava, C. (2017). Comparative Report : Citizenship in Central And Eastern Europe (Issue April).
- Economic Migration Services. (n.d.). <https://www.migracija.lt/noriu-tapti-lr-pilie%C4%8Diu> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).

- Embassy of Hungary in Washington. (n.d.) Available at <https://washington.mfa.gov.hu/eng/page/about-hungarian-citizenship>. (Accessed on September 10th, 2021).
- European Commission. (n.d.) *Eurostat. Acquisition of Citizenship*, Hungary 2008-2019. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00024/default/table?lang=en> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Faist, T. (Ed.). (2007). *Dual citizenship in Europe: From nationhood to societal integration*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Faist, T. (2010). Towards Transnational Studies: World Theories, Transnationalisation and Changing Institutions, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1665-1687, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489365>
- Fihel, A., Kaczmarczyk, P., & Stefanska, R. (2012). Recent Trends in International Migration in Poland. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 1(1), 69–90.
- Górny, A., Grzymała-Kazłowska, A., Koryś, P., & Weinara, A. (2003). *Multiple citizenship in Poland*. Warsaw University, Prace Migracyjne, 53.
- Górny, A., Grzymała-Kazłowska, A., Koryś, P., & Weinara, A. (2007). Selective Tolerance? Refutations, Practice and Discussions regarding Dual Citizenship in Poland. In Faist, T. (Ed.), *Dual citizenship in Europe: From nationhood to societal integration* (pp.147-170). Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Grabowska-Lusińska, I., & Okólski, M. (2008). *Migracja z Polski po 1 maja 2004 r . Jej intensywność i kierunki geograficzne oraz alokacja migrantów na rynkach pracy krajów Unii Europejskiej*. Center of Migration Research: CMR Working Papers, 33(91).
- Harpaz, Y. (2019). Compensatory citizenship: dual nationality as a strategy of global upward mobility. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6), 897–916. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440486>
- Harpaz, Y., & Mateos, P. (2019). Strategic citizenship: negotiating membership in the age of dual nationality. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6), 843–857. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440482>
- Hejj, D., Lesińska, M., Wilczewski, D. (2021). *Udział diaspory w wyborach krajowych. Przypadek Litwy, Polski i Węgier w ujęciu porównawczym*. Center of Migration Research: CMR Working Papers, 125/183.
- Joppke, C. (2019). The instrumental turn of citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6), 858–878. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440484>

- Kallius, A. (2016). Rupture and continuity: Positioning Hungarian border policy in the European Union. *Intersections East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 2(4), 134–151. <https://doi.org/10.17356/ieejsp.v2i4.282>
- Kochenov, D. (2011). Double Nationality in the EU: An Argument for Tolerance. *European Law Journal*, 17(3), 323–343. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0386.2011.00553.x>
- Kovács, E. (2020). Direct and indirect political remittances of the transnational engagement of Hungarian kin-minorities and diaspora communities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(6), 1146–1165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1554315>
- Kovács, K., Körtvélyesi, Z., & Nagy, A. (2016). Margins of Nationality. External ethnic citizenship and non-discrimination. *Perspectives on Federalism*, 7(1), 85–116. <https://doi.org/10.1515/pof-2015-0005>
- Kovács, M. M. (2006). The politics of dual citizenship in Hungary. *Citizenship Studies*, 10(4), 431–451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020600858088>
- Leblang, D. (2017). Harnessing the Diaspora: Dual Citizenship, Migrant Return Remittances. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(1), 75–101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414015606736>
- Lesińska, M. (2015). *Migracje powrotne Polaków*. Biuro Analiz Sejmowych Kancelarii Sejmu, 11(194). <https://doi.org/10.31338/uw.9788323516194.pp.71-86>
- Lesińska, M., & Héjj, D. (2021). Pragmatic Trans-Border Nationalism: A Comparative Analysis of Poland's and Hungary's Policies Towards Kin-Minorities in the Twenty-First Century. *Ethnopolitics*, 20(1), 53–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2020.1808324>
- Lesińska, M., & Popyk, A. (2021). *Three types of diasporas from Poland, Hungary and Lithuania*. CMR SPOTLIGHT, 2(25).
- Lithuanian National Radio and Television. (2020). *Dalia Henke. What did we learn from the 2019 referendum and what next?*. <https://www.lrt.lt/lituanica/pasaulio-lietuvius-balsas/753/1417566/dalia-henke-ka-ismokome-is-2019-uju-referendumo-ir-kas-toliau> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Lithuanian National Radio and Television. (2019a). *Lithuania's citizenship referendum: necessary but rushed vote*. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in-english/19/1056843/lithuania-s-citizenship-referendum-necessary-but-rushed-vote> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Lithuanian National Radio and Television. (2019b). *Referendum on citizenship was only a rehearsal, says Lithuanian World Community*. <https://www.lrt.lt/en/news-in->

- [english/19/1059594/referendum-on-citizenship-was-only-a-rehearsal-says-lithuanian-world-community](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/3569594/referendum-on-citizenship-was-only-a-rehearsal-says-lithuanian-world-community) (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Maatsch, A. (2011). *Ethnic citizenship regimes: Europeanization, post-war migration and redressing past wrongs*. Springer.
- Migration Law Center . <https://www.migration.lt/immigration-of-persons-of-lithuanian-origin-and-persons-having-a-right-for-restoration-of-lithuanian-citizenship>
- Migration Law Centre. (n.d.) *Lithuanian Citizenship*. <https://www.migration.lt/lithuanian-citizenship-15>. (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Moreh, C. (2014). A Decade of Membership: Hungarian Post-Accession Mobility to the United Kingdom. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 3(2), 79–104.
- Nyyssönen, H., & Metsälä, J. (2019). Dual Citizenship as Power Politics: The Case of the Carpathian Basin. *Europa Ethnica*, 76(1–2), 50–56. <https://doi.org/10.24989/0014-2492-2019-12-50>
- Pogonyi, S. (2015). Transborder Kin-Minority as Symbolic Resource in Hungary. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe: JEMIE*, 14(3), 73.
- Pogonyi, S. (2017). Europeanization of Kin-Citizenship and the Dynamics of Kin-Minority Claim-Making: The Case of Hungary. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 64(5), 242–256. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2017.1329630>
- Popyk, A. Lesińska, M., Dambrauskas, K. (in print). The Evolution of Post-Accession Diasporas and Diaspora Policies after 2004: a Comparative Analysis of Poland and Lithuania. *Journal of Baltic Studies*.
- Pudzianowska, D. (2017). The Complexities of Dual Citizenship Analysis. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 6(1), 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.17467/ceemr.2017.10>
- Renkuosi Lietuvą [I Choose Lithuania]. <https://www.renkuosilietuva.lt/en/> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Shevel, O. (2019). *The Politics of Dual Citizenship in Post-Soviet States: Securing Political Goals Through Citizenship Rules*. April 11, 2019. Available at <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/the-politics-of-dual-citizenship-in-post-soviet-states-securing-political-goals-through-citizenship-rules/> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Spiro, P. J. (2019). The equality paradox of dual citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6), 879–896. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440485>
- Szczepański, M. (2010). Analiza polityki państwa wobec migracji powrotnych. Przypadek Polski [Analysis of the State Policy Regarding Return Migrations. The case of Poland].

- In M. Lesińska (Ed.), *Polityka państwa wobec migracji powrotnych własnych obywateli. Teoria i praktyka* [State policy towards return migration of its own citizens. Theory and practice] (pp. 16-36). CMR Working Papers, 44/102.
- The Lithuania Tribune. (2016). 'Impossible for dual citizenship referendum to succeed under current laws' – Lithuanian diaspora leader. April 26, 2016. <https://lithuaniatribune.com/impossible-for-dual-citizenship-referendum-to-succeed-under-current-laws-lithuanian-diaspora-leader/> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- The Lithuania Tribune, 2016. <https://lithuaniatribune.com/author/lithuania-tribune/> (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- Tóth, J. (2018). *The curious case of Hungary: why the naturalisation rate does not always show how inclusive a country is*. Available at https://globalcit.eu/the-curious-case-of-hungary-why-the-naturalisation-rate-does-not-always-show-how-inclusive-a-country-is/#_edn3 (Accessed on October 6th, 2021).
- van der Baaren, L. (2020). *Comparative Report: Dual Citizenship in the European Union: Trends and Analysis* (2010-2020) (Issue July).
- Vass, Á. (2018). The Extended Nation as a Political Project – Hungarian Diaspora Living in Western Canada. *Polish Political Science Review*, 6(2), 91–103. <https://doi.org/10.2478/ppsr-2018-0015>
- Waterbury, M. A. (2010). *Between State and Nation: Diaspora Politics and Kin-state Nationalism in Hungary*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Zawada, P. (2018). Dual Citizenship in Poland and in Israel: Selected Legal Aspects in a Comparative Perspective. *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, 47(2), 302–318. <https://doi.org/10.15804/ppsy2018210>

Analysed Documents

- Act LV of 1993 (as amended) on Hungarian Citizenship. (2012). https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/5925/file/Hungary_Citizenship_act_2012_en.pdf (Accessed on September 28, 2021).
- Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian Citizenship. (1993). <https://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain/opendocpdf.pdf?reldoc=y&docid=5444c33e2d5> (Accessed on September 28, 2021).
- Act LXII of 2001 on Hungarians Living in Neighbouring Countries. (2001). <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3f460e764.html> (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Act of December 18, 1998 on The Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation [Instytucie Pamięci Narodowej – Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu]. Dz.U. 1998 nr 155 poz. 1016. <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19981551016> (Accessed on December 18, 2021).

Act of December 8, 2017 on The Supreme Court [Ustawa o o Sądzie Najwyższym]. Dz.U. 2018 poz. 5. <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20180000005> (Accessed on December 18, 2021).

Act of January 28, 2016 on The Public Prosecutor's Office [Prawo o prokuraturze]. Dz.U. 2016 poz. 177. <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20160000177> (Accessed on December 18, 2021).

Act of June 9, 2006; amendments November 5, 2021 on The Military Counterintelligence Service and the Military Intelligence Service [Ustawa o Służbie Kontrwywiadu Wojskowego oraz Służbie Wywiadu Wojskowego]. <https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzu-dziennik-ustaw/sluzba-kontrwywiadu-wojskowego-oraz-sluzba-wywiadu-wojskowego-17282908> (Accessed on December 18, 2021).

Act of May 24, 2002 on The Internal Security Agency and the Foreign Intelligence Agency [Ustawa o o Agencji Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego oraz Agencji Wywiadu]. Dz.U. 2002 nr 74 poz. 676. <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20020740676> (Accessed on December 18th, 2021).

Act on Polish Citizenship [Ustawa o Obywatelstwie Polskim]. (1920). Dz.U. 1920 nr 7 poz. 44. <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19200070044>. (Accessed on December 21, 2021).

Act on Polish Citizenship [Ustawa o Obywatelstwie Polskim]. (1951). Dz.U. 1951 nr 4 poz. 25. <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19510040025>. (Accessed on December 21, 2021).

Act on Polish Citizenship [Ustawa o Obywatelstwie Polskim]. (1962). Dz.U. 1962 nr 10 poz. 49. <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19620100049>. (Accessed on December 21, 2021).

Act on Polish Citizenship [Ustawa o Obywatelstwie Polskim]. (2009, April, 2). Dz. U. 2012 poz. 161.

<http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20120000161/U/D20120161Lj.pdf>

(Accessed on September 24th, 2021).

Bill on Renunciation of the Conventions on Avoidance of Dual Citizenship. (1999). Between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine [Ustawa z dnia 18 listopada 1999 r. o wypowiedzeniu, w stosunkach między Rzeczpospolitą Polską a Ukrainą, Konwencji między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Związku Socjalistycznych Republik Radzieckich w sprawie zapobiegania powstawaniu przypadków podwójnego obywatelstwa, podpisanej w Warszawie dnia 31 marca 1965 r.] <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20160000730> (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Bill on Renunciation of the Conventions on Avoidance of Dual Citizenship. (1999). Between the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Moldova. [Ustawa o wypowiedzeniu Konwencji między Rządem Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej a Rządem Mongolskiej Republiki Ludowej w sprawie uregulowania zagadnień dotyczących podwójnego obywatelstwa i zapobiegania przypadkom jego powstawania, podpisanej w Ułan Bator dnia 23 maja 1975 r.] http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/proc3.nsf/ustawy/1410_u.htm (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Bill on the Pole's Card. (2019). Ustawa z dnia 16 maja 2019 r. o zmianie ustawy o Karcie Polaka. Dz.U. 2019 poz. 1095. (Accessed on September 24, 2021). <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20190001095>

Bill on the Pole's Card. (2007). Dz. U. 2007 Nr 180 poz. 1280. <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20071801280/U/D20071280Lj.pdf> (Accessed on September 24, 2021).

Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania. (1992). https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/8210/file/Lithuania_Constitution_1992_a_m2019_en.pdf (Accessed on September 24, 2021).

E-Seimas. (2008). Fifty-sixth (440) unscheduled meeting. <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAK/TAIS.323574> (Accessed on September 24, 2021).

Fundamental Law on Hungary. (2011). <https://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain/opendocpdf.pdf?reldoc=y&docid=54412e794> (Accessed on September 24, 2021).

Law of July 21, 2001 on Regional Courts [Prawo o ustroju sądów powszechnych]. Dz. U. 2001
Nr 98 poz. 1070.

<http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20010981070/U/D20011070Lj.pdf>
(Accessed on December 18, 2021).

Law of the Republic of Lithuania on Amending the Law on Citizenship, (2008). No X-1709.

Law on Citizenship. (2010), Law No. XI-1196 (Consolidated version from 1st January 2021).
https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=87071&p_country=LTU&p_count=432&p_classification=01.03&p_classcount=6 (Accessed on September 24, 2021).

Law on Citizenship No IX-1078 (X-1709). (2008). <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.326111?jfwid=iwhzpujsk> (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Law on Citizenship No IX-1078 (X-768). (2006). <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.285786?jfwid=iwhzpujsk> (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Law on Citizenship No IX-1078. (2002). <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.193019?jfwid=iwhzpujsk> (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Law on Citizenship No XI-1196.(2010). <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.395555> (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania. (2010). No. XI-1196 from December 2.

Law on Citizenship, Lithuania. (2002). <https://www.legislationline.org/documents/id/9067>
(Accessed on September 24, 2021).

Preamble of the Fundamental Law of Hungary, (2011).
https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Hungary_2013.pdf?lang=en (Accessed on September 24, 2021).

Repatriation Act. (2000).
https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/6571/file/Poland_Repatriation_act_2000_eng.pdf (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Republic of Lithuania Law on Citizenship, No. I-2072. <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.2348?jfwid=pd6eq7sif> (Accessed on September 28, 2021).

Senate's draft act on the on the Pole's Card and the procedure for confirming Polish nationality or of Polish origin belonging to the Polish Nation. (1999).

[http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/rejestr.d.nsf/7699213c7eeb8c1bc1256777002fc22a/efffcae22f604dd0c12567a700462b09/\\$file/1206.pdf](http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/rejestr.d.nsf/7699213c7eeb8c1bc1256777002fc22a/efffcae22f604dd0c12567a700462b09/$file/1206.pdf) (Accessed on September 24, 2021)

Status Law, Act LXII. (2001). On Hungarians Living in Neighboring Countries, 40 I.L.M. 1242.

Ustawa o cudzoziemcach [Act on Foreigners]. (2013) December, 12. Dz. U. 2012 poz. 161. <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20120000161/U/D20120161Lj.pdf> (Accessed on September 24th, 2021).

Annexe 1

Table 3. Timeline of the Political Debate and Regulations on Dual Citizenship in Lithuania

Date	Law name	Content
03/11/1989	The Republic of Lithuania Law on Citizenship, No XI-3329	Article 1. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are: 1) persons who were citizens of the Republic of Lithuania, their children and grandchildren, as well as others before 1940 June 15, former permanent members of present-day Lithuania Residents of the territory of the USSR, their children and grandchildren, constantly living in the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.
05/12/1991	The Republic of Lithuania Law on Citizenship, No. I-2072	Article 1. The following persons shall be citizens of the Republic of Lithuania: 1) as above 2) persons who were permanent residents in the present-day territory of the Republic of Lithuania in the period from 9 January 1919 to 15 June 1940, as well as their children and grandchildren, provided that on the day of coming into effect of the Law on Citizenship they have been permanent residents in Lithuania, are residing here at the present time and are not citizens of another state; 3) persons of Lithuanian origin residing in other states, if they left Lithuania prior to 16 February 1918 and did not acquire citizenship of another state; 4) persons who acquired citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania by 4 November 1991 under the Law on Citizenship which had been in effect prior to the enactment of the Law on Citizenship on 5 December 1991. Article 8. A child whose both parents were citizens of the Republic of Lithuania at the time of his or her birth is a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania, regardless of whether he or she was born in the territory of the Republic of Lithuania or outside it.
17/09/2002	Law on Citizenship No IX-1078	Article 1. The following persons shall be citizens of the Republic of Lithuania: 1) as above 2) as above 3) persons of Lithuanian descent if they are not citizens of any other state . A person whose parents or grandparents or one of the parents or grandparents is or was Lithuanian and the person considers himself

		<p>Lithuanian shall be considered as being a person of Lithuanian descent;</p> <p>4) persons who acquired citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania prior to 4 November 1991 under the Law on Citizenship adopted on 3 November 1989;</p> <p>5) other persons who have acquired citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania under the Law on Citizenship adopted on 5 December 1991. Article 8.</p> <p>As above</p>
18/07/2006 (amendments)	Law on Citizenship No IX-1078 (X-768)	No significant changes
30/06/2008	56 th unscheduled meeting of Seimas	Voting on dual citizenship – approved. Vetoed in two weeks
15/07/2008 (amendments)	Law on Citizenship No IX-1078 (X-1709)	<p>Article 1.</p> <p>As above</p> <p>Article 1.2.</p> <p>A citizen of the Republic of Lithuania may not at the same time be a citizen of another state, except for persons who held citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania prior to 15 June 1940 who were exiled or withdrew from the Republic of Lithuania in the period of occupations from 15 June 1940 to 11 March 1990 as well as in individual cases provided for in paragraph 1 of Article 8, Article 9, paragraph 4 of Article 12, paragraph 1 of Article 16, paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 17, paragraph 2 of Article 18 of this Law.</p> <p>Article 8.</p> <p>1) As above</p> <p>2) If both parents lose citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania, the citizenship of their children who have not reached the age of 18 years shall change accordingly. The provision shall not apply if due to the change of the parents' citizenship the child would remain without a citizenship.</p>
02/12/2010 <u>Valid</u> Entry into force on 01/04/2011	Law on Citizenship No XI-1196	<p><u>Article 7. amended</u></p> <p>Cases when a Citizen of the Republic of Lithuania may be a Citizen of Another State at the Same Time</p> <p>1) has acquired citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania and citizenship of another state at birth and he has not reached 21 years of age;</p>

		<p>2) is a person who was exiled from the occupied Republic of Lithuania before 11 March 1990 and acquired citizenship of another state;</p> <p>3) is a person who fled the Republic of Lithuania before 11 March 1990 and acquired citizenship of another state;</p> <p>4) is a descendant of a person referred to in subparagraph 2 or 3 of this Article;</p> <p><u>Article 8. amended</u></p> <p>A citizen of the Republic of Lithuania who is a citizen of another state at the same time shall be considered by the State of Lithuania to be only a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania. The possession of citizenship of another state shall not relieve him of the responsibilities as a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania under the Constitution, laws and other legal acts of the Republic of Lithuania.</p> <p><u>Article 9. Reinstatement of Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania</u></p> <p>1) Persons who held citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania before 15 June 1940 and their descendants, who have not acquired citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania before the entry into force of this Law, shall have an indefinite right to reinstate citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania, irrespective of whether they are permanently resident in the Republic of Lithuania or in any other state.</p> <p>2) Persons referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article may reinstate citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania, provided they are not citizens of another state. The requirement to renounce citizenship of another state shall not apply to persons who, pursuant to subparagraph 2, 3 or 3) of Article 7 of this Law, may be citizens of both the Republic of Lithuania and another state at the same time.</p> <p>4) Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania may be reinstated only once.</p> <p><u>Article 24. Loss of Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania</u></p> <p>Citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania shall be lost:</p> <p>1) on renouncing citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania;</p> <p>2) on acquiring citizenship of another state, except in cases provided for in this Law</p>
19/11/2015 (amendments)	Law on Citizenship No XI-1196 (XII- 2050)	<p>Article 2 . Amendment of Article 24</p> <p>Amend Article 24 (8) to read as follows:</p> <p>if a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania, being also a citizen of another state in accordance with items 6 and 7 of Article 7 of this Law, has not renounced the citizenship of another state (states) after the age of 21.</p>

23/06/2016 (amendments)	Law on Citizenship No XI-1196 (XII- 2473)	No significant changes
09/10/2016	Parliamentary elections/dual citizenship referendum	The proposition of conducting dual citizenship referendum, unsuccessful due to insufficient organization
12/05/2019	Parliamentary elections/dual citizenship referendum	Dual citizenship referendum, unsuccessful due to the low turnout
01/01/2021 <u>Valid</u> (latest consolidated version)	Law on Citizenship No XI-1196 (including amendments)	<p>Article 7.</p> <p>Cases when a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania may also be a citizen of another state</p> <p>A citizen of the Republic of Lithuania may also be a citizen of another state if he or she meets at least one of the following conditions:</p> <p>1) acquired the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania and the citizenship of another state at birth;</p> <p>Amendments to Article: No. XII-2050 , 19/11/2015, published in TAR 2015-11-27, until 2015-18859</p> <p>2) is a person deported from the occupied Republic of Lithuania before 1990. March 11;</p> <p>Amendments to Article: No. XII-2473 , 23/06/2016, published in the TAR on 05/07/2016, until 2016-18828</p> <p>3) is a person who left Lithuania before 1990. March 11;</p> <p>Amendments to Article: No. XII-2473 , 23/06/2016, published in the TAR on 05/07/2016, until 2016-18828</p> <p>4) is a descendant of a person specified in Paragraph 2 or 3 of this Article;</p> <p>5) by entering into a marriage with a citizen of another state, he or she has automatically (ipso facto) acquired the citizenship of that state;</p> <p>6) is a person adopted by a citizen (citizen) of the Republic of Lithuania before the age of 18 and has acquired the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania as a result in accordance with Paragraph 1 of Article 17 of this Law;</p> <p>Amendments to Article: No. XIII-1538 , 18/10/2018, published in TAR 2018-10-30, until 2018-17327</p>

		<p>7) is a person – a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania, if he or she has been adopted by citizens of another state (citizen) before the age of 18 and as a result he or she has acquired the citizenship of another state; Amendments to Article: No. XIII-1538 , 18/10/2018, published in TAR 2018-10-30, until 2018-17327</p> <p>8) acquired the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania by way of exception, being a citizen of another state;</p> <p>9) is a person who has retained the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania or to whom the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania has been returned due to the fact that he or she has special merits for the State of Lithuania;</p> <p>Item added: No. XII-2210 , 22/12/2015, published in TAR 2016-01-06, to 2016-00364</p> <p>10) acquired the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania by having the status of a refugee in the Republic of Lithuania; Article numbering change: No. XII-2210 , 22/12/2015, published in TAR 2016-01-06, to 2016-00364</p> <p>11) is a person who acquired the citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania at birth, and acquired the citizenship of another state before the age of 18, not at birth. Item added: No. XIV-64 , 2010-12-10, published in TAR 2020-12-23, to 2020-28359</p>
--	--	---

Annexe 2

Table 4. Timeline of the Political Debate and Regulation on Dual Citizenship in Hungary

Date	Law name	Content
1993	The Law on Citizenship	<p>Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian Citizenship</p> <p>Section 1</p> <p>(1) There shall be no discrimination between Hungarian citizens on the basis of the legal grounds of the derivation or acquisition of citizenship.</p> <p><u>Derivation of Hungarian Citizenship</u></p> <p>Section 3</p> <p>(1) The child of a Hungarian citizen shall become a Hungarian citizen by birth.</p> <p>(2) The Hungarian citizenship of the child of a non-Hungarian citizen parent shall derive with retroactive effect to the date of birth, if the other parent is a Hungarian citizen, on the basis of an acknowledgement of paternity of full force, subsequent marriage, or the establishment by a judge of fatherhood or motherhood.</p> <p>(3) Until the contrary is proved, the following shall be regarded as Hungarian citizens:</p> <p>a) children born in Hungary of stateless persons residing in Hungary;</p> <p>b) children born of unknown parents and found in Hungary.</p> <p>Section 5</p> <p>On application, a person residing in Hungary whose Hungarian citizenship terminated maybe re-naturalized if the conditions defined in Section 4, subsection (1), paragraphs b) to d) are satisfied.</p>
2001	Status Law	<p>Act LVII of 2001 ‘Hungarians living in Neighbouring States’</p> <p>Article 1</p> <p>1) This Act shall apply to persons declaring themselves to be of Hungarian nationality who are not Hungarian citizens and who have their residence in the Republic of Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Romania, the Republic of Slovenia, the Slovak Republic or Ukraine, and who</p>

		<p>a) have lost their Hungarian citizenship for reasons other than voluntary renunciation, and</p> <p>b) are not in possession of a permit for permanent stay in Hungary.</p> <p>Article 2</p> <p>1) Persons falling within the scope of this Act shall be entitled, under the conditions laid down in this Act, to benefits and assistance on the territory of the Republic of Hungary, as well as in their place of residence in the neighbouring countries on the basis of the Certificate specified in Article 19.</p> <p>2) The provisions of this Act shall be applied without prejudice to the obligations of the Republic of Hungary undertaken in international agreements.</p> <p>3) The benefits and assistance claimable under this Act shall not affect other existing benefits and assistance ensured by legislation in force for non-Hungarian citizens of Hungarian nationality living in other parts of the world.</p>
2004	Referendum on dual citizenship	Unsuccessful due to the low turnout
2006	Ethnic visa	National Visa for ethnic Hungarian living in Serbia and Ukraine (type D long stay visa)
2010	The Law on Citizenship	Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian Citizenship Law amendments
2011	The Fundamental Law on Hungary	<p>Citizenship and Nationality (Article G)</p> <p>1) The child of a Hungarian citizen shall be a Hungarian citizen by birth. A cardinal Act may specify other instances of the origin or acquisition of Hungarian citizenship.</p> <p>2)</p> <p>3) No one shall be deprived of Hungarian citizenship established by birth or acquired in a lawful manner.</p> <p>4) The detailed rules for citizenship shall be laid down in a cardinal Act.</p>
2012	The Law on Citizenship (amendments)	<p>Act LV of 1993 (amendments 2012) on Hungarian Citizenship</p> <p><u>Hungarian Citizens</u></p> <p>Section 2.</p> <p>1) Any person who has Hungarian citizenship at the time of this Act entering into force and</p>

		<p>any person who becomes a Hungarian citizen on the strength of the Fundamental Law or this Act,</p> <p>or who acquires Hungarian citizenship under this Act, shall be recognized as a Hungarian citizen,</p> <p>until his/her citizenship terminates</p> <p><u>Acquiring Hungarian Citizenship by Right</u></p> <p>Section 3.</p> <p>1)</p> <p>2) The child of a non-Hungarian citizen parent shall acquire Hungarian citizenship at birth</p> <p>with retroactive effect, if the other parent is a Hungarian citizen, in the event of</p> <p>acknowledgement of paternity in a verified statement, subsequent marriage, or the establishment</p> <p>of fatherhood or motherhood by the court of law.</p> <p>3) Until proven to the contrary, the following persons shall be recognized as Hungarian</p> <p>citizens:</p> <p>a) children born in Hungary of stateless persons residing in Hungary;</p> <p>b) children born of unknown parents and found in Hungary.</p> <p>Repatriation</p> <p>Section 5.</p> <p>Upon request, a person whose Hungarian citizenship was terminated may be repatriated if the</p> <p>conditions set out in Paragraphs b) and d) of Subsection (1) of Section 4 are satisfied and he/she</p> <p>proves that he/she is sufficiently proficient in the Hungarian language.</p>
--	--	--

Annexe 3

Table 5. Timeline of the Political Debate and Regulations on Dual Citizenship in Poland

Date	Law name	Content
1920 1951	Act on Polish Citizenship	A Polish citizen cannot be a citizen of another country at the same time
1962 2000 (amendments)	Act on Polish Citizenship	Art. 2 a Polish citizen, according to the Polish law, cannot be recognized as a citizen of another country at the same time
1997	The Constitution of Poland	Art. 34 1) Polish citizenship shall be acquired by birth to parents being Polish citizens. Other methods of acquiring Polish citizenship shall be specified by statute. 2) A Polish citizen shall not lose Polish citizenship except by renunciation thereof
1999 (-2017)	The Bill on Renunciation of the Conventions on Avoidance of Dual Citizenship	Multiple Bills with the Post-Soviet states on renunciation of dual citizenship regulations were signed in Warsaw in 1965 (with Ukraine and Czechoslovakia), 1972 (with Bulgaria), 1975 (with the Republic of Moldova and German Democratic Republic).
1999	The Bill on the Pole's Card	Senate draft act on the Pole's Card and the procedure for confirming Polish nationality or of Polish origin belonging to the Polish Nation <u>Unsuccessful</u>
2000	The Repatriation Act	Preamble: Recognising that the duty of the Polish State is to allow the repatriation of Poles who had remained in the East and in particular in the Asian part of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and due to deportations, exile and other ethnically motivated forms of persecution could not settle in Poland.
2007/8	The Bill on the Pole's Card	Act 180/1280 of the Pole's Card of 7 September 2007
2009	Act on Polish Citizenship of April, 2	Art. 3 1) The Polish citizen who is also the citizen of another country shall enjoy the same rights and shall be liable to the same duties in respect of the Republic of Poland as any other person holding Polish citizenship only.

		2) In relation to the Republic of Poland, a Polish citizen shall not obtain any legal effect from relying on the citizenship of another state or on the rights and duties arising thereunder
--	--	--