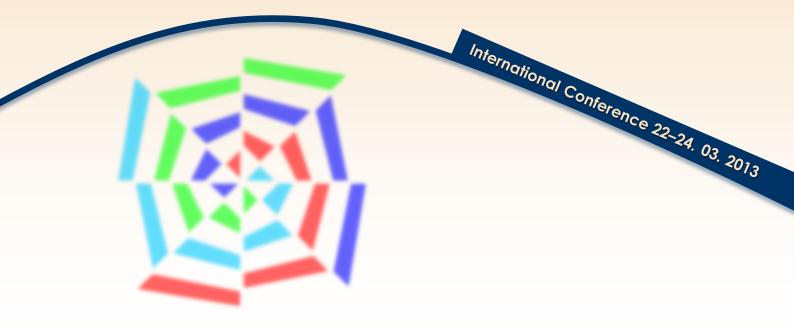# National Question in Central Europe

Democratic Responses to Unresolved National and Ethnic Conflicts

National Question
in Central Europe

Democratic Responses to Unresolved National and Ethnic Conflicts

International Conference - 22–24 March, 2013

Booklet of Abstracts

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Regional development path of Central and Eastern Europe

Central and Eastern Europe compared to other European regions

Changing transnational structures of demography, interethnic relations, settlements and production

Society, Culture, Religions, Lifestyle, Economic issues

Modernisation processes (state administration, law, politics, ideologies)

Nation building, national ideologies, national identity question, ethnic minority issues

Diplomacy, diaspora policies and interstate relations

-

Keynote Speakers

- **Welcoming Note**

  József Bayer, PhD – Rector of King Sigismund College

  Csilla Morauszki – Chief Executive Officer, Institute for Cultural Relations Policy

- **Opening Speech**

  Prof. Dr. Tibor Várady – Former Minister of Justice of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. University Professor at the Legal Studies Department of the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. Member of the Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration. Member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

- **The Chances of a Democratic Response to the Romanian-Hungarian Dispute**

  Dr. Levente Salat – President of the Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center (EDRC Romania), Associate Professor at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania. Member of the Scientific Council of the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

- **A Plaidoyer for Diversity**

  Oľga Gyárfášová, PhD – co-founder, Program Director and Senior Research Fellow of the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO Slovakia) and lecturer at Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia.

- **Diplomacy, diaspora policies and interstate relations in the Hungarian foreign policy strategy**

  Ádám Szesztay – Director of the Strategic Planning Department of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

- **Roma people in the Romanian National Elections 2012**

  Prof. Dr. Lia Pop – Dean of Faculty of Political Science and Media Studies, University of Oradea, Romania.

- **Territorial autonomy of Vojvodina and its national minority aspects with special focus on the decision of the Constitutional Court of Serbia**

  Katinka Beretka – member of the Hungarian National Council in Serbia. Europeanisation as a Tool of Border Conflict Resolution

Guest Speakers

Nationality (Citizenship) vs. Ethnicity.
Clash of Identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Danko Aleksić (Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe - daleksic@rec.org) & Vladimir Đorđevic (Masaryk University – dordevic@fss.muni.cz)

In the spring of 1992 Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), one of the six former republics of the Socialist Yugoslavia (SFRY) and the most multiethnic republic in the federation, was caught in flames of war. Destruction of the joint Yugoslav state was unfortunately followed by rather slow and inefficient international intervention, for it took more than three years to stop the conflict at hand. With the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) in November 1995 the conflict was successfully brought to a halt, but unfortunately the state of BiH has remained a divided country. According to provisions of the DPA, BiH was recreated as a joint state consisting of two entities: Republic of Srpska (RS) and Federation of BiH (FBiH), three constitutive nations: Bosniaks (mostly Muslim), Serbs (mostly Orthodox Christian) and Croats (mostly Catholic Christian), and with a relatively weak central government. This rather ambitious and complex project of state-building on the part of the international community has often been criticized and a number of changes to the structure of the state, especially the central government, introduced over the years. However, it has to be pointed out that, in spite of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and international subjectivity of BiH being confirmed by the international community, the division of the country has persisted as a major problem and has continuously threatened to break the joint state apart. This specific division has largely been reflected in, among other issues, the problems of identity.

In that respect, main concern of this article is to present a concise analysis of identity issues in BiH and point out towards possible solutions. After providing short theoretical background related to identity and nation-building matters, the article will shed light on this specific problem in BiH from the current perspective of 18 years after the end of the conflict and will therefore examine if identity issues are still 'impenetrable boundaries' for future of the common state and if these boundaries can be removed. The authors' position is that the state of BIH may still be considered as very illustrative example of clash of identities from at least three standing points which this paper will analyze. First, identities within BiH are mostly ethnic and religion-based and thus mutually excluding. Second, politics is fundamentally involved in language issues and therefore inherently reproducing and reinforcing identity problems. Last but not least, since mostly Bosniaks associate their identity with the joint state, the two other constitutive nations feel "imprisoned" in BiH, connecting their respective identities (and thus loyalties) to neighboring states, considered as their mother-countries, of Croatia and Serbia respectively. Therefore, although there have been considerable state and nation-building efforts since the end of the war in late 1995, deep identity divisions in BiH still persist. Opposite to respective "Western" model, difference between state and nation in BiH is truly remarkable, highlighting the difference between citizenship and nationality, which are terms used almost synonymously in the West. Within BiH nationality is primarily associated with ethnicity and consequently serves as cornerstone of identity. Instead of identifying numerous similarities between the three constitutive nations, differences in language, especially minor and some even "artificial" ones, have been highlighted by respective political elites, thus generating "Us" vs. "Them" discourse. This discourse is then supported and reproduced, thus becoming essentially institutionalized in the society.

Key words: identity, nationality, ethnicity, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Preconditions for efficient public administration in the Republic of Macedonia

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The purpose of the paper is to observe the placement of the administration in the Republic of Macedonia during the period of reform of the public administration, to confirm the current situation in relation to the effective working of the administration as well as to locate the possible preconditions for enlargement of the effectiveness of the administration. The latest public management is a theoretical model contrived on new ethic principles based on the principle of public and responsibility. In the developed democratic systems there was determination for steadily formation of worthy country and administration that will enable quality public sector. As a result this paper will accomplish analysis and obtain information for the placement of the public administration in the Republic of Macedonia, as well as explore whether the reform of the public administration achieves the purpose and the principles of modern public administration. In other words to accomplish whether there is law that regulates the authorization and the responsibility of the employees in the public administration and whether there are preconditions for effective and efficient public administration.

The results in the paper are based on an empirical research with using of the qualitative methodology. With qualitative methodology, I realized deep interview and analyzes of the content. The deep interview I realized on target sample, which covered the bearers of management public authorizations (state secretaries, managers of sections and managers of departments in organs of state management and public officers from the organs of the state management and the state authority. The results of the research are:

1. The current way of tracking the working of the public administration is accomplished without written procedure. The public institutions according to their own views are placing unwritten rules that will assist them in tracking the working of the public administration that are not based on précised and clear indicators. These types of forms are the analysis for strategic plans, preparation of monthly reports, associations and presenting of the subject matter throughout the book of the archives of the organ.

2. The inexistence of procedures and built systems that could follow the working of the public institutions manifests an indicative occurrence of unbalanced scheduling of the working assignments and disrespect of the hierarchy of allocating of the working assignments. This results with subjectivism and unreal marking of the quantity and the quality of the public servants in realization of the working assignments.

3. The inexistence of the system for following the working of the employees has an influence on the success of the public institutions in the realization of project activities. Often, the mistakes could not be witnessed and the responsibility could not be determined since there is not completion of the activities for successful realization of the project and that has an impact on the effectiveness of the administration.

4. The systems for following the working of the employees are important for clear and precise measurement of the accomplished work and accurate value that will result with the increase of the effectiveness and efficiency of the administration.

From this research it could be concluded that throughout establishment of a system that follows the working of the employees based on certain indicators will effect in simple and precise control of the working. This will result with quality achievement of the working obligations, it will also have an impact on the motivation and will enable realistic rewards or punishments of the public administration excluding bias and improvisations.

Key words: public administration, effectiveness and efficiency, procedure

Citizens Participation at Local Level in the Republic of Macedonia

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In this paper is analysis the forms of citizen participation in decision-making process including citizen initiative, council of citizens and models of consultancy with civil society. Also, is analyze the democratic capacities of municipal authorities, the relations that exist between them, democracy in the process of decision-making and public policy, the capacity of local units and the role of civil society in local democratization. The paper is based on data obtained through interviews with mayors and presidents of the municipal councils, analysis of the results of surveys and analysis of official documents. The paper show relation between political culture and citizen participation, the role of local self-government in promotion and providing of the concept of citizen participation and power of the civil society to articulate citizens interests.

Key words: local government, indirect democracy, direct democracy, civil society

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Politics and Democracy as Conceived by Visegrad Generations

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The purpose of this project is to investigate the system of values and political views of representatives of the Visegrad generation, youth born in (or shortly after) 1989 in the Visegrad Group countries. It seems that the political consciousness of young people born and raised in the new geopolitical conditions is both interesting for research as well as important in terms of shaping the future political vision in the V4 countries.

Key words: politics, democracy, Visegrad Group, Visegrad generations

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Mediation in Regional Ethnic Conflicts: The Role of EU in Kosovo

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The post war reconstruction of Kosovo has been one of the most challenging international peace-building endeavours. Most mediation efforts have been undertaken by European Union as the leading regional organization. The goal of this study is to contribute to the ongoing debate on the power of European Union to resolve regional conflicts in respect to territorial integration and interstate regional cooperation. More specifically, this paper identifies EU membership as its greatest and most powerful tool in shaping national politics. However, it notes that conflict resolution occurs when basic needs are addressed and all parties are satisfied. Therefore, EU mediation attempt in the context of resolving the ethnic conflict in Kosovo cannot be successful if based on its power to impose solutions but on its ability to facilitate communication; establish trust and help the parties have a more cooperative motivational orientation.

Key words: mediation, Kosovo, Serbia, European Union, power, identity, reconciliation

Modernising nationalism. The case of Jörg Haider

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The year 2008 spurred an economical crisis on a scale unknown to the post war generations. While in 2013 the United States are coming out of the recession this cannot be said about the countries of the European Union. The economical troubles are fertile ground for development of radical movements. It seems that the radical right-wing politicians are taking the upper hand. In the countries ranging from Finland, through the Netherlands and Austria to the Italian peninsula radical right-winged parties are on the rise mainly through implementing nationalist and xenophobic topic to their agenda. In their actions those parties become populist and use a language that was till now associated with so called postpolitics. A holistic approach to the rising phenomenon would be required but to do so one should look to the beginnings of this type of politics. As it happens the sources of a modern use nationalism can be traced in The late 80's in Austria. It was the time when a young and promising politician Jörg Haider took over the Freedom Party of Austria. He managed to level the party up from popularity of less than 5% to the third force in Austrian politics. At some point he managed to form a ruling coalition with the Austrian People's Party which brought diplomatic sanctions on Austria in the year 2000. The reaction of the European Union was arguably undemocratic and caused massive unrest in Austria angering both Haider's supporters and opponents.

Haider presented a new type of politics. Living a life of a celebrity he was constantly present in mass media especially tabloids. He understood the necessity of entertainment in the society and provided it with a political performance. However the content of his political message was not new. He used forms of nationalism and made them part of Austrian political discourse. Touching complex issues like the Austrian national identity and the responsibility of Austrians for the atrocities of the second world war Haider proposed a collective Entschuldung. He also antagonized the Slovenian minority living in the land of Carinthia. It is most interesting how the democratic structures of Austria responded to Haider's actions.

In my presentation I would like to highlight both the nationalistic content of Haider's political actions and at the same time focus on the form and image of the Austrian politician. His way of communication with the society was innovative at the time and created a base for other radical populists and nationalist. I would also like to focus on the pivotal year 2000 and analyze the democratic and undemocratic reactions to Haiders coming to power. A mention of EU politics would be necessary to understand the whole process.

Symptomatically Haider died in a car accident in 2008. In was the year that stared an era when nationalist voices could be heard all across Europe. It is crucial that this process receives recognition and analysis from academic circles.

Key words: nationalism, populism, Jörg Haider, Austria

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The remedial secession theory:
Is it a democratic response to unresolved national and ethnic conflict?

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In International law, the National and ethnics conflicts are analyzed in three categories without the situation of colonialism. First, the problem of the rights of minorities in the State; secondly, the reconnaissance of the right to the self-determination intern to the "peoples" who are minorities in the State, but live in a region where they are majorities, third, the reconnaissance of the right to secession unilateral. For the first situation, in the texts of international law, we can find lots of regulation in the context of the human rights and rights of peoples, just like the Universal Declaration of human rights, the Pacts of 1966, and Helsinki Final Act etc.). In the context of the

self-determination intern, it is generally accepted that the minorities who qualified like a "people" have the right to choose its political, economic, social and cultural system in the context of the self-governing. The last category is related to the notion of secession that is prohibited by international law. But, since the Kosovo war, the doctrine of international law is discussing the legality and legitimacy of a new concept: "remedial secession".

The question of the right to secession made a comeback very noticed in the writings of the internationalist doctrine in response to the declaration of independence of Kosovo. In fact, it is the failure of the constitutional right of a State to provide a place and status acceptable to minorities. Withal, the situations are internationalized by the effect of massive campaigns of repression of minorities conducted by the authorities of the State.

International law protects the territorial integrity of states, but it also recognizes the right of peoples to self-determination. A people must exercise their right to self-determination in respect of the territorial integrity of the state and its borders. However, according to the theory of remedial-secession, in special circumstances, the principle of self-determination must override the antagonistic territorial integrity. This theory, which is "remedial-secession" or "corrective-secession" consists in activation of the external self-determination; the right of a people to secede and become independent. In this perspective, the idea of "remedial secession" refers not only to the idea of redress, ultimate solution for solving a problem, but also "corrective", treatment prescribed to the infra-state entity that suffers from being marginalized or repressed with violence.

In Balkans, it is not ignorable that there is lots of ethnicity living in the same state. The democratic response to unresolved National and ethnics conflicts must research first of all in the democratic systems which respect the difference of the entities, then in the reconnaissance to the right of self- determination intern, and if the problem cannot be resolved, it will be adequate to accept the right of remedial-secession. In this article, we aimed to find the legal dimension of this concept and then, the applicability and the results of this concept to the national and ethnics conflicts in Balkans.

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"Clash of Memories": ethnic identities and interethnic relations in Crimea

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This research aims to define the influence of politics of memory on the ethnic identity and interethnic relations of the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Crimean Tatars in Crimea.

Historical myths of the dominant ethnic groups in Crimea are influenced by several historiographies that can be considered as mutually exclusive. There is a kind of "battle for the past" in Crimea when history estimated by certain way becomes a valuable symbolic resource that has mobilizing potential and can be considered as an ideological tool. Promoting historical and religious myths by one ethnic group leads to the resistance of other ethnic groups.

Referring to the correspondent historiography and the historical myths, each of the dominant groups in Crimea claims their rights on the territory of peninsula. Their politics of memory aims to establish a connection of each community with the peninsula. Crimean Tatars cultivate the myth of ethnogenesis on the territory of Crimea what makes them an "indigenous people" of Crimea, Russians and Ukrainians - the myth of their early appearance in Crimea.

Historical memory always has the material embodiment in the particular territory. Political elites try to incorporate certain historical myths into the "political landscape" in the form of monuments, historical and religious buildings, toponyms, and etc. By other words they try to fill the landscape with the features of their presence.

Political landscape in Crimea can be characterized by transitional period. Preserving a lot of Soviet symbols, it includes the embodiments of the Russian, the Crimean Tatar and the official Ukrainian historical myths. There is some kind of the struggle for historical memory between the Slavic and the Crimean Tatar communities, Russians and the Ukrainians, Russians and Communists. Attempts to incorporate certain historical myth into the political landscape provoke sharp discussions that sometimes develop into so-called "war of monuments".

Religion is serves to be an additional component of ethnic identity, which could also increase the level of social distance ("we-they") between ethnic and/or religious groups in Crimea. Marking of Crimean political landscape by certain religious symbols helps to show the connection of correspondent ethnic (and religious) community with the territory of Crimea, and to justify their territorial claims. Historical myths about ethnogenesis (in the case of Crimean Tatars) or early appearance in the region (in case the Slavs) are accomplished by the myth of historical roots of Islam and Orthodoxy in Crimea.

The development of peaceful interethnic relations in Crimea requires the understanding that there is no objective historical interpretation, and the historical truth is always a relative construct within the boundaries of certain ethnic group. Due to school historiography is a basis for understanding ethnic relations among younger generation, the focus of history has to be changed from conflict to more peaceful one.

Key words: politics of memory, Crimea, Russians, Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars

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Did ethnic cleansing succeed?
The constraints on the international attempt to reverse ethno-territorialization and stimulate minority return in Bosnia-Herzegovina

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International interventions have had long-term consequences on the formation of ethno-national relations in the Balkans since the 19th century. Imposing new boundaries, population exchanges or peace plans in the framework of the idealized nation-state have contributed to "ethnic unmixing" and the break-up of heterogeneous societies which were capable of accommodating ethnic, linguistic and religious differences. International and national attempts to organize people into a matrix of collective identities and fix human relations within the frontiers of nation-states both challenged and were challenged by varieties of lived, local, human experience. In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, international negotiators misinterpreted the complex chain of events in 1992 as an "ethnic conflict" among ethnically distinct "warring factions" which could be solved with an ethnographic map by drawing borders around places that had never been partitioned and separating people who had never been segregated before. They failed to realize that by sanctioning "ethnic reality" they were in fact empowering "representatives" of ethnic collectivities and inducing them to create new ethnic realities on the ground. The strategic use of violence activated processes of social homogenization and ethnic polarization, while various local and international actors interacted to navigate toward a more coherent map. The transformation of group solidarity and loyalties helped the false conceptualization of the Bosnian conflict as "ethnic" become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The Dayton Agreement kept multiple state-building projects in play. On the one hand, it institutionalized the link between ethnicity, territory and political authority and legitimized Republika Srpska and ten cantons within the Federation. On the other hand, it emphasized the unified and multiethnic character of the Bosnian state and guaranteed the right of all refugees and internally displaced persons to return to their prewar homes. Refugee return became a central element of post-war reconstruction and the international actors prioritized minority returns as a vehicle of undoing the territorialization of ethnic belonging. Property repossession has been used as a measurement of success by international organizations which is understandable given the fact that violent expropriation of property was a most important strategy of war profiteering and consolidation of local rule. Nevertheless, data focusing on properties are misleading. In a lot of cases and places refugees and IDPs have not returned permanently and the territorialization of ethnicity has proved to be successful to a large degree. The aim of this paper is to illuminate the constraints on the international efforts to reverse the consequences of ethnic cleansing, investigate the impediments to sustainable return and compare differing experiences in various localities. Based on multiple sources and interviews from the field I would like to underline that international actors have not adequately addressed the challenges of the complicated and interlinked postwar and postsocialist transformation and have not dismantled the structures that in many ways replicate the logic of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Key words: Bosnia-Herzegovina, international intervention, ethnic cleansing, minority return

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Serbian National Awakening and Enlightenment as Inspired by the West Ukrainian Cultural Centres - Transmitted through the Hungarian Kingdom in the 18th Century

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It is a false commonplace the ideas of enlightenment and national awakening in the 18th century came to the Slavic peoples of the Habsburg Empire only as result of the impacts on the cultural life made by the thinkers, artists and scientists in Vienna, whose activities were inspired and provided by the royal court, too. This statement is only partly true but not wholly. Though the West European cultural influences also political ideas came through Vienna (e.g. Dositej Obradović, Jernej Kopitar), this was one of the ways of transmission but not the only one. The role and importance of the contacts between the various Slavic peoples in the Habsburg Empire are not able to be studied in the shadows of the overvaluation was given to the impacts of Vienna. Especially are of great importance the researches made by the Institute of Ukrainian Studies named Krypiakevich in Lviv in the last two decades, mainly the findings of later chair Isaievich, Iaroslav Dmitrovich, member of the Academy of Sciences. His investigations lead to new results in the history of the typographies and book-trade as the belles-lettres as well, therefore it became necessary to rethink the contacts between the Western territories of the recent Ukraine (i.e. then parts of Polish Kingdom) and the Slavic peoples of the Hungarian Kingdom, even their brothers on the Balkans. Moreover, investigations made by the author of this paper on the old printed liturgical books of the Byzantine rite, being held in various Church libraries in Hungary, gave enough matter to came to the conclusion that the book-trade was an important factor in the transmission of those impacts of early enlightenment which came from Poland across Ukraine to the Serbs living in Hungary and on the Balkans, too. Mita Kostić has already paid attention to the book trade but this very significant work of him remained forgotten in spite of the very respect was given to the findings of this great Serbian historian. The Russian Orthodox impacts on The Serb and interfering into the affairs on the Balkans became stronger later, after the turn of the 18/19 cc, and in results of more political than religious causes. Although it was being highlighted that Russia provided the Orthodox Serbs, it was of more political rhetoric than real activity. Russia provided those Serbs were oppressed by the Greek Phanariots i.e. Orthodox ones. It was not taken into consideration the the Serbian Church suffered and was almost destroyed by the Greek Orthodox Clergy. The latter replaced the Serbian language with the Greek in the service, the education and the administration, since the Church leaders represented The Christian toward the Ottoman Porta. Consequently, the aim of this paper is to demonstrate the contacts between the Serbs and Ukrainian territories, as it has been evidenced by the book-trade between these peoples and areas, and to give some new insides into the church and national relations on the Balkans.

Key words: Serbs, Ukrainians, Habsburg Empire, Hungarian Kingdom, book trade, Balkans

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Perspectives of the Karabakh conflict resolution
on the context of Kosovo independence: legal aspect

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After the fall of Berlin wall a wave of hope raised that the existing conflicts will be solved and the situation of permanent deterrence will end. But with the collapse of USSR and SFRY new frontiers and lines of allocation arisen. The world met many instability hearts which are still persistent in most part. The conflicts overwhelmed both Eastern Europe and South Caucasus approximately simultaneously and approximately in the same conditions. Thus the developments in the two regions became mostly intertwined here why it is common to compare them with each other.

Furthermore, the conflicts in Karabakh and Kosovo have been and are being discussed on the same context trying to use the same political, geopolitical, economic, ethnic, legal, economic and other approach. This has both its supporters and opponents who correspondingly insist that the conflicts are similar and the approach must be the same and that the conflicts are different and in different situation and in different geopolitical, political, economic, legal and military environment so the approach must be diversified and coinciding. Anyway each conflict is a special case that demands special individual approach.

Since 2010 as the International Courte of Justice determined that the declaration of independence by Kosovo does not violate International Law activated speculations on the Karabakh conflict on the context of the ICJ advisory opinion. Besides the discussed geopolitical, political, military and other differences the legal approach should be similar as the International Law is a unique system in the world that should be the same for all parties and its mission is to provide general solutions. Another delicacy of the international legal system is that it has to apply all the similar situations in the same way as the principle is one of its main pillars.

So to discuss the international legal aspect of the Karabakh future status it is first of all necessary to discuss the legal aspect of the process of declaration of independence in the frames of the positive law of the former USSR. Second it is necessary to compare the legal situation of the Karabakh situation with the principles of the International Law and UN resolutions taking into consideration the ICJ advisory opinion of 2010.

After the clarification of the legal aspect and context we may discuss the provisions of the ICJ advisory opinion of 2010 and decide whether they are general for all the coinciding situations or private for a certain situation in Kosovo.

These three steps allow to look into the root of Karabakh issue from the legal aspect and to see a solution based on general legal provisions and principles.

Key words: Conflict, Karabakh, Kosovo, International Law, International Court of Justice, South Caucasus

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Kin Ethnic Group Mobilization: Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia

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The end of the Cold War signaled an increase in intrastate conflicts throughout the world, and today we are witnessing more intra-state than inter-state conflicts, mainly with ethnic character. Ethnic conflicts continue to be a big challenge in national and international agendas that is why understanding conflict sources and how do ethnic groups get mobilized are important topics to be assessed. The aim of this research is to explore and compare how kin ethnic groups get mobilized around their ethnic identity, in which aspects their ethnic mobilizations change or resemble. This is a qualitative exploratory research to understand the differences and commonalities in ethnic mobilization of kin ethnic groups, in this case ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and ethnic Albanians in Macedonia. Comparison mainly focuses on historical, economical, psychological, cultural, political and kinship factors. This research shows to us that, even though there can be some similarities, the motives and factors behind ethnic mobilization of kin ethnic groups change from one conflict case to the other.

Key words: ethnic conflict, ethnic group, kinship, kin groups, ethnic mobilization, factors of ethnic mobilization

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Corporate Tax Rate as an Instrument of Fiscal Policy in EU Countries in Innovation Development Enhancing

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The article analyzes the corporate tax changing as an instrument of fiscal policy of the EU countries in stimulating the innovation development. The authors of this article try to find out the role of innovations as a key factor of economic development in post-crisis reviving.

An important task of government regulation is economic development enhancing in post crisis period, where fiscal and monetary policies always played central role. Governments and central banks use wide range of instruments and its effectiveness were scientifically and practically proved.

Here, in this article, we are going to discuss fiscal policy and one of its important instruments – tax rates regulation. We will try to find out, could it be really positive impact on business environment and, as a result, on a dynamics of macroeconomic development, while the government decreases the rate of corporate tax in a period of economic depression.

Key words: corporate tax, fiscal policy, research and development, innovation development

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European identity in flux. Identity patterns in a multi-speed Europe with special focus on the Central-, Eastern Europeans' collective attachments

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The project of the common Europe has recently arrived to a turning point. It seems that the self-definition and the future of the EU became uncertain. An increasing majority of the EU citizens feel that the EU is mostly dealing with non-salient issues that are far away from their everyday problems. Further, the challenges facing the European Union internally and globally would require a more unified Europe. Nevertheless, the latest developments of European integration indicate that the EU lacks many of its citizens' support. The necessity of bottom-up processes and the activation of European citizens have never been so timely as today.

This paper discusses the current dilemmas of European identity with a special focus on the East-Central Europeans' attachments. The author builds on the constructivist and functionalist theoretical model of identity-net - which demonstrates the dynamic co-existence of individuals' collective attachments - when explaining the prospects of the common identity. The following questions are raised in the paper: What could be the cultural and the civic poles of the European identity? Is the civic component of European identity fading away? Do Europeans trust their European and national institutions? What is the effect of the crisis of European economic governance on the identities of Europeans? What challenges the EU is currently facing due to the spread of differentiated integration? Who are "the others" for Europeans inside and outside its borders? And at last, but not least what are the possible means to establish European identity? In order to be able to answer these questions, an interdisciplinary approach is taken. These themes are foremost explored through reviewing and synthesizing the major theoretical contributions of nations and nationalism discourse and identity formation theories. The current dilemmas of European identity are analysed by applying the approach of political science and within that the European integration studies. The arguments presented in this paper are supported by the data of the opinion poll surveys. The author argues that the European identity has recently been undergoing significant changes due to the crisis of the common Europe project as well as the spread of differentiation integration modes.

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Toeing the Line? Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities in Central Europe

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Research on majority-minority integration in liberal democracies across Europe points to the crucial impact institutional legacies and external pressures have on domestic policy-making. These studies explain interethnic integration by the functional imperatives of the liberal state and the allaying impact of democratization and minority protection norms on nation-state building. Other contributions to the debate place minorities at the centre of enquiry, emphasizing the salience of the perceptions and motivations of minority actors involved in interethnic bargaining and ethnic mobilization. Overall, despite wide acknowledgement of the idea that integration is a 'two-way process', studies of interethnic integration often portray minorities as a problem to integration, security and regional stability rather than part of the solution for such challenges. These contributions either over- or under-emphasize minorities' potential to induce social and institutional change and leave out of the debate some of the institutional and structural contexts most crucial to the political participation of minorities. Building on these contributions, my paper asks how non-dominant groups, such as ethnic minorities, can shape the very institutional settings that constitute their minority status. Embedded in a structurationist theory of agency I distinguish two mutually constitutive processes of minority integration: First, how do the institutional dynamics of ethnic diversity management impact minorities' perceptions of their own opportunities to participate in the political process; second, what are the converse effects this has on minority political actor formation as well as on institutions. By the example of minorities in Estonia and Slovakia the argument is made that minority participation is constrained by the resilience of the essentialist system of group relations and its 'self-reinforcing' potential; this is expressed in dominant minority agendas calling for participation based on territorial strength, community self-rule, or group distinctiveness. These agendas mirror, as well as reinforce, the emphases of institutions regulating group relations. Consequently, my study suggests that minority participation plays an important role in state- and nation-building. At the same time, minority policies shape minorities' political agendas, effectively constraining minority groups' attempts to establish themselves as autonomous political actors.

Key words: ethnic minority issues, interethnic relations, participation, state- and nation-building

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The Impact of European Accession on Regional Policy Reform in Croatia

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The paper presents the basic issues of regional and cohesion policy in Croatia with an emphasis on general administrative reforms and decentralization process as well as the effects of Croatian accession to regional policy. To start with, one of the main characteristics features of Croatia's regional policy is extreme fragmentation of territorial and administrative units. Croatia has 20 counties and the city of Zagreb, as well as 557 local units, out of which 429 municipalities and 126 cities. The further characteristics are the spatial inequalities and more than a half of local self-government units have a development index below 75% of Croatian average and differences in socio-economic development between the most and least developed counties are nearly sevenfold. On the bases above the issue of systematic care for the development of underdeveloped parts of the country was the basis issue of Croatian regional policy based on several pieces of legislation such as Reconstruction Act and the Act on the Areas of Special State Concern (on war-affected areas on islands, on hilly and mountain areas and the special status of the Town of Vukovar). On one hand it seems that in the modern approach to regional development shaped through the aid to undeveloped and war affected lagging areas, without a strategic mechanisms resulted in a number of deficiencies such as, fragmented territorial and administrative structure, insufficient institutional capacity, weak fiscal power, lacking of horizontal and vertical cooperation and partnership, and missing of adequate regional policy and strategy planning. It was just in December 2009, when the Law on Regional Development was passed and in summer 2010 year when Strategy was adopted.

On the other hand process of accession of Croatia to the European Union also bears important effects for regional development, such as the obligation the defining of wider regions, i.e., introducing three statistical planning regions at NUTS 2 level in Croatia, which represent a territorial level at which Cohesion policy is mainly implemented or preparing the necessary national institutional framework in order to meet the EU accession criteria and to access the structural and cohesion funds, after having obtained the member state status.

On 1 July 2013 Croatia will join the European Union, and the country will be the first one to make use of the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) in its current form. In Croatian case there are four pre-accession stages can be identified in the EU assistance and programmes: the humanitarian aid – ECHO and OBNOVA - stage (1991-2000), the CARDS stage (2001–2004) after signing of the Stabilization and Association Agreement, the pre-accession stage (2005-2006) - PHARE, ISPA and SAPARD programmes - after having the status of a candidate country and the IPA stage (2007–2013). From 2014 on the new phase starts for the country, as Croatia's as a new member state part of the structural funds from the European budget amounts to EUR 8 billion for the period from 2014 to 2020.

Key words: regional and cohesion policy in Croatia, decentralization, fragmentation, huge spatial inequalities, stages of the EU assistance and programmes

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National Question of Latvian electoral politics after regaining independence

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The only post-Soviet states within the European Union and NATO are Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. In contrast to the Western Europe, the above mentioned northern European republics, after regaining independence, entail a sometimes awkward legacy of political culture; in this particular case, focusing on the phenomenon of Latvian political parties on the basis of ideological differences on the national question. In general it can be said that Latvia as a post-Soviet state theoretically accepts the principles of Western democracy, but is struggling with moral consequences of the Soviet political culture. Political parties are one of the the main attractions of democracy that can determine national goals both, externally and internally. The struggle of political parties for their supporters on the national principle, can not provide the stability neither in Parliament nor in the public desire. Internal policy of Latvia prevents to take advantage of its location logically. Parliamentary elections are the interaction between voters and those who want to be elected. In the case of Latvia, this interaction does not develop, because the parties do not reveal their potential course of actions to the voters, but rather are looking for the negative, in actions of political rivals. Development and formation of party structures are explored by scientists with the help of the core values of institutionalism. The most commonly used Alan Ware's guidelines marks that the political struggle is the mediator of the institutional environment and an important factor in this approach is the rivalry. So, first of all, this approach refers to the democratic-liberal regimes. In Latvia, the division of political parties on the right and on the left is based on national principles - namely, right wing political parties are considered to be Latvian ones, and, accordingly, the left wing are Russian parties (26.6% of the population of Latvia are Russians). This national gap offers an interesting question in particular on the Latvian political scene – pre-electoral tendencies of the Latvian politics. This aspect may require both, positive and negative hypothesis - the political struggle of this kind leads to political stability, or, on the contrary, destroys and prevents the decision-making processes, both, internal and external policies.

Key words: society, national question, political parties, elections

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The ethnic diversity and the value orientations of the adolescents: differences and similarities

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The values, i.e. the value orientations are significant constituents of the structure of a person. They mainly depend on the context, i.e. the culture to which the individual belongs. Hence, the factors, such as: the family climate (the degree of education of the parents and the style of upbringing): the national and religious background and other demographic characteristics have a significant role in their formation. Adequately to these influences, the goal of the research is to examine the value preferences of the youth of different cultural origin. The sample of the research consists of 117 adolescent – high schools students, separated in three equal groups according to the ethnic background (Albanians, Macedonians and Turkish).

The results of the descriptive statistical analysis of the data (ranking according to –values; the t-test and ANOVA) indicated: a) existence of a hierarchy of values with domination of the values: family orientation (M=4.67), altruism (M=4.53), utilitarianism (M=4.43) and cognitive style (M=4.22). This was expected as a reflection of the conditions of transition, which Macedonia copes with.; b) Regarding the gender, significant differences in the respondents were noticed; c) referring to the educational atmosphere in the family, significant differences have been determined regarding the degree of preference of particular value orientations. According to the education of the mother, the differences are noticeable regarding the utilitarian and popular style, for which an important F relation at a level of significance 0.01 (p < 0.01) was established. ; d) The differences among the respondents were more emphasized regarding the factor of ethnic background. For almost all value orientations, significant differences (F relation at a level of significance of 0.01 and 0,05) were noticed, in the Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish high school students.

Conclusions: These data confirm the assumption (similar to other researches) about the important role of the culture in the value orientation of the youth; 2) By identifying the value priorities of the youth of different ethnic background, society and science, together will successfully create strategies for multicultural education practice.

Key words: value orientations – preferences, life styles, hierarchy of values, educational family atmosphere, cultural context

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20 years of Polish-Slovak neighbourhood (1993-2013): conditions, problems and implications

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Polish-Slovak interstate relations have been established only about two decades ago, however, the connections between the two nations have been already lasting for centuries. Geographical, cultural and lingual closeness have made that just after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia Poland have expressed favourable attention in setting good-neighbourly relations with Slovakia. Since Slovakia was recognized as a sovereign state on the international stage, Polish-Slovak relations have been described as a "strategic partnership". From the very beginning, Polish political elite have agreed that independent, democratic and stable Slovakia, as well as establishment of solid Polish-Slovak relations, are of the highest importance in Polish reason of state. Polish authorities have been consistently supporting Slovakia's both European and Transatlantic aspirations, especially during the times when it was excluded from abovementioned integration processes due to internal issues.

Contemporary Polish-Slovak relations could be described as good, but not specific. However, well-developing transfrontier cooperation between Poland and Slovakia was undoubtedly a success. It gained a significant social and economical importance. Between 1993 and 2000 a few euroregions were settled in the borderland. What is one of the crucial factors, which influence the transfrontier cooperation, is the Slovak minority in Poland. Moreover, the insufficiently developed communication infrastructure, including the lack of railway connections, is a pressing problem in Polish-Slovak relations. Furthermore, some discrepancies between both countries are visible in the approach to particular and essential issues regarding the functioning of the EU and relation with Russia and within NATO. On the upside, the regional collaboration of both states within the Visegrad Group, as well as jointly addresses at the EU forums, are worth of attention. Concluding, despite certain cooling of bilateral relations, the ties preserved and are foresighted to maintain their friendly and good-neighbourly nature.

The aim of my presentation is to analyse the contemporary Polish-Slovak relations in a multidimensional matter. The analysis will address the post cold war era, including historical conditions of the relations and European integration processes. The implementation of this assumption is an answer to a need of constant observation and interpretation of mutual relations, which have always been carrying a baggage of historical experiences. It seems to be necessary to initiate research in view of common interests in the scope of Polish-Slovak cooperation within the Visegrad Group, the EU and NATO. The subject of research include: (a) historical conditions of Polish-Slovak relations; (b) contemporary Polish-Slovak relations on political, economical and cultural levels; (c) factors which are integrating and disintegrating Polish-Slovak cooperation; (d) the influence of European integration on the essence of contemporary Polish-Slovak relations; (e) possible and desirable directions of Polish-Slovak relations' development.

Key words: Poland, Slovakia, Visegrad Group, interstate relations, transfrontier cooperation

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Legal aspects in ethnic conflict resolution.
(International Law and State Law)

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The Final Paper seeks to explore the contemporary state of International Law and its practical usage in the beginning, during and after the ethnic conflict. Of course, rules of international humanitarian Law run and are fundamental (essential) for such issues. But, in the situation when the leading powers of the state are not available to react ant to regulate somehow the "situation", so the question is how to prevent legally ethnic violence. UN Charter doesn't contain an exact determination of "ethnic conflict". We can find such terms as "situation" and "disputes" (see: Chapter VI of the UN Charter – Pacific Settlements of Disputes), which makes it unable to clearly identify the subject of regulation, especially as the major part of the ethnic conflicts based on economic, political, social reasons. Complexity of substantive Governing Law enforcement and public Law enforcement applies according to clarity of sense of the terminology. International Humanitarian Law and International Organization's acts towards interethnic conflicts take place and influence somehow to ease destructive effects among peaceful population.

The paper presents preliminary report and analysis of a survey study carried out on ethnic conflict in Kyrgyzstan.

The final paper's main argument is that if an ethnic group which is involved in armed conflict (especially if it takes place near the boarders of their state), if there is a situation when the Government itself can not react and ease the conflict without well-known techniques what procedures will be taken by the international community. The paper is organized as follows: it starts by underlining the characteristics of current (contemporary) International Public Law towards the ethnic groups rights and ethnic conflict determination, and also the role and significance of such determination in prevention and investigating armed conflicts. Then follows the main approach and argument, which specifies the context and processes through which International Law react and prevent ethnic conflicts just to be more closer to ordinary people's life and guarantee safety. The next section describes as an example the Kyrgyz-Uzbek clashes in Kyrgyz Republic in 2010. The results from the theoretical analysis are then presented and the final section offers some conclusions.

Key words: ethnic conflict, inter-ethnic relations, International Law, ethnic conflict settlement, national and ethnic issues

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Bunjevci and Croats in Serbia:
Problem of democratic solution of an ignored ethnic conflict

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Conflict within the ethnic body of Bunjevci from Bachka in Serbia has been simmering for more than half a century without meeting the attention of appropriate democratic actors. This conflict is manifested in the resistance the Croatian national minority in Serbia against the establishment of Bunjevci as a national minority with Serbia as a state-homeland. Croatia national community, on the initiative of its intellectual elite, initiated a campaign for the highest state bodies of Serbia and Croatia, with the requirements of the implementation of administrative measures which means the Anschluss of Bunjevci as the national minority and return to the state that was established 1945th year by administrative measure and the national polling of Bunjevci and Šokci and their violent categorization as Croats.

As an argument for resistance against national development of the Bunjevci uses the concept of the nation-state and historical claim to the territory of Croatian lands (D.Mandić) and of the corresponding notions of the population of these countries, with different ethnic backgrounds, as well as Croatian political nation. Bački Bunjevci are exception to this concept of the nation because they as of 17 century were residents of southern Hungary, which has not came under the authority of the Croatian bans or landlords. This is the reason why to them were applied ethnic, primordialistic concept of nation that does not respect

indigenous ethnic development of Bachka Bunjevci, which is the source of their aspirations to the constitution as a modern nation. This desire is motivated by current trends of demographic extinction, depopulation of Bachka Bunjevci (according to the censuses of Subotica and Sombor municipality in 2002., and 2011., the rate of Bunjevci`s depopulation in this period was 3.57 times higher than the corresponding rate of depopulation of the total population of the area).

Ethnic conflict within the Bunjevci community (including Bunjevci who declare themselves as Croats nationally) was produced by external, authoritarian / undemocratic political intervention in 1945. year. Beginning the process of national renewal of Bunjevci in Serbia started in 1990. year due to the political support of the government of the Republic of Serbia to initiative of Bunjevci and Šokci party. Establishing status of Bunjevci as a national minority was achieved in 2009. through confirmation of the Statute of Vojvodina by the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. All of these milestones in the process of national renewal of Bachka Bunjevci were carried out without independent democratic action of Bunjevci civil society and its democratically elected representatives. Starting the democratic potential of this nation begins with the first direct elections of the second convocation of the National Council of Bunjevci 2010th year. The electoral process and the operation of the National Council of Bunjevci showed the limitations and shortcomings of democratic entities.

Analysis of the nature and consequences of the conflict within the ethnic community of Bunjevci is assumption of understanding the process of democratic conflict solution. The authors attempt to determine the roots (finding them in unfounded ethnic Croatism of Bunjevci) and the core of the conflict (noting that it is disabling national development of Bunjevci), then analyze national ethnic fragmentation of Bunjevci and come to the conclusion that the focus of the conflict is in the difficulty of separating Bunjevci ethnic and Croatian national identity. Based on these analyzes, the authors identify barriers and opportunities of democratic resolution of conflict between Bunjevci and Croats minority in Serbia.

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The national question in Western Hungary around the First World War or how people start to question their identity

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In my presentation I aim to discuss how the national question started to influence the life of the inhabitations of Western Hungary. As a starting point, I will describe the situation during the Magyarisation, which had its peak between 1890 and 1910. Then I will discuss the questions of how people dealt with the borders (old and new) between Austria and Hungary. How was the new border established? How did the switch of identity work? What happened after the peace treaty of Trianon in Western Hungary? Therefore, I will focus on the different regimes after the first World War in Hungary and try to combine their influences of the daily life of the inhabitants of the people in Western Hungary.

The goal of this comparison is to show the differences between the different nationalities living within the region and how it was possible to establish a new identity in this nation building process.

Key words: national identity question, multinational region (Germans, Croats, Hungarians, Jews, Roma), changing borders, nation building

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