



**STATE (IN)STABILITY:
Past, present, and future
perspectives for the nation-state**

Book of Abstracts

Libertas International University
13 November 2020

**STATE COLLAPSE: ACTORS, PROCESSES,
JUSTIFICATIONS**



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Organization

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The first STATE (IN)STABILITY conference is funded by
Libertas International University's project on *Processes, actors,
and justifications of state collapse.*

Introduction

State (In)stability was conceived in mid-2019, with the idea of establishing an annual conference which deals with social, political, economic, cultural, moral, and other factors which influence the stability and/or instability of states. The Call for Papers which was published in late-2019 has received an excellent response, allowing us to introduce the conference speakers' first Book of Abstracts. We are happy to say that 25 conference speakers from 10 different countries and 15 research and/or higher education institutions will be presenting 22 papers in the conference program. Their short biographies and contact information is available in the last part of this booklet.

We should also stress that our first conference accepted several topics, and solicited such topics from its plenary speakers, which broaden the framework set in the initial Call for Papers. This is due to the extraordinary circumstances brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic, which has also defined the hybrid nature of this year's conference.

We extend our gratitude to all the conference speakers for their contributions, but also, given the unpredictable nature of events in 2020, for their patience and goodwill. We also extend our gratitude to all of the members of the conference's Scientific Committee for lending their names to our cause, participating in efforts to help news of the conference reach a wide array of prospective speakers, and helping us make choices with regards to incoming abstracts and paper suggestions. Finally, we extend our gratitude to Libertas International University for funding our project *Processes, actors, and justifications of state collapse* which has allowed us to finance this conference, and especially rector Duško Pavlović for his unwavering support and confidence.

In hopes that this is the first of many State (In)stability conferences in the coming years, we present you with this Book of Abstracts and bid you welcome to our first annual gathering.

Vladimir Filipović & Stipe Buzar

Conference Schedule

10:00 - 11:45	<p style="text-align: center;">Opening and Plenary Session <i>Chairs: Vladimir Filipović & Stipe Buzar</i></p>	
10:00 - 10:15	<p style="text-align: center;">Stipe Buzar <i>Greetings and introduction</i></p>	
10:15 - 10:45	<p style="text-align: center;">Mirko Bilandžić <i>Sekuritizacija zdravlja i (ne)sigurnost ustavnog poretka (plenary lecture in Croatian)</i></p>	
10:45 - 11:15	<p style="text-align: center;">Petar Popović <i>The global order in a post-Covid world (plenary lecture in English)</i></p>	
11:15 - 11:45	<p style="text-align: center;">Discussion</p>	
11:45 - 12:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Coffee Break</p>	

12:00 - 13:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Panels A1 & B1</p>	
	<p>A1 <i>Chair: Višeslav Raos (panel in English)</i></p>	<p>B1 <i>Chair: Josip Lučev (panel in English)</i></p>
12:00 - 12:15	<p>Hugo Cossette-Lefebvre & Jean-François Daoust <i>Nationalist and cosmopolitan approaches to the nation: a citizen's perspective and its electoral impact</i></p>	<p>Yelena Istileulova <i>East seeks accreditation from West: Accreditation as a change agent in Croatian business education</i></p>

12:15 - 12:30	Marijana Opashinova Shundovska <i>North Macedonia after the Ohrid Framework Agreement: a state (in)stability?</i>	Josip Lučev <i>Economic inequality and democracy in USA</i>
12:30 - 12:45	Irina Simonova <i>National idea of the state in a multinational country: the possibilities of the methodology of "national idea" in the understanding of crises</i>	Mohammed Muqtadir & Bhumika Sharma <i>Reflections on emerging human rights violations in South Asia vis-à-vis attainment of nation-states</i>
12:45 - 13:00	Eric Wilkinson <i>Multiculturalism and the regress of nationalism</i>	Stipe Buzar <i>Secession, autonomy and state (in)stability: towards an ethical framework</i>
13:00 - 13:15	Višeslav Raos <i>Nation state acceptance and contestation: The party manifesto perspective</i>	Vladimir Ajzenhamer <i>Covid-19 anti-vaxxers against the state: horizontal „securitization“ and its implications for national security</i>
13:15 - 13:30	Discussion	Discussion
13:30 - 14:30	Lunch Break	

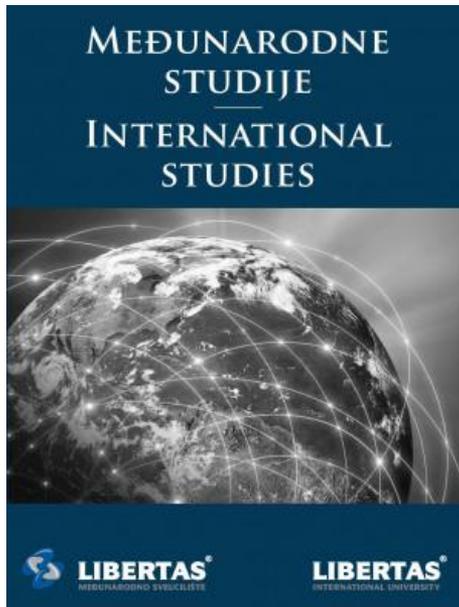
14:30 - 16:00	Panels A2 & B2	
	A2 <i>Chair: Damir Mladić (panel in English)</i>	B2 <i>Chair: Vladimir Filipović (panel in Croatian)</i>
14:30 - 14:45	Maciej Witkowski <i>The internal enemy, civil war and state collapse in the philosophy of Carl Schmitt</i>	Jakov Žižić <i>Ideja hrvatske države u „Programu hrvatske demokratske opozicije (unutrašnje i vanjske)“ iz 1968.</i>

14:45 - 15:00	Borna Jalšenjak & Kristijan Krkač <i>Will sustainability + AI change the nature of nation-states?</i>	Barbara Đurasović <i>Je li novi kurs propao zbog dubrovačkih pravaša i Prave Crvene Hrvatske?</i>
15:00 - 15:15	Georgii Tiuliaev <i>Theoretical foundations of legal pluralism in the domain of legal positivism: re-approaching the European Court of Human Rights ...</i>	Vladimir Filipović <i>Ante Marković i Adolfo Suarez: Pokušaj usporedbe premijera u tranziciji</i>
15:15 - 15:30	Damir Mladić <i>Should we go our separate ways?</i>	Josip Mihaljević <i>Utjecaj Konferencije za europsku sigurnost i suradnju na vlast socijalističke Jugoslavije i njezinu opozicijsku scenu</i>
15:30 - 15:45	Ivor Altaras Penda <i>Has the future of the state really been put into question?</i>	Ivica Miškulin <i>“Četvrta Jugoslavija”: Europska zajednica, manjinsko pitanje i nova jugoslavenska država</i>
15:45 - 16:00	Discussion	Discussion
16:00 - 16:10	Break	

16:10 - 16:30	Vladimir Filipović <i>Concluding remarks and information on publishing opportunities and deadlines</i>
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Publishing Opportunities

International Studies



International Studies is referenced in:

- EBSCO Host
- ProQuest Worldwide Political Science Abstracts
- Sociological Abstracts
- Social Services Abstracts
- HRČAK – Portal of Croatian Scientific and Professional Journals

Conference Abstracts

Sekuritizacija zdravlja i (ne)sigurnost ustavnog poretka

Mirko Bilandžić

Povezanost javnog zdravlja, medicine i sigurnosti nije povijesna novost. Obilje činjenične empirije ukazuje na sličnosti tehnologije ratovanja i medicine: usmjereni su na populaciju, imaju strateški značaj i produciraju sigurnost. Uostalom, javno zdravstvo ima uporabu u dva područja: ratovanju (warfare) i državi blagostanja (welfare). Moderna medicina razvijena je kao rezultat djelovanja u oba područja, kao sredstvo obrane društva te kao sredstvo podizanja razine blagostanja populacije. Povijesno, sigurnosni aspekti medicine i zdravlja empirijski su nesporni, makar bolesti i zdravlje ljudi i nacije dominantno su tretirani kao zdravstveno-medicinsko i razvojno pitanje. Redefinirane sigurnosne paradigme u posthladnoratovskom razdoblju postavile su (zarazne) bolesti na pijedestal sigurnosnih izazova. Vijeće sigurnosti UN-a 10. siječnja 2000. prvi puta u povijesti zdravstveno pitanje - HIV/AIDS - proglasilo je prijetnjom međunarodnom miru i sigurnosti. Globalna pandemija AIDS-a od tada više nije samo globalno zdravstveno pitanje i pitanje razvoja, nego ima i važne sigurnosne implikacije: ima izravne i neizravne učinke na ljudsku sigurnost, sigurnost društva, nacionalnu i međunarodnu sigurnost. Identičnu empirijsku potvrdu zdravlje je dobilo proglašenjem pandemije COVID-a 19 značajnom prijetnjom miru i sigurnosti. Početkom 21. stoljeća zdravlje je sekuritizirano, označeno je prijetnjom koja dovodi u pitanje egzistencijalnost, što zahtijeva poduzimanje urgentnih i posebnih mjera radi zaštite i sigurnosti objekta (zdravlje) koji je izložen prijetnji. Ekstenzija represivnih državnih ovlasti i uvođenje „stanja izuzetka“ ili izvanrednog stanja (state of exception, state of emergency) kao odgovor na prijetnje u redefiniranim sigurnosnim uvjetima postaju ili su postali (kao u slučaju „rata protiv terora“) trajna ili trajnija norma. U suočavanju s novim rizicima, poznati sigurnosni mehanizmi nisu dostani. Izuzeci postaju pravilo, u stanju izvanredne situacije postupno dolazi do „normalizacije izvanrednosti“. U eri sekuritizacije zdravlja, granica između zdravstvenih i sigurnosnih provedbenih politika (policy) je izbrisana. Zdravstvena sigurnost time uvjetuje transformaciju političkih ovlasti u forme „institucionalizirane izvanrednosti“. Dovodi li time sekuritizacija zdravlja do (ne)sigurnosti ustavnog poretka?

Ključne riječi: sekuritizacija zdravlja, (ne)sigurnost, ustavni poredak.

The global order in a post-Covid world

Petar Popović

The lecture considers two parallel tendencies which cause political doubts and contradictions about the organization of the post-pandemic global order: the possibilities of deglobalization and hyperglobalization. These two fundamentally contrary tendencies have been latent in political discourse since the beginning of the global recession in 2008. In its ideological, theoretical and practical form, deglobalization is a process which begins in 2013 at the earliest, and gains concrete political expression with the rise of populist movements, such as Trump's "revolution", Ergodan's "counter-revolution", and Brexit. Hyperglobalization gains more ground with the fourth industrial revolution, artificial intelligence, hybrid warfare etc.

The Covid-19 pandemic has only radicalized these opposites, and put forth an essential question for international relations theories: how will the post-Covid world be organized, since it seems to be heading towards a re-territorialization of international politics while simultaneously creating the conditions for its further de-territorialization. Special emphasis will be put on possible reforms of the institutions of global governance (which now face an existential challenge), state power and its interest in adapting to the newly formed circumstances, and the disproportion in economic and security challenges.

Key words: deglobalization, hyperglobalization, state, interest, global governance.

Nationalist and cosmopolitan approaches to the nation: a citizen's perspective and its electoral impact

Hugo Cossette-Lefebvre & Jean-François Daoust

Nationalism is omnipresent in Quebec politics. The “national debate”, that is, whether the province of Quebec should be an independent state or not has received a lot of attention from scholars but other factors related to nationalism should not be neglected. In fact, the 2018 Quebec election was the first one in decades where there was no threat of a referendum on independence. This provides a well-suited case to test whether nationalism is an important factor to make sense of Quebec politics beyond the issue of independence.

In this research, we benefit from very rare survey questions asking Quebecers themselves what criteria (related to religion, language, norms, etc.) is important for someone to be part of the Quebec nation. Building bridges between political philosophy and empirical work from political science, we then provide the first careful examination of citizens criteria of inclusion/exclusion, analyze what makes someone more or less likely to put emphasis on civic or ethnic criteria, and finally, we test whether these attitudes towards nationhood have an impact on the citizens's voting behaviours. Bringing together two usually separated literature, our research makes sense of the citizens' nationalist attitudes and shows that nationalism is, despite no 'traditional issue' of independence, important to understand Quebec politics.

Key words: nationalism, Quebec, elections; cosmopolitanism; communitarianism.

North Macedonia after the Ohrid Framework Agreement: a state (in)stability?

Marijana Opashinova Shundovska

Independence movements triggered by the end of the Cold War ended in state collapse and the creation of new states. Determined to create its own institutions (Wilson 1918), the Republic of Macedonia managed to achieve its peaceful and successful transition from authoritarian regime to a parliamentary republic in 1991. Macedonian politicians, tormented by past memories of identity denial and striving to achieve the long-yearned wish for a sovereign state of the Macedonians, by re-formulating the Constitution Preamble awakened the worm of suspicion among the Albanian community about their genuine intentions for building a multi-ethnic state. A decade colored with violent war landscapes in the region and the armed conflicts in bordering nations (Marshall, 2002), combined with minority's feeling of exclusion and discrimination (Lijphart, 1984) did not leave the country immune from an ethnic conflict in 2001. The outcome in the form of the so-called Ohrid Framework Agreement was intended to improve the rights of the minorities and bring some power-sharing in the decision making, both at the local and state levels. Two decades after its implementation, despite many improvements, the state is still struggling with divisions across ethnic lines. Pre-electoral campaigns are filled with calls for more votes both by Macedonian and Albanian parties, each striving for majority votes in their own block. Recent advocating positions by Albanian politicians in the government for neighboring states as well as some statements for territorial claims, clearly demonstrate that the country is far from achieving a homogenous society for its citizens. This paper will analyze the causes of faction possibly "sown in the nature of the man" (Madison, 1787), the state's inability to apply the legitimate use of force and control over its entire territory (Piazza, 2008), and the "affluence as a good cure for inter-ethnic rivalry" (Moynihan, 1993).

Key words: state instability, corruption, political rhetoric, identity, minority.

National idea of the state in a multinational country: the possibilities of the methodology of "national idea" in the understanding of crises¹

Irina Simonova

The report is devoted to the concept of the “horizontal” national idea of the state, which refers to the ideas of people about national idea content. We show how this concept can help in understanding the causes of state crises related to the national identity of groups of its citizens. Based on a series of interviews and focus-groups with young Russian citizens with different nationalities (Russians, Tatars, Bashkirs, Udmurts, Chechens) it was revealed that belonging to a national minority has a strong influence on the content of ideas about the national idea: orientation towards recognizing diversity and equality, maintaining traditions, and focusing on the development of national culture. There is a connection between the perceptions of the crisis phenomena in the country with insufficient support of national groups, low attention to their integration.

The national idea acquires importance in crisis situations and in conditions of change, when the question arises of the need for self-determination and the choice of a strategy for group action. There may also be a discrepancy between national idea content, which reflects vision of the future, relevant practices at the level of nation and at the level of the nationality, as well as reality, which becomes the basis for conflicts. This makes it promising to apply the concept of "national idea" to research and understand both the grounds for confrontation and integration between national groups and the state. Today, the term "national idea" is recognized by everyone, but it has an ambiguous content, which allows us to build a rich polemic with respondents and get an up-to-date picture. The report will present a model of a national idea, the content among minorities with problem markers, methods of applying this concept for crisis analyzing. Socio-philosophical reflection will be given.

Key words: national idea, nation, nationality, youth, crisis analysis, methodology.

¹ The reported study was funded by RFBR and EISR according to the research project № 20-011-32145.

Multiculturalism and the regress of nationalism

Eric Wilkinson

During the second referendum on Quebec sovereignty in 1995, a common argument against separatism asked what would happen to northern Quebec or the island of Montreal upon secession. The version of the principle of self-determination evoked by supporters of Quebec separatism held that as a distinct people the Québécois were entitled to their own state. However, the northern most portions of Quebec are inhabited mainly by aboriginal Canadians, while some districts of Montreal are predominately occupied by anglophone Quebecers. This rebuttal of separatism thus pointed to how the principle of self-determination equally entitled the aboriginal peoples of northern Quebec, or anglophone Montrealers, to chose to leave Quebec. The argument is indicative of the regress of nationalism: within any distinct “people” there are divisions that, with some consciousness raising, could come to constitute their own nation. How then might the regress of nationalism be overcome such that the nation does not splinter into ever smaller groups, precluding any self-determination?

The chief method of overcoming the regress of nationalism found in history is what Renan characterized as “forgetting” one’s past. The French nation only become possible once the Franks and Gauls “forgot” they were separate peoples. The process of fostering forgetfulness and paving over internal differences has historically been one task of the state, which established an official, unified history through myths, monuments, and museums. However, flattening internal differences has become increasingly unpopular as the process is painful to those—typically minorities—whose cultures are eroded to enable assimilation into the nation. Solving the regress through assimilation thus presents too high an ethical cost and often fails to work anyway. Instead, multiculturalism has emerged as a more humane solution to the regress of nationalism. Multicultural policies aim to accommodate the internal diversities found within the state without having to flatten them. I argue that multiculturalism is the proper solution to the regress of nationalism as it delineates a people so as to enable self-determination, and avoids the assimilation that would otherwise be necessary.

Key words: multiculturalism, nation, nationalism, separatism, secession.

Nation state acceptance and contestation: The party manifesto perspective

Višeslav Raos

Globalization has made national and international politics so intertwined that a clear distinction between the disciplines of International Relations and Comparative Politics is not possible anymore. Therefore, this paper offers a view from the perspective of Comparative Politics. The paper explores the acceptance and contestation of old and new nation states through the lens of party manifestos. The analysis builds upon data available in the Manifesto Corpus (MARPOR/CMP) dataset and makes use of two composite variables, constructed as binary opposites. The first one pertains to the level of contestation of the current constitutional order in a given nation state (per203 and per204 variables in MARPOR/CMP). The second one measures negative stances about nationalism and patriotism regarding own nation state, as well as opposition to the existing nation state (variables per602 and per603 in the Manifesto Corpus). In the first part of analysis, the paper looks at global differences between countries regarding acceptance and contestation of the nation state evident in party manifestos. The second part of analysis focuses on new (post-1989) democracies, many of which represent new nation states as well. Within this group of nation states, the paper looks at regional, and party family differences, as to assess the success or failure of nation-building projects after the Fall of the Berlin Wall.

Key words: party manifesto, MARPOR/CMP, constitutionalism, nationalism, nation state.

East seeks accreditation from West: Accreditation as a change agent in Croatian business education

Yelena Istileulova

The creation of independent states in Yugoslavia in the 1990s was also accompanied by the creation of private business schools in these states. Questions of legitimacy arise when something new is coming into the picture, and the mechanism of accreditation is understood as a procedure to provide legitimacy. The demand for legitimacy in private business education by the end of the first decade of the 21st century became visible in the region of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), including Croatia. However, legitimacy from the top accreditation bodies (e.g.: American AACSB, European EFMD, British AMBA) can bring the various mechanisms of power described by Joseph Nye (1990; 2020): from coercion; carrots and payment up to the soft power mechanisms based on “attraction”. The goal of this paper is to explore the mechanisms of power of American accreditation in business education of Croatia through the framework of Theory of Global Accreditation (TGA, 2018). This paper presents the results of the case study of a private business school in Croatia on how different organizational changes emerged as a result of the accreditation process are leading to the institutional change and “autonomy from the state”. In addition, the perception of accreditation by the experts from a private school, its competitor and employers illustrate how changes in human interactions and relationships transform higher education institutions, how they are becoming homogeneous, according to conformity rituals to global institutions. The theoretical framework of TGA provides an explanation about the perception of legitimacy in the East about the change brought by the West, and why the role of the state is to be abolished.

Key words: AACSB accreditation, business education, organizational change, institutional change, power, Theory of Global Accreditation, Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).

Economic inequality and democracy in USA

Josip Lučev

Political equality is a part of any functional definition of democracy. Democracy is also a crucial element of the legitimacy of the political order in Western countries. In this sense, capitalism and democracy walk hand in hand. It is important to note a possible contradiction in this liberal democratic project. Economic inequality has been rapidly increasing in the past four decades, and the crucial danger is its potential ability to subvert the minimal needed political equality required by democracy itself. Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page have authored several studies to this effect, most notable for an attempt to quantify political responsiveness to citizens. Their results have mostly pointed in the direction of a domination of the political sphere by economic elites rather than citizenry as such. This contribution surveys their research and puts it in the context of long term cyclical drivers of inequality and institutional change.

Key words: Martin Gilens, inequality, democracy, institutional change.

Reflections on emerging human rights violations in South Asia vis-à-vis attainment of nation-states

Mohammed Muqtadir & Bhumika Sharma

The world comprises of more than 2000 nations, which have been accommodated into around 195 states. Various studies conducted in the past years establish the fact that there has been a rise in hatred and injustice towards various minorities led by the political leadership of a number of states. North Korea, China, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Cambodia etc., are among those countries known for oppressing and marginalizing their minorities. For years majoritarian led governments have been engaged in violations of the rights of minorities in their pursuit of the nation-state. The International Freedom Religious Report in 2020 published by the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom highlights the violence against minorities in several countries. The Report recommended to redesignate Pakistan as a country of concern; designate India as a country of concern and include Afghanistan in the Special Watch List. The South Asia State of Minorities Report, 2019 of South Asia Collective observes that the religious minorities are at high risk of violent attacks, hate speech, and intimidation, and these violations are frequently met with a lack of accountability. The policies of the governments of different countries reflect a strong fundamentalist approach towards the majoritarian religions. The ranking of the countries of the world in terms of violation of the rights of persons belonging to different minorities is an indicator of the inhuman decisions taken by the people having power to make decisions in politics, governance and international relations. The present world facing and fighting against the Covid-19 pandemic needs inclusive policies by all the countries of the world. The right approach is to embrace each human, irrespective of their community, ethnicity or religion. The international community should make the governments of such countries accountable for the brutal treatment of minorities. The study is based upon the Reports of research organizations on the state of human rights, news and the actions taken by the courts of law.

Key words: constitution, human rights, minorities, religious freedom, South Asia.

Secession, autonomy and state (in)stability: towards an ethical framework

Stipe Buzar

Secessionist movements, dissatisfied minorities and non-functional autonomy arrangements have been among the factors of state instability throughout the past and present century. Given a number of possibilities, (ethnic) minorities have opted for or faced everything from a complete lack of autonomy in socio-political decision making processes to secessionist claims and the establishment of new states. The author attempts to set a foundation for a normative framework which would allow for an ethical discussion of the possible spectrum of alternatives.

Secession is the most difficult of the alternatives to justify because it represents the most extreme claim of a minority towards a state (or even against a state). Once a criterion for the moral justification of secession is established, the criteria for other alternatives can only be reasonably lower, and the criteria for secession will be indicative of what these lower criteria could be.

Key words: ethical framework, moral justification, autonomy, secession, states, minorities.

Covid-19 anti-vaxxers against the state: horizontal „securitization“ and its implications for national security

Vladimir Ajzenhamer

The activity of the anti-vaccination movement represents an increasing challenge for the state's monopoly over the process of securitization. The fight against the Covid-19 pandemic brought to light a powerful enemy which originates from the same place from which the ruling elites draw their own legitimacy - wide population of citizens. During the past decade, the expansion of social media and social networks has led to serious changes in the practice of political and security communication which opened the space for citizens to take part in the creation of securitizing discourse and thus to challenge the position of the state as the sole legitimate arbiter of security. The anti-vax discourse, which has spread on social media since the outbreak of the pandemic, is an example of such horizontal securitization in which virtually networked citizens begin to act as securitizing actors. But these new „securitizers“ do not seek to securitize the virus, but on the contrary - they see health measures and social restrictions undertaken by the state as a threat to their own freedom, way of life, and ultimately their existence. And while civil protests caused by virtual securitization lead to streets clash between the state and its citizens, an even greater menace lurks as a possible consequence of anti-vaxxers activity - the resurrection and rapid spread of almost extinct infections, as well as reduction of resistance to current infectious diseases. Because of these potential consequences, the anti-vaccination movement has the ability, not only to threaten national security, but to compromise all levels and sectors of security too.

Therefore, in this presentation the author will offer guidelines for the development of an adequate theoretical framework that could contribute to a better understanding of the *modus operandi* behind the sudden rise of the anti-vaccination movement.

Key words: anti-vaxxers, anti-vaccination movement, national security, state, securitization, social media, social networks.

The internal enemy, civil war and state collapse in the philosophy of Carl Schmitt

Maciej Witkowski

Carl Schmitt is one of the most important German theorists of political realism. According to him the key to understanding "the Political" is to understand the major anthropological truth that eventually there are only two types of people - Friends and Enemies. The relation of Enmity is defined by existential lethal threat, but the sovereign is he who decides who the Enemy is. One more important thing emerges from Schmitt's theory of politics - the concept of the absolute unity of the state. The state has to follow one will, because only the unity is able to face the Enemy. When the Friend-Enemy relations are existing not only in international relations, but also inside a state, this state becomes weak and cannot provide existential safety to its citizens, which is its primary goal. That is why Schmitt was against parliamentary democracy and thought that the worst thing that can happen to a state is civil war. The state is therefore an arbitrary force dominating potentially fractious civil society, whose various antagonisms must not be allowed to affect politics, lest civil war result. In my paper I will try to describe Schmitt's views on civil war and state collapse. First, I analyze his views in historical context (the most important works of Schmitt were published in the Weimar Republic period, "The Concept of the Political" [1927], "The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy" [1923], "Dictatorship" [1921]), but later I will try to show to what extent his theory may be vital in today's world, when the historical conditions have dramatically changed.

Key words: Carl Schmitt, political philosophy, civil war, philosophy of war.

Will sustainability + AI change the nature of nation-states?

Borna Jalšenjak & Kristijan Krkač

Sustainability policies and AI development run their own race. No matter who wins we will probably live in a new world – either in a sustainable one by means of radically developed AI or in a world on its deathbed because of insufficiently developed AI. In both scenarios the new world will be at least to some extent different from the present one. Given that sustainability and AI are global, if not globalized, phenomena, this will have some effects on every non-global or not-globalized phenomena among which nation-states are fine examples. The purpose is to supply a clear concept of these effects. The research methodology includes conceptual analysis and morphological (re)presentation based on previous works by the author. The working hypothesis is that sustainability and AI will radically change the nature of present nation-states. A limitation of the research is that nation-states are viewed only under the aspect of the influence of sustainability policies and developments of AI. The practical implication is a suggestion for the remodeling of the currently valid model of the nation state into the new model.

Key words: nation-states, AI, sustainability.

Theoretical foundations of legal pluralism in the domain of legal positivism: re-approaching the European Court of Human Rights judgment in the case "Károly Nagy v Hungary" (2017)

Georgii Tiuliaev

The future of a state is to be looked for in the domain of relationships between the state and the citizens, which obtain diversified legal statuses. Here is the point, at which the core doctrines of legal pluralism and legal positivism collide representing disagreement between sociological and pure logical approaches to validity of legal norms. From our point of view, the future of the state might be related to the forthcoming restrictions and delimitation of jurisdictions, including that of domestic courts. Such restrictions can be based on substantial and procedural immunities of private entities. In this case, the personal status of citizen collides with specific legal relationships, which do not belong to the normative system of the state (e.g. the benefit of clergy).

Examples of interconnection between instability of domestic jurisdiction and legal pluralism can be illustrated with the cases of the European Court of Human Rights. The judgment in the case "Károly Nagy v Hungary" (2017) will be addressed for that purpose. Plurality of legal systems is evidenced by an official recognition of the set of legal rules. Recognition of this kind can be expressed as social acceptance of the "basic norm" (H. Kelsen) or "the validity test" established by the authorities (H. L. A. Hart). State courts are the main authority that is capable of broadcasting an official interpretation of legal rules. Consequently, delimitation of court jurisdictions can help to outline the criteria for delineating regulatory systems and different concepts of "law".

Key words: European Court of Human Rights, legal pluralism, legal positivism, validity, efficacy, H. L. A. Hart, H. Kelsen.

Should we go our separate ways?

Damir Mladić

If we decide that we should go our separate ways, what would be the rational thing to do? If a political community decides that it is time to break up, what would be the rational thing to expect and how could it be rationally dealt with? The author starts with the following question: Is what we consider the rational decision in such a situation, determined by the victors? In other words, do political communities usually try to rationally imitate more successful political communities in order to establish, maintain, and improve their independence, security, and prosperity?

Key words: rationality, rational imitation, secession.

Has the future of the state really been put into question?

Ivor Altaras Penda

The public and scientific discourse in the last twenty years has been full of arguments aiming to show that the power of contemporary states has been challenged and is in peril of being drastically limited, or even abolished. While it is undeniable that new times bring with them new challenges, we should still scrutinize the claim that they might result in the collapse of existing state arrangements, and ask whether other scenarios are also possible, such as state transformation or even its strengthening, whether at a local or global level. In order to be able to offer a valid response it is important to identify potential aspirants to the position held by states today. On the other hand, it is necessary to attempt to define the meaning of concepts such as 'strong state' and 'weak state' and offer a process which enables quantification. This can only be done with clearly defined and practically tested sets of state functions which states, to a certain extent, take upon themselves to perform. Precisely because of these state functions, the present topic fits not only into political science or geopolitics, but is essentially and deeply sociological, because it directly influences human lives in almost all of their aspects - from the cradle to the grave. Also, understanding the future of states can offer an answer to the question about the nature of a future structure of social power, and these are first-class bits of knowledge for anyone contemplating the constructions of social realities.

Key words, state, future of the state, corporations, military power, trade.

Ideja hrvatske države u „Programu hrvatske demokratske opozicije (unutrašnje i vanjske)“ iz 1968.

Jakov Žižić

Krajem 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća među Hrvatima u egzilu se razvila nova politička i intelektualna struja koja je stvaranje hrvatske države vezala za vrijednosti demokracije, ljudskih prava i europske integracije. Iz tog okruženja je proizašao programatski dokument “Program hrvatske demokratske opozicije (unutrašnje i vanjske)” koji je objavljen 1968. i čiji su autori bili Jure Petričević i Tihomil Rađa. U dokumentu su razrađena načela ustrojstva i djelovanja buduće hrvatske države uključujući sustav vlasti, društveno – ekonomski sustav i vanjsku politiku. U ovom radu bit će prikazana temeljna načela „Programa hrvatske demokratske opozicije“ te će se objasniti demokršćanske političke ideje koje su bile u podlozi tog državotvornog programa.

Ključne riječi: Hrvatska država, hrvatska politika u egzilu, liberalna demokracija, europska integracija, demokršćanstvo

Je li novi kurs propao zbog dubrovačkih pravaša i Prave Crvene Hrvatske?

Barbara Durasović

Godine 1905. kada na dalmatinskoj političkoj sceni dolazi do fuziranja Narodne stranke i Stranke prava, u Dubrovniku se izdvaja skupina dubrovačkih pravaša koji ne žele slijediti politiku pravaških vođa Ante Trumbića i Frana Supila te narodnjaka Pera Čingrije. Uz pomoć Prave Crvene Hrvatske, političkog glasila kojeg su pokrenuli 19. ožujka 1905., četrnaest godina nakon Supilove Crvene Hrvatske, odmetnuti dubrovački pravaši nedvosmisleno iznose svoje političke stavove. Trude se širiti ekskluzivno hrvatstvo u Dubrovniku; ne podupiru fuziranje pravaša s narodnjacima u Hrvatsku stranku; ne podupiru niti suradnju sa Srbima i novi kurs te započinju samostalnu politiku što zadaje prilične poteškoće nositeljima novostvorenog političkog pravca. Pozivaju se na uvodne riječi iz prvog broja 'stare' Crvene Hrvatske navodeći da će oni nastaviti slijediti „stari program hrvatstva i nepogodbenog sjedinjenja“.

Skupina dubrovačkih domoljuba nije zaboravljala niti da su Srbi udruženi s autonomašima od 1890. na čelu s Franom Gondolom vladali Dubrovnikom. U njihovoj memoriji usađena je devetogodišnja borba pravaške Crvene Hrvatske za hrvatskim osvješćivanjem koja je i urodila pobjedom pravaša i narodnjaka te povratku dubrovačke vlasti hrvatskom ozračju (1899). Sve to mijenja se od 1905. za što posebno krive Pera Čingriju.

Čingrija je, i kao predsjednik Hrvatske stranke koja je bila idejni začetnik novog kursa i kao gorljivi zagovaratelj hrvatsko-srpske sloge, ali i načelnik Dubrovnika, imao dobar razlog baš svoj Grad odabrali kao početno mjesto iz kojeg bi krenula primjena novih načela u hrvatsko-srpskim odnosima u Dalmaciji. Upravo Dubrovnik, karakterističan po Dubrovčanima srbokatolicima, mogao je poslužiti kao primjer promicanja ujedinjene političke prakse.

Postavljanjem zastave na općinskoj zgradi u Dubrovniku 3. veljače 1906. godine, nepuna dva mjeseca od službenog zaključenja hrvatsko-srpskog dogovora, trebao je biti udahnut život politici novog kursa i priželjkivanoj slozi Hrvata i Srba. Međutim, baš u Dubrovniku politika novog kursa doživljava suton i prije njezinog oživotvorenja.

Ključne riječi: desna stranka, dubrovački desničari, novi kurs, Supilo, Čingrija, Prava Crvena Hrvatska.

Ante Marković i Adolfo Suarez: Pokušaj usporedbe premijera u tranziciji

Vladimir Filipović

Tekst je pokušaj usporedbe odabranih pitanja u politikama Adolfo Suareza (španjolski premijer 1976.-1981.) i Ante Marković (jugoslavenski premijer 1989.-1991.). Oba premijera okarakterizirani su kao reformisti i vodili su svoje države kroz tranziciju. Oba premijera došli su iz jednostranačkih skupština autokratskih sustava te stvorili političke saveze i sudjelovali u višestranačkim izborima. U takvim okolnostima, Suarez je uspio pobijediti na izborima i uspješno proveo svoju državu kroz tranziciju, dok je Marković bio neuspješan na izborima i kao reformist. Tekst nastoji analizirati što je obojici premijera bilo zajedničko i razmatra mogućnosti usporedbe. Međutim, prisutne su brojne razlike u sustavima i državama u kojima su Suarez i Marković djelovali te je komparativna metoda tek djelomično prihvatljiva.

Ključne riječi: Adolfo Suarez;, Ante Marković, Španjolska, Jugoslavija, tranzicija.

Utjecaj Konferencije za europsku sigurnost i suradnju na vlast socijalističke Jugoslavije i njezinu opozicijsku scenu

Josip Mihaljević

Održavanje Konferencije o europskoj sigurnosti i suradnji (KESS) označilo je vrhunac politike detanta u hladnoratovskom blokovski podijeljenom svijetu. Prva Konferencija održana je u srpnju 1973. u Helsinkiju, da bi dvije godine kasnije na istom mjestu SAD, Kanada i sve europske države, izuzev Albanije i Andore, donijele sporazum, Helsinški završni akt, kojim je dogovorena međunarodna suradnja i zajednički kriteriji u četiri područja djelovanja (tzv. košare). Helsinškom konferencijom 1975. države potpisnice pristale su njegovati načela poštovanja suvereniteta država, nepovredivosti državnih granica i teritorijalnog integriteta država, suzdržavanja od primjene sile i mirnog rješavanja sporova, nemiješanja u unutarnja pitanja država, razvijanja međudržavne suradnje i ispunjavanje međunarodno-pravnih obveza. U trećoj „košari“ bila su obrađena pitanja unaprjeđivanja ljudskih prava, kulturne suradnje, izobrazbe i slobodnoga protoka informacija, a države potpisnice su se obvezale na poštivanje osnovnih ljudskih prava i prava naroda na samoodređenje. Jugoslaviji je bila povjerena organizacija Konferencije 1977. i to je bio događaj od velike važnosti za samu vlast SFRJ, ali i za jugoslavenske disidente, osobe koje se smatralo političkom opozicijom te političke zatvorenike. U izlaganju će se prikazati kakav je utjecaj na navedene aktere imao KESS, kao i pitanje poštivanja ljudskih i građanskih prava. Arhivski dokumenti otkrivaju da je ljudskopravaški pokret povremeno uzrokovao probleme vrhu jugoslavenske vlasti, pogotovo vezano za organizaciju KESS-a 1977. u Jugoslaviji, kao i to da su jugoslavenski disidenti i politički zatvorenici polagali velike nade u međunarodne organizacije koje su se borile za načelo poštivanja ljudskih prava. U radu se otvara i pitanje utjecaja načela poštivanja ljudskih prava na slom komunizma i razvoj nacionalnih država krajem 20. stoljeća, napose na prostoru nekadašnje Jugoslavije.

Ključne riječi: KESS, socijalistička Jugoslavija, opozicijska scena.

Četvrta Jugoslavija": Europska zajednica, manjinsko pitanje i nova jugoslavenska država

Ivica Miškulin

Tijekom je rujna i listopada 1991. posebna međunarodna institucija pod okriljem Europske zajednice, Mirovna konferencija o Jugoslaviji, ustanovljena radi pronalaska mirnog rješenja sukoba, u nekoliko navrata stabilan mir u raspadajućoj Jugoslaviji pokušala uspostaviti posrednim nametanjem dubokih promjena temeljenih na manjinskom pitanju. Nova bi se jugoslavenska zajednica – u formi labave asocijacije ili saveza suverenih država – prema tim prijedlozima temeljila za nizu posebnih statusa, tj. posebnih teritorijalnih rješenja predviđenih za Srbe u Hrvatskoj, Muslimane na Sandžaku, Albance na Kosovu, te Slovake i Mađare u Vojvodini (najvažnijeg dijela ponuđenih mirovnih planova). Ti su planovi zanimljivi jer su, s jedne strane proizašli u trenutku kada Europska zajednica još nije naznačila da je spremna priznati Sloveniju i Hrvatsku, tj. kada je Jugoslavija još uvijek bila međunarodno priznata država (premda na rubu raspada), a s druge, jer su de facto kao presudan čimbenik u nastanku međunacionalnih suprotnosti i oružanih sukoba (u prvom redu u Hrvatskoj) prepoznali položaj etničkih manjina. Jedan pak poseban segment tih planova – poseban položaj, tj. političko-teritorijalna autonomija hrvatskih Srba – ubrzo će postati kriterij od velike važnosti za međunarodno priznanje Hrvatske te daljnji angažman međunarodne zajednice u potrazi za mirom u Hrvatskoj.

Izlaganje će se usmjeriti prema uočavanju ključnih političkih pojavnosti koji su stajali iza takvih mirovnih prijedloga Mirovne konferencije, od strateške odluke EZ-a i njezinih najutjecajnijih članica da raspadajuću Jugoslaviju pokušaju spasiti sveobuhvatnim nametanjem novih rješenja za brojna manjinskog pitanja, konkretnih političkih interesa koji su pojedine države nagnali da u pravnom, sigurnosnom i humanitarnom položaju pojedinih manjina prepoznaju ključ za rješenje rata do posljedica koje su uzrokovali u pojedinim državama nastalim raspadom Jugoslavije, u prvom redu Hrvatskoj.

Ključne riječi: Europska zajednica, manjinsko pitanje, Srbi u Hrvatskoj, Jugoslavija.

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