

THE ROLE OF ASSOCIATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE NEGOTIATION AND INTEGRATION OF MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE INTO CIVIL SOCIETY

Enache TUȘA

Lecturer, Ph.D., Ovidius University of Constanta (Romania), E-mail: enachetusa@gmail.com

Abstract: *We propose for this issue a text in which we present the analysis of policies and mechanisms designed to prevent violence and abuse of individuals or communities, we will develop research on the level of Regulation of the interests of minority communities in South-Eastern Europe within the systems the politics in which these minorities live. In the text of our research, we will address the role that associations, foundations and NGOs representing the interests of minority communities have, but also the actions that these entities carry out to improve the condition and relations with civil society and with the system of political institutions. The importance of civil society in the contemporary political context is paramount because there are important efforts to undermine the role of civil society and to dilute the contribution to social and institutional modernization. Minority communities have a major interest in maintaining and involving civil society because of the strength with which it imposes social and political reforms that Community members need for social integration. In this research we present how institutions and associations contribute to the development and involvement of civil society in administration, but also the framework of regulations and legislation. In our study we will analyze civil society in Southeast European States that have developed their own models of interaction with the institutions that govern and that should balance political decisions. Therefore, civil society develops instruments and engagement strategies aimed at representing with interest and dignity the interests of the governed. We will look at how diverse social, cultural, linguistic and economic contexts influence how these minority communities perceive governance and integration into the social body. We present various contexts in which political systems try to regulate Community demands and efforts to limit the factors generating social-community tensions. We analyze the mechanisms by which certain entities and public opinions develop society and generate premises that favor the modernization of societies and the political system despite the fact that in some societies institutional systems try to restore traditionalism and undemocratic practices within those societies.*

Keywords: civil society, minorities, institutions, communication, civil rights

1. Introduction

In a recently published work Geert Hofstede stated: The world is full of confrontations between people, communities and peoples think and behave differently. At the same time people, communities face common problems that require cooperation and intelligence to solve (Hofstede, 2012: 15). In this way we will analyze the proposed theme

The society in which we live is one characterized by the existence of a multiculturalism anchored in the idea of ethnicity and having cultural valences. Multiculturalism, as the existence in the world of a multitude of languages, cultures and ethnicities, presupposes tolerance and in cases where it does not exist, conflicts arise – whether ethnic or cultural-religious (for more details, see Otovescu, 2008)

Information theory (which reduces everything to the transmitter, receiver, channel, message, and code) cannot be a pertinent socket for thinking of communication in all its forms, for not everything is material in communication. In contemporary society, communication has become a central topic of debate. Everyone asks: Why are there so many communication problems? How can communication between individuals, between groups, within organizations be facilitated?

Since we have decided to analyze the multicultural society, the conflicts that may arise in this context, but also the most appropriate way to manage them, by referring mainly to organizations that act and have competence in regulatory mechanisms as well as negotiation techniques in the event of conflicts, both globally and regionally (Otovescu, 2021).

The subject is topical given that conflicts continue to persist or arise at international level, their management being a thorny issue that is subject to all sorts of debates on the one hand, the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the measures taken by the international organizations created for this purpose, and on the other hand, in many cases of internal conflicts of an identity nature, the right of these fora to interfere in the internal affairs of troubled states is called into question (Otovescu, 2013).

The main coordinates in the development of this research are related to the conflicts caused by cultural differences and ethno-political identities, outlining the current dimensions of the problem. At the same time, there is also the prospect of the most common ways of managing or resolving crises.

Another important work, centered especially on the issue of multiculturalism and the idea of minority and tolerance in this context, is the book *What do we do with foreigners? Pluralism vs. multiculturalism*, written by Giovanni Sartori, an essay on multiethnic society, and multiculturalism. From this paper I was able to extract important information about multicultural societies and how a society of this kind promotes ethnic and cultural differences (Sartori, 2007: 24).

Psychology is at the heart of many communication issues. Communication is a fundamental human activity. On the other hand, the meaning, value, appreciation and evaluation of a communication depend essentially on the subjectivity of the persons who use it. We know very well that a communication conveys different meanings depending on the subjects who “deal” with it, as well as on the contexts in which the communication and its protagonists enlist. Therefore, the study of communication has often intersected with theories of human subjectivity and thus with studies of psychology. First of all, communication is a personal skill, it cannot be separated from man, as it is with tools and tools, because of this, we learn to communicate to ensure the necessary skills that allow us to understand how we both think and feel ourselves, and those with whom we enter into interpersonal relationships.

Communication training also gives us greater freedom to properly direct our own behavior and understand the behavior of others. Fundamental way of psycho-social interaction of people, carried out in articulate language or other codes, in order to transmit information, achieve stability or change in individual or group behavior. As for multipartism after communism, we must consider three perspectives. First, the communist regime produced a leveling, a homogenization of society and left individuals without their social or institutional identities.

In post-communist democracies, there is a lack of substance to partisan competition, lack of affiliations and firm political commitments. Secondly, we must consider modernization. Industrialization is the work of the communist regime, and the success of communism in modernizing societies has helped to make the transition easier. “The communist regime created the ground for the democratization of the societies of central and eastern Europe, loading individuals with that social and ideological baggage upon which the parties could fold.” (Radu, 2017).

Thirdly, we must consider the comparative side, in the sense that the communist experience is not uniform in Europe. Bringing democracy into question without taking into account the existence of political parties is not only wrong, but also an incomplete approach to democracy as a real socio-political process. The existence of political parties in a democratic society is a prerequisite for the proper functioning of the political system, so the connection between democracy and multiparty is indisputable, depending on each other.

2. The theoretical basis of the analysis

Thus, post-totalitarian societies do not have the same social and political structures, and the society that emerged from communism in the same period had other developments in terms of their political functioning. Huntington said: "Prolonged periods of suppression of political parties generate forces that burst with explosive energy when totalitarian rule ends." It refers to those parties in a state of "submersion" that come to light, reinventing themselves. Huntington also points out that the more unexpected the end of a totalitarian regime, the more extensive and varied political participation is. (Huntington, 1968: 405)

After 1960, the number of ethnocultural groups mobilized for the purpose of official recognition of their specific characteristics and related rights has increased spectacularly so that their identity and culture are preserved. It is precisely the fact that these groups, which make up the present multicultural societies, have certain claims which are opposed to a political will, that represents, in the opinion of most analysts of the phenomenon, the source of the worst internal and interstate conflicts of an ethnic nature since the second World War. (Salat 2001:17)

After the "progressive disintegration" of the Soviet Union, in some cases the conflicts that arose were formally resolved, while in the Member republics that became independent, new conflicts arose. In about 80% of the cases analyzed, it was found in the same study that the ethnocultural group contesting, that is, the one claiming something, lives in conditions of discrimination (be it ethnic, economic or political) having historical roots or more recent origins. In the rest of the cases, representing 20%, the triggers for ethnic conflicts are a series of disputed territories, the struggle for supremacy, the struggle for control of resources. (Calvocoressi, 2000)

An important factor in the emergence of ethnic conflicts is the fact that in international relations the sovereignty of States and the inviolability of borders are immutable principles that must be respected. Because of this, specialists are often unable to make known the current tension between a state and subnational ethnic identity and, consequently, to develop practical solutions to this challenge of contemporary international politics. An example is the situation after the collapse of the colonial system when, despite the support of the principle of national self-determination, the new borders between States have been drawn according to the interests of the areas of influence of the great powers, the demographic and cultural characteristics being flagrantly violated. This inevitably led to unimaginable violence in the name of the legitimate desire for nation-building. This explains the growing number of autonomy claims and secessionist movements in the world, whose method of settlement is currently not regulated by international norms (Salat, 2001)

According to Donald Horowitz (author of the monumental work *Ethnic groups in conflict*), ethnic conflict and its evolution can be attributed to developments in international relations over time. The first evolution to which Horowitz refers is related to the doctrine of national self-determination which, having its origin in the principle of popular sovereignty of the eighteenth century, played an essential role in the foundation of nineteenth-century nationalisms. This doctrine provided the ideology of the unification of Germany and Italy, led to the dismantling of empires, and, in the Wilsonian interpretation of the term, contributed to the redefinition of the borders of Central and Eastern Europe. The doctrine returned to attention after World War II during the decolonization process in Africa and Asia. (Biancchini, 2003:74).

Although it has often responded to historical needs, the application of the principle of national self-determination, which implies "the right of nations to choose their own political status and the path of economic, social and cultural development", has not only resulted in the settlement of ethnopolitical conflicts.

Its involvement frequently stopped at the old, colonial borders, where deeply divided societies remained to confront the question of who do the new States that have gained their independence really belong to?

While some groups claimed power, others believed that the process of applying the principle of self-determination was incomplete and that it must be persevered until the

independence of all ethnocultural communities was acquired. According to Horowitz, the exercise of national self-determination on a large scale and therefore also in the process of decolonization had consequences, including in Western Europe and North America. The granting of sovereignty to the former Belgian colonies (Zair, Rwanda and Burundi) contributed to the Flemish mobilization and the emergence of the autonomous movement of this Community in Belgium. The emancipation of African peoples played an important role in the movements in the United States against racial discrimination as well as in the mobilization of the French-speaking communities of Quebec, whose members began to call themselves „negres blancs d’Amerique” (Salat, 2001: 67).

The spread of egalitarian ideology also contributed to the multiplication of situations of ethno-political conflict. Promoting the norms of equality and equity resulted in the widespread refusal of ethnic subordination, as well as the spread of the tendency to compare the situation of their own ethnic group with the standards of neighboring groups. This resulted in a better awareness of the disadvantages of their own group, which could easily lead to the outbreak of conflict. The current state system, which originated in European feudalism and the colonial system, also plays an important role, providing a favorable framework in which ethno-political conflicts arise and unfold, the ongoing concerns for the capture of control in the state and the exclusion of all rivals are often at the root of ethnic conflict (Carpinschi, 2001:12)

In a context in which “globalization and multiculturalism raise many problems”, the theory of modernization argues that the phenomenon of ethnic conflict is the collateral product of modernization. The first to establish this in a study published in 1961 was Karl W. Deutsch argues that „ *the process of social mobilization – the transition of an overwhelming majority of a country’s population from a traditional to a modern form of life – is directly linked to ethnic conflict*” (Deutsch, 1961:45).

In his view, ethnic conflict is the product of the competition between the rate of social mobilization and the rate of assimilation, the proportion of the population mobilized but not yet assimilated being the “first cruel indicator” of the group conflict. More recent and elaborate versions of the modernization theory emphasize that individuals involved in the economic and political processes of modernization are more prone to conflict not because of their differences but because they become more and more similar, want the same things, they have identical ambitions, pursue similar goals.

Theories that emphasize economic interests are part of the category of materialistic explanations, which have several variants, some equating the threat of ethnic conflicts with the manipulation of elites in order to divert public attention from the real adversary. Others argue that ethnicity is a faithful expression of group economic interests, while others emphasize the role of group economic interests or the role of incompatible economic interests of „entrepreneurial minorities” and „host society”. (Salat, 2001:87).

3. The culture of multicultural pluralism

J.S. Furnivall (analyzed by Sinescu) believes that a society characterized by cultural pluralism lacks shared values, cultural differences are dominant, and contacts between members of different communities are reduced to economic relations and exchanges. Thus, the political system can only be maintained through the use of force, which is why these types of highly unstable societies have a high conflict potential. It was also stated that, in the context of modernity, ethnic, cultural or religious pluralism has more and more consequences manifested especially in the sphere of values, world and life concepts, religious and ethical practices (Sinescu & Trofin, 2011:104).

Another exponent of cultural pluralism, M.G. Smith (analyzed by Salat) believes that the existence of culturally divided societies is linked to the parallel existence of several groups that have mutually incompatible institutional systems. These systems each tend toward internal integration and consistency, leading to the formation of several closed socio-cultural units within a single political Community. In Smith’s view, the political order designed to ensure

the unity and stability of such a society can only be based on the subordination of one (cultural) segment of the society to the other. Thus, Smith and Furnivall share the same views and are on the line of Mill's skepticism about the low chances of democratic governance in ethnocultural-divided societies, considering that societies characterized by cultural pluralism are prone to ethnic conflicts. (Salat, 2001: 67).

Viewed from a comparative perspective, the above-mentioned theories are based on contradictory concepts, and David Horowitz believes that the deficiencies of these theories do nothing but represent valuable indicators for a comprehensive and comprehensive theory of ethnic conflict. A more comprehensive theory should be based on explaining the connection between the interests of the masses and those of the elites, it should also exemplify the role that Community anxieties play in the relief of conflicts, as well as the role of other elements of group psychology. It is also necessary to clarify the functions and importance of symbolic controversies in the evolution of ethno-political conflicts. Horowitz analyzes as sources of potential conflict the mechanisms of collective psychology to compare the state of rival communities, along with the policies of domination and the mechanisms for legitimizing group ideology, he studies in depth the logic of secession – which often leads to consequences opposite to those desirable.

He devotes extensive chapters to electoral systems in which ethnic parties also run, assesses the chances of multiethnic coalitions and alliances and parties that include representatives of several ethnicities, follows the paradigms of militarization of ethno-political conflicts, while also assessing the effects of military intervention in the case of conflicts that have already reached the stage of armed violence. (Malcolm, 1998: 76).

On the other hand, Gurr and Harff distinguish four types of ethnocultural communities: Ethno-nationalist communities, indigenous peoples, elites acting on behalf of ethnocultural and ethno-class communities. Ethno-nationalist communities are relatively large regional ethnic groups that live within a country with the majority population and differ from this majority population by their way of life or by particular cultural features. The political movements of these groups are supported by the hope of achieving a higher degree of autonomy or independence. Usually, these groups, which Gurr and Harff call ethno-nationalist communities, were themselves, at some point in the course of history, "founding nations of the state" or had broad autonomy within a state structure. For example, Corsicans or Bretons, although they lost their autonomous status centuries ago, keep alive this idea of regaining autonomy, an idea that still motivates their political movements today. These types of communities are or may be parties to protracted ethno-political conflicts, such as independence movements or irredentists. (Marian, 2012: 45)

Multicultural societies have historically been marked by various ethnic conflicts as well as secessionist processes, especially characteristic of the late 20th century, all of which are fueled primarily by the collective identities of different ethnicities. However, ethnicity does not necessarily lead to conflicts, since the desire to create one's own state on the territory it occupies is not characteristic of all ethnic groups, some opting to increase autonomy within the state within which it coexists, without challenging its legitimacy (Nye, 2005: 88).

The development of ethnic conflicts comes amid the end of the cold War, as the end of bipolar brings about the emergence of non-state actors that accentuate fragmentation trends at global, regional or local level. Such trends have been particularly noticeable in federations of States such as Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia, but also in some unitary States where groups characterized by ethnic differences coexisted. As a result, in the context created by the end of the cold War, we are witnessing the shaping of a complex Yugoslav crisis, strongly marked by the conflict between Serbs and Croats. Some of the worst fighting took place between Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats and Muslims in Bosnia, the most ethnically and religiously heterogeneous of the former Yugoslav republics. In the summer of 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declare their independence from Yugoslavia, ethnic Serbs and Croats start fighting in Croatia, leading to the

UN imposing an embargo on arms supplies to all former Yugoslav republics. (Bianchini, 2001: 84).

With the declaration of independence, Slovenia and Croatia reject not only the federation in its form at the time, but also any possible modification. Slovenia, homogeneous, compact and quite isolated, has started to take steps to comply with the decision taken. Each Yugoslav Republic had "its own distinct defense forces from the federal army, whose units were isolated from each other and from their reserves; its attempts to take over Slovenia were cut short." On the other hand, the history of Croatia, which represented one fifth of the territory of Yugoslavia, bore the mark of fighting between Croats and Serbs in World War II „instigated by rival Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches to which almost all Croats and Serbs belonged” (Calvocoressi, 2000:201).

As I have shown in the study on tolerance in a multicultural society, the concept of tolerance and multiculturalism are intrinsically linked because tolerance is a sine qua non condition for the creation and existence of a multicultural society. Tolerance means respecting the values of the other and in no case does it mean indifference. The tolerator has personal beliefs and principles that he believes to be true but agrees that others have the right to have their own beliefs, even if from the tolerator's point of view, they are seen as wrong (Glenny, 2021).

Following the dissolution of the old empires, many multi-ethnic and multicultural nation-states were created. These new states are relatively weak economically and militarily, many of them do not have a developed civil society and host populations characterized by a wide variety of ethnic, cultural or religious traditions, all of which are clear premises for potential conflicts. Such a situation is also found in Kosovo, where tensions in the area have always been attributed to the rivalry between Serbs and Croats, the Second World War having a significant role in fueling this rivalry, as it deepened the differences between Serbs and Croats, as between Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo. In Romania, where the need for democratization of society was acute, the option for a way of voting that would allow parliamentary representation of all political options in proportion to the electoral force of each was the optimal solution. In addition, the adoption of a RP-type vote marked, even in this respect, the break with the communist regime, which is a relative majority (pluralistic) type of vote, and Romania's reconnection to the pre-communist democratic traditions (Radu, 2018).

When a word is fashionable, as is the case today with the word "communication", when the activities or events it represents multiply, the meaning tends to widen because of the very interest it enjoys. Thus, with the diversification and massification of communication, politicians, known artists and, in general, any person whose career depends to a lesser or greater extent on the opinion the public makes about it, turn to the services of specialists called communication advisors.

In this case, we must understand through communication the transmission of an image, the transmission that is carried out mainly through the media, that is, the representation we make about a person in question, to be strong and at the same time favorable: otherwise, we will say that the person concerned does not have „public access” that „ails to communicate” (Nicoară, 2002).

In Romania there is no communication culture, professional communicators are journalists, television "stars" and political analysts who do not exceed, in understanding the media phenomenon in general and the TV one in particular, the common level of the model proposed by information theory. For them, as for politicians, television communication means nothing more than „transmitter-receiver-message" and possibly in cases of extreme refinement, „channel" and „code" (Pedler, 2001).

Both the development of the communication capacity and the psychological characteristics of individuals are shaped by the process of socialization; it provides individuals with the cultural heritage, different from one society to another, through which they can

assimilate specific ways of thinking, action and conduct that allow them to integrate harmoniously into the social collective and into the distinct groups.

Socialization deals with how different forms of culture, such as creeds, traditional lifestyles, moral rules of life or different kinds of habits, those which are external to the individual become internal parts of the psychological organization of the individual through a deliberate or unplanned learning process or as a result of the social influences of institutional or non-institutional agents. From another point of view, the influence of the media can be exercised in the short or long term.

4. The individual and institutions and civil rights

The effect of the media differs according to the different levels at which they act: Individual, group, culture, society. The messages transmitted through the media touch only to a small extent individuals taken in isolation, or at least do not cause, except with a few exceptions, considerable upheavals. A viewer who witnesses a confrontation between two politicians on the small screen will not change his intention to vote at the end of this debate unless he belongs to the group of undecideds. But political debates can exert an influence on the behavior of public opinion, not an individual phenomenon, but a collective one, a group one (Noelle-Neumann, 2004: 44).

Mass communication involves professional communicators, specialized in the transmission of messages through different media, as well as a communication control system, as this is done through institutions operating under rules. The most well-known scheme for analyzing mass communication is the one proposed by American researcher Harold D. Lasswell. It starts from the idea that in any communication action one must take into account the five fundamental questions: Who?; what does he say?; on what channel?; to whom? and with what effect? The first question, who?, corresponds to „control analysis and studies on message conditioning”; (Miftode et. al, 2004: 108). The second question consists of the analysis of the content of the communication, the study of the messages and their orientation; the third question concerns the channels of communication; the fourth question is about audience analysis and how to receive the message, and the fifth is about analyzing the effects and effectiveness of the media.

In terms of ethnic Community, it is defined as a group of people living in a given country, or locality, having an ethnic origin, religion, language, and traditions of their own. They, United by characteristics of ethnicity, language and traditions, develop an acute sense of solidarity, in order to preserve their own traditions, maintain the form of worship, ensure the education and upbringing of children, in accordance with the spirit and traditions of their ethnicity (Miftode et.al, 2004:123).

The term minority, as defined by M.J. Deschenes, in a study presented to the Human Rights Commission in 1985, designates “a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, whose members have different ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics from those of the rest of the population and are animated by the will to preserve their culture, traditions, religion or language.” (Rex,1998:106). In explaining the concept of minority, it points out, therefore, that these communities are characterized by the fact that “they have religions different from the host society”, which are often developed as “world religions” (Nicoară, 2002: 67).

The issue of minorities is related to democracy and the implementation of the rule of law, the recognition of the specific rights of different minorities and the guarantee of these rights being a basic criterion of democracy. At a time when the process of democratization in Central Europe was in full swing and the European order agreed in Yalta was falling apart, the issue of national minorities was once again one of the most important aspects of the political reality on the continent. The revival of nationalism after 1989 meant, in the history of mankind, a return of nations as a “revenge of the concrete against the communist ideological abstract” (Kiss, 1993:176)

The implosion of the communist system broke up the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, which regrouped several ethnicities that considered themselves distinct nations. Therefore, after the collapse of communism, the question was posed from the point of view of the significance of the idea of existence as a minority, since the minority also implies a quantitative aspect, the term suggesting a certain degree of inferiority or underestimation. It creates the impression that “in modern history the nation functions as the norm, and nationalities, national and ethnic minorities appear as a kind of deviant phenomena, accidents, anomalies.” However, „there is no need to think too deeply in order to recognize that in our world the minority situation is actually a universal state. We can all be included, each from one point of view or another, in a minority” (O’Sullivan et al. 2001:104).

It creates the impression that „in modern history the nation functions as the norm, and nationalities, national and ethnic minorities appear as a kind of deviant phenomena, accidents, anomalies.” However, “there is no need to think too deeply in order to recognize that in our world the minority situation is actually a universal state. We can all be included, each from one point of view or another, in a minority” (O’Sullivan et al. 2001:106).

Most of the time, communication within such groups develops in the context of the formulation of certain claims and is materialized by the adoption of solidarity positions or by the expression of a common political will. On this basis, Austrian specialist in international law Felix Ermacora pointed out that the difference between ethnic and national minorities consists precisely in the “demand for political participation”, in his opinion the national minority being a group of persons who, beyond the characteristics of ethnic minorities, are not only a group of persons, but also a group of persons who, in addition to the characteristics of ethnic minorities.

It constantly tends to acquire the rights that make it possible to participate, as a group, in the political decision-making process either within a given territory or within the entire country, without being joined by the other ethnicities of that state. (Ermacora, 1995: 32).

At the end of World War I, the principle of nationalities triumphed as a result of the collapse of the great multinational empires in central and eastern Europe and as a result of the Russian revolution, nationalism evolving “as a plural phenomenon, manifested on large cultural spaces, as an expression of specific traditions and mentalities”. In the European space, the reconstruction of the map based on national borders deprived nationalism of its liberating and unifying content. For most nationalities, there were minorities left outside the borders of the national state, as is the case with Hungarians in Romania as well as Slovenes in Austria. In addition, there were some nationalities without States, both in Eastern and Western Europe, for example Macedonians and Catalans. (Hobsbawm, 1997:17).

After World War I, the drawing of new frontiers brought about the emergence of national minorities, communities characterized by a relatively strong national identity and a community consciousness through which they felt closely connected to other countries. (MacMillan, 2015: 56)

Later, in the post-World War II period, significant changes took place globally, but also internally, regarding the issue of minorities, and a series of laws and policies were adopted to reduce or eliminate discrimination of any kind in this field. Even in monoethnic or mono-cultural countries such rules on the cultural autonomy of minorities have been adopted, and in many societies, there can already be talk of legal pluralism aimed at ensuring protection for minority groups. At the same time, the principle of equality before the law is part of any modern constitution, with a focus on civil rights as well as on securing jobs by offering equal opportunities in the field of education and professional qualifications (Miftode et al., 2003:85).

In international law we are witnessing some significant improvements in the rules on minors, the right to political citizenship and freedom before the law being considered insufficient for the real protection of ethnic minorities. The peculiarities of the evolution of inter-ethnic relations, especially between minorities and the majority, greatly influence the way in which minority issues, be they ethnic, linguistic or religious, are addressed and solved.

Consequently, linguistic, cultural and religious rights, the rights of education and instruction in the mother tongue, personal autonomy and local autonomy are gradually guaranteed and ensured. Inter-ethnic tolerance and social justice have seen notable progress in recent decades: „Finland, Ireland and Canada officially recognize linguistic duality; in Spain there are four official languages; cultural and linguistic rights are mutually recognized in Germany and Denmark, targeting those minorities” (Miftode et al., 2003: 67).

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, I can state that the constant involvement of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as well as all the efforts of these two organizations directed towards the solution of the conflict in the area, came against the background of a feeling of concern present in the ranks of the entire international community, concern that took shape with the escalation of conflicts that brought with it the risk of its expansion among other countries as well. The extremely dramatic humanitarian consequences, as well as the attitude of some leaders to ignore diplomatic efforts aimed at a peaceful solution to this crisis, but also the destabilizing role of the Albanian militant forces in Kosovo have fueled this concern more and more, causing a reaction of NATO, the UN and other international bodies.

If in Croatia (1991) and in Bosnia (1992) the crisis reached the form of open armed confrontations, other areas untouched by the war, such as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, or the provinces of Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina in Serbia, present a particularly high conflict potential. This aspect represents the very difficult efforts, the task of any institutional initiative, aimed at ensuring peace in South-Eastern Europe. In the case of Macedonia, for example, „the internal tensions of these years were internationalized by the exaggerated reactions from across the borders”. In the winter of 1992-1993, UN humanitarian aid convoys to Muslim enclaves in Bosnia are blocked by Serbian forces. The UN declares several Bosnian cities „Safe Areas” (The resolution 819 (1993) și 824 (1993) of the UN).

The Vance-Owen peace plan, which proposes the division of Bosnia along ethnic lines, is rejected by the Bosnian Serb Parliament and the Croats, initially allied with the Muslims against the Serbs, begin their own campaign of ethnic cleansing. The beginning of 1995 found the main actors of the Yugoslav drama in a total deadlock, and the reaction of the international community was largely in similar terms.

References:

1. Calvocoressi, P. (2000). *Politica mondială după 1945*. Bucharest, ALL.
2. Carpinschi, A. (2010). Avatarurile politice ale recunoașterii. *Sfera Politicii*. Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (145).
3. Deutsch, K. (1966). *National and Social Communication*, MIT Press.
4. Emacora F. (1995). *Protection of ethnic groups in Europe*, PaperBack.
5. Glenny, M. (2020). *Balkanii. Naționalism, război și Marile Puteri 1804-2012*, Bucharest, Trei.
6. Hofstede G., Hofstede G.-J. & Minkov, M. (2012). *Culturi și Organizații. Softul mental. Cooperarea interculturală și importanța ei pentru supraviețuire*, Bucharest, Humanitas.
7. Hobsbawm, E. J. (1997). *Națiuni și naționalism din 1780 până în prezent. Program, mit, realitate*, Kishinev, Arc.
8. Huntington, S. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, Yale University Press.
9. Kiss, C. G. (1993). *Europa Centrală, națiuni, minorități: Studii, eseuri, articole*, Pesti, Szalon-Kriterion.
10. Joseph S. N. Jr. (2005). *Descifrarea conflictelor internaționale*, Prahova, Antet.
11. MacMillan M. (2015). *Războiul care a pus capăt păcii – Drumul spre 1914*, Bucharest, Trei.
12. Marian, R. *Despre etnicitate și conflicte etnice (I)*. [online] available at: <http://www.cadranpolitic.ro/?p=1017>.

13. Miftode, V., Nacu, D., Cojocaru, Ș. & Sandu, A. (2003). *Dezvoltarea comunităților etno-culturale. Integrare europeană și interculturalitate*, Iasi, Expert Projects.
14. Nicoară S. (2002). *Națiunea modernă. Mituri, simboluri, ideologii*, Cluj-Napoca, Accent.
15. Noelle-Neumann E. (2004). *Spirala tăcerii. Opinia publică-învelișul nostru social*, Bucharest, Comunicare.ro.
16. O’Sullivan T., Hartley J., Saunders D., Montgomery M., Fiske J. (2001). *Concepte fundamentale din științele comunicării și studiile culturale*, Iasi, Polirom .
17. Otovescu, C. (2008). *International Law of Human Rights*, Germany, Greiswald.
18. Otovescu, C. (2013). *Drepturile omului și respectarea acestora în mediul familial și școlar*, Bucharest, Didactică și Pedagogică.
19. Otovescu, C. (2021). *Realități sociale și politici publice în România*, Bucharest, Academiei Române.
20. Pedler, E., (2001). *Sociologia comunicării*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească.
21. Radu, A. (f.a.) *Reforma sistemului electoral din România. Sfera Politicii*. nr.172 [online] available at: <http://www.sferapoliticii.ro/sfera/172/art01-Radu.php>.
22. Rex J. (1998). *Rasă și etnie*. Bucharest, DU Style.
23. Sartori G. (2007). *Ce facem cu străinii*. Bucharest, Humanitas.
24. Salat, L. (2001). *Multiculturalismul liberal*, Iasi, Polirom.
25. Sinescu, C., Trofin, L. (2011). Pluralismul religios și formele sale de expresie într-o societate democratică. *Sfera Politicii*. Vol.XIX, No. 5 (159).