

Research Article

**Democracy In Slovenia:
Slovenia's Entry Into The European Union After
The Disintegration Of Yugoslavia**

*Received: 26th May 2020; Revised: 7th July 2020;
Accepted: 10th July 2020; Available online: 15th July 2020*

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Abstract

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Slovenia made changes in its ideology and political system to become part of the European Union. However, as a newly independent country, Slovenia faces an unfinished successional political transition. Undertaking a democratic system shift will cause Slovenia to face several challenges: accepting and implementing new democratic laws, introducing a liberal economy with free initiative, and achieving national sovereignty as an independent country. Apart from being a newly independent country, Slovenia also has a history of war with Italy when it was under Yugoslavia during the Second World War. These conditions make Slovenia's entry into the European Union problematic. This article aims to understand Slovenia's policy transition process after the disintegration of Yugoslavia and its consideration to join the European Union. This article uses qualitative methods with data and literatures collection from various official documents, books, journals, and online news which discuss integration process and democracy implementation in Slovenia related to its integration to European Union. This article concludes that Slovenia's decision to join the European Union - despite its position as a newly independent country and the history of war with Italy - was due to the belief that a common liberal democratic system could help open relations with fellow democracies. The similarity of this system can be seen from the application of the three pillars of liberal democracy in democratic peace theory. The theory postulates that when the three pillars are applied, liberal countries will not go to war with each other.

Keywords: Slovenia; Democratic Peace Theory; Democratic Institutions; European Union

How to Cite: Hiswi, P. A. (2020). Democracy In Slovenia: Slovenia's Entry Into The European Union After The Disintegration Of Yugoslavia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 19 (1): 92-116 (doi: 10.14710/jis.19.1.2020.92-116), [Online]

Permalink/DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/jis.19.1.2020.92-116>

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INTRODUCTION

Peace is a goal that countries have always wanted to achieve. The history of past wars has inflicted trauma over possible conflicts in the world order. Countries that have experienced conflicts tend to seek stability and peace in their territories. In this case, democracy is often seen as a system that can bring peace to countries both domestically and in relations between countries. Democracy is closely related to the narrative of building a post-conflict peaceful area (Choiruzzad, 2013; Kharisma, 2017). There is a phenomenon of countries experiencing conflict trying to change their system to a democratic system to rebuild peace in their territory. Slovenia is an example of a country experiencing a transition to a democratic system. The country chose to switch to a democratic system after the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia has been part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1918 (Ramet, 1993: 869). The Yugoslavia Federation, which was built as a socialist federation, is increasingly implementing its communist ideology, especially after Josip Broz Tito's appointment as President in 1953 (Allcock, 2017). Slovenian independence efforts began in 1987 when the people of Slovenia openly demand a system of democracy and independence (The Economist, 2003). Years under the socialist rule of Yugoslav communism had undermined Slovenia. The government's policy of distributing subsidies from the more affluent northern republics to the less affluent southern republics had led to corruption (Barker et al., 2017). This situation made the Slovenian leader feel separated and changing the direction of the country's view would be the best solution to escape this negative influence.

However, the Yugoslav political turmoil which affected Slovenia's domestic political conditions led to massive demonstrations. The political turmoil of Yugoslavia was caused by the loss of the influence of the charismatic leadership after the death of Josip Broz Tito. This condition was exacerbated by the ethnic differences and extreme nationalism of the Serbs promoted by Slobodan Milosevic, which made the Yugoslav conflict unavoidable (Hiswi, 2016; ICTY, 2003). The conflict changed the political outlook of Slovenia, which was previously heavily influenced by the communist party. Independent committees were formed for the protection of human rights, and several new alternative political parties emerged (Ramet, 1993: 870). This change marked the birth of a new political system, namely a multi-party system for Slovenia. The Slovenian Democratic Union and other opposition parties have called for the adoption of a new constitution that establishes a Western-style parliamentary system and adopts a liberal political system (Ramet, 1993: 871).

In 1989, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia reorganized the relations of the state within its federation and granted Slovenia special prerogative and autonomy over other federal members. This action was taken because of the demands of the Slovenian communist group to build a multi-party system hence avoiding separation from the federation (Ramet, 1993: 871). However, the main driver for Slovenian secession was the increasing tension between Slovenia and Serbia. In one hand, the Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic, demanded centralization in the Yugoslav political system. On the other hand, Slovenia proposed a reorganization of the federation (Ramet, 1993: 871). There are two different understandings between Slovenia and Serbia regarding the future of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Slovenia wants structural adjustments in the federation while Milosevic wants to transfer the power of the entire federation to Serbia. Milosevic tried to control the entire Yugoslav federation and replace its leaders by creating riots (Ramet, 1993: 871).

Slovenia declared its independence on June 25, 1991. However, Slovenia had to defend its independence through a 10-day war in 1991 by engaging in a military conflict against the Yugoslav People's Army which had been heavily influenced by Slobodan Milosevic (Strkalj, 2016: 18). Slovenia is historically the most prosperous former Yugoslav Republic compared to other former Yugoslavia (European Stability Initiatives, 2009). Since the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation, Slovenia chose to join the western side to the European region. In this regard, Slovenia is also trying to change its country's ideology from being communist to liberal democracy and the transition to Liberal started by the Slovenian communists themselves (European Stability Initiatives, 2009). Its leaders consider changes in the ideology and political system of Slovenia to bring prosperity rather than maintaining the ideology of communism.

After the secession, Slovenia, which is a country with a small area and a population of only about two million people, needs to make adjustments as a newly independent country (Pogačnik, 1991). Separating itself from Yugoslavia meant that Slovenia had to be prepared to lose its market from the Yugoslav federation and the strategic trading position it had during its Yugoslav administration (Pogačnik, 1991). The effort that Slovenia can make to increase its trade is to find new markets, namely by joining the European Union. Slovenia changed its ideology and political system to gain the trust of European Union countries, thus enabling them to cooperate and achieve their economic interests. However, as a newly independent country, Slovenia still has to face the secessionist political transition that has not yet been completed. Undertaking a democratic system transition will cause Slovenia to face three critical challenges: accepting and imple-

menting new democratic laws, introducing a liberal economy with free initiative, and achieving national sovereignty as an independent country (Hacek et al., 2013: 14).

In order to join the European Union, a country must meet the Copenhagen criteria of institutional stability that guarantees democracy, human rights, respect and protection of minorities, and a functioning market economy (Eur-Lex, n.d. ; Festić & Bekó, 2006). Slovenia must meet the requirements of the Copenhagen Criteria to join the European Union. For this reason, before the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Slovenia had already started implementing a political and economic program to renew relations with Europe. Slovenia seeks to implement a stable democratic political system; characterized by regular elections, multi-party, a free press, and respects for human rights (Ramet, 1993).

Slovenia also has to face past conflicts in which Italy and Yugoslavia fought for territorial power in Slovenia during the Second World War (Premik, 2000: 15-17). Yugoslavia is fighting over a port area called Trieste, which is located between the Adriatic Sea and Slovenia in north-east Italy. The conflict is marked by both countries deploying their military forces (Troha, 2016). The Yugoslav government made claims over the area, giving Slovenia access to the sea, thus allowing trade in the Yugoslav federation. The region was also occupied by a large population of Slovenian people (Troha, 2016). With a history of conflicts, joining the European Union would be difficult for Slovenia. Therefore, Slovenia tries to show a successful transition to a form of democracy and has changed its socioeconomic life into a liberal market economy (Bukowski, 1999: 72). These actions are intended to show that Slovenia has the same democratic political system with the European Union, thus avoiding conflict between Slovenia and other European Union countries.

Slovenia chose to join the European Union regardless of its status as a newly independent country due to the belief that a common liberal democratic system can help open relations with fellow democracies. Successful democratization makes economic recovery possible. The formerly communist Slovenian officials directed the country to economic recovery. They tried to make progress in proving that stable market economic development was possible, hence convincing the European Union that Slovenia has a functioning economy.

Meeting the Copenhagen criteria is a key condition for becoming part of the European Union. In this case, Slovenia's status as a newly independent country does not allow it to join the European Union. The loss of market after separating from Yugoslavia also worsen the economic condition of Slovenia. Moreover, Slovenia has a history of war with Italy when it was under Yu-

goslavia during the Second World War. These conditions made Slovenia's inclination to enter the European Union to be problematic.

Several previous studies (state of the art) have been conducted to discuss Slovenia's entry into the European Union. In general, the discussion of previous studies was based on the two categories of perspective, i.e., the economic perspective in the integration process, and the institutional perspective. Researchers with an economic point of view used trade liberalization theory (Cho & Díaz, 2020; Festić & Bekő, 2006; Kehoe & Kehoe, 1995; Kehoe, 2003; Lavrač & Majcen, 2006; Stanojević & Broder, 2012) and the concept of international economic cooperation (Strašek, 1994). The previous studies were discussing the integration process of Slovenia through economic approach, stating that Slovenia seeks to increase its profits in the economic sector by joining the European Union, while at the same time, struggling to transform economic policies to adapt and meet the European Community standards (Cho & Díaz, 2020; Festić & Bekő, 2006; Lavrač & Majcen, 2006; Stanojević & Broder, 2012; Strašek, 1994).

The second category of study is the institutional perspective, which generally using mainstream theory such as the concept of integration (Klemenčič & Genorio, 1993; Križanić, 1998; Lambroni, 2020), regionalism (Brinar & Svetlicic, 1999; Toshkov, 2017), and democracy (Buess, 2015). The second category of study consists of two main topics, namely the process of integration of Slovenia into a regional institution and the impact of membership expansion. The study that discusses the process of integration of Slovenia into a regional institution focuses on Slovenia as a small country struggling to deal with the aftermath of the Second World War: a new member country that is successful in the integration process with the European Union (Klemenčič & Genorio, 1993; Križanić, 1998; Lambroni, 2020). Slovenia has a good economic, political and social record, and thus become a model for other central-eastern European countries (Križanić, 1998; Lambroni, 2020). The final category of study discusses the impact of membership expansion, focusing on Slovenia's entry and expanding membership that can add a new dimension of contestation in EU legislative decision-making, responsibility in the democratic aspect, and changing the future direction of the institution (Brinar & Svetlicic, 1999; Buess, 2015; Toshkov, 2017).

The three previous studies have shown that in the Slovenian integration process, there are various aspects that are affected, especially in economic policy as well as domestic and regional conditions. However, a gap analysis was found in the previous studies; the studies have not thoroughly explained the process of Slovenia's entry into the European Union and the various policy transitions to meet European Union standards. The novelty of this research is the use of three pil-

lars of democracy to understand the transition process of Slovenia's policy after the disintegration of Yugoslavia and its consideration of joining the European Union. Based on the explanation above, the problem formulated by the author is "Why did Slovenia choose to join the European Union after the disintegration of Yugoslavia?"

This article seeks to analyze Slovenia's decision to join the European Union after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. As a newly independent country, Slovenia has various problems in transitioning its government from the old communist system and ideology to liberal democracy. Despite this problem, Slovenia chose to join the European Union, which requires the applying countries to have a democratic system, respect for human rights, and a functioning economy. The author realizes that the understanding of the similarities between the liberal democratic system and the European Union made Slovenia chose to join the EU. For this reason, the author seeks to delve deeper into this case. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Slovenia made efforts to become a member of the European Union, thus changing its political system to be a liberal democracy. However, as a newly independent country, Slovenia still has to deal with its past, the governmental, political transition, and economic problems: a legacy from the Yugoslav federation era until becoming an independent country.

The primary approach used in this research is the democratic peace theory. Democratic peace theory postulates that there would be no war between democracies. A country with a democratic system will not go to war with fellow democracies (Doyle, 2005: 463). The understanding of the absence of war between democratic countries initially emerged from Immanuel Kant's writing, i.e., perpetual peace. However, in the early 1980s, Michael Doyle wrote a paper that became the first contemporary articulation of democratic peace. According to Doyle, democratic liberal countries have succeeded in maintaining peace between them, and will only wage war against non-liberal countries or non-democratic regimes (Doyle, 2005: 463).

Liberalism, which gave birth to the democratic peace, views that the democratic countries can accommodate the interests of their people because democracy guarantees rights, competitive elections, and freedom of speech that can provide an evaluation during the policy-making process (Doyle, 1983b: 99). There are institutional constraints in state institutions with a democratic system that prevent them from fighting each other (Choiruzzad, 2013; Doyle, 1983). Liberals believe that institutional constraints cause a head of state who does not even adhere to a liberal understanding, will still act like a liberal and avoid unpopular policy choices such as war to remain elected by his people during the next general election (Doyle, 1983b: 101). On the other hand, the liberal framework is considered a reference for rebuilding post-conflict societies by implementing

political and economic liberalization, a democratic system of government, and market-oriented economic growth (Kharisma, 2017; Paris, 2010). Security and stability in post-conflict countries can be achieved by applying a liberal framework in the system.

In order to understand Slovenia's decision to join the European Union, it is necessary to consider at the application of democratic values so that Slovenia can be seen to have a similar system with the European Union. According to democratic peace theory, countries tend to have peaceful relationships, not waging war with each other, and cooperate with fellow democratic systems. Therefore, an analysis of the application of democratic liberal values needs to be performed. Moreover, evaluating the extent to which Slovenia can be classified as a democracy and democratic standards in the European Union are needed. In this way, a common system can be pursued and in turn, make Slovenia succeed in achieving its interests by becoming a democracy.

The democratic peace theory postulates that for a country to be classified as a democracy, it needs to have several liberal democratic values such as a combination of republican representation, an ideological commitment to fundamental human rights, and transnational interdependence. The three of which are the three pillars of explaining democratic liberal peace (Doyle, 2005: 463). The republican representation form of democratic government tends to create a responsible relationship between the state and voters (Doyle, 2005: 464). This system ensures to prevent monarchs or dictators from turning their aggressive interests into public policy. A representative government allows for a change of government elites. By doing so, voters can push for changes in unpopular policies by turning off a party that abuses its power (Doyle, 2005: 464). The legislature and public opinion can hold executives from choosing policies that violate the interests of society.

Second, the adoption of liberal principles generates respect from international parties, where there are norms that involve respect for the legitimate rights of all individuals (Doyle, 2005: 464). Domestically, this helps ensure that countries' leaders act according to principles they see as fair and following the interests of the voters they represent. Internationally, free speech and effective communication regarding the political life of foreigners is essential to building and maintaining an understanding that will ensure trust (Doyle, 1986: 1161).

Third, the widespread trade spirit led the country to promote peace and prevent war. The state will only trade with parties governed by legal regulations that respect property rights and which enforce legal exchanges (Doyle, 2005: 465). This condition can occur if the country has a democratic system that respects all forms of rights. Liberal democratic peace will only exist when these three conditions are met.

Democratic peace theory also explains three sets of rights form the foundation of liberalism. First, liberalism demands freedom from arbitrary authority, which is often called negative freedom, which includes freedom of conscience, free press and freedom of speech, equality before the law, and rights of ownership without fear of arbitrary expropriation. Second, liberalism also calls for the rights necessary to protect and promote capacities and opportunities for freedom, i.e. positive freedoms where there are social and economic rights such as equal opportunity in education and the right to healthcare and work, which are necessary for effective self-expression and participation. The third right is democratic participation or representation. This right is necessary to ensure the other two; ensuring that morally autonomous individuals remain free and that public laws represent the will of the citizens (Doyle, 1983a: 207).

The application of democratic principles will demonstrate that a proper application of democracy will provide peaceful conditions for the country and prevent the state from going to war with other democracies. Communities who share liberal values will generate trust, leading to cooperation with fellow democracies which they believe have the same ultimate goal: peace.

From the theoretical explanation above, the application of the three pillars of democracy that can prevent war, namely Republican Representation, Fundamental Human Rights Commitment, and Transnational Interdependence shall be analyzed. Peace will only be created if a democracy applies the three pillars. According to Doyle, a country that will not go to war with fellow democracies is a country that has implemented the pillars of democracy as a whole (Doyle, 2005: 463). One pillar alone, however, does not ensure peace to exist. These three pillars must be applied holistically, to make a country democratic so that the democratic peace theory can be realized.

RESEARCH METHODS

This article uses qualitative methods with data and literatures collection from various official documents, books, journals, and online news which discuss integration process and democracy implementation in Slovenia related to its integration to European Union . The analysis is carried out based on the application of democracy by Slovenia which is linked to the principles of a democratic state, the theory of democratic peace, and the similarity of the democratic system used by the European Union. The author collected data from the disintegration of Slovenia from Yugoslavia to the initial process of integration into the European Union. After the data has been collected, the writer will conduct triangulation testing to ensure the accuracy of the data. Triangulation is done by checking the validity and reliability of the data through a comparison of data

sources obtained from books, journals, online, or articles that correspond with the research question.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Existence of Republican Representation in the Government of Slovenia and the European Union

In the discussion section, the application of the three pillars of liberal democracy carried out by Slovenia, and its comparison with that of the European Union will be analyzed. This section will measure the extent to which Slovenia applies Doyle's three pillars of democracy. Doyle stated that peace would only be realized when the three pillars are successfully implemented. The author will analyze each of Slovenia's actions in its efforts to implement democracy and its compatibility with the three pillars of democracy from democratic peace theory. In this way, it will be known whether Slovenia has a common system with the European Union and therefore avoids Slovenia from war with EU countries, thereby allowing it to join the European Union.

A country with a republican representation system will ensure the leaders to act according to the principles they declare to the public and adhering the interests of those who have elected them. The existence of general election is insufficient to make a country democratic; a country with an authoritarian government, for example, can run elections as a pretext for their authoritarian rule (Antić & Vlahovec, 2013: 60).

The republican representation referred to by Doyle is a form of government in which decisions are made through a structural system mechanism. It is the result of compromises with many parties in government that can limit the head of government from taking policies or actions that lead to war. A representative government allows for a change of government elites through general elections, thus enabling the implementation of different policies that will benefit the country more. In addition, the representation of the republic guarantees the commitment of decision-makers to democracy. In this regard, hasty and risky actions by decision-makers will result in defeat in the next general election.

Since the early 1980s, the Slovenian government has started to direct its government towards the application of liberal democratic values. Slovenia's first democratic general election was held in 1990 with the participation of 40 political parties (Ramet, 1993: 872). Slovenia benefited because the communist party of the country wanted a change in the political system and ap-

proved the practice of multi-party system in the Republic of Slovenia (Ramet, 1993: 871). This practice facilitates the process of changing the country towards democracy.

The first general election was won by Milan Kucan, who was previously the leader of the Slovenian communist party (Ramet, 1993: 871). The parties changed their political direction in favour of democracy and turned into democratic reform parties. The Slovenian communist party even changed its name to party for democratic reform (Ramet, 1993: 871). These transformations show that Slovenia seeks to implement republican representation by ensuring representative presence and fair elections to fully implement the pillars of democracy.

Slovenia seeks to implement the pillars of democracy to gain support from the European side for its efforts to secede from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Although the first democratic elections were held, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia still did not recognize Slovenian independence. The Slovenian government set a deadline of 26 June 1991 to end the confederation agreement with the other republics (Ramet, 1993: 871). However, there was a gunfight with the Yugoslav People's Army under the influence of Slobodan Milosevic, who wanted the federation to concentrate power on Serbia. Through a 10-day war, Slovenia finally managed to maintain its independence.

The Slovenian leadership aspires to remake the entire system. The new authority, therefore, was in charge of shaping the rules according to an independent democracy. A transitional phase can occur when free and fair elections have been agreed, and the newly elected government can implement new policies and regulations. The newly elected government must be able to govern without having to share power with other institutions so that the consolidation of democracy can begin.

In order to implement the pillars of democracy as a whole, it is necessary to start a consolidation process in which the political community must be involved. As the embodiment of the republic's representation, the involvement of a democratic political society is essential to ensure that all the interests of citizens are represented by the government. Society upholds democratic values by being involved in political parties, elections, election regulations, political leadership, inter-party, and legislative alliances. The public then participates politically by selecting and monitoring democratic governance. The people of Slovenia have become involved in politics where they actively support the government to change course towards a democratic system that better channels the interests of its people. Moreover, members of the communist party also agreed to conduct democratic multi-party elections and support changes in the political system.

Not only has it implemented the pillars of democracy by the representation of the republic, but Slovenia has also demonstrated the similarity of a democratic political system with the European Union. The European Union, which is a regional organization that highly upholds democratic values, has its republican representation. European Union countries such as Italy, where it has been a republic since 1948, have run democratic elections with a multi-party system that shows the application of republican representation (Fabbrini, 2009: 30). Italy has implemented the proportional nature of the electoral system, the distribution of power within the parliamentary system, and the limited ability of government decision-making, creating institutional conditions for the application of democracy, following consensual logic (the result of most consensus decisions) (Fabbrini, 2009: 35). Every government decision is the result of a prolonged mediation and negotiation process between ministers, deputy ministers, parliamentary leaders, interest groups, and institutional leaders.

Furthermore, not only all member states of the European Union required to have an exemplary democracy implementation, as a regional institution, European Union also strongly implements democracy in accordance with the pillars of liberal democracy. In the European Union structure, each individual is represented by the political party they choose (Dalton, 2017: 189). Member states are represented on the Council of Europe by their Head of State or Government. The council and government are accountable democratically to their national Parliament or its citizens (Thomassen, 2016: 545).

Political parties at the EU level contribute to shape the European political consciousness and to represent the interests of EU citizens. There are two forms of political representation in the European Union, the intergovernmental democratic representation system in the European Union that operates through a national political representation system, and a supranational democratic representation system that operates through the European Parliament where citizens are represented directly at the European Union level (Thomassen, 2016: 545). The European Union is a supranational institution whose entire strategic policy-making process is primarily determined based on the consideration of the decisions of the heads of state who are members of the European Council (Sucitawathi, 2018). The existence of such personal representation influences citizens' choice and support for the party or government. Their interests are therefore well represented in the EU electoral process..

Decision-making is carried out through a structural system mechanism so that decisions taken by the government are representative of the community. This mechanism will also prevent the past conflict between Slovenia and Italy from recurring since the two liberal countries have

the same system and therefore will not go to war. Democracy assures that the governments of the two countries will not take decisions that lead to war since the government's decisions represent the rational interests of their people who seek for peace. The similarity of the democratic system implemented by Slovenia and Italy will finally eliminate Italy's fear of the possibility of a past conflict over the Trieste region when Slovenia was under Yugoslavia. Democracy allows the Slovenian government to choose decisions that do not lead to conflict with fellow democracies.

The fulfilment of this component will also be a consideration for Slovenia to gain the trust of the European side. In order to join the European Union, a country must meet the Copenhagen criteria of institutional stability that guarantees democracy, order, human rights, respect and protection of minorities, and a functioning market economy (Eur-Lex, n.d.). Furthermore, since 1998, the Council of Europe has had a special policy over the territory of the former Yugoslavia by considering the expansion of EU membership (Sucitawathi, 2018). This policy supports the integration of Slovenia into the European Union. Since its inception, Slovenia has directed itself to adopt western democratic values. Slovenia also seeks to improve its economy by embracing the European market. Therefore, the application of democratic values is significantly necessary. Slovenia has successfully committed to carrying out the pillars of democracy, namely the representation of the republic in its government, which shows that there is a similarity in the system with European Union countries so that it allows Slovenia to join the European Union.

Compared with the results of previous studies on similar topics, Slovenia as a whole has the support of its local government to implement republican representation by making decisions through a structural system mechanism. The Czech Republic was only able to hold general elections after going through several phases of rejection of the transition of the government system (Baun & Marek, 2010; Meka, 2016). Referring to the results of previous studies, Poland also experienced various upheavals until finally, it was able to start efforts to transition the system to a republican representation (Meka, 2016; Szczerbiak, 2004). The requirements for the existence of a representation of this republic are also fulfilled by other countries trying to join the European Union (Börzel & Schimmelfennig, 2017: 287; Petersheim, 2017: 77-78). The Czech Republic and Poland had strong opposition movements during the communist period and were eventually able to develop a strong and competitive political system. This system is directly related to the opposition movement during the transition period that leads to the creation of republican representation (Meka, 2016: 180).

Previous studies show that the existence of political competition can contribute to the development of a liberal regime, whereas the absence of strong competition contributes to an illib-

eral regime (Börzel & Schimmelfennig, 2017; Meka, 2016; Petersheim, 2017). These findings are in line with the results of the study which show that political turmoil in Slovenia is a form of opposition competition that helps the process of developing a democratic regime. However, in the case of Slovenia, the difference was the transition to the government system, which was directly supported and carried out by the communist party.

The Application of Fundamental Human Rights Commitments in Slovenia and the European Union

A country with a republican representation system will ensure an understanding of the legitimate rights of all citizens in policymaking. This is related to the second pillar of democracy that must be fulfilled, namely the existence of an ideological commitment to fundamental human rights. According to Doyle, to prevent a country from going to war, a country must be committed to respecting all forms of fundamental human rights. Moreover, Doyle also stated that liberalism specifies three sets of rights that must be fulfilled, namely negative freedom, positive freedom, and democratic participation or representation (Doyle, 1983b: 207). All three are necessary to ensure that people could exercise their freedom and rights.

Responsible government, checks and balances, the rule of law and freedom of speech are mostly implemented in the government in Slovenia because the government has implemented the pillars of democracy, namely the republic representation. Therefore, in practice, Slovenia has guaranteed its citizens to obtain negative freedom, positive freedom, and the participation of democratic representatives, which is reflected in their success in holding general elections. The Slovenian general election shows that the government has guaranteed freedom of the press from negative freedom. Slovenian society is free to argue in the media and expressing a desire for complete independence from Yugoslavia and communism (Ramet, 1993: 870–871).

Slovenian society is free to argue in the media and expressing their desire for complete independence from Yugoslavia and communism. The assurance of media and press freedom is a major contribution to the success of consolidating democracy quickly. That is also what causes Slovenia to be among the countries that are considered the least politically corrupt (Strkalj, 2016: 21). Press freedom will make it easier for people to voice their political opinions. That way, the supervision of the ruling government based on their choice will be more secure. Government leaders will be more careful in determining policies because the people guard the running of the government. If a bad policy is chosen, there is a possibility of losing supporters for the next general election.

In addition, the success of Slovenia's general election also shows that its government can guarantee the equality of its citizens and without discrimination. The Slovenian government gives various political parties the freedom to participate in the general election, making it a multi-party election. Through the general election, for the first time, the figure who declared himself wanted to change the country towards democracy, namely Milan Kucan won. This condition shows that there has been a change of power from previously the ever-ruling communist party, to a democratic party (Strkalj, 2016: 21). This transformation shows that the Slovenian government has guaranteed positive freedom where the citizens can make decisions for their communities. The positive form of freedom can be manifested in various variations, such as through social welfare which liberalists believe can strengthen the state (Duffield, 2010; Kharisma, 2017: 8). The guarantee for Slovenians to make decisions for themselves to achieve social welfare is a manifestation of positive freedom. Thus, it shows that Slovenia has succeeded in guaranteeing the three sets of rights in liberalism.

In terms of respect for fundamental human rights, Slovenia has a known reputation for protecting human rights (Rizman, 2000: 128). Since the early 1990s, Slovenia began to direct the country towards liberal values by establishing an Independent Committee for the Protection of Human Rights to ensure the protection of fundamental rights in the country (Daskalovski, 2007: 8). The Slovenian government supports the establishment of this institution because the previous political system did not allow the realization of the people's fundamental.

Based on the State report on Human Rights Practices, Slovenia has no reports that the government or any of its government agencies committed arbitrary acts or unlawful killings. The Slovenian constitution and law also prohibits torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment as punishment in the country (Italy Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2010). The Slovenian Constitution provides for an independent human rights ombudsman to monitor human rights violations, especially when committed by persons holding public office (Italy Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2010). These practices demonstrate Slovenia's commitment to upholding the fundamental rights of its citizens in line with the pillars of democracy. The life of civil society cannot run without legal rules that guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens.

These practices are in line with the application of respect for human rights in European Union countries with the principles of freedom, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the rule of law (Marktler, 2008: 348). The European Union also has a special council which deals with issues directly related to the protection of fundamental rights in the European Union. The Council is the Working Party on Fundamental Rights, Citizens' Rights, and the Free

Movements of Persons (FREMP) which functions to implement the European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Union's accession to the European Convention on Human Rights (Council of the European Union, 2017). Not only the European Union as a regional organization respects fundamental human rights, but EU member states must also respect fundamental human rights. European Union member states such as Italy or its bodies have never been involved in committing politically motivated killings (Italy Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2010).

In addition, the constitutions of the European Union member states ensure freedom of speech and the press and respect these rights in practice (Italy Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2010). An independent press, an effective judiciary, and a democratic political system will ensure freedom of speech and the press in the life the people. Thus, the implementation of respect for the fundamental rights in the European Union fulfils the three basic rights described by Doyle, namely negative freedom, positive freedom, and republican representation. The fulfilment of negative freedom in European Union countries is manifested in the existence of media and press freedom, while positive freedom is materialized in the people's decision-making which is carried out through participation in the EU parliamentary elections. This practice shows that the European Union has a democratic representation that will ensure that its decisions are made based on the interests of the people they represent.

Slovenia is committed to guarantee the fundamental human rights value. It is reflected in its historical record on human rights and its implementation during the integration to the European Union which is similar to the other member states of the European Union. Referring to the results of previous studies on a similar topic, promoting the enforcement of fundamental human rights is part of the application of democratic values that must be carried out by both member states and prospective members of the European Union (Börzel & Schimmelfennig, 2017; Petersheim, 2017). The Czech Republic and Poland also enforce their commitment to fundamental human rights in their efforts to integrate with the European Union (Meka, 2016; Vachudova, 2005). The Czech Republic and Poland gradually transitioned their systems of government before joining the European Union. The Czech Republic has managed to manage the transition from a totalitarian state to democracy by promoting human rights (Baun & Marek, 2010; Sedivy, 2003). Previous studies and this study show that countries that choose to join the European Union have committed to upholding fundamental human rights or are in the process of promoting human rights throughout their transition. A state that respects human rights will ensure that all its citizens get the same rights so that no one is harmed, unlike other political systems that tend to be against their citizens.

This commitment shows that Slovenia and the European Union have something in common in upholding the pillars of commitment to fundamental human rights of democracy. In addition, Slovenia shows its efforts to carry out a complete democracy so that it will prevent fellow democracies from fighting.

Transnational Interdependence in the Slovenian Economy with the European Union

The third pillar in a democracy is the existence of transnational interdependence. The existence of a widespread trade spirit encourage countries to promote peace and prevent war. In democratic peace theory, it is explained that countries will tend to cooperate with fellow democratic countries. They understand that the government of a democratic country has clear and trustworthy rules of law so that cooperation with a democratic country will provide mutual benefits. States will only conduct trade with parties governed by laws that respect property rights and which provide for lawful exchange.

In the economic field, Slovenia was a strong state when it was under the control of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Under the federation, Slovenia had to share their prosperity with the Southern part as part of Yugoslavia's territorial equalization policy (Zajc, 2000: 128). Based on economic records, Slovenia is relatively the best state among the other Yugoslav states. This position is reflected in a controlled budget, stable currency, and a growing economy for ten years. In 1989, for example, the gross domestic product per capita was US\$ 11,510; after the 1990s, it had increased to US\$ 13,283 (Nations Encyclopedia, 2001). Since its inception, Slovenia is already an economically strong country. These achievements made the consideration of secession and independence for Slovenia as a country more profitable than continuing to be under the influence of communist Yugoslavia.

However, the choice of secession also had consequences in which Slovenia lost the market from the Yugoslav countries (Pogačnik, 1991). To get a new market, Slovenia chose to get closer to Europe, which meant that Slovenia had to change its ideology and political system (Daskalovski, 2007: 13-14). Changing the ideology and political system from communist to liberal democracy could facilitate relations with Europe, thus providing economic incentives and helping Slovenia achieve its interests.

Through the Copenhagen Criteria, the European Union obliges prospective member countries to have a well-functioning market economy, liberalized trade, and the existence of a clear legal system including those regulating property rights (Marktler, 2008: 353; Putranti, 2017). The financial sector must be well developed, and there are no significant barriers to market entry which will increase economic efficiency. Since the beginning of independence, Slovenia has tried

to build a free market according to liberal principles. Even before its independence, Slovenia was always one of the states with a high economic level, thereby encouraged Slovenia to join the European Union.

Slovenia has a relatively liberal trade regime. More than three-quarters of trade occurs under free trade agreements. The average tariff rate for industrial products was set at 10.7% in 1996. However, as a result of bilateral trade agreements, the effective protection level was much lower and was around 4-5% in 1998 (European Stability Initiative, 1999). Since mid-1998, the macroeconomic situation in Slovenia has continued to be favourable, economic growth has slowed slightly, but inflation has eased, and export performance has continued to strengthen (European Stability Initiative, 1999). The European Union is Slovenia's main trading partner. In 1998, 65.5% of Slovenia's exports to the European Union and 69.4% of its imports came from the European Union (European Parliament, 2000). Slovenia's main trading partners in the European Union are Germany, Italy and France. Slovenia's main exports are machinery, electrical equipment, and equipment for various modes of transportation. The advantage of the European Union by accepting Slovenia is the potential contribution to European foreign policy regarding the Mediterranean (Government Office for European Affairs, 2004: 3-4). Here, Slovenia has a big advantage because it is very familiar with the conditions in the region, which is beneficial for the European partners. For Slovenia, joining the European Union will increase its growth potential through economic development and the potential to expand its market to EU countries.

Choosing to join the European Union will oblige Slovenia to reduce trade relations with the former Yugoslavia and increase trade with EU countries. Historically, Slovenia is a prosperous industrial state that has the ability to develop. Therefore, Slovenia considers joining the European Union and acquiring new markets through the European Union will help restore its economic strength. Reciprocally, it will also benefit the European Union. Thus, Slovenia applies the same economy like the European Union through the mechanism of a liberal market economy. The adoption of this economic system also demonstrates the transnational interdependence between Slovenia and the European Union in trade relations. Therefore, Slovenia is considered to have a well-functioning market and is considered to meet the Copenhagen Criteria.

The existence of transnational interdependent economic relations applied by Slovenia is a manifestation of exercising the democratic system as a whole. The policy of joining the European Union is a manifestation of Slovenia's belief that changing the system into a democracy would lead to a better future (Adam, 2002: 144). It is believed that the adoption of the same democracy and in the spirit of commerce will create a relatively peaceful relation. The results of this study

are consistent with previous studies which also discussed policies to join the European Union and efforts to consolidate the democratic system in the European Union. Several previous studies have shown that countries that choose to join the European Union go through the process of transitioning the liberal economic mechanism as a form of their belief in the democratic system. Referring to previous studies with similar topics, the implementation of liberal economic mechanisms is not always fully achievable by countries experiencing a process of transitioning the government system (Baun & Marek, 2010; Brinar & Svetlicic, 1999: 810; Meka, 2016; Petersheim, 2017: 77; Varbanova, 2007: 49). The Czech Republic, for example, is experiencing a difficult time in the process of implementing economic aspects in its democratic system (Baun & Marek, 2010; Meka, 2016). Difficulties in transitioning the system of government have not only occurred in countries that are seeking to join the European Union such as the Czech Republic and Slovenia but have also experienced countries that have become members such as Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. The Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia have struggled to reshape and reform their policy systems with limited state budgets to produce policies that enhance their economic development (Börzel & Sedelmeier, 2017: 203; Börzel & Schimmelfennig, 2017: 283; Varbanova, 2007: 49-56).

Furthermore, Slovenia has succeeded in implementing the same liberal market economy mechanism as the European Union despite all the challenges it faces (Brinar & Svetlicic, 1999: 811). The majority of EU politicians and economists welcomed the efforts to integrate Slovenia as a new member. Its entry was considered to be able to increase cooperation and remove the impression of EU exclusivity (Erjavec, 2008: 41). Slovenia shows that there are similarities in the application of the economic system and the benefits that the European Union gets if it accepts Slovenia thereby establishing transnational interdependence. Thus, the interdependence between Slovenia and countries in the European Union has created the third pillar of democracy, namely transnational interdependence. Transnational interdependence and the spirit of commerce have prevented fellow democracies from going to war.

CONCLUSION

Slovenia chose to join the European Union after the disintegration of Yugoslavia because it has the same liberal democratic system that can prevent war with fellow democracies, i.e. the European Union countries. The similarity of the system also encourage European Union to cooperate and trust Slovenia, and therefore accept it as a member of the EU. The similarity of this system can be seen from the application of the three pillars of liberal democracy in democratic peace theory which postulates that when the three pillars are applied, fellow liberal countries will not go to war with each other.

Slovenia has implemented republican representation in the form of realizing fair elections where the leaders of its formerly communist country are willing to apply the principle of multi-party democracy to carry out fair and democratic elections as in the context of republican representation which is also applied in European Union countries. The government of Slovenia also committed to upholding fundamental human rights which ensure the fundamental rights and the freedom of its people, parallel with the one applied by the European Union member states. Furthermore, to realize a complete democracy, Slovenia has interdependent transnational economic relations as implemented by the European Union, which is shown by the spirit of economic cooperation with the guarantee of a democratic system where clear legal rules and peaceful domestic conditions are present. These three pillars can show the similarity of the political system and explain why Slovenia chose to join the European Union.

Doyle's democratic peace theory does have many controversies. Nevertheless, this theory could explain why Slovenia chose to join the European Union despite the obstacles it faced, including Italy's fear of past wars that once occurred. This is because a democratic political system allows countries to make decisions that avoid war. Thus, the use of the democratic peace theory helps understand a country's decision, specifically in the case of Slovenia's entry into the European Union.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my lecturer and colleagues in the Department of International Relations, Universitas Indonesia for giving me critical reviews on the earlier draft of this article. I would also like to express my gratitude to the reviewers and Journal of social and political studies' editors for the helpful comments and guidance.

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