Iryna Butyrskaja

Development of sovereign Slovenia as a social state

the author argues that successful stability in modern Slovenia was facilitated by a number of factors, which were being formed, when it was a part of the Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – highly developed industry and living standards, ethnically homogeneous population, sophisticated traditions of corporatism etc. Quite significant connector for Slovenia became the process of joining the EU. Euro-integration facilitated modernization of social, cultural and economic spheres. Global financial-economic crisis revealed all problems in the state's economy and the government had to start gradual reduction of a large number of social benefits for population. Current government wishing to regain the trust of population is trying to change the situation for the better, what is indicative of political stability. Owing to the EU assistance the country recovered the GDP, index of economic activity. Thus, it will considerably influence further development of Slovenia as a social state.

Keywords: Slovenia, social state, EU, Euro-integration.

РОЗБУДОВА НЕЗАЛЕЖНОЇ СЛОВЕНІЇ ЯК СОЦІАЛЬНОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ

Автор доводить, що успіху стабільності незалежної Словенії сприяв ряд факторів, які сформувалися, коли вона входила до СФРЮ – високий розвиток промисловості та рівня життя, майже однорідне в етнічному плані населення, розвинені традиції корпоративізму тощо. Потужним об'єднувачем для Словенії став процес приєднання до ЄС. Євроінтеграція сприяла модернізації соціальної, культурної й економічної сфер. Глобальна фінансово-економічна криза виявила негаразди в економіці держави й уряд був змушений поступово скорочувати значну частину соціальних пільг для населення. Чинний уряд прагне повернути довіру людей, виправляє ситуацію, що вказує на ріст політичної стабільності. Завдяки допомозі ЄС відновили ВВП, показники економічного розвитку. Тож це суттєво впливатиме на подальший розвиток Словенії як соціальної держави.

Ключові слова: Словенія, соціальна держава, ЄС, євроінтеграція.

Cooperation between the EU and the states of the Balkan Peninsula has a long and varied culture, which first of all is predetermined by their geographical neighboring. After the collapse of Yugoslavia the countries of the region started a new stage of their relations with the EU. The influence of the society was expressed not only in strengthening of trade and economic ties,

but also in policy of integration towards the southern-east. Since 1990 this direction of the EU policy has been intensifying. The states of former Yugoslavia are main recipients of regulations, rules and vales, elaborated by the EU, which quickly carried out transformation (shifted to the market economy and democratization of the political systems), having conducted all reforms necessary for membership in the EU¹. Nowadays, their foreign policy is aimed at the EU membership, while relations are characterized by active cooperation, extension of the European integration process.

Slovenia² and Croatia³ have already become the EU members. And among the candidates are Albania, Serbia, Montenegro and former Yugoslavia republic Macedonia⁴. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo are also striving to become the EU members. For them, participation in the Euro-integration processes, first of all means modernization and democratization of political and economic institutes, civil society, development in the sphere of social policy. They also wish to have European future. For the EU Euro-integration and association of the Balkan states is provision of stability and security at the external boundaries, possibility to strengthen its positions at the international arena, due to well-considered policy and extension of its influence.

In the course of 1991-2000 in Slovenia were conducted numerous reforms in political, economic and social spheres. Most of these changes are closely connected with a many-sided process of "descending" Europeanization, which predetermined for authorities the boundaries of necessary reforms and became their main catalyzer. The process of Europeanization in Slovenia took place in the context of integration, which the EU wanted to unify for the Balkan countries, in particular, applying the policy of conventions, similar mechanisms and instruments (European Union Association Agreement with Slovenia "Stabilization and Association Process with Croatia and Serbia"⁵; financial assistance for introducing changes), influence of regulations, principles and practicalities. However, Slovenia had its own specificity, determined by objective and subjective internal and external factors.

Slovenia was successfully approaching the EU, establishing new institutions and conducting social reforms. The peculiarity of the country was that certain transformations were carried out in the atmosphere of high social consent, without "civil servant screening" and categorical objection of previous economic and social achievements. A top priority direction for the country's development was maintenance of social security system, i.e. development of sovereign Slovenia

Yevropeiskii Soiuz v 21 veke: vremia ispytanii / Ed. by O. Yu. Potemkina (publ.edit.), N. Yu. Kaveshnikova, N. B. Kondratieva. – Moscow: Ves Mir, 2012. P.74.

² Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Slovenia, of the other part. Luxembourg: 10.06.1996. Entry into force 01.02.1999. URL: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ en/documents-publications/agreement/?aid=1995071 (accessed date: 02.10.2013).

³ Ispolnilsia god, kak Khorvatiia vstupila v Yevropeiskii Soiuz. URL: https://ria.ru/world/20140701/ 1014274031.html (accessed date: 01.07.2014).

⁴ Politico / Ulazak u EU: Albanija 2025, Srbija i Crna Gora 2027, Makedonija 2030, a BiH? URL: https://www.radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/ bosna-i-hercegovina/ulazak-u-eu-albanija-2025-srbija-i-crna-gora-2027-makedonija-2030-a-bih/247800 (accessed date: 16.12.2016).

⁵ Stabilization and Association Process. European Commission Enlargement Policy. URL: http://ec.europa. eu/enlargement/policy/ glossary/terms/sap_en.htm (accessed date: 02.10.2016).

as a social state. This regulation is formalized in legislation in the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, adopted on December 23, 1991⁶. Article 2 of the Fundamental Law declares that "Slovenia is a legal and social state". In the Constitution there is also a separate chapter, devoted to regulation of economic and social relations, first of all in the sphere of employment and labor protection, participation in the union activities etc.

The level and character of Euro-integration influence had positive effect on Slovenia: the state rapidly meet all the requirements and became the EU member. However, it should be mentioned, that the relations between the SFRY and EU have been actively developing since the second half of the 20th, thus one should not assume that the EU started asserting its influence on Slovenia only in 1991. Cooperation between the EU and Yugoslavia states has not always been developing within the sphere of the Balkan states joining the Union, at first cooperation was based on the bilateral agreements. The SFRY which chose the "third direction" in the economy and headed the movement against the accession was actively cooperation? In the 1960s the parties signed first foreign trade agreements⁸. First restrained attempts of the SFRY on approaching western states in the sphere of political relations. In particular, these were the Brioni Agreement, signed by I. B. Tito and W. Brandt, European Union Association Agreement (1980) in economic and social issues, which had political significance⁹.

Though Slovenia not so long ago was a part of Yugoslavia, but culturally and historically it is closely connected with Austria, and thus it was not treated in Europe as an absolutely foreign country. Slovenia was the most economically-developed republic. Due to the specificity of an active scheme of labor division, the bulk of SFRY industry was concentrated in Slovenia, which had profound economic ties with neighboring EU countries. After the collapse of the SFRY Slovenia obtained considerable economic infrastructure: 17% of social production, which was manufactured in the country, 19% of industrial production and 7% of agricultural production. Economic crisis in the SFRY in the late 80s considerably affected Slovenia: about 800 enterprises suffered financial collapse, the number of unemployed raised, the country experienced a lack of foreign currency, general living standards decreased¹⁰. But in comparison with other parts of Yugoslavia, Slovenia, at most criteria, earlier approached an average level of development of current EU members that is why affiliation of Slovenia into the European Union is rather a formal fact.

⁶ Ustava Republike Slovenije. URL: http://www.egov.ufsc.br/portal/sites/default/files/anexos/21387-21388-1-PB.htm (accessed date: 01.11.2012).

⁷ Montanari M. EU Trade with the Balkans: Large Room for Growth? // Eastern European Economics. 2005. Vol. 43. Nº 1. P. 73.

⁸ Berezin A. V. Stanovlenie YeS kak subekta vneshnei politiki na primere Balkanskogo regiona // Aktualnye problem Yevropy. 2006. № 4. P. 83.

⁹ Chuvakhina L. G. Ekonomicheskoe sotrudnichestvo Yugoslavii c SShA i stranami YeES (1945-1985). Moscow: Ekonomika, 2015. P. 124.

¹⁰ Kornilov Yu. Sloveniia: Na puti vykhoda iz federatsii? // TASS: BPI. Moscow. 1991. 4 March. P. 16.

In the course of the continuous cooperation between the EU and the states of former Yugoslavia, which lasted for more than two decades, there were several stages during which the EU foreign policy towards them was conducted within the frames of Europeanization development. The influence of Europeanization on Slovenia was always considerable. It is proved by the Agreement between Slovenia and the European Union, signed in 1970. E. Brinar and M. Svetlicic suppose that there are several stages of Slovenia integration, which would have started even earlier than in 1990s if not obstructed by Yugoslavian ideology¹¹. Approaching of Slovenia towards the EU started after its withdrawal from the SFRY¹² and accession to power politicians from the Party of Democratic Renovation (PDR), who supported integration¹³. The PDR acted under the slogan "For European quality of living"¹⁴, which determined a foreign policy strategy for next years.

In Slovenia in the 1980s-1990s prevailed strong nationalistic movements, however the authority realized that a small country could compete and show sustainable development only being a part of the states' community¹⁵. Despite obviously pro-Western position of the ruling party, "for quite a long period of time the ruling elite did not have absolutely clear vision as to necessity to take responsibilities which seriously limited sovereignty of the country"¹⁶, and this was connected with the Union. Such interpretation of the situation facilitated the process of development of socialization of political elite in Slovenia by the EU and helped to strengthen positive vision of Euro-integration.

The EU tried to prevent withdrawal of Slovenia from the SFRY¹⁷ and assisted during the military conflict¹⁸. Proclamation of Slovenia independence on June 25, 1991 became a trigger to the 10-day war, in the course of which Slovenian authorities looked to Europe for help and support considering it to be a powerful mediator. For the members of the Union it was one of the first opportunities to display to the world their ability to solve regional conflicts and they succeeded: on the basis of their initiative the Brioni Agreement, which put an end to war of Slovenia for independence¹⁹, was signed. The Agreement stressed the necessity to form an

¹¹ Brinar E., Svetlicic M. Enlargement of the European Union: the case of Slovenia// Journal of European Public Policy. 1999. Vol. 6. Nº 5. P. 807.

¹² Вилић Д., Тодоровић Б. Разбијање Југославије 1990-1992. Београд: ДИК Књижевне новине-Енциклопедја, 1995. С. 143.

¹³ Shmelev B. A. Balkanskie horki // Mir peremen. 2004. Nº 3. P. 42.

¹⁴ Churkina I. V. Istoriia Slovenii // Vestnik Rossiiskoho humanitarnoho nauchnoho fonda. 2009. Nº 4 (57). P. 64.

¹⁵ Yozhe M. Bez iliuzii ili Sloveniia mezhdu slomom sotsializma I krizisom kapitalizma // Vestnik Yevropy, 2014. Nº37. URL: http://www. vestnik-evropy.ru/issues/without-illusions-or-slovenia-between-the-collapse-of-socialism-and-the-crisis-of-capitalism.html (accessed date: 10.09.2015).

¹⁶ Kniazev Yu. K. Sloveniia kak regionalnyi lider // Mir peremen. 2008. № 3. P. 143.

¹⁷ Сотировић В. Б. Социолингвистички аспект распада Југославије и српско национално питање. Виљнус: Едукологија, 2013. S. 29.

¹⁸ Slovnik D. Sto osamosvojitvenih dni. Ljubljana: Delo, 1991. S. 183; Holbruk R. Put u Dejton: Od Sarajeva do Dejtona i posle. Beograd: Dan Graf, 1998. S. 201.

¹⁹ Yazykova A. A. yuho-vostochnaia Yevropa v epokhu kardinalnykh peremen. Moscow: Ves Mir. 2007. P. 56.

Observation mission of the Union, which would "guarantee further participation of the EU in the situation in Yugoslavia"²⁰.

Solving the political problems the EU extended its influence on the economic and social development of the country, including it into PHARE assistance programme, aimed at restructurisation of CEE countries' economies in accordance with the market model. Slovenia received funds within the frames of the Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession (ISPA), aimed at performing reforms for acquis communautaire²¹; and the programme of 7-year development of agriculture as a part of the SAPARD programme²². An effective instrument for including Slovenia into the EU orbit was its cooperation since December 1992 with the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). It started its activity in 1991en-gaging CEE and SEE²³ countries in cooperation. The EBRD and Slovenia cooperate within the lines of restructurisation of a corporate sector, enlargement of the role of a private sector, stabilization of a financial sector, supporting energy stability.

The process of Europeanization had system and planed character and was based on the elaborated frame programmes and conditions²⁴. In 1993 especially for CEE and SEE states, which were preparing to join the EU, the European Commission worked out the Copenhagen criteria, which included the requirement, concerning stable institutions, effective market economy, and ability to undertake commitments of the EU members²⁵. In 1995 the European Commission prepared "A White paper including a list of legislative acts, according to which candidate-countries must adapt their national legislations"²⁶. The list "acquis communautaire", involved all legislative spheres of the EU and presupposed, that candidate-countries would accept and implement those requirements, and thus it was a direct mechanism for creating a legislative base for national states²⁷. Therefore, the boundaries of the EU influence, which bore compulsory character and testified of Slovenian interest in joining the EU was another instrument of Europeanization.

All reforms were implemented under control of a well-branched system of institutional structure, which provided coordination of transformations. The main institutional structures

²⁰ Schneider M. K. Brioni Agreement // War in the Balkans: An Encyclopedic History from the Fall of the Ottoman Empire to the Breakup of Yugoslavia. Editor: Hall R.C., ABC-CLIO. 2014. P. 47.

²¹ The enlargement process and three pre-accession instruments: Phare, ISPA, Sapard // European Commission Enlargement directorate General, 2002. URL: http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/bulgaria_phare_ispa_sapard_en.pdf (accessed date: 10.09.2014).

²² Andreou G., Bache I. Europeanization and multi-level governance in Slovenia // Southeast European and Black Sea Studies. 2010. Vol.10. Nº 1. P. 32-33.

²³ Slovenia overview. European Bank for reconstruction and development. URL: http://www.ebrd.com/where-we-are/slovenia/overview. html (accessed date: 10.09.2014).

²⁴ Slovenia's road to the EU // European Stability Institute URL: http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=395 (accessed date: 21.02.2014).

²⁵ Fontaine P. Yevropa v 12 urokakh. Luxembourg: The Bureau of the Official publications of the EU. 2010. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/ delegations/ ru./documents/ publications/ europe_12_lessons_ru.pdf (accessed date:14.05. 2012).

²⁶ Glinkina S.P., Kulikova N.V., Sinitsina I.S. Strany Tsentralno-Vostochnoi Yevropy: yevrointegratsiia I ekonomicheskii rost: Scientific report. Moscow: Institut ekonomiki RAN, 2014. P.9.

²⁷ Conditions for membership. European Commission URL: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/index_en.htm (accessed date: 14.05.2012).

of Euro-integration, which acted at the national level since 1997 were: the State department of European affairs and Department for the EU integration (MFA department under the guise of the prime-minister); working parties and inter-governmental committees; Team of negotiators from the Republic of Slovenia for joining the EU consisted of 10 experts²⁸.

Slovenia actively implemented all requirements of the EU: diplomatic relations with the European Union were established in 1992, and in 1993 Slovenia and the EU signed the Association Agreement, what opened the doors for further membership. In 1996 Slovenia submitted a membership application and at the same day signed the European Agreement, which gave the green light for further accession. At first, Slovenia entered the list of six countries, ready to conduct negotiations in 2000 and then joined the number of CEE states, which joined the EU in 2004. The main incentive for accepting the process of Europeanization and advantages it brought, was that "Europeanization became a substitution for the old ideology" in Slovenia²⁹. This presupposed an accelerated wish of the Slovenian society to join the EU.

One of the characteristics and consequences of a regional integration is obtaining mutual benefits³⁰. At the preparatory stage Slovenia actively implemented all the requirements of the EU, what provided it with a range of advantages: growth in foreign investments; getting funding from different financial programs; conducting reconstruction after withdrawal from the SFRY. During the transitional period the structure of public production in the state has changed: the sphere of providing services has grown³¹; liberalization and privatization in energy industry, in banking sector etc. In the system of the state management appeared new bodies and committees, new functions were added, working pattern of the cabinet of ministers changed (now it was in charge of Euro-integration), an agenda started with the information concerning the process of integration with the EU³².

After joining the EU Slovenia adapted to the requirement of the Union in the sphere of political activity and high competition at the markets. The country confirmed the reforms conducted before joining the EU; integrated into the institutional system of the EU; participated in various programmes of financial assistance (in particular there acted a Transitional programme, intended for the EU new members), which provided economic inclination of Slovenia to the EU. After joining the EU the state had to deepen Europeanization processes, though the interest towards it fell down, as the admission requirements were accomplished. Obstacles appeared when the right-of-center government came to power.

²⁸ Fink-Hafner D., Lajh D. Managing Europe from Home: The Europeanisation of the Slovenian Core Executive // OUEU PHASE I, Occasional Paper 6.1 – 09.03, Ljubljana. 2003. P. 11.

²⁹ Krasovec A, Lajh D. The Slovenian EU Accession Referendum: A Cat-and-Mouse Game // West European Politics. 2007. Vol. 27. Nº 4. P. 617.

³⁰ Butorina O. Yevropeiskaia integratsiia. – Moscow: Publishing house «Delovaia literatura». 2011. P. 457.

³¹ *Kniazev Yu. K.* Sloveniia kak regionalnyi lider // Mir peremen. 2008. № 3. P. 147.

³² Fink-Hafter D., Lajh D. Managing Europe from Home: The Europeanisation of the Slovenian Core Executive // OUEU PHASE I, Occasional Paper 6.1 – 09.03, Ljubljana. 2003. P. 14.

Integration became more profound in 2004-2017 as it was implemented in several directions, in particular: joining the Euro zone (the process started in 2004 by the mechanism of currency exchange and finished in 2007) and presiding in the EU Council in 2008, was marked by a number of successful projects and proposals for the EU. Successfulness of the results of integration and Europeanization in Slovenia can also be proved by the fact that in 2014 it got the 6th place as to the index of transformations, which studied quality of democracy, market economy and political governing; active participation of the state in the EU political life.

However, the period of Slovenia adaptation to the EU had not only positive consequences. It revealed a range of problems connected with the EU financial state, as well as the necessity to conduct new reforms, in particular in the judicial branch. Opening of the agricultural market in Slovenia led to an unsustainable competitiveness for Slovenian farmers. Despite this, in accordance with the OECD report, a probability of a debt crisis in Slovenia grew, and the level of investors' credibility in it lowered.

Enhancing development of social policy and striving for achieving success in the social sphere, Slovenian government took a number of measures, aimed at their optimization and achieved factual improvement of living conditions. It positively marked it out in comparison with governments in other countries of the region. The government purposefully solved the issues, which could potentially lead to conflicts between the state, employers and employees within the frames of the Special Public Agreement of 1994, in particular creating the Economic and Social Council of the Republic of Slovenia (ESC)³³ – a tripartite body, consisted of 15 members (5 representatives from the government, employers and employees, correspondingly). Usually, the Council is headed by the Slovenian government's representative.

The main function of the body is to deal with various problems in the economic and social spheres of the state, solve problems, disturbing any of the parties. The council raises a point (at request of one of three social partners or by own initiative), which touches on the interests of the government, employers and employees, in particular concerning: economic system and economic policy (including the state's budget); issues of employment and labor relations; citizens' social rights and social policy; problems of taxation and price forming; activity of trade unions etc³⁴. Moreover, the ESC may participate in the process of preparing legislative acts, consulting and making recommendations as to them, initiate adoption of new laws or make amendments to the existing ones. These proposals and recommendations are sent by the ESC for consideration to the National Assembly and the National Council of the Republic of Slovenia, and distribute them among the trade unions and wide public circles.

The ESC already celebrated its 20th anniversary (April 2014). Fruitfulness and necessity of the ESC activity is indicated not only by its continual existence but by over 250 conducted

³³ Ekonomsko-socialni svet. Ustanovni akt. URL: http://www.ess.si/ess/ess-si.nsf/ekonomsko-socialnisvet/ustanovni-akt-ekonomsko-socialnega-sveta (accessed date: 20.05.2015).

³⁴ Foshchan Ya. Shliakh do natsii: slovenska model postsotsialistychnoho suspilnoho rozvytku. URL: http://veche.kiev.ua/news/5947/ (accessed date: 02.03.2017).

board meetings, at which about 1000 issues concerning social dialogue between the authorities and public representatives have been discussed. Especially for the anniversary the Head of the Council and Minister of Labor, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities of Slovenia A. Kopach Mrak prepared a publication, where she emphasized the effectiveness of the ESC for the last decade and underlined that the Council has gained its good reputation and social significance and this must prevent the government from ignoring its point of view while adopting important social decisions, harmonizing salary policy, legislative acts as to regulation of employees' rights etc³⁵.

A. Kopach Mrak supposed that social dialogue is a great historical achievement of the European model of development, which provides ideal way of solving interests of all three parts³⁶. Social partnership is important while confirming main directions of Slovenia development, ways out of the economic and social crisis. Thus, the ESC as a higher form of a social dialogue plays a key role in this process. The leader of the party "Positive Slovenia" and the prime-minister A. Bratusek (over the period of March 20, 2013 up to September 14, 2014) was convinced that "having reached the consensus, concerning the state budget revenues, we could preserve in Slovenia free-of-charge school education, health care and many other social benefits. However, in future we are to think of the type of the state we need. We must realize: the more social benefits we have, the higher the level of taxation is, but I assume, that namely such scheme is suitable for Slovenia"³⁷.

The European Social Model (ESM) which is currently functioning in the EU is characterized by: a high level of social protection (large part of the GDP is directed at the social needs); various problems which periodically appear in the social sphere (in the course of labor relations, environment, pension fund scheme etc.), are solved by means of the social dialogue between partners and including independent experts; in the social sphere along with the state organizations and trade unions, at the national and local levels function numerous NGO (charitable, confessional, public and so on), which act as collective representatives of a civil society³⁸. Let us mention, that on the basis of this, in Slovenia are well-developed organizations of civil society – one of the characteristics of the ESM, which at the same time is an inseparable part of a social state.

Introduction of new approaches to implementation of social policy, decentralization of power, initiatives of powerful religious organizations and other NGOs, led the "Third sector" of Slovenia at such level of development, that it became one of the biggest suppliers of social

³⁵ Ekonomsko-socialni svet. Economic and Social Council of Slovenia: 2004-2014. Ljubljana: Javno podjetje Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 2014. C. 3.

³⁶ Ibid. P. 6.

³⁷ Bulanov A. Slovenii blizhe skandinavskaja model. URL: http://expert.ru/countries/2013/05/slovenii-blizhe-skandinavskaja-model/ (accessed date: 28.06.2015).

³⁸ Mudroliubova N. Pivnichnoyevropeiskyi dosvid sotsialnoi derzhavy na prykladi korolivstva Shvetsii. URL: http://www.viche.info/ journal/843/ (accessed date: 20.05.2015).

services³⁹. In the state there are quite strict laws, in comparison with other EU members as to establishing and functioning of NGOs. Thus, in accordance with Slovenian legislation the number of an NGO founders must be not less than 10 people (in most EU countries it equals 2-3 persons) and the legislation prohibits aliens to establish such organizations⁴⁰.

In accordance with the adopted programme of the state health care system in Slovenia for 2015-2025⁴¹, in the state there are mechanisms of direct and indirect participation of people in problem solution in medical sphere. Slovenians may take personal part in public parliamentary hearings, concerning the plan of action in the sphere and in regional committees of insured people, who provide active participation of the society in the system of managing the sphere of medical insurance.

Besides, the citizens may deal with the issues connected with the health care system through their representatives in some state organizations, NGOs, associations etc⁴². The system of health care uses commercial, compulsory and voluntary medical insurance. It should be mentioned that in Slovenia the bulk of compulsory payment for social expenses of the state are on the working population. The share expenses paid by employees and employers in general is the same – 50% to 50% (as of 2012)⁴³. However, according to the data, provided by the international sociological survey in 2007 the level of life satisfaction was the highest in Slovenia among all new EU members⁴⁴, but the 2008 global financial-economic crisis proved that the sphere in fact required changes.

Before the crisis in the state new laws were adopted, some amendments were made, however matters did not come to implementation of the laws. The government was satisfied with the growth of economy and assumed it would be forever. But the crisis changed the situation. Slovenia lost time necessary for implementing thorough structural reforms for economic welfare. Such policy led to the most profound crisis developments among the EU countries. Economic and social crisis fully displayed all vain anticipations and expectations in the course of implementing changes, for strengthening economic competitiveness, as well as protection of the state of common welfare⁴⁵. Though the government was seeking the ways to fight the effects of the crisis, enhanced by local unfavorable conditions, but negative phenomena in the economy of Slovenia actualized the question of the change of government.

³⁹ Pocyshenie urovnia zhyzni kak prioritet sotsialnoi politiki. Obzor zarubezhnoho opyta. Minsk: UNO representative office /PROON in the Republic of Belarus, 2005. P. 66.

⁴⁰ Vinnikov O. Hromadski orhanizatsii u Yevropeiskomu Soiuzi: yak vony utvoriuiutsia chy diiut? URL: http://www.ucipr.org.ua /pages/7 (accessed date: 20.05.2015).

⁴¹ Ministrstvo za zdravje RS predstavilo predlog Resolucije «Skupaj za družbo zdravja». URL: http://www.mz.gov.si/si/ medijsko_sredisce/ novica/article/670/7007/3d7b53be2b2a515a956386b79545091a/ (дата звернення: 10.06.2016).

⁴² Model hrmadskoho kontroliu za vytratamy v sferi okhorony zdorovia / [Remiha O., Tatarevskyi O., Melnyk N. and others]; Ed. By N. Tsisyk. Kyiv: Mizhnarodnyi Tsentr perspektyvnykh doslidzhen, 2006. P. 20.

⁴³ Tkachenko L. Fiskalnyi populism kak diagnoz. URL: http://gazeta.zn.ua/finan-ces/fiskalnyy-populizm-kak-diagnoz-ovozmozhnostyah-snizheniya-razmera-edinogo-socialnogo-vznosa_html (accessed date: 20.08.2016).

⁴⁴ Put v Yevropu / Ed. by. I. M. Kliamkina and L. F. Shevtsova. Moscow: Novoe izdatelstvo, 2008. P. 325.

⁴⁵ Ekonomsko-socialni svet. Economic and Social Council of Slovenia: 2004-2014. Ljubljana: Javno podjetje Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 2014. C. 3-4.

In February 2013 after the governmental crisis which lasted for almost two months, the Cabinet of Ministers of Slovenia and the prime-minister J. Jansa forcedly resigned. The reason for this was the vote of no-confidence in the government. Political forces created a new coalition around the party "Positive Slovenia", formed new government, which, for the first time since proclaiming independence was headed by the prime-minister – woman, Alenka Bratusek, who for many years was in charge of the economic sector of Slovenia⁴⁶.

In December, in one of the interviews, A. Bratusek explained her vision of peculiarities of the contemporary social system in Slovenia and directions of its further development. "Slovenia is a social state, – she said. – Some of the EU countries, chose the way which gave them an opportunity to recover the pace of economic growth quite relatively, however they had to sacrifice their social sphere. Speaking of Slovenia I stand for the Scandinavian model, where taxes are a bit higher and so is the amount of social rights. This is the model I am going to implement, as I am sure that is the model we must have in our country"⁴⁷. Thus, the aim of the government was to develop socially comfortable state. Despite certain economic problems, the government managed to preserve a high number of social benefits.

However, minister A. Kopach Mrak expressed less optimism as to preservation of a current amount of social benefits in Slovenia. To her point of view, a large part of the society mistakenly believe that Slovenia can maintain high standards of the state of social welfare, regularly high salary, make great expenses on the health care system, education, pension fund, provided benefits for some social groups. "Herewith, people do not pay attention to the fact that the country is in huge debts and on its way to overcoming the crisis the government will have to reconsider a number of social-economic rights, which were provided people at better times"⁴⁸. Thus, the Cabinet of Ministers admitted problems while supporting a level of social protection to which people had already used to and made it clear that they would take such an unpopular step as reduction in social benefits.

In 2014 continual crisis situation provoked the fourth change of the head of the Slovenian government. In late April at the session of the party "Positive Slovenia" A. Bratusek was removed from the post of the party leader and on May 5th she resigned the post of the prime-minister. On June 1st President of Slovenia B. Pahor signed the decree on dissolution of the Parliament after the 2 weeks' time, in the course of which deputies were to have chosen another candidacy for a post of the prime-minister.

The pre-term parliamentary elections which took place on July 13, 2014, were won by a newly created left-of-center party headed by a lawyer M. Cerar under the "Party of Miro

⁴⁶ Alena Bratusek vedet Sloveniu k "positivu"? URL: https://www.pravda.ru/world/europe/casteurope/04-03-2013/1146998-slovenia-0/ (accessed date: 28.03.2014).

⁴⁷ Bulanov A. Slovenii blizhe skandinavskaja model. URL: http://expert.ru/countries/2013/05/slovenii-blizhe-skandinavskaja-model/ (accessed date: 28.06.2015).

⁴⁸ Ekonomsko-socialni svet. Economic and Social Council of Slovenia: 2004-2014. Ljubljana: Javno podjetje Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 2014. C. 5.

Cerar" (PMC), which got 34,6% of votes. The Slovenian Democratic Party of the two-times prime-minister J. Jansa won 20,6% of votes. The third place got the oldest Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia with 10,2% of votes. The Party "The Union of Alenka Bratusek" created on June 1st 2014 obtained more than 6% of votes and also entered a new parliament⁴⁹.

The results of the pre-term parliamentary elections showed that the society is dissatisfied by the policy of harsh economic rationalization, conducted by A. Bratusek's government. It was also clear, as M. Cerar stated, Slovenian got tired of politicians-corruptors. Just on the eve of the elections 2-year imprisonment and €37 000 fine were awarded to the former long-term prime-minister J. Jansa, who managed his pre-electoral campaign from prison. Slovenians again (as it was in case of A. Bratusek) made a bid for "new faces" in politics. The Party of M. Cerar received over 1/3 (34 out of 90) of places in the parliament and to create a governmental coalition gained support of two other left-of-center parties – the Social-Democrats of Slovenia and the Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia, who got 6 and 10 places in the State Assembly – parliament of the state, correspondingly.

Therefore, successful stability in modern Slovenia was facilitated by a number of factors, which were being formed, when it was a part of the SFRY – highly developed industry and living standards, ethnically homogeneous population, sophisticated traditions of corporatism etc. Quite significant connector for Slovenia became the process of joining the EU. The process of Euro-integration facilitated modernization in a number of spheres, in particular social, cultural and (to some extent) economic. Global financial-economic crisis revealed all problems in the state's economy and the government had to start gradual reduction of a large number of social benefits for population.

New prime-minister M. Cerar wishes to regain the trust of population and the situation is gradually changing for the better, what is indicative of political stability. Revenue growing to the state budget has been supported by the EU funding, the GDP has significantly recovered, index of economic activity has improved, and thus, it will considerably influence further development of Slovenia as a social state.

References:

- 1. *Alena Bratusek vedet Sloveniiu k "positivu"*? URL: https://www. pravda.ru/world/europe/ easteurope/04-03-2013/1146998-slovenia-0/ (accessed date: 28.03.2014).
- 2. Berezin A. V. Stanovlenie YeS kak subekta vneshnei politiki na primere Balkanskogo regiona // Aktualnye problem Yevropy. 2006. № 4. P. 82-108.
- Bulanov A. Slovenii blizhe skandinavskaia model. URL: http://expert. ru/countries/2013/05/ slovenii-blizhe-skandinavskaya-model/ (accessed date: 28.06.2015).

⁴⁹ Tsentralno-Vostochnaia Yevropa: razvitie v novykh heopoliticheskikh realiiakh. Monograph / Ed. by. N. V. Kulikova. Moscow: IE RAN, 2016. P. 280.

- Butorina O. Yevropeiskaia integratsiia. Moscow: Publishing house «Delovaia literatura». 2011. 720 p.
- Вилић Д., Тодоровић Б. Разбијање Југославије 1990-1992. Београд: ДИК Књижевне новине-Енциклопедја, 1995. 488 р.
- Vinnikov O. Hromadski orhanizatsii u Yevropeiskomu Soiuzi: yak vony utvoriuiutsia chy diiut? URL: http://www.ucipr.org.ua /pages/7 (accessed date: 20.05.2015).
- 7. Glinkina S.P., Kulikova N.V., Sinitsina I.S. Strany Tsentralno-Vostochnoi Yevropy: yevrointegratsiia I ekonomicheskii rost: Scientific report. Moscow: Institut ekonomiki RAN, 2014. 84 p.
- Yevropeiskii Soiuz v 21 veke: vremia ispytanii / Ed. by O. Yu. Potemkina (publ.edit.), N. Yu. Kaveshnikova, N. B. Kondratieva. – Moscow: Ves Mir, 2012. 656 p.
- Yozhe M. Bez iliuzii ili Sloveniia mezhdu slomom sotsializma I krizisom kapitalizma // Vestnik Yevropy, 2014. №37. URL: http://www.vestnik-evropy.ru/issues/without-illusions-or-sloveniabetween-the-collapse-of-socialism-and-the-crisis-of-capitalism.html (accessed date: 10.09.2015).
- Ispolnilsia god, kak Khorvatiia vstupila v Yevropeiskii Soiuz. URL: https://ria.ru/world/20140701/ 1014274031.html (accessed date: 01.07.2014).
- 11. Kniazev Yu. K. Sloveniia kak regionalnyi lider // Mir peremen. 2008. № 3. p. 140-152.
- Kornilov Yu. Sloveniia: Na puti vykhoda iz federatsii? // TASS: BPI. Moscow. 1991. 4 March. P. 9-18.
- Model hrmadskoho kontroliu za vytratamy v sferi okhorony zdorovia / [Remiha O., Tatarevskyi O., Melnyk N. and others]; Ed. By N. Tsisyk. Kyiv: Mizhnarodnyi Tsentr perspektyvnykh doslidzhen, 2006. 94 p.
- 14. *Mudroliubova N.* Pivnichnoyevropeiskyi dosvid sotsialnoi derzhavy na prykladi korolivstva Shvetsii. URL: http://www.viche.info/journal/843/ (accessed date: 20.05.2015).
- 15. *Povyshenie* urovnia zhyzni kak prioritet sotsialnoi politiki. Obzor zarubezhnoho opyta. Minsk: UNO representative office /PROON in the Republic of Belarus, 2005. 84 p.
- Put v Yevropu / Ed. by. I. M. Kliamkina and L. F. Shevtsova. Moscow: Novoe izdatelstvo, 2008. 400 p.
- 17. Сотировић В. Б. Социолингвистички аспект распада Југославије и српско национално питање. Виљнус: Едукологија, 2013. 226 s.
- Tkachenko L. Fiskalnyi populism kak diagnoz. URL: http://gazeta.zn.ua/finan-ces/fiskalnyypopulizm-kak-diagnoz-ovozmozhnostyah-snizheniya-razmera-edinogo-socialnogo-vznosa_html (accessed date: 20.08.2016).
- Fontaine P. Yevropa v 12 urokakh. Luxembourg: The Bureau of the Official publications of the EU. 2010. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ ru./documents/ publications/ europe_12_ lessons_ru.pdf (accessed date:14.05. 2012).
- 20. *Foshchan Ya.* Shliakh do natsii: slovenska model postsotsialistychnoho suspilnoho rozvytku. URL: http://veche.kiev.ua/news/5947/ (accessed date: 02.03.2017).

- Tsentralno-Vostochnaia Yevropa: razvitie v novykh heopoliticheskikh realiiakh. Monograph / Ed. by. N. V. Kulikova. Moscow: IE RAN, 2016. 328 p.
- 22. *Chuvakhina L. G.* Ekonomicheskoe sotrudnichestvo Yugoslavii c SShA i stranami YeES (1945-1985). Moscow: Ekonomika, 2015. 159 p.
- Churkina I. V. Istoriia Slovenii // Vestnik Rossiiskoho humanitarnoho nauchnoho fonda. 2009. Nº 4 (57). P. 61-72.
- 24. Shmelev B. A. Balkanskie horki // Mir peremen. 2004. № 3. p. 41-53.
- Yazykova A. A. yuho-vostochnaia Yevropa v epokhu kardinalnykh peremen. Moscow: Ves Mir. 2007. 352 p.
- 26. *Andreou G., Bache I.* Europeanization and multi-level governance in Slovenia // Southeast European and Black Sea Studies. 2010. Vol.10. № 1. P. 29-43.
- 27. Brinar E., Svetlicic M. Enlargement of the European Union: the case of Slovenia// Journal of European Public Policy. 1999. Vol. 6. № 5. P. 802-821.
- 28. *Conditions* for membership. European Commission URL: http://ec.europa. eu/enlargement/policy/conditions-membership/index_en.htm (accessed date: 14.05.2012).
- 29. *Ekonomsko*-socialni svet. Economic and Social Council of Slovenia: 2004-2014. Ljubljana: Javno podjetje Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 2014. 88 p.
- 30. *Ekonomsko*-socialni svet. Ustanovni akt. URL: http://www.ess.si/ess/ess-si.nsf/ ekonomsko-socialnisvet/ustanovni-akt-ekonomsko-socialnega-sveta (accessed date: 20.05.2015).
- Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Slovenia, of the other part. Luxembourg: 10.06.1996. Entry into force 01.02.1999. URL: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documentspublications/agreements-conventi-ons/agreement/?aid=1995071 (accessed date: 02.10.2013).
- Fink-Hafner D., Lajh D. Managing Europe from Home: The Europeanisation of the Slovenian Core Executive // OUEU PHASE I, Occasional Paper 6.1 – 09.03, Ljubljana. 2003. 27 p.
- 33. Holbruk R. Put u Dejton: Od Sarajeva do Dejtona i posle. Beograd: Dan Graf, 1998. 397s.
- Krasovec A., Lajh D. The Slovenian EU Accession Referendum: A Cat-and-Mouse Game // West European Politics. 2007. Vol. 27. Nº 4. P. 603-623.
- Ministrstvo za zdravje RS predstavilo predlog Resolucije «Skupaj za družbo zdravja». URL: http://www.mz.gov.si/si/medijsko_sredisce/novica/article/ 670/7007/3d7b53be2b2a515a956 386b79545091a/ (accessed date: 10.06.2016).
- 36. *Montanari M*. EU Trade with the Balkans: Large Room for Growth? // Eastern European Economics. 2005. Vol. 43. № 1. P. 59-81.
- Politico / Ulazak u EU: Albanija 2025, Srbija i Crna Gora 2027, Makedonija 2030, a BiH? URL: https://www.radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/bosna-i-hercegovina/ulazak-u-eu-albanija-2025-srbija-icrna-gora-2027-makedonija-2030-a-bih/247800 (accessed date: 16.12.2016).
- Schneider M. K. Brioni Agreement // War in the Balkans: An Encyclopedic History from the Fall of the Ottoman Empire to the Breakup of Yugoslavia. Editor: Hall R.C., ABC-CLIO. 2014. 411 p.

- Slovenia overview. European Bank for reconstruction and development. URL: http://www.ebrd. com/where-we-are/slovenia/overview.html (accessed date: 10.09.2014).
- 40. Slovenia's road to the EU // European Stability Institute URL: http://www.esiweb. org/index. php?lang=en&id=395 (дата звернення: 21.02.2014).
- 41. Slovnik D. Sto osamosvojitvenih dni. Ljubljana: Delo, 1991. 224 s.
- 42. *Stabilization* and Association Process. European Commission Enlargement Policy. URL: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/sap_en.htm (accessed date: 02.10.2016).
- 43. *The enlargement* process and three pre-accession instruments: Phare, ISPA, Sapard // European Commission Enlargement directorate General, 2002. URL: http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/bulgaria_phare_ispa_sapard_en.pdf (accessed date: 10.09.2014).
- 44. *Ustav*a Republike Slovenije. URL: http://www.egov.ufsc.br/portal/sites/default/ files/ anexos/21387-21388-1-PB.htm (accessed date: 01.11.2012).