



# ANNALES SCIENTIA POLITICA

VOLUME 12, NUMBER 2, 2023

# ANNALES SCIENTIA POLITICA

Vol. 12, No. 2, 2023

---

ŽARNA, K.: Foreign policy conditionality of the Slovak Republic. *Annales Scientia Politica*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (2023), pp. 34 – 42

KRZYSZTOF ŽARNA

Institute of Political Science  
University of Rzeszów  
Poland  
E-mail: kzarna@ur.edu.pl

## **Abstract:**

*On January 1, 1993, as a result of the breakup of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republics, a new state was created on the political map of Europe: the Slovak Republic. The article deals with the foreign policy determinants of this state at the threshold of its establishment. An analysis is made of those determinants that had a key impact on the shape of foreign policy: the geographical environment, historical factors, the population factor, foreign service and diplomacy, and external conditions. Of greatest importance were historical factors, especially in the context of relations with Hungary, the deficit in foreign service and diplomatic personnel, which was of great significance in the context of creating foreign policy from scratch, and the multinational nature of the country. The article uses a comparative method and factor analysis.*

## **Keywords:**

*Diplomacy, foreign policy, the first Czechoslovak Republic, Slovak Republic.*

# FOREIGN POLICY CONDITIONALITY OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

KRZYSZTOF ŻARNA

Institute of Political Science  
University of Rzeszów  
Poland  
E-mail: kzarna@ur.edu.pl

---

## Abstract:

*On January 1, 1993, as a result of the breakup of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republics, a new state was created on the political map of Europe: the Slovak Republic. The article deals with the foreign policy determinants of this state at the threshold of its establishment. An analysis is made of those determinants that had a key impact on the shape of foreign policy: the geographical environment, historical factors, the population factor, foreign service and diplomacy, and external conditions. Of greatest importance were historical factors, especially in the context of relations with Hungary, the deficit in foreign service and diplomatic personnel, which was of great significance in the context of creating foreign policy from scratch, and the multinational nature of the country. The article uses a comparative method and factor analysis.*

## Keywords:

*Diplomacy, foreign policy, the first Czechoslovak Republic, Slovak Republic.*

implement them. The aim of the article is to present its determinants and the author has chosen those which, in his opinion, have had a key influence on the shape of foreign policy: the geographical environment, historical factors, the population factor, foreign service and diplomacy. The period of Slovakia's inception is analysed.

The article critically verifies the following research hypotheses: among the determinants of Slovakia's foreign policy, historical factors seemed to be decisive, especially in the context of relations with Hungary. The second decisive determinant was the deficit in foreign service and diplomatic personnel, which was of great importance in the context of creating foreign policy from scratch. Finally, the third decisive factor was the multinational character of the country. Comparative analysis, which involves detecting similarities and differences between phenomena, processes and systems, was applied in the article. It was used to compare individual conditions. Foreign policy determinants are a system of contingent premises that cause a specific, concrete effect and sufficient for a given effect to occur. The issue is complex because it must consider factors that affect foreign policy directly and indirectly in the wider international environment or setting.

---

## Introduction

On January 1, 1993, a new state appeared on the political map of Europe: The Slovak Republic, one of whose most important challenges was to define its foreign policy priorities and

### Geographical environment

The Slovak Republic is a country located in Central Europe with an area of 49 036 km<sup>2</sup>, which classifies it among small countries from both a European and global perspective (Bajda, 2018). It has five neighbours: Poland to the north, Ukraine to the east, Austria and Hungary to the south and the Czech Republic to the west. It does not neighbour any state that would be a regional power, which in turn could determine its foreign policy. The geopolitical position from the beginning of the country's existence influenced the political line of the government in Bratislava. Slovakia, which was still under the influence of the USSR for several decades as part of Czechoslovakia, had to search for a new concept of security policy in the face of new political realities. Consequently, two options seemed viable: orientation towards Moscow or integration into the North Atlantic Alliance. Slovakia's location between Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, i.e. countries which listed Euro-Atlantic integration among their foreign policy priorities, created a situation in which Slovakia, if it found itself in the orbit of influence of the Russian Federation, could be something of a wedge in the compact area of NATO member states. Hence, as Robert Łoś notes, interest in the country was disproportionately high in relation to its size (Łoś, 2007, p. 13).

Slovakia is not a country with rich deposits of natural resources. Lignite, manganese ores, small amounts of iron ore, copper, mercury, antimony, magnesite, building stone, oil are mined here (this represents about 2 % of demand). There are significant deposits of uranium ore in eastern Slovakia. Slovakia also has resources of alginite (unique in the world). This mineral has particularly high potential for use in agriculture, environmental regeneration and in cosmetics and pharmaceuticals, thanks in part to its ability to retain water (Žarna, 2015, p. 39). The above-mentioned natural resources that occur in Slovakia are not strategic for the Slovak economy, which is why it is dependent on external supplies especially when it comes to energy resources.

### Historical determinants

Historical determinants seem to be key. It is difficult to define unequivocally the moment from which we can speak of a Slovak nation. Many Slovaks emphasise the fact that the Great Moravian Empire was the first form of organisation of their nation. However, it is possible to risk the thesis that the manifestations of the formation of the Slovak nation appeared during the reign of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa. As noted by Andrzej J. Madera, the struggle of the Slovaks to preserve their national identity in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was not an easy one. The small number of educated and informed Slovak intelligentsia was an obstacle (Madera, 2001, p. 15). In the mid-nineteenth century, as Rafał Kniotek points out, it began to be accepted that the Slovak nation existed because its distinct language functioned and the national group referred to as Slovaks had distinct cultural characteristics (Kniotek, 2008, p. 62). In nations that do not have a very rich tradition of statehood, nationalistic tendencies are more prevalent. The common denominator between Slovaks and the Balkan nations can be seen here, and this is at the same time a very different element between Slovaks and Czechs, with whom they formed a common state for many years and who have rich traditions of statehood.

At the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the territory of Slovakia became an object of rivalry between Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. Eventually, the Slovak lands fell under Hungarian influence for nearly a thousand years. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Hungarians intensified the process of Magyarization of the Slovak lands, which culminated in the establishment of the dualistic Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The policy of the Hungarian authorities towards the Slovaks at that time greatly influenced bilateral Slovak-Hungarian relations. Between 1918 and 1939, and 1945 and 1992, Slovaks formed a joint state with the Czechs. On the threshold of the First World War, mainly due to the efforts of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the idea of Czechoslovakism and the creation of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks began to be promoted. The Pittsburgh Agreement brought this idea to fruition. A new state appeared on the political map of Europe – The First Czechoslovak Republic.

In terms of population potential, Slovaks were only the third nation in the country after the Czechs and Germans. A major problem was the deficit of intellectual and clerical elites. The lack of qualified personnel, which the Hungarians had been producing for years, resulted in a situation where Czechs came in their place. Over time, Czech-Slovak antagonism began to emerge. Most Czech politicians, including Tomáš G. Masaryk, rejected the idea of realising autonomy for Slovakia. In May 1919, Milan R. Štefánik was killed in an airplane accident and thus the chance of bringing the Pittsburgh Agreement to fruition diminished almost to zero (Mervart, 2000). Unexpectedly, an opportunity opened up for the Slovaks in 1938. The May and September crisis in Czechoslovakia led to the collapse of the First Republic. The determinant that contributed most to this fact was the activity of the German minority centred around the Sudeten German Party, which acted on the explicit instructions of the Third Reich and, as a consequence of the escalation of the demands put forward by the Sudeten Germans, there was international tension which ended with the conference Czechoslovakia was forced to cede to Germany the border areas where the defensive fortifications and large industrial plants of the First Republic had been accumulated and large industrial plants of the First Republic. In this situation, in the event of any conflict, the fate of Czechoslovakia was a foregone conclusion (Žarna, 2011, p. 129). The Slovaks took advantage of the situation by gaining autonomy. The name of the state was also changed to the Czech-Slovak Republic (the Second Republic) (Ústavný zákon 1938).

In March 1939, events took place that led to the collapse of the Second Republic on the one hand and the creation of the first Slovak state on the other. On 14<sup>th</sup> March, the members of the Sejm of the Slovak State took the decision to establish the Slovak State, which took place under explicit pressure from Adolf Hitler. It was a buffer state under the influence of the Third Reich. In 1940, it covered an area of 38 004 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 2.6 million. Jozef Tiso served as president and Vojtech Tuka as prime minister. This, the only period before 1993 when Slovaks had their own state, raises extreme assessments. These range from explicit classification as a totalitarian and crim-

inal state to near-apologeticism (Bobák, 2000; Lacko 2012).

According to the 1939 census, Slovakia was inhabited by 136 000 Jews. Even during the period of autonomy, a number of regulations were introduced to marginalise them. Adolf Eichmann was in Slovakia at the time and, meeting with Slovak politicians and advised them on how to solve the Jewish question (Žarna, 2009, pp. 131-135). At first, they were deprived of the possibility to hold any positions in the public administration, army, hospitals, they could not practice professions such as pharmacist or lawyer. Their property was confiscated and, in 1940, they were subject to forced labour for the state. Access to education was also restricted. The rest of the rights were stripped from the people of this community by the Jewish Code. Shortly afterwards, the Jews were placed in concentration camps and in April 1942, the Slovak authorities launched a deportation action code-named "David", whereby they were sent to Terezín (Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia) or to extermination camps in the General Government. The action was financed by the Slovak authorities, who paid 500 German marks to the Third Reich for each Jew deported, which was met with protests at home and the intervention of the Holy See (Kamenec, 1999, pp. 139-146).

After the end of the Second World War, the creation of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks took place again. President Edvard Beneš adopted an anti-Hungarian line in politics, resulting in decrees that restricted the rights of Hungarians. Beneš's decrees also included Germans, who were expelled (Šutaj, Mosný, Olejník, 2002, pp. 93-158).

### **The population factor**

An extremely important determinant of foreign policy is the population factor. Whether a state is homogeneous or multinational in character can influence its shape. The Slovak Republic is one of the countries with a relatively high proportion of national minorities in Europe (Podolák, 1998, p. 12). In terms of foreign policy, it is especially the stance of Vladimír Mečiar's government towards minorities, mainly Roma and Hungarian, that has affected Slovakia's negative image on the international

arena and slowed down the country's accession to Euro-Atlantic structures.

The 1992 Constitution of the Slovak Republic contains a number of provisions that regulate the rights and freedoms of representatives of national and ethnic minorities. According to Article 6, the state official language is Slovak and the use of minority languages in official dealings is subject to further legal regulation. Article 33 prohibits discrimination on the basis of origin (*Ústava Slovenskej republiky*, 1992). The most rights are contained in Article 34. National and ethnic minorities are guaranteed development, especially the right to develop their own culture together with other members of the minority; the right to disseminate and receive information in the mother tongue; the right of association; the right to establish educational and cultural institutions; the right to receive education in the mother tongue; the right to use it in official contacts (*Ústava Slovenskej republiky*, 1992).

Analysing the results of the 1991 census (the next one was in 2001), it was the Hungarians who inhabited the southern areas of Slovakia, directly neighbouring the Republic of Hungary. The largest concentrations of the Hungarian population were in the Banská Bystrica; Bratislava; Košice; Nitra; Trnava regions. This nationality was declared by 567 296 people. The Roma population is estimated to be around 300 000 or even 500 000, although the 1991 census showed that 75 802 persons declared their membership of this minority (Davidová, 2011; Jakoubek, 2008; Krekovičová, 1999; Kwadrans, 2008; Salner, 2004; Vašečka, 2002). Many Roma declared Slovak or Hungarian nationality for fear of persecution. Roma mostly live in the eastern part of Slovakia. It is an economically underdeveloped region with a relatively high unemployment rate. The reasons for this can be traced back to the Austro-Hungarian era. Hungarians in the 19<sup>th</sup> century resettled Roma in what is now the eastern part of Slovakia (Podolák, 1998, pp. 30-42).

As Juraj Mesik noted, Slovakia is the country with the highest concentration of Roma in Europe (the Roma population in Romania is larger, but they are dispersed). They are not a static population - about 55 % of Slovak Roma are under 18 years of age. This age structure indicates that the Roma population will

grow more and more, and they will be a majority in some regions (Mesik, 1999, p. 16).

The Czech minority resided throughout the country; it is not possible to clearly identify the region of Slovakia where its representatives were in the majority. In the 1991 census, Czech nationality was declared by 52 884 inhabitants. As for the Ruthenians, who never had their own state, they inhabited a dense border area between Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Vojvodina and Hungary. A significant diaspora of them can be found in North America. The largest concentrations of the Ruthenian minority in Slovakia were located in the Prešov region. In the 1991 census, 17 197 people declared this nationality. It is worth mentioning the demands of part of this community aimed at reviving the Ruthenian identity. In the United States United States and Western Europe, the American artist Andy Warhol became immensely popular. His parents were Ruthenians who emigrated to the USA (Bruski, 2003, pp. 109-129; Gajdoš, Konečný, 2005; Garton Ash, 2000; pp. 408-414; Magocsi, 2022).

As Jan Jacek Bruski noted, a section of Carpathian Ruthenians aspires to become an independent nation. The leaders of this trend claim that the fourth nation of Eastern Slavs, alongside the Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians, has been born, or rather has finally matured, in the Carpathians. Diaspora communities also occupy an important place in this concept - above all, the so-called Bačvans, descendants of 18th-century emigrants who settled in the Vojvodina area, as well as a group of several hundred thousand Americans of Carpathian ancestry. J. J. Bruski adds that a group of nationally conscious Ruthenians advocate their belonging to the Ukrainian community, treating the Carpathian concept as a manifestation of an unhealthy and most likely artificially instilled separatism (Magocsi, 2022).

Representatives of the Ukrainian minority resided mainly in the Prešov region. In 1991, 13 281 people declared this nationality (Gajdoš, Konečný, 2005; Podolák, 1998, pp. 48-62). As already mentioned, analysing the censuses one can see a gradually decreasing number of Ukrainians, which is mainly related to the increasing awareness of Ruthenians. The 1991 census showed 5414 people declaring German nationality. This is only 3 % of the number of inhabitants of this nationality living in the Slo-

vak State at the time of its establishment in 1939. In the analysed period, larger concentrations of Germans were located in the districts of: Gelnica, Košice-urbs and Prievidza (Žarna, 2011, pp. 27-30).

Poles formed larger concentrations in the Prešov region, mainly in the districts of Kežmarok and Poprad. In 1991, 2659 persons declared Polish nationality (Podolák, 1998, pp. 69-73).

A Jewish minority lived in dispersion. In the census, Jewish nationality was declared by 134 persons (Podolák, 1998, p. 74). In the census, 6442 persons declared themselves as Moravians. Marek Waldenberg points out that there is often a reference to the crystallisation of the national distinctiveness of communities considered to be part of existing nations or with no consciousness of a national character so far, with the Moravians and Silesians in mind (Waldenberg, 2000, p. 25).

### **Foreign service and diplomacy**

The newly formed state, as already mentioned, both in terms of area and population potential and population potential, it ranks among the small European states. As Alexander Duleba, Pavol Lukáč and Miroslav Wlachovský of the Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association point out – a small state in the international environment is characterised by several factors: low military strength; a relatively weak international position; regional interests; a narrow internal market; and weak domestic economic resources that are dependent on the economic climate (Duleba, Lukáč, Wlachovský, 1998, pp. 9-10).

These factors necessitate a considered strategy to be adopted in the foreign policy of such a state. In this situation, the main objective should be to belong to international political, economic and military organisations and to achieve through them the most important interests of the state. Foreign policy should be realistic – it must be based on facts and not be subject to illusions, especially the one concerning the belief in one's greatness. The Slovak Republic is the smallest state among its neighbours. Its policy must therefore be active – it is forced to pursue its interests in agreement with other states. Foreign policy must be coordinated – implemented in agreement between the

Office of the President, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and individual ministries. The most important goals of the Slovak Republic should be of a long-term nature above the short-term interests of small groups.

Between 1990 and 1992, the Ministry of International Relations of the Slovak Republic was in operation, whose primary task in the reality of the federal state was to present Slovak culture and to establish and develop international cooperation, mainly at the regional level. This institution was renamed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the January 1, 1993. From the very beginning of its activities in the newly formed state, this ministry had to overcome many difficulties and one of the most important was the lack of human resources. The situation was hampered both by the fact that most of the employees of the foreign diplomatic service had taken up employment in the Czech MFA and by the lack of prospects for quickly recruiting reasonably experienced staff. Moreover, the process of setting up this ministry, which was so important and strategic for the newly established state, was not free from political influence, especially from Prime Minister V. Mečiar, who from the very beginning effectively sought to control the work of the ministry and Slovak foreign policy as a whole (Duleba, Lukáč, Wlachovský, 1998, pp. 9-10).

The extent of ties and applicable international law is also an important determinant of foreign policy. In the case of Slovakia in its first period of existence, the bilateral agreements in force with individual states, which regulated mutual relations, were of great importance. This was indispensable due to the fact that it was a new state on the international scene, which had to build its position based on the normalisation of relations with its neighbours. The international organisations to which Slovakia wanted to be a party also played an extremely important role. However, it had to fulfil a number of requirements in the form of modifications to its laws. In turn, the signing and ratification of a number of international conventions and covenants forced the authorities to respect the obligations assumed. Conventions protecting human rights were important in this respect, which in the case of Slovakia was of particular importance during

the government of Vladimír Mečiar between 1994 and 1998. Slovakia, unlike its neighbours (with the exception of Ukraine), did not have a rich tradition of its own statehood and thus experience of conducting foreign policy. At the time of its establishment, therefore, it had to achieve three main objectives in terms of foreign policy: to gain international recognition; to create institutions capable of conducting an efficient foreign policy; and to formulate its programme. The peaceful process of separation of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republics played an important role for the image of the newly formed state. This process took a different course from that of the break-up of Yugoslavia. The special diplomatic note that the Slovak government sent to other countries of the world and the declaration of the Slovak parliament of the December 3, 1992, emphasised the will to accept the principles governing international relations, including those concerning the disarmament process, the building of a democratic system and the observance of human rights (Vyhlásenie, 86/1992).

By the May 1, 1993, the Slovak Republic was recognised by 99 countries worldwide. From its inception it became a member of the CSCE (then OSCE). On January 19, it was accepted into the ranks of the UN and on June 30 it became a member of the Council of Europe. On October 4 it signed an Association Agreement with the European Communities (Vyhlásenie, 85/1992).

By gaining international recognition and becoming a member of many international organisations, Slovakia has achieved a similar status to Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary - countries with a much richer foreign policy experience.

Since Slovakia's inception, it has been difficult to clearly identify where the centre is, and which people formulate foreign policy directions. This was not the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was headed by as many as six ministers between 1993 and 1997. With such a high turnover, it is hard to speak of any continuity. The weak position of the foreign minister in the government had its serious consequences. Firstly, with such frequent changes, foreign partners had no one to talk to about the long-term foreign policy plans of the Slovak Republic. Secondly, there was also the problem of coordinating cooperation with other ministries

and parliament Duleba, Lukáč, Wlachovský, 1998, p. 13).

As mentioned, the MFA was established on the basis of the Ministry of International Relations of the Slovak Republic, which in turn was still active in 1990. Its activity was focused in 1990-1992 on developing international cultural relations and representing Slovakia in cooperation with regions of other countries. In addition, its activities were coordinated through the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague. Eventually, the MFA was operational from January 1, 1993. The principle of a 2:1 division of the Federation's assets between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic also applied to assets abroad. As a result, Slovakia was already in a position at the beginning of January 1993 to open representations in 53 countries of the world and four permanent missions to international organisations.

Compared to their neighbours, the Slovaks had a major problem with a shortage of diplomatic staff. The quality of the foreign and diplomatic service, which was created practically from scratch, is highlighted by Bogusław Pytlik. It was formed by cadres without much experience and that the basic criterion for recruitment was often not skills but political views and preferences (Pytlik, 2010, p. 228).

On the other hand, the preparation of qualified cadres and the establishment of a system for their training required many years, which the Slovaks did not have time for. The diplomats who started their professional path in socialist Czechoslovakia were mostly graduates of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and were forced to leave the ministry after November 1989. In Bratislava, the Institute of International Relations was established at the Faculty of Law of Comenius University, which organised a postgraduate course to prepare future MFA staff. The Faculty of Political Science and International Relations was established at Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, where a postgraduate course was launched and International Relations, where a full-time four-year master's programme in international relations was launched. Students were offered internships at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic and the National Council of the Slovak Republic. The government undertook to develop a scholarship programme for those willing to



study international relations and diplomacy in EU member states and the USA (Duleba, Lukáč, Wlachovský, 1998, pp. 25-26).

Another important issue was the creation of a solid base of experts who would produce foreign policy analyses and reports. The Slovak Foreign Policy Association, mentioned earlier, played such a role, as did the Institute of Public Affairs (IVO)<sup>1</sup> or the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAV). In the case of NGOs like IVO or SFPA, they were funded by grants.

One of the main external factors that influenced the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic was the "autumn of nations" - the decomposition of the political system that had been in place in Central Europe for several decades. The events that took place at the turn of 1989 and 1990 in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic influenced each other. However, there would not have been an "autumn of nations" if Mikhail Gorbachev had not come to power in the USSR. He departed from the Brezhnev doctrine, allowed for liberalisation in domestic politics and, above all, fundamentally changed the approach to the Eastern Bloc countries in which reformist wings could carry out reforms without fear of Soviet intervention (Dobek-Ostrowska, 1998, p. 18).

One result of the end of the Cold War was the emergence of prospects for cross-border cooperation. The hitherto closely guarded borders opened up, with the consequence that there was an opportunity to establish contacts between regions. The development of cooperation within Euroregions was also an important factor. In the case of Slovakia, this cooperation was realised within the Euroregion Beskidy (with Poland and the Czech Republic), the White Carpathian Euroregion (with the Czech Republic), the Carpathian Euroregion (with Poland, Romania, Ukraine and Hungary), Euroregion Pomoraví-Záhorie-Weinviertel (with Austria and the Czech Republic), Euroregion Tatry (with Poland). An important external factor was also the development of regional coop-

eration through participation in the numerous international organizations that were formed in Central and Eastern Europe. The Visegrad Triangle / Visegrad Group, the Central European Initiative or the Central European Free Trade Agreement can be mentioned in particular. A factor that contributed to the positive perception of Slovakia was the peaceful breakup of the joint state with the Czech Republic. This had a special dimension in the context of the events that unfolded in the first half of the 1990s in the Balkans. Hence there was little controversy over Slovakia's rapid accession to a number of international organizations. Back in 1993, it became a member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (January 1), the World Bank (January 16), the UN (January 19) and the Council of Europe (June 30).

Finally, an extremely important external factor was the clear declaration by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe of their desire for Euro-Atlantic integration. Most of the countries of the region emphasized in their foreign policy their desire to join the EC/EU and NATO.

### Summary

In conclusion, among the determinants of the Slovak Republic's foreign policy, historical factors seemed to be decisive. Nearly a thousand years of dependence on Hungary and, above all, the process aimed at the nationalization of the Slovaks, largely influenced the bilateral relations between the two countries after 1993. The differences in the context of Czech-Slovak relations are noticeable here. Despite the fact that the two nations formed a common state between 1918-1939 and 1945-1992, and it was rather the Czechs who had a privileged position, this did not impinge on mutual relations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. At the time of the Slovak Republic's founding, a clear shortage of in foreign service and diplomatic personnel, which was of great importance in the context of creating foreign policy from scratch. The main factor was the fact that most of the Czechoslovak diplomatic staff had been recruited into the Czech diplomatic corps. The Slovaks were thus faced with building their foreign service practically from scratch, which had its consequences in the first years of Slovakia's existence.

<sup>1</sup> The Institute of Public Affairs is a non-governmental organization grouping experts in various fields. It was created with the aim of building civil society. It is also an important think-tank tasked with organizing conferences and seminars on both major domestic and foreign policy issues of the Slovak Republic.

A third important determinant was the multinational character of the Slovak Republic. Of particular importance was the Hungarian minority, accounting for nearly 10 % of the population, living in the Slovak-Hungarian borderland. When the rights of the said minority were violated, it became an important instrument of the foreign policy of the Republic of Hungary and its status repeatedly affected bilateral relations between the two countries. In the early years of the Slovak Republic, there were repeated violations of the rights of the Roma minority, whose population on the basis of the official census in 1991 was certainly underestimated. Many Roma, out of fear of persecution, declared Slovak or Hungarian nationality. The policy of the Slovak authorities toward the Roma and Hungarian minorities, in addition to the deterioration of Slovak-Hungarian bilateral relations, affected the delay of Slovakia's accession to the EU and NATO in subsequent years.

## References

- Bajda, P. (2018). *Małe państwo europejskie na arenie międzynarodowej. Polityka zagraniczna Republiki słowackiej w latach 1993-2016*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW.
- Bobák, J. (Ed.) (2000). *Slovenská republika (1939-1945)*. Matica slovenská.
- Bruski, J. J. (2003). Rusini w Polsce i na Słowacji. Meandry świadomości narodowej. In S. Bednarek, *Świadomość narodowa w Polsce i Słowacji w XIX i XX wieku. Národné vedomie v Pol'sku a na Slovensku v XIX. a XX. storočí*. (pp. 109-129). Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Davidová, E. (2011). *Kvalita života a sociální determinanty zdraví u Romů v České a Slovenské republice*. Triton.
- Dobek-Ostrowska, B. (1998). Proces demokratyzacji Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej – przesłanki i przebieg. In Antoszewski, A. & Herbut, R. (Eds.). *Demokracje Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w perspektywie porównawczej* (pp. 12-33). Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Duleba, A., Lukáč, P. & Wlachovský, M. (1998). *Zahraničná politika Slovenskej republiky. Východiská, stav a perspektívy*. Výskumné centrum slovenskej spoločnosti pre zahraničnú politiku.
- Gajdoš, M. & Konečný, S. (2005). *Rusíni a Ukrajinci na Slovensku v procesoch transformácie (1989-1995). Výber z dokumentov I*. Univerzum.
- Garton Ash, T. (2000). *Historia na gorąco. Eseje i reportaże z Europy lat 90*. Wydawnictwo Znak.
- Jakoubek, M. (2008). *Cikáni a etnicita*. Triton.
- Kamenec, I. (1999). Židovská otázka na Slovensku v čase druhej svetovej vojny In Hoensch, J. K., Birman, S. & Liptak, L. (Eds.). *Emancipácia Židov – antisemitizmus – prenasledovanie v Nemecku, Rakúsko-Uhorsku, v českých zemiach a na Slovensku* (pp. 139-146). Veda vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Kniotek, R. (2008). Tożsamość narodowa Słowaków. *Forum Europejskie*, 15, 51-75.
- Krekovičová, E. (1999). *Medzi toleranciou a barierami. Obraz Rómov a Židov v slovenskom folklóre*. AEP – Academic Electronic Press.
- Kwadrans, Ł. (2008). Edukacja Romów. Studium porównawcze na przykładzie Czech, Polski i Słowacji. Wydawnictwo Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Zawodowej im. Angelusa Silesiusa.
- Lacko, M. (2012). Dwuramienny krzyż w cieniu swastyki. *Republika Słowacka 1939-1945*. Oficyna Wydawnicza El-Press.
- Łoś, R. (2007). *Polityka zagraniczna Słowacji*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Madera, A. J. (2001). *Na drodze do niepodległości, Słowacki system polityczny w okresie transformacji*. Firma „SAS” Wanda Tarnawska.
- Magocsi, P. R. (2022). *Pod osłoną gór. Dzieje Rusi Karpackiej i Karpatorusinów*. Libra.
- Mervart, J. (2020). *Čechoslovakismus*. NLN - Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
- Mesik, J. (1999). Jacy gadżowie, tacy Romowie. *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 16.
- Podolák, P. (1998). *Národnostné menšiny v Slovenskej republike. Z hľadiska demografického vývoja*. Matica slovenská.
- Pytlík, B. (2010). Polityka zagraniczna Republiki Słowackiej w latach 1993-1998. In J. Osiński, *Administracja publiczna. Między polityką, prawem i ekonomią. Jubileusz 10-lecia Katedry Administracji Publicznej Kolegium Ekonomiczno-Społecznego SGH* (pp. 227-267). Oficyna Wydawnicza SGH.
- Salner, A. (2004). *Rómske deti v slovenskom školstve*. SGI.

- Šutaj, Š., Mosný, P. & Olejník, M. (2002). *Prezidentské dekrety Edvarda Beneša v povojnovom Slovensku*. Veda vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Ústava Slovenskej republiky, Z. z. 460/1992.
- Ústavný zákon zo dňa 22. novembra 1938 o autonomii Slovenskej krajiny, Z. z. 1938, č. 299.
- Vašečka, M. (2002). *Rómske hlasy. Rómovia a ich politická participácia v transformačnom období*. Inštitút pre verejné otázky.
- Vyhlásenie Národnej rady Slovenskej republiky k parlamentom a národom sveta. Schválené Národnou radou Slovenskej republiky uznesením z 3. decembra 1992, číslo 86, [http://www.nrsr.sk/web/Static/sk-SK/NRSR/Doc/v\\_k-parlamentom.htm](http://www.nrsr.sk/web/Static/sk-SK/NRSR/Doc/v_k-parlamentom.htm)
- Vyhlásenie Národnej rady Slovenskej republiky o členstve Slovenskej republiky v Rade Európy a prevzatí záväzkov z medzinárodných zmlúv. Schválené Národnou radou Slovenskej republiky uznesením z 3. decembra 1992, číslo 85, [http://www.nrsr.sk/web/Static/sk-SK/NRSR/Doc/v\\_k-prevzatiu-zavazkov.htm](http://www.nrsr.sk/web/Static/sk-SK/NRSR/Doc/v_k-prevzatiu-zavazkov.htm)
- Waldenberg, M. (2000). *Narody zależne i mniejszości narodowe w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Žarna, K. (2009). *Hitler-Henlein-Karmasin. Mniejszość niemiecka na Słowacji w polityce III Rzeszy*. Przemyska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Ignacego Krasickiego.
- Žarna, K. (2011). *Między Berlinem a Budapesztem. Sytuacja polityczna Niemców karpackich w latach 1918-1939*. Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Žarna, K. (2015). *Od Mečiara do Dzurindy. Główne kierunki polityki zagranicznej Republiki Słowackiej w latach 1993-2002*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego.