

FIRST  
ENTAN  
CONFERENCE



# BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

**NON TERRITORIAL  
AUTONOMY**  
*as a form of*  
**PLURINATIONAL  
DEMOCRACY**

22–23 November

Belgrade

2019

PARTICIPATION

RECOGNITION

RECONCILIATION



CA18114: ENTAN – the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network

**First ENTAN conference**  
*Non-Territorial Autonomy as a Form of Plurinational Democracy:  
Participation, Recognition, Reconciliation*

Belgrade, 22 & 23 November 2019

**Book of Abstracts**



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of the European Union



**ENTAN – the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network** is a COST Action aimed at examining the concept of non-territorial autonomy (NTA). ENTAN particularly focuses on NTA arrangements for reducing inter-ethnic tensions within a state and on the accommodation of the needs of different communities while preventing calls to separate statehood.

The main objective is to investigate the existing NTA mechanisms and policies and to develop new modalities for the accommodation of differences in the context of growing challenges stemming from globalisation, regionalisation and European supranational integration. The network fosters interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary group work, and provides for the training and empowerment of young researchers, academic conferences and publications, as well as for the dissemination of results to policy makers, civil society organisations and communities.

[www.entan.org](http://www.entan.org)

*Chair of the First ENTAN Conference Committee:*  
Tove Malloy

*First ENTAN Conference Committee:*  
Ephraim Nimni  
Aleksandar Pavlović  
Jelena Čeriman  
Ivan Dodovski  
Robert Hudson

*We express our sincere appreciation to our host institution:*



Univerzitet u Beogradu  
University of Belgrade

INSTITUT ZA FILOZOFIJU I DRUŠTVENU TEORIJU  
INSTITUTE FOR PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL THEORY



**First ENTAN Conference:**  
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Participation, Recognition, Reconciliation*

**Belgrade, 22-23 November 2019**

**PROGRAMME**

<b>FRIDAY 22 November 2019</b>			
09.00-09.30	<p><b>Opening session</b> Venue: EU Info Centre, Kralja Milana 7, Belgrade</p> <p>Chair: Tove Malloy, Chairperson of the First ENTAN conference committee</p> <p>Speakers: Aleksandar Pavlović, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory at University of Belgrade EU Delegation to Serbia representative, <i>tbc</i> Bratislav Marinković, National COST Coordinator for Serbia Losoncz Dávid, Representative of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council in Serbia Ivan Dodovski, Chair of ENTAN – the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network</p>		
09.30-10.30	<p><b>Keynote:</b> <i>Non-Territorial Autonomy in Plurinational States: The Time Has Come</i> Ephraim Nimni</p>		
10.30-11.00	Coffee/tea break		
	<p><b>First session</b> Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade</p>		
	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; border: none;">Panel A.1</td> <td style="width: 50%; border: none;">Panel B.1</td> </tr> </table>	Panel A.1	Panel B.1
Panel A.1	Panel B.1		
11.00-12.30	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; border: none;"> <p><b>Theorizing NTA</b></p> <p>Chair: Balazs Vizi</p> <p>Paper A.1.1: Legal Theory and the Concept of NTA <i>Jacob Dahl Rendtorff</i></p> </td> <td style="width: 50%; border: none;"> <p><b>Minorities in Border Regions</b></p> <p>Chair: Hynek Böhm</p> <p>Paper B.1.1: The Role of Minorities in the Border Divided Town Cieszyn/Český Těšín <i>Artur Boháč</i></p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p><b>Theorizing NTA</b></p> <p>Chair: Balazs Vizi</p> <p>Paper A.1.1: Legal Theory and the Concept of NTA <i>Jacob Dahl Rendtorff</i></p>	<p><b>Minorities in Border Regions</b></p> <p>Chair: Hynek Böhm</p> <p>Paper B.1.1: The Role of Minorities in the Border Divided Town Cieszyn/Český Těšín <i>Artur Boháč</i></p>
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	<p>Paper A.1.2: An Ethical Framework for Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements <i>Stipe Buzar</i></p> <p>Paper A.1.3: Peace with a Sunset Clause: Legal Theorization of NTA Solutions <i>Assaf Derri</i></p> <p>Paper A.1.4: Karl Renner’s Version of National Cultural Autonomy as a Centripetalist Model <i>Piet Goemans</i></p>	<p>Paper B.1.2: Modalities of Non-Territorial Autonomy: the Polish and Russian Minorities in the Multicultural Border Region of Latgale <i>Alina Romanovska</i></p> <p>Paper B.1.3: Aspect of Non-Territorial Autonomy in Multilevel Heritage Management: The Case of Kashubs in Poland <i>Tomasz Studzieniecki</i></p>
12.30-13.30	Lunch	
	<p><b>Second session</b> Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade</p>	
	Panel A.2	Panel B.2
13.30-15.00	<p><b>NTA and Statecraft</b></p> <p>Chair: Tove Malloy</p> <p>Paper A.2.1: Flipping the Script: Do Groups Claim Non-Territorial Autonomy? <i>Rémi Léger</i></p> <p>Paper A.2.2: Peace in the Middle East: The Matriarchal Version of Plurinational State <i>Erella Shadmi</i></p> <p>Paper A.2.3: The Organization of the French Abroad: A Form of Non-territorial Autonomy? <i>Tudi Kernalegenn</i></p>	<p><b>Cross-border Cooperation</b></p> <p>Chair: Marina Andeva</p> <p>Paper B.2.1: Minorities in cross-border cooperation – a forgotten potential or a challenge to the concept of minority? <i>Martin Klatt</i></p> <p>Paper B.2.2: Management of Cross-border Cooperation Involving Non-territorial Autonomy - A Case Study on Polish Minority in Zaolzie region, Czech Republic <i>Joanna Kurowska-Pysz</i></p> <p>Paper B.2.3: Polish minority educational institutions in the Czech Republic and their engagement in cross-border co-operation with Poland: proto-diplomacy or not? <i>Hynek Böhm</i></p>

	<p>Paper A.2.4: The Extent of Human Rights of Non-territorial Autonomy Networks in Terms of State Constraints and History of Development in the Territory of the Slovak Republic <i>Vladimir Benedik</i></p>	<p>Paper B.2.4: The Bulgarian National Minority in Serbia: Cross-Border Cooperation and Modalities of Non-Territorial Autonomy <i>Mariyan Tomov and Lilia Raycheva</i></p>
15.00-15.30	Coffee/tea break	
	<p><b>Third session</b> Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade</p>	
	Panel A.3	Panel B.3
15.30-17.00	<p><b>Theoretical and Historical Aspects of Diversity Management</b></p> <p>Chair: Konstantinos Tsitselikis</p> <p>Paper A.3.1: The Possibilities and Limits of Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements in Reaching Indigenous Self-Determination <i>Natalija Shikova</i></p> <p>Paper A.3.2: NTA and the International Arena in Historical Perspective: The European Nationalities Congress and the League of Nations <i>David J. Smith</i></p> <p>Paper A.3.3: The Syriac Tradition as a Different Form of Demos: Redefining Identity &amp; Belonging Alongside Immigratory and Scattered Communities in Europe <i>Robert Isaf</i></p>	<p><b>Integration of Societies</b></p> <p>Chair: Branko Bošković</p> <p>Paper B.3.1: Social Rights of Minorities in Montenegro: Integration Based on Good Practice <i>Bojan Božović and Branko Bošković</i></p> <p>Paper B.3.2: Implementing Regulation Regarding Minorities Rights in Romania - Special Overview on the Use of Minority Languages <i>Flavia Lucia Ghencea and Mihnea Claudiu Drumea</i></p> <p>Paper B.3.3: An Overview on Romanian Strategies Regarding Roma Minority Concerning Education and Employment <i>Laura Patache and Octav Neguriță</i></p> <p>Paper B.3.4: Subjectively Perceived Quality of Life of Socially Excluded Roma Communities in the Liberec Region (Czechia) <i>Emil Drápela</i></p> <p>Paper B.3.5: Integration of Ethnic Minorities by Co-production of Public Services <i>Andrius Puksas and Dangis Gudelis</i></p>



<b>SATURDAY 23 November 2019</b>	
<b>Fourth session</b> Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade	
	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 48%;">Panel A.4</div> <div style="width: 48%;">Panel B.4</div> </div>
09.00-10.45	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 48%;"> <p><b>Contemporary Perspectives on NTA</b></p> <p>Chair: Ivan Dodovski</p> <p>Paper A.4.1: The Effectiveness of Not-Territorial Cultural Autonomies in Central and South Eastern Europe <i>Balázs Dobos</i></p> <p>Paper A.4.2: Modalities of Non-territorial Autonomy in North Macedonia: A Preliminary Study <i>Marina Andeva and Ivan Dodovski</i></p> <p>Paper A.4.3: The Serbian Model of National Cultural Autonomy and NTA and Its Contemporary Challenges for Collective Identities and Political Participation of National Minorities <i>Svetluša Surova</i></p> <p>Paper A.4.4: The Perspectives of NTA in the Republic of Moldova <i>Florin Tudor, Valentina Cornea and Andrea Elena Matic</i></p> <p>Paper A.4.5: Non-territorial Autonomy the Lithuanian Way: The Case of the Lithuanian Tatars <i>Egdūnas Račius</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 48%;"> <p><b>Israel-Palestine: NTA and the One State Solution</b></p> <p>Chair: Ephraim Nimni</p> <p>Paper B.4.1: A Dual Non-territorial Autonomy for Palestine-Israel - A Way Further for a Stable Solution <i>As'ad Ghanem</i></p> <p>Paper B.4.2: One-State Solution: Is It More Feasible Than The Two-State Solution? <i>Amneh Badran</i></p> <p>Paper B.4.3: Can NTA Refine the (Post-Oslo) Debate between Liberals and Binationalists over a Single Non-partitioned State in Israel/Palestine? <i>Moshe Behar</i></p> <p>Paper B.4.4: NTA as a Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict <i>Ephraim Nimni</i></p> <p>Paper B.4.5: Protecting the Arabic Language in Israel as a Non-Territorial Autonomy Means to Create Civic Solidarity Between Arabs and Jews <i>Meital Pinto</i></p> </div> </div>

10.45-11.15	Coffee/tea break	
	<b>Fifth session</b> Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade	
	Panel A.5	Panel B.5
11.15-12.30	<p><b>Kurdish-led Autonomy in Syria: Decentralization and Pluralism</b></p> <p>Chair: Cengiz Gunes</p> <p>Paper A.5.1: Autonomy beyond State and Territory <i>Joost Jongerden</i></p> <p>Paper A.5.2: Minority Accommodation through Decentralization and Non-territorial autonomy (NTA): The Case of the Autonomous Administration of North East Syria <i>Cengiz Gunes</i></p> <p>Paper A.5.3: Women’s Rights and the Practice of Non-territorial Autonomy in Northern Syria-Rojava <i>Rosa Burc</i></p>	<p><b>Aspects of Religion and Education</b></p> <p>Chair: Alexandra Ioannidou</p> <p>Paper B.5.1: Sharia in Greece and Europe after the Mola Sali case <i>Konstantinos Tsitselikis</i></p> <p>Paper B.5.2: Managing Religious Diversity in Education: Addressing Competing (In)equalities in Plural Societies <i>Kyriaki Topidi</i></p> <p>Paper B.5.3: Modalities of NTA in Latvia: Concerns of Muslim Youth <i>Anita Stasulane and Janis Priede</i></p> <p>Paper B.5.4: Education and Cultural Identities. Pedagogical Movements, History, Linguistic and Cultural Normalization in Catalonia during the Twentieth Century <i>Antonia M. Mora-Luna and Immaculada Colomina Limonero</i></p>
12.30-13.30	Lunch	

	<b>Sixth session</b> Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade	
	Panel A.6	Panel B.6
13.30-14.30	<p><b>European Post-conflict Perspectives</b></p> <p>Chair: Aleksandar Pavlović</p> <p>Paper A.6.1: Beyond the Territory Principle: Non-Territorial Approach to the Kosovo Question(s) <i>Jelena Ćeriman &amp; Aleksandar Pavlović</i></p> <p>Paper A.6.2: Post Conflict Peace-building, Inter-ethnic Relations and Possible Chances for Reconciliation in Balkans <i>Olivera Injac</i></p> <p>Paper A.6.3: Determination of the Economic Support in the Context of NTA Arrangements for Regional and Socio-economic Development in Bosnia &amp; Herzegovina <i>Aleksandra Figurek, Una Vasković and Anatoly Goncharuk</i></p>	<p><b>Historical Programmes of NTA for European Jews in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (I)</b></p> <p>Chair: Roni Gechtman</p> <p>Paper B.6.1: Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA): Good for the Jews or Bad for the Jews <i>Guido Franzinetti</i></p> <p>Paper B.6.2: Genesis of an Idea: The Bund's Internal Debates on National-Cultural Autonomy at Its 1903 Congress <i>Roni Gechtman</i></p> <p>Paper B.6.3: Jewish National Councils and Non-Territorial Autonomy at Paris Peace Negotiations: Ethno-national Diplomacy Limiting Ethno-national Sovereignty <i>Marcos Silber</i></p>
14.30-15.00	Coffee/tea break	
	<b>Seventh session</b> Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade	
	Panel A.7	Panel B.7
15.00-16.00	<p><b>Speakers of Irish, Romansh and Breton: Non-Territorial Autonomy vs. Territoriality Principle</b></p> <p>Chair: David Smith</p> <p>Paper A.7.1: From Territorial to Network Community: Agency and Empowerment among Breton speakers in Brittany <i>Stefan Moal</i></p>	<p><b>Historical Programmes of NTA for European Jews in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (II)</b></p> <p>Chair: Roni Gechtman</p> <p>Paper B.7.1: Chaim Zhitlowsky's Concept of a Jewish Culture Nation and the Non-territorial Autonomy Strategies of Its Political Realization <i>Kay Schweigmann-Greve</i></p>

	<p>Paper A.7.2: The Irish Gaeltacht as a Trans-local Phenomenon <i>Steve Coleman and Éamon Ó Ciosáin</i></p> <p>Paper A.7.3: Non-Territorial Autonomy vs Territoriality Principle: Challenges to the Promotion of Romansh in Switzerland <i>Rico Valär</i></p>	<p>Paper B.7.2: Between Two Worlds: Antonio Gramsci and the Jewish National Question <i>Vincenzo Pinto</i></p>
16.00-16.30	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Closing plenary session</b> Chair: Aleksandar Pavlović</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade</p>	



## Panel A.6. European Post-Conflict Perspectives

### Paper A.6.1

#### Beyond the Territory Principle: Non-Territorial Approach to the Kosovo Question(s)

Aleksandar Pavlović

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#### Abstract

This paper presents an attempt to approach the dispute over Kosovo between Serbs and Albanians from a non-territorial perspective, with a particular focus on cultural heritage. Firstly, the authors argue that the Kosovo issue is at present commonly understood as an either-or territorial dispute between Serbia and Kosovo, a “zero sum game“ over sovereignty and recognition between Serbian and Kosovo Albanian politicians. However, as we submit our paper, the lasting resolution to the Kosovo issue actually needs to account for at least three separate problems – 1) Northern Kosovo which is ethnically Serbian and still maintains various ties with the Serbian state, 2) the status of Serbian cultural heritage, chiefly UNESCO world heritage with regard to the Serbian medieval monasteries and churches and 3) Serbian enclaves south of the river Ibar, which are small islands of Serbs surrounded by vast Albanian population. Secondly, the authors examine the possibilities of applying the NTA concepts to the Kosovo problem, particularly focusing on the current role, status and perception of Serbian cultural and religious heritage in Kosovo in both Serbian and Kosovar society. We analyse the legal framework surrounding Serbian cultural heritage in Kosovo, its preservation and protection, particularly of the Serbian Orthodox monasteries, churches and other historical and cultural sites. We also consider the media discourse on the Kosovo bids for UNESCO membership and the debate in Kosovo on the Law on Special Protective Zones, Prizren and Velika Hoča/ Hoçë e Madhe, grasping Albanian position on heritage. This analysis is complemented with the discussion on the applicability of the NTA to Serb communities and monuments in central Kosovo. Arguably, since these parts are not even included in any sovereignty or territorial exchange negotiations, the NTA approach is particularly valuable for these communities and cultural/religious monuments.

**Keywords:** *non-territorial autonomy, cultural heritage, religious heritage, Kosovo*

**Aleksandar Pavlović** is a full-time researcher at the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory of the University of Belgrade with a PhD in Southeast European Studies from the University of Nottingham. He was a visiting fellow at the Centre for Southeast European Studies in Graz, New

Europe College in Bucharest, the Albanian Institute for International Studies in Tirana and the OSA Arhivum in Budapest. He published two books: *Imaginarni Albanac* (Beograd: IFDT, 2019) and *Epika i politika* (Beograd: XX vek, 2014), and he co-edited *Rethinking Serbian-Albanian Relations: Figuring out the Enemy*, Routledge 2019, *Politics of Enmity* (Belgrade: IFDT/Donat Graf, 2018) and *Figura neprijatelja: preosmišljavanje srpsko-albanskih odnosa* (Beograd: Beton/IFDT, 201; Albanian edition: *Figura e armikut: ripërfytyrimi i marrëdhënieve shqiptaro-serbe*, Pristinë: Qendra Multimedia 2016). He publishes academic articles in the fields of Balkan studies, cultural studies and literature and occasionally contributes to printed and online media in the region and beyond.

**Jelena Čeriman** is a Researcher at the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory of the University of Belgrade with a PhD in Sociology from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. She has published on social engagement and social norms, social exclusion and gender. Her current research interests lie in protest movements, civil society and activism, and she is a national leader on the project *Disobedient Democracy: A Comparative Analysis of Contentious Politics in the European Semiperiphery*. She was engaged as a researcher in numerous projects supported by UN Women, UNICEF etc., and has coordinated several international projects concerning youth, poor or unprivileged social groups.