

Slobodan JANKOVIĆ*

National, Cultural and Civilisation Borders in the Balkans

The Balkans just like Palestine represents the religious, civilisation, cultural, ethnic and epoch borderline. It is also a boundary between modernity and Post modernity which adds on complexity of the divisions, intercultural, inter-religious and interethnic relations and conflicts. Contemporary Balkans is a scene of different legitimisation of the borders, from the modern one based on a national sovereignty and ethnically based movements for national independence (Albanian and Muslim elites and Serbian and Croatian political elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina) to post-modern concept of a (post) democratic state with formally democratic institutions promoting liberties of new and new minorities and restraints on a majority populations. Conflicts in the Balkans are exacerbated and supported after the end of the Cold War by the Westernised West in expansion, and afterward by the subsequent financial and economic crisis. Influences of the bearers of the regional civilisations (West, Christian Orthodox East – Russia and Oriental East – Turkey) and their infiltration and presence in the region transpose conflicting regions and utterly contest shifting borders among the Balkan countries and inside them.¹⁾

Civilisation, culture, national

Europe and Asia are only two continents delimited mostly culturally, historically and politically. Physical borders are characteristic of other continents. Europe has three big peninsulas in Mediterranean sea. Iberian and Apennine peninsula (Penisola Appenninica) belong only to Roman Catholic tradition with only one (Apennine – though it has other two San Marino and Vatican, geographically irrelevant states) or two/three states (Iberian – Spain, Portugal and Andora) and one linguistic family – roman languages. The Balkans represents religious, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic and finally civilisation variety.

Best example of the cultural diversity in the Balkans is that of the historical,

* Slobodan Janković, Research Associate at IIPE, Belgrade

1) See: Slobodan Janković, "Borders in the Balkans: Longevity In The Postmodern Era", in the collection of papers, *Srbija u savremenom geostrateškom okruženju (Serbia In Contemporary Geo-Strategic Surroundings)*, Slavica Đerić-Magazinović i Nevenka Jeftić-Šarčević (ed.), Institute of International politics and Economics, Belgrade and Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade 2010, pp. 165-178.

central Balkan region – of Macedonia. Due to shared identities of the inhabitants of Macedonia (which do not entirely corresponds with today FYR Macedonia) and presence of many different ethnic and religious communities, Italians named mixed fruit salad *Macedonia*. Macedonia at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, under the Ottomans, had peoples who shared Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian identity with regional Macedonian identity that initiated to evolve in ethnic. In the same time groups of Vlachos, Turks and Roma population were present in large numbers, mostly in urban centres, while Albanians were grouped in the North-East.

Geographically Balkan states – those who have entire or part of their territory in the Balkans – are Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, FYR Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. Due to small European part of its country but with non proportional importance (Constantinopoli/Istanbul and Adrianopolis/Edirne) Turkey may be considered Balkan country as well, while Slovenia, although has part of its territory in the Balkans is culturally and politically firmly related to the Mittel Europa. Finally, Romania is historically embedded in the Balkans while only its shore is geographical part of the peninsula.

Balkan Peninsula (The Balkans) is delimited by the river Kupa-Sava on the north north-East up to Belgrade where Danube represents its boundary toward Mittel Europa and ends in the Black Sea on the East. On the South Aegean Sea, Bosphorus and Dardanelles and Ionian and Adriatic Sea on the West are delimitating this part of Europe. It has an area of 550,000 km².

The Balkans, before becoming civilisation frontier was the home and *limes* of Helens and the barbarians, of the Empire and the barbarians. But its new border nature it assumed since 11th century when along the peninsula run the divisive line between Roman Catholics and the Orthodox Christianity. Advancement of the Islamic Ottomans brought the third civilisation in the region and utterly contributed to the changes and variety of the local cultures and peoples.

Secularisation that started in the 20th century with communism continues, after few years of the cohabitation between nationalism and religious tradition, in post communist – post-democratic regimes from Croatia to Bulgaria. Atheism, and the new, pro-European wave of secularism, dressed in politically correct and in ideology of multiculturalist's concept of human rights stepped in the middle and against traditional religions of the region. Advocates and activists of human rights does became sort of a new cultural or civilisation model – a post-modern.

Civilisation as a modern concept arose among pre-Revolutionary French intellectuals who underpinned Revolution and modernity. The term was first used

in *L'Ami des hommes: Traité de la population* (1756).²⁾ It is preceded by, again French, term *civiliser* (since XVI century) which had double usage – in law and as a process of becoming more polite, educated and gentle for persons.³⁾ It initially, and partly today, means modern society with its material and scientific achievements along with good manners. In fact, antic civilisation did not use the term civilisation to describe themselves as different to barbarians. Barbarian in the beginning was simply Greek term for the people who do not speak Hellenic (just as Slavs call Germans *Nemci* – people who speak non understandable language, or people incapable to speak). This is why there is no Latin world for civilisation either. The term *culture* in its today meaning was coined even later. Various definitions of civilisation are the product of relatively late invention of this word. Mostly accepted definition of civilisation may be the social process whereby societies achieve an advanced stage of development and organisation. Even this definition has modern coinages as *society* and even the idea of *progress* as refers to the advanced stage of development are modern inventions. For the culture, as more narrow term, we adopt the Raymond Williams definition, with further description of Ilias G. Spyridonidis: “(c)ulture means ‘the total of arts’ and ‘the systems of significances and values’ or ‘the way of life’. It is interesting and useful to add laconically that culture is a complicated system of meanings-significances, values and arts in permanent development and this is why periodically the gravity of significance of culture takes concrete directions, precisely because it develops with the culture itself.”⁴⁾ Hence, both definitions describe civilisation and culture as something active and evolving, but always inside one peculiar system.

Culture often refers to the nation understood as an ethnicity/people as it is in the Balkans – national culture. Nation or people, in that sense, are a millenary old term that predates for long modern concepts of civilisation and culture. Yet, its meaning was changing. Still, tribal and ethnic identity existed before Christ as they continue to live nowadays. Religion as a key agent in differentiation of the civilisations in the Balkans in 19th and until the end of the 20th century became crucial component for defining national identity among Serbs and Croats and later on Muslims/Bosniaks. If previously Serbs could have been divided (as Albanians are today) in Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics and Muslims, today it is almost

2) Taken from: “Civilization in a Historical and Global Perspective”, *International Sociology*, Vol 16(3) September 2001, pp. 293–300, p. 293.

3) Sandro Chignola, “Civis, Civitas, Civilitas. Translations in Modern Italian and Conceptual Change”, Internet, <http://eprints.sifp.it/20/1/CHIGNOLA.html>, taken on: 03/09/2010.

4) Ilias G. Spyridonidis, “Civilization Synthesis: A Theoretical Model Based On Systemic Approach That Describes The Cultural Influence Phenomenon”, *Review of International Affairs*, VOL. LIX, N°. 1129 January-March 2008.

impossible to find any Roman Catholic or a Muslim that would define itself as Serb or even of a Serbian descent. Even more striking is the example of the Muslims in former Yugoslav republics. They built national identity entirely based on the religion. Today, Slavic Muslim in Macedonia, Serbia (any part of Serbia including Kosovo and Metohija), Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia and of course in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a Bosniak, no matter if it has any ties to Bosnia. In virtue of being a Muslim such person becomes Bosniak (initially new term for the Muslims in Bosnia).

Borders between concepts

“Contemporary IR literature on borders offers different approaches, from claiming their deconstruction to persistence of their importance as nation states continue to play crucial role in international system. Realists usually consider borders as ‘legal phenomena and borders as related to security... Territoriality is a central concept of state security and is fundamental to the (...) *geopolitical setting* that also affects the security of states.’⁵⁾... It is quite clear that the state borders do not delimitate or usually not, the area inhabited with one nation (in ethnic sense). But they do ascribe to the principle of sovereignty and are one of the testimonies of it and of the territoriality – of territorial integrity of the state.

Globalisation, i.e. rising role and relevance of international over national; non state actors over states in international milieu; in particular the growing importance of international corporations and expansion of international authority through, primarily, internationalisation of financial international governance, questions state sovereignty and by implication state borders.^{6),7)}

“Guarantee of borders and national sovereignty today are questioned under the pretext of the humanitarian intervention and the right of self-determination and lately (...) under a pretext of the further democratisation and even of environmental protection. Balkans, precisely the ex Socialist Yugoslavia is territory where post modernistic concept (globalisation, *tyranny* of the human rights at the expenses of humans, individualism etc) collision with modernity (sovereignty, national identity, collective rights) was, and still is, being propagated. Validity of the border is relative and based on the interpretation of the

5) Harvey Starr, “International Borders: What They Are, What They Mean, and Why We Should Care”, *SAIS Review*, Washington: Winter 2006. Vol. 26, Iss. 1; pp. 3-4.

6) For financial international governance in: Ralph C. Bryant, *Turbulent Waters: Cross-Border Finance and International Commerce*, Brookings Institution Press 2003, pp. 520.

7) Taken from: Slobodan Janković, “Borders in the Balkans: Longevity In The Postmodern Era”, op., cit.

“international community”.⁸⁾

Post modernity is sort of ideology or philosophy accompanying globalisation. “Alexander Dugin (Александр Гельевич Дугин) founder of the New Eurasianism, in a tradition of Zinoviev (Александр Александрович Зиновьев) thought on West and the *Big Crossroad*, published a book on geopolitics of postmodernism tracing the clash of two fundamental geopolitical principles through three temporal periods, pre modern, modern and post-modern.⁹⁾ He does not offer one definition of Post Modernism, yet it can be deduced from various thoughts on it. Dugin, instead, explains the goal of the post-modernism as: “(...) complete and radical breaking of all societies in atomic units – until the liquidation of states, nations, national authorities, borders and the transformation of the planet in unique ‘civil society’ guided by the ‘world government’.”^{10),11)} If Zinoviev in the last years of 20th century could write of the geographical division between the Western part of the *Global Humant Hill* and rest of it, today we can agree with Dugin’s view of more and more virtual aspect of the geographical division.

New Westernised West is less and less traditional West borne in post Roman western Europe, as described by Braudel (Fernand Braudel) or idealised by the Samuel P. Huntington: old West is combination of *classical legacy, Western Christianity, European languages, Separation of spiritual and temporal authority, Rule of law, Social pluralism and civil society, Representative bodies, Individualism*.¹²⁾ All mentioned features and others since 1980s are in the process of transformation. Individualism persists and is being more and transformed in the depersonalised consumer, languages are being transformed in the new English, with coinages resembling the Orwell's New speak (one of the latest is resolution of the Council of Europe that calls to ban the phrases father an mother!). Social pluralism is challenged by the advancement and propagation of the new, politically correct multiculturalist, hybrid society intolerant for the critics. Western Christianity is disintegrating toward Post Christian society, where new promotion of human rights and ideology of material progress results in the moral relativism and decadency.

8) Ibidem.

9) Serbian edition: Александар Дугин, *Геополитика постмодерне: доба нових империја*, Никола Пашић, Београд 2009, p. 300.

10) Александар Дугин, *Геополитика постмодерне*, p. 17.

11) Slobodan Janković, “Borders in the Balkans: Longevity In The Postmodern Era”, op., cit.

12) *European languages* (presence of the many small languages as markers along with the religion of the European nations), *Separation of spiritual and temporal authority* (this started to be significantly adopted since the end of the 18th century—author), *Rule of law* (rather questionable phrase since laws and costumes govern all the societies, and those in power from time to time are breaking it irrespective of whether they belong to Western or Islamic or any other civilisation – author).

Since the notion of the West, as a Westernised post-democratic society, ascribes to the elites and classes across the globe that adopt global or world citizenship and related values, masses, even in the West, are progressively falling toward the brink of material survivor, forming the global poor. Along with the global poor (which may belong either to West or to the East) and the globalist elites, there are peoples and persons still nurturing traditional and modern values of attachment to a particular group, religious or ethnic identity and they are mostly unaware of being on the frontline with the post-modern society in making. Concept of a global democracy, where the freedom of the individual would be guaranteed or denied by the world-state is different from the citizen of the nation-state, where the citizen has its cultural and national values and heritage protected by specific state as expression of local history in which it can protect and propagate rights and freedoms as being rooted in particular culture/tradition. Particular possibility for the national citizen which global citizen could never have is the possibility of the asylum.

Physical destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was omen of the Western advancement and just seemingly of the breakdown of borders. In fact, it meant only a transfer of the border to the East, toward Russia and inside former Yugoslavia toward Serbia. Western global ideology started to permeate new societies. In the Balkans only Serbia and Montenegro until October 2000, officially resisted such policies and dislocation of the frontier. In the same time new universalistic/global post-democracy Westernism was gaining ground in the traditional West. In the internal and the foreign policies of the old West this meant vanishing of the differences between political parties, disappearance of the Cold war political Left and Right. Today most parties are on or around political centre. New Left is transformed in the pro-immigration and pro sexual minorities advocate and the new Right in the pro-banks and pro-large corporations, opposing foreign immigration activists. Parties representing ordinary citizen, representing European peoples, simply are not present in the EU national parliaments or only in smaller numbers. In this atmosphere it was and still it is possible to continue to transpose the limits of publicly accepted as happens with imposed EU integration and adoption of the EU treaties without or against the consent of EU citizens. As John Laughland, a British philosopher and historian (commenting on Maastricht referenda in Denmark and later referenda in France, Netherlands and in Ireland) puts it "You may vote until you say yes, and you will never again be given opportunity to say no".¹³⁾ Similarly, in the climate of the unlimited and unopposed

13) Said during a panel in Belgrade "BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST: THE SERBIAN

building of new European society of citizens and not of nations (as bearers of different cultures and civilisations) highest EU representatives and bureaucrats were able to falsify Pericle statement passed to us by Thucydides, and put this falsity in the preamble of the disputed Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe.¹⁴⁾

Bearers of this transformed West came in the Balkans with arms in Bosnia and Herzegovina (US and EU military presence as the result of the NATO bombing in 1995 and subsequent Dayton peace negotiations) and in Serbia (occupation of the Kosovo and Metohija after the aerial aggression of NATO in 1999 and NATO mission in the province). In other countries they got bases voluntarily (Romania and Bulgaria), while most of the region entered NATO. They came softly through EU accession process demanding new and new reforms not limited only on the public administration and economy but aimed on the social engineering.

In the Balkans influence of the communist and previous Ottoman experience (with the national democratic intermedium) left culture of authoritarianism and intolerance toward open and public dialogue and debate. This legacy adopted post-modern evolution toward post-democratic regime almost unchallenged. Thus, political parties with media attention in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bulgaria fit in the previously described transformation of internal politics in the Western countries.

Coming back to borders, this spread of post-modern West is visible as in academic writings as well in textbooks and in the academic courses. Excellence network on borders and conflicts coordinated by the University of Oxford puts national and group identity in the concept of conflict, while “the practices of syncretism, hybridisation, creolisations, polyphony and build-up of transnational and cosmopolitan identity” belong to multicultural interactions. Divisive line between multiculturalism and *hybridisation* on the one side and the national and ethnic communities on the other is in the adopted language of this academic pamphlet. Namely multiculturalism, transnational, cosmopolite and even hybrid are never mentioned along with the terms construct, conflict, propagate, reserved for the nation, ethnic or any identity that comes from the culture as something that is intrinsically particular. Reader of this and similar texts could understand that hybrid and ‘multiculti’ is something natural while national, ethnic or tribal are constructs with destructive consequences. Put aside that nation, ethnicity and tribe

QUESTION TODAY”, JUNE 25, 2009 Belgrade.

14) Luciano Canfora, professor of Greek and Latin Philology at the University of Bari presented this case of a falsification of the Pericle statements that opposed democracy to freedom, by Constitutional Convention on Future of Europe headed by Valery Giscard d'Estaing, in *La democrazia: storia di un'ideologia*, Editori Laterza Bari 2008, pp. 11-14.

are phenomena since the biblical times. This propaganda, of course uses stereotype of a creation of the nation state in the 19 century and somehow gives impression of a better world in a global hybrid empire where all borders, boundaries and frontiers would perish as they are always restrictions for someone (in this text for minorities).¹⁵⁾ It fails to discernate between creation of the modern institutions and the nation states that predates these institutions. Finally, in the globalised world vision dissenters could not be able to find safe heaven. That is the vision of the world without alternatives just like a political slogan in Serbia “Europe does not have an alternative!”¹⁶⁾ Samuel P. Huntington is one of the authors, today the most popular, who spoke about the *Clash of civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*.

Balkan among borders

Balkan is one of the crossroads of civilisations, of religions, similar to Israel/Palestine.

Tradition of Limes in both regions derives from antiquity. Palestine since the expulsion of the Jews in the 2nd century AD stopped to be the cultural and religious frontier until the Crusades and since the 14th century remained part of the Muslim heartland until the beginning of the 20th century. Balkan continued to be the crossroad of religions and cultures until present days. For centuries it used to be part of the European Turkey or European part of Asia – of Middle East. Both regions also present important trade and population movement intersections, Palestine – between Africa and Asia – Balkans – between Europe and Asia. Both are linked to important maritime passages and trade routs: Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits for the Balkans, and the Suez for the Palestine/Israel.

Palestine versus Balkans: Historical territory of Israel is a *locus nascendi* of two of three monotheistic religions (Judaism and Christianity). Its eastern borders were one of the imperial Roman frontiers and limes. Today’s Palestine (Israel plus Occupied Territories) with neighbouring Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia presents inter-religious and inter civilisation conflict between Judaists, Christians and Muslims and between bearers of Arab/Muslim, Christian and Jewish civilisation. Palestine conflict territorialisation has triple geopolitical layer,

15) *WPS 1.3: Borders and Conflicts in the Mediterranean*, Ramses 2 Network Of Excellence, Coordinator: University of Oxford, retrieved on: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:ARMRAZ-ALscJ:www.sant.ox.ac.uk/esc/ramses/concept_paper.doc+WPS+1.3:+Borders+and+Conflicts+in+the+Mediterranean,+Ramses+2+Network+Of+Excellence,+Coordinator:+University+of+Oxford.&cd=1&hl=sr&ct=clnk, 12/10/2010.

16) Government phrase that means that despite all the troubles, social, national and economic downturns Serbia does not have other path except to integrate in the EU, no matter what the cost is.

where Palestinian Arabs are surrounded by the Jewish state, which is surrounded by the Arabs and they in turn are surrounded by Anglo-Saxon and NATO forces (Cyprus, Iraq, NATO forces in Arabic peninsula in Arabic sea and Indian Ocean and finally with Turkey in transition).¹⁷⁾ Palestine is also a continental delimitation between Africa and Asia. Finally, Israeli society stands for modern democracy (unlike post-modern) as contrary to absolutistic, authoritarian regimes (some of which traditional, as in Saudi Arabia) and popular democracy in Lebanon which is sort of a Middle Eastern Macedonia. Therefore we can call this area a geopolitical knot.

Balkans, as we demonstrated previously, has three big religions in the region (Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Islam). It is European periphery (once the cradle) and continental frontier toward Asia, point of intersection between religions, civilisations and cultures, between West and East. It has two important international trade and transport water flows 1) Danube – European corridor VII; and 2) straits (Bosporus and Dardanelles) with particular importance for Russian naval projection and for those who want to limit and prevent it. It is also intersection of influences and interests of USA, EU, Russia and, lately gaining in importance, of Turkey. Continental transport route, ancient *via militaris*, nowadays is European corridor X. Two rival (South Stream and Nabucco) gas pipelines are envisaged to be built in the Balkans.

We can agree with Jovan Ilić that: “The Balkan geopolitical knot is made of: a) peoples and states, their relations and connections, b) exterior states and organisations which are active politically, economically and in some other ways in the Balkans.”¹⁸⁾

Frontier of civilisations was redrawn in the Balkans with the beginning of the wars. Balkans gained in bad popularity as a place of destruction, death and evil, with Serbian population winning treatment in the Western public discourse as contemporary nazists. Fashioned stories of patriotism as nationalism, which equals chauvinism and fascism, all together in a new version of absolute evil (discrimination, xenophobia) found ground in the virtual Balkans, one presented in the media and in the politically correct (pseudo)scientific literature. Today, more than ever, patriotism in Serbia is labelled as fascism and major mass media accept only two political sides – right wing extremism and EU optimism. Divisive line,

17) I have explained more thoroughly these layers in : Слoбoдaн Јaнкoвић, „Блиски истoк прe и пoслe Aнaпoлиca“ oригинални, у „Aктуeлнa питaњa из мeђународних oднoсa“, др Нeвeнкa Јeфтић (прир), Институт зa мeђународну пoлитикy и приврeду, Бeогрaд, суфинaнсијeр: Мин. нaукe Србијe, Бeогрaд 2008, стр. 448.

18) Jovan Ilić, “The Balkan Geopolitical Knot and the Serbian Question”, Source: *The Serbian Questions in The Balkans*, University of Belgrade, publisher - Faculty of Geography, Belgrade 1995.

border between real and virtual Balkan, between healthy feeling of patriotism (as a positive feeling – love for/of something) and fascism/discrimination does are becoming blur in the conscience even of the people in the Balkans. Hence, new barbarians were invented. Not the barbarians of ancient times, nor the barbarians/savages from the epoch of illuminated colonialism, but barbarians as bearers of absolute evil. In the Post modern relativity only Serbs became an absolute, although negative. They were presented as such in the Western propaganda during 90'es but are being increasingly portrayed as such by the Serbian media since 2008. Clearest example is the latest definition of the violent protesters against the government and the state sponsored gay “Pride Parade”, as hooligans and vandals who should be criminally charged and French and Greek aggressive rioters as ‘demonstrators’.

Regional countries along with the dissolution of Eastern European communism became a field for the proliferation of borders. Another element important for the understanding of the transformation and relocation of the borders in the Balkans (and inside Balkan countries) is identity transformation and transition, from Yugoslav and national identities in the Balkans, people in the 1990s were more prone to embrace the ethnic and religious identity then in period after 2nd World War. Socialist Yugoslavia constitution of 1974 gave right to constituent nations to secede (not to the Republics). Since peoples do not have formal borders, states are the framework for the boundary delimitation. Yet, new states have been created also disrespectful of the nations populating them. Bosnia and Herzegovina, international protectorate, is a result of the end of the wars and the NATO intervention. It is typical example how a state is created despite a will of the nations (of Serbs and Croats). Until 2010, out of Socialist Yugoslavia, four independent (as small states with a shared sovereignty) states came out: Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Slovenia. Another two are international protectorates (formally independent states with the seat in the UN, but with restrained sovereignty and both divided internally on the basis of religion and nation): FYR Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and NATO occupied, internationally monitored Republic of Kosovo, part of Serbia, without almost any Serbian authority and with self-proclaimed independence of local authorities lately accused of worst serious and war crimes. Dissolution may not be over, since the separatist tendencies in Raska/Sandjak region of south-west Serbia and in North-East Montenegro, North Serbia and in Bosnia/Herzegovina and in FYR Macedonia are still present. Post-modern tendencies adopted by the state elites are not shared by the minority elites in Serbia, in Bosnia and in Romania. They are clashing and demanding new borders based on ethnicity. Balkans is *topos* where communist

society was transformed in post-communist Partitocrazia which evolves toward post-democracy. Transition from communism to post-democracy is followed with borders transition from administrative lines to internationally delimited monitored territories.

In this period the Balkans finally became new frontier for imperial policies of NATO since its expansion after victory in the Cold War. Frontier, unlike border, presented in 19th century USA, is an open space for incursions and aggressive expansion. In that sense, also the Balkans became a frontier toward East, toward Russia. But as Western economic and subsequently political power begins to fade globally, new strong states, with different civilisation and religious background started claiming and taking their piece of the cake also in the Balkans.

After the first decade of the 21st century we can delineate three major geopolitical and civilisation tendencies in the Balkans:

- I) Demise of Turkey and its growing influence in Albania, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Serbia (including Kosovo and Metohija). Its aspirations are aimed at former Ottoman territories but mostly at Muslim populated territories of Bulgaria, on territories with majority Albanian population in Macedonia and all of Albania and in Serbia (Kosovo and Metohija, and in Sandzak).
- II) Russian economic and energy penetration in Serbia and in Republika Srpska – Serbian entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- III) NATO and EU expansion with non integrated space of Serbia, Bosnia and until now of Montenegro. Unlike in previous decade, this expansion is no more greeted and cheered by the general population but is mostly seen as a desperate measure to maintain and advance the socio-economic position of the people.¹⁹⁾ Thus this process is closing to an end if it has not ended already.

Civilisation identities and its even geopolitical delimitations entered in vogue, even in academic circles, after Samuel Huntington have had published the article and afterward a book on the clash of civilisations, rooted in big religions. Yugoslav wars, already in act when mentioned article was published, seemed to be explained by Prof. Huntington. Still, post-modern elites in the most of the Balkans countries are producing more and more policies irrespective of the wishes and tendencies of the Balkan peoples which in conjecture with the world and local financial crises ignites social tensions inside countries and among ethnic and religious groups.

19) See for example the public opinion poll on EU integration in Serbia published by the EU integration office of the Government of Serbia – it is at all time low – with 57 percent for. Internet, <http://www.seio.gov.rs/code/navigate.asp?Id=89>, retrieved on 21. January 2011.

Without concluding

If we embrace the aforementioned definition of civilisation in combination with the religion criteria as a long lasting societal determinant we see the intertwined civilisation boundaries in the Peninsula. Cultural borders, present world wide, follow the civilisation lines.

Proliferation of new nations after 1945 and change of collective identities, such as those of Muslim peoples in the Balkans makes the region 'larger Macedonia' – a potentially explosive mixture. First and second Yugoslavia were destroyed in the name of the national liberation from the Serbian hegemony (similar argumentation was used by the Nazi Croatian and other collaborators in the Second World war and by the nationalist elites in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina in the beginning of the Socialist Yugoslavia crisis). Same language was used later on in Montenegro, and it is still being applied among parties and groups in Serbia calling for regional autonomy based on different ethnic, religious or regional identity. As revealed, these groups are almost always financed and helped by the same structures in the West who propagate borderless, hybrid world. Thus, the process of the change of borders and tendency toward creation of the new nations is occurring in the Balkans along with the westernisation of the internal political life and consequently of social and cultural life. Contemporary existence and life of different epochs – modern and post modern – civilisation, cultural and national borders makes explosive combination. End of Yugoslav wars did not end the erosion of the state. Effectively divided Macedonia, frictions in BiH, Kosovo and Metohija issue and the initiation of the separatist processes in Vojvodina and in Raska/Sandzak leave space for the future conflicts.

Begginning of the 21st century is marked with the globalisation in the sphere of culture and identity politics. Thus, the border between 'us' and 'them' is being stigmatised by the political and culture elites in order to promote depersonalised, consumer individual without particular characteristics that might collocate he/she in some particular cultural group. Cultural, civilisation and national attributes are being temporarily supported among ethnic minorities (except for the Bosnia) and neglected when it comes to the majority.²⁰⁾ The advanced phase of the melting pot (as in Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania), as a post-modern process is in act, in parallel with the modern affirmation of patriotism and nationalism (even chauvinism) among Albanian elites in the region. What is evident is the division

20) More on the depersonalisation and transformation of identity in multi, poli, pluri relative notion of identity, from human to humanoid in Miloš Knežević, *Mozaik geopolitike: identitet, tranzicija, srpsko pitanje*, Belgrade Institut za političke studije, 2008, pp. 304. This is indeed valuable resource on Balkan borders and geopolitical scenarios.

and dissolution of Slavic lands, in particular of territories traditionally being Serbian and Russian. On the other hand post-modern is highlighting other borders – those transferred in public and academic discourse or generally in social communication – as distinction between politically correct and in-correct. Pressures of globalisation on cultural and religious identities in the Balkans as evidenced in the state promotions of the homosexual parades in Balkan countries (with the notable exemption in Bosnia and Herzegovina) causes new divisions and public uproar. Post-modern elites in the most of the Balkans countries are producing more and more policies irrespective of the wishes and tendencies of the Balkan peoples which in conjecture with the world and local financial crises ignite social tensions inside countries and among ethnic and religious groups. New tensions, be it social, economic, religious and a geopolitical remaking of the World order with ascending of new powers and slowly descend of USA give us strong arguments to believe that new borders have ominous possibility to emerge in the Balkans.

LITERATURE

1. Bryant, Ralph C, *Turbulent Waters: Cross-Border Finance and International Commerce*, Brookings Institution Press 2003, pp. 520.
2. Canfora, Luciano, *La democrazia: storia di un'ideologia*, Editori Laterza Bari 2008, pp. 446.
3. "Civilization in a Historical and Global Perspective", *International Sociology*, Vol 16(3) September 2001, pp. 293–300.
4. Дугин, Александар, *Геополитика постмодерне: доба нових империја*, Никола Пашић, Београд 2009, pp. 300.
5. Илић, Јован, "The Balkan Geopolitical Knot and the Serbian Question", Source: *The Serbian Questions in The Balkans*, University of Belgrade, publisher - Faculty of Geography, Belgrade 1995.
6. Јанковић, Слободан, „Блиски исток пре и после Анаполиса “ оригинални, у „Актуелна питања из међународних односа“, др Невенка Јефтић (прир), Институт за међународну политику и привреду, Београд, суфинансијер: Мин. науке Србије, Београд 2008, стр. 448.
7. Janković, Slobodan, "Borders in the Balkans: Longevity In The Postmodern Era", in the collection of papers, *Srbija u savremenom geostrateškom okruženju (Serbia In Contemporary Geo-Strategic Surroundings)*, Slavica Đerić-Magazinović i Nevenka Jeftić-Šarčević (ed.), Institute of International politics and Economics, Belgrade and Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade 2010, pp. 165-178.

8. Knežević, Miloš, *Mozaik geopolitike: identitet, tranzicija, srpsko pitanje*, Belgrade Institut za političke studije, 2008, pp. 304.
9. Spyridonidis, Ilias G, "Civilization Synthesis: A Theoretical Model Based On Systemic Approach That Describes The Cultural Influence Phenomenon", *Review of International Affairs*, VOL. LIX, N°. 1129 January-March 2008.
10. Starr, Harvey, "International Borders: What They Are, What They Mean, and Why We Should Care", *SAIS Review*, Washington: Winter 2006. Vol. 26, Iss. 1.

INTERNET

1. Chignola, Sandro, "Civis, Civitas, Civilitas. Translations in Modern Italian and Conceptual Change", Internet, <http://eprints.sifp.it/20/1/CHIGNOLA.html>, taken on: 03/09/2010.
2. *WPS 1.3: Borders and Conflicts in the Mediterranean*, Ramses 2 Network Of Excellence, Coordinator: University of Oxford, retrieved on: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:ARMRAZ-ALscJ:www.sant.ox.ac.uk/esc/ramses/concept_paper.doc+WPS+1.3:+Borders+and+Conflicts+in+the+Mediterranean,+Ramses+2+Network+Of+Excellence,+Coordinator:+University+of+Oxford.&cd=1&hl=sr&ct=clnk,12/10/2010.

Annex

Religious map of the Balkans (author Slobodan Janković, copyright protected).

RED – Roman Catholics

BLUE – Orthodox Christians

GREEN – Muslims

