

Borders in the Balkans: Longevity in the Postmodern Era

ABSTRACT

Author questions the nature of the border in general and in the Balkans in particular in the postmodern context. Denying presumption of the immutability (saving consensual arrangement) of the borders as a fact of 50-60 years experience after the 2nd World War, he analyses the longevity of current state borders in the South East Europe. Having in mind the interests of some of the major world powers, and the ongoing process of globalisation aimed toward the creation of a globally controlled society, with the paradigmatic transformation, the Balkan borders are set to transform.

Key words: Border, Balkans, Geopolitics, Postmodern, Modern

Will the multilateral vision be turned into political reality, will it be up to the task of ‘multilateralising multipolarity’ and thus bringing about a world governed by norms and rules somewhere in the future, creating the most favourable – perhaps the only – environment allowing for the European ‘model’ to entirely fulfil its promise? Or are we moving anti-clockwise, slipping back, in spite of our best joint efforts, into a truly ‘multipolar’ world shaped by the strains and inherent dangers of big power competition?

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2020: defence beyond the transatlantic paradigm²

What is the border? Point where one authority ends and another starts? Delimitation between two sovereignties? Are they an expression of sovereignty? Limit of the spread of one people, tribe and nation? May it become a barrier that in borderless world separates the elite from the rest? Border is/may be/ all of that and even more.

Are state borders something everlasting and final? For what history says, they are not.

Time and place are of significance for a border and its meaning? Time as a historic epoch, border between modern and postmodern society, between democracy and liberal post democracy (new oligarchic society) is one of crucial factors for nature and meaning of a border.

Place as geographic region influenced with geopolitical elements and its geostrategic environment impacts the positioning of the border and in some extent its nature (as it is in the case of border (*limes*) in between two or more civilizations, cultures, nations and religions).

In the first chapter author will make brief excursus in IR theories on border and therefore on their meaning in contemporary historic period.

Second chapter is dedicated to the place-location. Author would like to examine the longevity of existing borders in the Balkans, focusing on the ex Yugoslav area.

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² Ed. Álvaro de Vasconcelos, “What ambitions for European defence in 2020?”, *EU Institute for Security Studies*, Paris 2009.

He also raises the question of importance of the presence of Russia, USA and EU in the region for the state borders? Geopolitical methodology is adequate since (geographic) border, as a line or as a zone, is expression of territoriality.

Having in mind the Balkans reality, origin of the current borders, geostrategic environment and changing of the sovereignty, author questions the viability of current borders.

Borders

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.”³ Since territoriality is one of the defining elements of state some authors tend to understand state as something new in the Western Europe.⁴ Clearly they are erroneous, since in Middle Ages and before, monarchs in Western Europe were ruling territory and people.

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, internationalization of financial international governance, questions state sovereignty and by implication state borders.⁵ Globalisation does become process toward the global governance. Liberal theorists dealing with democratic theory (but even the statesmen as Barack Obama)⁶ are advocating development of a model of international democracy claiming new division of powers and new (global) political representation by which “(...) most citizens could exercise more and more appropriate control in a plurarchic global order than they could exercise in a state and under a system of states.”⁷ They imagine global, world or international citizenship in a global democracy. Yet, on a first account this contradicts parallel theories of intra state regionalization as a path toward more representative, involving and democratic governance. In fact, global financial elite without specific national identity (with the motto *ubi bene ibi patria*), and some intellectuals claim cosmopolitan identity and tend to present theories and models of global borderless polity as the best of futures, which inevitably fails the basic democratic principle of the general inclusion in the process of decision making. Rising division between the ruling elite and the rest may bring to more gated communities as envisaged in The National Intelligence Council’s 2025 Project.⁸ Collin Crouch analysed the post democracy as ideal of new oligarchic society toward which the most advanced and developed states are directed from USA to Japan.

³ 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.

⁴ See in Norman Barry, *An Introduction to Modern Political Theory*, (Serbian edition), *Uvod u modernu političku teoriju*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd 2007, p. 80.

⁵ For financial international governance in: Ralph C. Bryant, *Turbulent Waters: Cross-Border Finance and International Commerce*, Brookings Institution Press 2003, pp. 520.

⁶ As a democratic candidate he stated in Berlin: “No doubt, there will be differences in the future. But the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together, (...)”, “Obama promises to ‘remake the world’”, 7/24/08, *Politico*, Internet, <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0708/12028.html>, retrieved on 01/09/2009.

⁷ Andrew Kuper, *Democracy Beyond Borders, Justice and Representation in Global Institutions*, Oxford University Press 2004, pp. 76, 117-127.

⁸ NIC, Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World. The National Intelligence Council’s 2025 Project: November, 2008: pages 70-72: http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2025_project.html, taken from <http://globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=14839>, 28/08/2009.

Nominal political leadership is more and more giving real authority to global financial elite and general, manipulated public is left only to passively follow selected (imposed) debates.⁹ Serbian author Miša Đurković writes on this phenomenon analysing the link between the rise of the international finance and the elimination of the conservative (I would add and of traditionalist) thought from the mainstream publications and dialogue in academic, artist and intellectual circles in the Western sphere.¹⁰ Eminent intellectual of the Serbian New Right, Dragoš Kalajić (+2005) in the spirit of the European traditionalist movement, called this process among other names, as a demonic (leadership) of the economy.¹¹ Nataliya Narochnickaya (Наталья Алексеевна Нарочницкая) offered the synthetic study of the Mondialism and Pacifism as processes directed toward the world announced in the Revelation.¹²

One of documented precedents to these theories is a declassified Memorandum No. 7, realised in 1962 on U.S. president Kennedy (John F. Kennedy) request. “A world effectively controlled by the United Nations is one in which "world government" would come about through the establishment of supranational institutions, characterized by mandatory universal membership and some ability to employ physical force. Effective control would thus entail a preponderance of political power in the hands of a supranational organization rather than in individual national units... (with) continued jurisdiction *over cosmetic affairs* by the national governments (cursive is mine); ...The central authority itself can be sued, but like the US Government today cannot be forced to comply with court judgments.”

This vision of new U.N. in 1962 was envisioned as similar to today European Union, with qualified majority needed for decisions in a parliament that wouldn't have system of one-state one-vote.¹³ Clearly borders in this vision are merely checking points for the control of criminal activity or of guerrilla opposing the world government, possibly for any kind of dissenters. Ideas expressed in Memorandum 7 correspond much to the initiatives of different movements for the creation of the World state in particular with those elaborated by the World Federalist Movement.¹⁴ Contemporary advocates of global governance such as Thomas G. Weiss, ask for the reform of the U.N. to make it a unique sovereign.¹⁵ In line with these is call of José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, expressed in EU parliament “The goal is to devise a global financial system.”¹⁶

System emerged after 1945, became indeed first world system, with the (almost) universal guarantee of state borders (territorial integrity) in UN charter. Postmodernism announced an era of deconstruction, relativity and questionability of many of the achievements of the

⁹ Colin Crouch, *Postdemocrazia*, Editori Laterza, Bari 2009, p. 148.

¹⁰ As in: Miša Đurković, *Slika, zvuk i moć: Ogledi iz pop-politike*, Beograd 2009, p. 323.

¹¹ Dragoš Kalajić, *Treći svetski rat, Američko zlo*, (Third World War, American Evil) Bigz, Beograd, 1993, str. 172.

¹² Наталья Алексеевна Нарочницкая (Nataliya Narochnickaya), *Россия и русские в мировой истории*", Serbian edition, Belgrade 2008, pp. 280-298.

¹³ Lincoln P. Bloomfield, “A world effectively controlled by the United Nations” Study Memorandum No. 7, Special Studies Group, *Institute for Defense Analyses*, Washington, 10 March 1962.

¹⁴ Aleksandar Gajić, „Ideja svetske države, pravni, politički i filozofsko-pravni aspekt”, doctoral dissertation, Novi Sad 2008, pp. 100-107.

¹⁵ Thomas G. Weiss is Presidential Professor of Political Science at The CUNY Graduate Center and Director of the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies, where he is co-director of the UN Intellectual History Project. He is President (2009-10) of the International Studies Association, chair (2006-9) of the Academic Council on the UN System (ACUNS). His latest book is *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It* (2009). See of the same author: “What Happened to the Idea of World Government”, *International Studies Quarterly* (2009) 53, 253–271.

¹⁶ See video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a7D21rPpBrk&eurl=http%3A%2F%2Feuro-med.dk%2F%3Fp%3D8066&feature=player_embedded, retrieved on 24/08/2009.

modern and contemporary world, such as importance and the role of national states as guarantees of freedom and democracy (contrary to imperialism), belief in science and the progress of the mankind and established truth(s).¹⁷ It is opposing good versus bad and Truth versus truths. Although there is no a common definition of Postmodernism it corresponds with Postcristianity, Postindustrial society and lately even with post democracy.¹⁸ Aleksandr Zinoviev (Александр Зиновьев) called it the *Big crossroad*; postmodern era is a period of new democracy where traditional modern conception, such as the rule of majority, is revised and rethought with the concept of the human rights and freedoms (often at the expenses of the rights of the majority). Traditional churches and religious teachings are challenged by sectarian and by, what is traditionally considered blasphemy (as is the homosexual and/or woman priest or minister in Anglican or other protestant congregations). National sovereignty is opposed to global governance (global or World government is/was yet not politically correct term).¹⁹ Multipolar international order opposed to globalism. In the words of British postmodern philosopher John Gray, teaching of modernity is that “science enables humanity to take charge of its destiny.” Modernity is leading to a salvation where human becomes “Supreme Being”. Gray denies these achievements of science in a more than nihilistic vision of the humanity.²⁰

Alexander Dugin (Алекса́ндр Ге́льевич Ду́гин) founder of the New Eurasianism, in a tradition of Zinoviev 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 postmodern.²¹ 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’.”²²

It is quite clear that the state borders do not delimitate or usually not, the area inhabited with one nation (in ethnic sense). This is particularly right outside Europe in Arab world, in many African and in Latin American countries created after the end of colonial governance. Failed states, intra and inter state wars are reality of Africa and Pacific islands due to “artificial and recent” national borders.²³ Yet Europe, but also Israel, Japan, China, and South East Asia are characterised by the creation of the states rooted in history of one ethnic group, its culture, its religion and language. Globalisation of economy and subsequently of governance undermines the nation-state as achievement of one specific cultural and linguistic group distinguished as ethnic.

In contemporary academically writings, borders are mentioned in concepts as cross-border-cooperation and border management.

¹⁷ Stunning example is deliberate spread of ignorance over a year 2000 by the US administration, where US President and the Department of the State were announcing the coming of a new millenia (and century) on the January, 1st 2000! They clearly knew, I particular Madeleine Albright who is historian, that a century and millennia starts with the year one (2001 in this case), since the year 0 never existed.

¹⁸ Colin Crouch, *Postdemocrazia*, op., cit.

¹⁹ Thomas G. Weiss, “What Happened to the Idea of World Government”, op., cit.

²⁰ John Gray, “Straw Dogs: Thoughts on Humans and Other Animals”, Granta Books 2002, pp. 5, 7, 30.

²¹ Serbian edition: Александар Дугин, *Геополитика постмодерне: доба нових империја*”, Никола Пашић, Београд 2009, p. 300.

²² Александар Дугин, *Геополитика постмодерне*, p. 17.

²³ John Connell, “Saving the Solomons’: a New Geopolitics in the ‘Arc of Instability’?”, *Geographical Research*, June 2006 44(2), p. 112.

Meta academic terms as *sustainable policing* – as if the police is not sustainable in China, in Peru or as if it not existed prior to the end of 20th century – are absurd and crabbed as another similar term *sustainable border!*²⁴

European Union integration and expansion changes the nature of the national border between member states. State border becoming less and less important inside the EU is being reinforced at its limits. Border as an expression of sovereignty becomes managed more and more multilaterally or say differently, as sovereignty is being delegated to other countries, supranational organizations (UE) even to the international entities – International Criminal Court, IMF, WB and now announced global financial regulation body.²⁵ That is why Norman Barry while meditating on sovereignty in the context of EU integrations says “State borders may become merely honorific rather than indicative of any kind of legal integrity.”²⁶ While the very existence of the border as a delimitation of the sovereignties once and in a certain measure still, represents a possibility for oppressed person or a group to escape and find an asylum (in a broader meaning), borderless global polity would annul any escape for the anti system persons or groups.

As the border represents delimitation between sovereignties, and therefore an expression of sovereignty, its importance and nature in a globalizing world are shifting. In a post modern world “the notion of sovereignty is under attack or in the process of change in many parts of the world. Most countries of the European continent, where the concept of the nation-state originated, have voluntarily surrendered part of their sovereignty to the European Union. But the European Union has not been able, up to now, to generate the political loyalties that the nation-state did.”²⁷

State border will gain or lose its modern and pre-modern importance based on a residence of governing elites (power) – on national, macro regional (regional political integration as EU, eventual political union of North America, new federal entity in Eurasia etc) or global level. If banks and corporations have more power over U.S. Congress than citizens voters do, what is to be said of smaller countries in the world.²⁸ As long as owners of multinational corporations (like Federal Reserve Banks, J.P. Morgan Chase, Exxon Mobil, Toyota Motor...) and intellectual global elite strengthen their role in controlling economical, financial and political power globally, nation states and state borders will be changed in scope and meaning.

²⁴ Policing is as old as a state and it obviously existed prior to police and prior to concepts of sustainable police. Therefore the sentence: “To make London the safest major city in the world, through the operation of a **sustainable police** service where environmental issues are embedded in the decision making process.” is absurd; in “Metropolitan Police Service Environmental Strategy 2005–2010”, *Metropolitan Police*, Internet, http://www.met.police.uk/about/environment/docs/environmental_strategy_20051.pdf, retrieved on 16/08/2009. What about “Policing before the police: Communal policing in the Middle ages (600 – 1350)” in Tim Newburn, *Handbook of Policing* (2e), Willan Publishing August 2008, pp. 41-65.

²⁵ On the change of sovereignty the latest is: Henry Kissinger, The Intellectual Underpinnings of the Trilateral Partnership in the 21st Century, The Trilateral Commission 2009 Plenary Meeting Tokyo, Japan, April 26, 2009, Internet, [http://www.trilateral.org/AnnMtgs/PROGRAMS/09tokyopdf_folder/Kissinger .pdf](http://www.trilateral.org/AnnMtgs/PROGRAMS/09tokyopdf_folder/Kissinger.pdf), retrieved on 15/08/2009.

²⁶ Norman Barry, *An Introduction to Modern Political Theory*, op., cit, p. 88.

²⁷ Henry Kissinger, The Intellectual Underpinnings of the Trilateral Partnership in the 21st Century, op. cit., p. 2.

²⁸ “And the banks -- hard to believe in a time when we're facing a banking crisis that many of the banks created - are still the most powerful lobby on Capitol Hill. And they frankly **own the place.**” Senator Dick Durbin on radio. From: “Top Senate Democrat: bankers "own" the U.S. Congress”, Thursday April 30, 2009, Internet, <http://www.salon.com/opinion/greenwald/2009/04/30/ownership/>, retrieved on 21/08/2009.

State border in the Balkans

“That home is humble, yet it is mine/ there I am free and master of my will...
Only the villains, to hell with them, / renounce their sill for a meal.” **Branko Ćopić**,
*The Hedgehog's House*²⁹

U.N. charter and international organizations afterward created (after the II World War) guarantee international borders through the sacrosanct (in Int. Law) principle of territorial integrity.³⁰

Guarantee of borders and national sovereignty today are questioned under the pretext of the humanitarian intervention and the right of self-determination and lately, as shown before, 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 “international community”.

Balkans borders are the result of the fight for the national liberation that initiated in the region with the Serbian uprising in 1804. It was followed in 19 century with Greek, Romanian and Bulgarian fight for national freedom. As a result of repeated uprisings the Ottoman empire declined, losing its territories also to European powers. New countries were created: Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Romania. Albanians won the independence in 1912 as a result of the defeat of Ottomans and the loss of its Balkan provinces. Still, Albania was established in its borders as a result of imperial policies of Austro-Hungarian monarchy, of British empire and of Italy directed against Serbia's presence on the Adriatic shores. Creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (it was nominated Yugoslavia in 1929) solved the Serbian national question (unification of Serbian territories). Croats, Slovenes, Muslims in Bosnia and Macedonians achieved their national states out of the dissolution of Socialist Yugoslavia in 1991 and 1992.

As was the case with the regime of USSR, communist regime in Yugoslavia as well proclaimed new ethnic groups – Montenegrins, Macedonians and Muslims (since the outbreak of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina denominated as Bosniacs) and elevated them to the status of the constituent nationalities of the SFRY. New states and correspondingly, new borders emerged after administrative lines of federal units inside old Yugoslavia (as was the case of ex USSR). Administrative lines after proclamations of independence became new state borders. This was one of the reasons for the break up of the war in Yugoslavia. Even if previous judgment can be questioned, the wars were fought to deny or affirm new borders. Except for Slovenians and Macedonians, other Yugoslav people (in ethnical sense) were living in more than a one republic and thus on different sides of administrative lines that became the state boundaries. Aggression of NATO on Serbia and Montenegro and subsequent occupation of part of its territory, in the guise of a U.N. mandate strengthened and further stressed the importance of administrative lines in the Western Balkans, regardless of the status of the administrative unit inside the state. Is Kosovo ultimate and last territory to proclaim independence in the region? Are Balkans borders set to endure forever inside or out of the EU?

²⁹ „Тај дом је скроман, али је мој: / ту сам слободан и газда свој... То само хуље, носи их враг, / за ручак дају рођени праг“. Бранко Ћопић. Translation in English is mine.

³⁰ See more in: Stuart Elden, “Contingent Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity and the Sanctity of Borders”, *SAIS Review*, Washington: Winter 2006. Vol. 26, Iss. 1; pp. 11-24.

To analyse the longevity of current Balkan borders, and does respond to questions previously asked, we have to take into account the process of EU integration (postmodernism), problems of the demarcation and more important the process of national unification (still active in the Balkans – Albanians, Serbs, Slavic Muslims, Bulgarians, Croats), and the interest of three main powers in the region – EU, USA and Russia.

Geographically, Balkan Peninsula is delimited by the river Sava and Danube (from Belgrade where the Sava joins it) on the North, the Black sea in the east and Adriatic Sea in the West and Aegean see, Bosphorus and Dardanelles in the south. Thus, states entirely or partially occupying Balkans are Slovenia, Croatia, BH, Montenegro, Albania, Greece, Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Turkey.

To start from the West: first Balkan border is that of Slovenia and Croatia and it is disputed along the maritime border. There are no consistent ethnic minorities on one or another side and the commercial interest and notion of the sovereignty are at stake.

Croatian border with Bosnia and Herzegovina formally isn't disputed, yet it is divisive of the Croats from one and another side. It is no secret that Croatian minority is for years asking for a greater autonomy inside the Federation entity of BH and eventually is inclined to secede. It is a majority in three out of 10 cantons (Posavina, West Herzegovina and Canton 10) all on the borders with Croatia. Since the end of the war major Croatian political parties are from time to time seeking to obtain the third entity – named by Croats Herceg-Bosna.

Border between Croatia and Montenegro: Croatia and Montenegro agreed to put the issue of the border on Prevlaka before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. At the moment, a temporary agreement (2002) is in effect.

Border between Croatia and Serbia is yet to be demarcated and this can represent serious obstacle for the Serbia's path toward European Union. As Slovenia is using its position of the EU member in a bid for a few villages and small portion of the sea, Croatia could use its future status of the EU member to pressure Serbia to renounce its territories on the left cost of the Danube river. Ideology of the Independent State of Croatia, *puppet state* of Nazi Germany, perceived in a large stratum of Croatian population and politics as "historical expression of the Croatian aspirations" perceive part of Serbia (Srem) and parts of BH as Croatian lands. Croatian minority in Serbia counts around 70 000 people, less than 1 percent of the population, (not counting the population in Kosovo and Metohija).³¹

Bosnia and Herzegovina is it self divided in two entities Republika Srpska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Federation as one entity for Croats and Muslims is itself divided in 10 cantons. According to estimates (2006), Serbs have majority in all municipalities in Republika Srpska and some municipalities of the Federation. BH is in fact EU and USA protectorate in which the Office of the High Representative (OHR) has more authority in any branch of power than any eligible body in nominally independent and democratic state. Only one of the three constituent nations is for the permanence of the state but none of them is truly for the current arrangement. Muslims/Bosniacs politicians are restless in waiting unitary and centralized state, project which was clearly endorsed by the West, although in every other country of the continent these same states are for the policy of political and economical decentralization. That is why it is not rare to find the opinion "BH is dead in the clash of the political guerilla..."

³¹ "Popis stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u 2002. Stanovništvo", Republički zavod za statistiku, Belgrade May 2003, p. 13.

Today, even Bosnia doesn't have the will to live. Politicians jointly with the International Community opened many front lines in order to suffocate and finally murder the *puppet state* based on Dayton agreements.³²

Border between Serbia and BH goes along territories of the Serbian entity, which is guided by the Serbian parties which undoubtedly, like Croatia, have preference for Serbia (Croatia in previous case). Serbian authorities from time to time are repeating a commitment to Dayton agreement and independence of BH. Special arrangements between Serbia and Republika Srpska, fact that this Bosnian entity is predominantly Serbian, and popular opinion in Republika Srpska that Serbian nation (as others) should unite, are used by many Muslim officials of BH in a claim that Serbia violates or destabilises BH sovereignty.

There are no disputes on the border between Montenegro and Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Albanian/Montenegrin border is questioned by some nationalistic politicians and intellectuals in Albania. Since Albanians are majority in some of the Montenegrin municipalities, they are claimed as historical Albanian territories (Great or ethnic Albania). Current Albanian Prime Minister Sali Berisha from time to time publicly discussed the idea of the federation of the Albanians "If anti-Albanian racism is not halted, one cannot exclude the possibility that Albanians will unite to form a federation of free Albanians in the Balkans as a fundamental condition of survival."³³ Yet, at the moment there are no serious secession movements or groups among Montenegrin Albanians. Most influential organization asking the decentralization of Montenegro in ethnic regions is Albanian/American *Malesia e madhe*.

Serb/Montenegrin border although not questioned is divisive of Serbs and Muslims/Bosniacs and accordingly may be questioned.

Border between Serbia and Albania and between Serbia and Macedonia are in question due to the secession of Kosovo and Metohija, backed by the USA, Turkey and most of the EU members. Its effective status of international protectorate of NATO, UN and EU furthers the instability of the Serbian, in particular, and regional and global borders in general. Kosovo issue is complicating already demarcated border between Serbia and FRY Macedonia due to a new agreement on demarcation signed by official Skopje and representatives of the Kosovo Albanians.

Same groups and individuals dreaming of ethnic Albania nurture pretensions on part of Greek and FYR Macedonian territories.

Macedonian border with Bulgaria is questioned by Bulgarian side following the dominant discourse in Bulgarian intellectual circles of Macedonians as of Bulgarians.

Latest is the diplomatic initiative of Turkey in the Balkans. Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs expressed the will of that country to revive the Ottoman heritage in the region! While the Turkish President Abdullah Gul, while on the visit in the Serbian capital, said "Serbia and Turkey although they do not share a mutual border line, live as good neighbors!"

Russian South Stream gas pipeline project may assure more of Muscovite influence in the peninsula. Washington, on the other hand, having its bases in Serbia (Kosovo and Metohija), Bulgaria, Greece and in Romania wants to assure its military presence, political and military control of the region in view of the rising Russia.

³² "La guerriglia politica", *Rinascita Balcanica* 01.09.2009, Internet, <http://www.rinascitabalcanica.com/?read=31866>, retrieved on 01/09/2009.

³³ Taken from: "Albania: State Of The Nation, Part II", *International Crisis Group*, accessed through *University of the West of England*, Internet, <http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/kosovo/Albania2.htm#16>, retrieved on 09/09/2009.

Without the intervention of USA and NATO current borders of Bosnia and inside Bosnia and Herzegovina, proclamation of the independence of Serbian southern province and the secession of Montenegro would be from less to highly unlikely. Recent rise of the importance of Russia for the Balkan politics, its partnership with Serbia but also with Republika Srpska (as part of BH) Bulgaria and Greece in energetic sphere and eventual decline of the role of the USA and Western powers in the region could induce reorganization of the borders. This is particularly evident in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. New emerging world order will give wind to continuative process of the redrawing of the borders in the region following the aspirations of regional national elites backed by more intrusive foreign powers.

Conclusion

The EU integrations are generally bringing stabilization and relaxation at the end of the process. Yet, during the process of integration some states as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia are under pressure concerning the internal and international borders. Very fact that most of the EU countries have recognized Kosovo as a state and that a precondition for the EU membership is also *good neighbourly relations*, may be of a problem for Serbia's EU integration. Internal reform considering the existence and the status of entities (in particular of the Serbian Republika Srpska) represents one of the crucial obstacles for the path of BH toward EU membership.

Still, except maybe for Croatia, EU officials and statesmen are announcing them (integrations) as on hold and its slow timing does not help the stability of current national borders. Problems of the demarcation belong to the modern epoch. Application of the EU border and cross-border management and policies are announcing the shift in the paradigm and time in which national borders will have secondary meaning. Therefore, provocations and clashing policies of some of the Balkan countries over the borders in parallel with their strategic option to merge within the EU seem incoherent, because the policies applied in two cases belong to two radically different paradigms, modern and postmodern. Present temptations for the secession in various parts of the EU, from Belgium to United Kingdom and Spain (Catalonia and Bask land) do not demonstrate that EU is changing policy of a national (internal) border as *merely honorific*.

Borders in the Balkans are to change their meaning and importance (but even the democratic system of checks and balances on the national level will be significantly lost or changed), eventually even the shape, if all countries join the EU. On the other hand slowing or arrest of the process will allow continuation of policies characterized for the modern era, changing of the borders in order to achieve national unity in national state, be it Albanian, Bulgarian or Serbian. Either way, as it has always been, borders are set to change, in the Balkans and probably elsewhere to give space for the supra-national organisations with dubious democratic quality.

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