

NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC-RELIGIOUS RADICALISM AND THE NATO'S SPECIFIC PLACE IN THE BALKAN POLITICS

FINAL REPORT

1. BALKANS IN A SHORT HISTORIC REVIEW

Balkans has a long and abundant in events history .The age-long development of the Balkans, the almost permanent invasions, wars and conflicts have earned it a reputation of one of the fieriest European regions. For the purposes of political description of the relations there such terms as "a powder magazine", a dim region of "a clash of religions and civilizations" are used, but behind all these terms a permanent concept is hidden -the concept of a place that brings only problems to Europe. The reasons for such a characteristic of the Balkans are numerous. I can count some of them as the historic, geographic, ethnic-demographic, political and many other less important reasons. But if I have to arrange and to grade them in some way, without any doubt I have to put on the first place the geographic or expressed in other words -the geo-political position of this clearly differentiated European region. The European continent is unique in a global sense. It looks more like a huge appendage-peninsular of Asia, than an independent continent like Africa, the two Americas and Australia. Moreover, Europe has relatively not a big purely continental area, which is surrounded by some big and numerous little peninsulas. It is enough to count the big ones only - the Balkan, the Apennine, the Iberian, the Scandinavian peninsulas, so that to get an idea about the percentage of the peninsular

culture in the all-European one. And when we trace through the European development in historic-geographical terms, we could see clearly that the European civilization had originated just on the peninsulas and it isn't accidental that its spreading course goes from East to West and from South to North. The initial point of intersection for these two geographic axes is situated exactly on the Balkan peninsula. Just at the same place, in the south European regions, the European civilization had originated in Antiquity. Starting at this point, with the intercession of numerous Balkan nations and sea routes, the new rationalistic civilization got across the other south European peninsula -Apennine, to continue its unswerving expansion throughout Europe. The antique European civilization expanded more and more to North and West. It was in a process of transformation into Christian and middle-aged, and centuries had to pass before achieving the new, current European separation -into developed West and developing East, although in European sense. Looking back to the beginning of the European civilization (it is not accidental that everywhere in the world it has already been accepted mostly as west-European), we ought to indicate and differentiate all components, eastern and western, composing the complex amalgam, which today we call European culture and civilization. Mediterranean and especially its eastern districts belong to the zone, central for our world till the 19th century, which gives an opportunity for the achievements, the traditions and the religions of the three continents -Europe, Asia and Africa - to meet and to enrich mutually. After the ancient ages the Christianity became one of the essential characteristics of the European civilization. Without the auspicious circumstances offered by the established state system of the Roman Empire and especially of its eastern part based on the Balkans, this religion could remain one of the regional Near-East

monotheistic believes only. Moreover, before becoming an all-European and a world religion, Christianity, in one hand, receded from Judaism and in the other, inherited the Hellenic and Roman ancient traditions. The process of meeting and combining the monotheistic Christian believes with the European regional tradition (based on the scientific achievements of ancient Hellas) was realized in the East-Mediterranean zone, situated in the frames of both peninsulas -Balkans and Apennines. To the initial cultural incitement realized at the border between Antiquity and Middle-ages, have to be added the European ideological contributions expressed in the tendency to the world understanding by it's mastering and changing -these tendencies show themselves mostly in the creative development of science and technologies. From the eastern Mediterranean regions the expansion process of cultural influence of the European civilization started and incorporated wider and wider areas throughout the time -the United States of America and the Latin America are among it's non-objective products, but it's influence spread far south (over the African continent) and East (the tribes coming from Asia and continuing to Europe initiated back-fluencing over their land of origin). However, the late spreading of the European civilization has not changed the fact that it's foundation is here -on the Balkans and Apennines peninsulas. It is out of a question that the situation inherited from the end of the Antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages gave a civilization priority to Eastern Europe. However, the later historic development didn't carry on this trend and changed it harshly. The localities of cultural centers and the sources of might and power were changed. How could this happened, how did we get to today's Europe's separation into East and West? We can find out the answer of this question in the end of the Antiquity, even in the process of separation of the Rome Empire into Eastern and Western parts. The wave of

new settlers in Europe, called barbarians, reached the cultural centers and the complex process of struggle for predominance began and the mutual influence continued. The effect was a two-way one - in one hand, the barbarization of the Hellenic-Roman culture has been carried out, and in the other hand, the process of civilizing the barbarians gradually has been accomplished. Together with this, the Hellenic tradition has passed on by Byzantium to the tribes settled on the eastern part of the continent and the Rome tradition -by Rome -to the barbarians on the western side of the continent. Byzantium and to a great extent the medieval Bulgarian state overcame slowly the space (geographical and intellectual, mental) between the Barbarian's and the Christian states. At the same time, Byzantium, carried on and prolonged almost a millennium the traditions of the ancient civilization, left an initial and fundamental mark on the historic development of the whole European Southeast, together with a permanent confrontation with the new Slav states. This mark has clear eastern nuances, expressed mostly by the specific role of the state ownership of main welfare -the land, and by the important role of the administration in all public spheres. The Slav sea, overwhelmed the eastern European regions, is the second important regional factor on the Balkans. The new Slav alphabet most clearly expressed the complex relations and contradictions between the East and the West in this early period. This new alphabet, constructed on the basis of the Greek one, was used to consolidate the influence of the East on the Central-European Slavs and to divide them from the West. But the result was different – this alphabet felt to implant itself in the almost closely controlled by Rome European center but it gained ground on the beneficial for all kinds of variegation and variety Balkans. Thus, already in the Middle-Ages, the basis of the variety in using the writing system on the Balkan

.peninsular was set. There are hesitations between the East and the West when an important decision has to be taken on the Balkans. For example, during the age of Christianity adoption, which has been treated as a porter's office of the civilized world, some Slav states tried to balance between the West (Rome) and the East (Konstantinopol). The third but not the last in importance feature of medieval south-eastern Europe is the Byzantium state model, strongly dominating the economical, political and cultural life. This typical East European characteristic does not form a completely new civilization model, although presents a separate, East-Orthodox model (finally determined after the schism between the Rome and the East Orthodox churches in 1054) as a part of the European civilization. Unlike the Catholic, the Orthodox model set in the politic sphere the duke or tzar's supremacy over the head of the Church, established the administrative dependence of the local aristocracy on the central authority. It's other difference refers the economy which in this region since the Antiquity has been centralized and dependent on the state department -the economic prosperity of personality, for example, in the Byzantium Empire was a function of it's place in the state hierarchy but not of it's personal skills. The historic development enriches and additionally nuances the characteristics of the separate European regions. The south-eastern continental part was especially vulnerable to outer influences. The wide land border between Europe and Asia (which more consolidate, than separate) was constantly attacked by emigrant waves from East. Franks, Germans, Slavs also used this way but after their final settlement, exactly the Slavs, became a breakwater where the next waves of invaders - Mongolians, Tatters, Turkish -stopped. The permanent external danger additionally cultivated and straightened the centralized government disposing much power of authority

into all social spheres. During that period the Balkans as a term comprised Byzantium, Bulgaria, Serbia and the Italian state-towns became their main foreign partners. The special relation and dependence, established in the Antiquity between the Balkan and the Apennine peninsulas continued. The early Middle-Ages approved the higher cultural and economic level of the eastern Mediterranean states in comparison to other European parts. The big change occurred during the 14th century when the successful Ottoman invasion stopped and preserved the development of the Balkans and forced them into a new civilisation road -far away from the other European countries. In history it is not accepted for legal the approach to suppose what could to happen if one or another historic event did or did not occur . Although, sometimes it is worth to think about the true meaning of the different European regions -derivative not only upon their current economic and political potential, but also on their historic-cultural and civilization contribution. The European Southeast in 14th century went through the period of feudal partition and differentiation -from a similar state in Western Europe the absolutism and the modern national country were established lately. Instead of following the logic of it's own progress, the South-Eastern Europe became a victim of a more vital enemy –the Ottomans. Their advantage over the separated and permanently at war Balkan people was that they were at an earlier, expansionist stage of their state system and that they were a carrier of another, Islamic civilization. The priority of the Balkans is it's central location between manifold land and sea routes. It is one of the frontier-regions used as a bridge between Europe and Lesser Asia, hence -to the Middle East. It's location in the middle of the route is a position bringing advantages as well as many dangers. The Balkans belongs to the most colorful, in ethnic meaning, region -here live the bigger part of the south

Slavs, Greeks, Albanians, Romanians, Turks etc. The advantages of the central location are expressed into the variety and wealth of the region, turned it into an origin of a civilization and culture, while the dangers become visible when the peninsular turns from a crossroad into a battlefield and especially during the XIV th century when it fell under the out-of-European Ottoman Empire's authority. The conquest of the main South-Eastern European part happened after prolong defense which preserved the Central Europe from a similar destiny. The Balkans played the honor role of a barrier for alien invasions, as with the price of it's own independence did not allow the Ottoman empire to become an Euro-Asian-African state. Despite of the centuries-long domination on the Balkan peninsula and the raids to Vienna, the Ottoman empire did not succeed to impose a long-lasting presence in Europe which preserved our continent from a direct Asian influence. However, the result for the Balkan people was tragic -their natural progress was interrupted and many oriental features were laid in their life style and spirits. The Eastern civilization stepped in Europe and especially in the Balkans by the characterising the epoch way -under the flag and with the help of the internal power of a new religion like the Muslim. Since the XIVth century it has become the third characteristic of the South-Eastern Europe together with the antique traditions and Christianity. The Ottoman empire specific features corresponded, to a certain extend, to the local traditions regarding the powerful state authority , but at the same time they turned the Balkan feudalism back to it's beginning, which had passed long time ago. From the other hand, the European cultural appurtenance of the Balkan people for a long time, even centuries, put them into a position of a second-hand population. In the new empire all Christians belonged to the category of unbelievers-giaours. In such a situation it is not strange that the

local aristocracy vanished, assimilated by force or vulnerable acceptance of the religion of the new masters-winners. Today, the problem of the destiny of Balkans aristocracy may seem to be out of importance, but its disappearance on such an early stage as well as the multiple levelling of the Christian people left a long-lasting trace into all Balkan societies. The Balkans habitants are more collectively-disposed, with a higher extend of group-solidarity exactly because of their historic destiny. Probably as a side effect of this feature is the ease by which in the XIXth century the Renaissance democracy was settled down - different than the obtained with the help of social revolutions West European political democracy. Another characteristic, a result of the common destiny of defeated and assimilated countries, is the parallel existing and appearing in different ways during different historic periods trends -the trend of solidarity against the common enemy, and the other one -of aspiration for a privileged status. These trends appeared in the initial period of the Ottoman domination, when the hope for restoring the own state has still not been buried into the lineal memory - through the attempts for joint actions of the remained feudatory local owners in the co-operation with the European countries against the Ottoman invasion. Longest-lasting memory from the early joint actions remained the madly heroic (in the right sense of the word) young Polish-Hungarian prince Vladislav, called posthumously Varnenchic in memory of the last European attempt the new invaders at the Balkans to be stopped. In the epoch of the belated Balkan Renaissance during the XVIIth century, the solidarity was expressed by the co-operative actions against the common enemy -the conqueror. There are numerous examples of struggles and wars, led by the European countries against the Ottoman empire (especially by Austria and Russia) in which many Balkan volunteers took part with a great enthusiasm.

All local struggles were more or less international and the feeling of co-participation among the Balkan Renaissance intelligence was alive. The concept of the common Balkan cause was alive among the educated Balkan stratum practically up to the freedom of the whole region and the constituting of the new national states. The second trend - of opposition between the defeated countries with an aim of achieving more favorable positions than the others was stimulated also by the administrative order in the Ottoman empire. Like every empire, it acted according the eternal principle -"divide and conquer ." The church opposition of the Greek patriarchy to any attempt for determination of Slav population in the empire on a religion principle was also a heritage of separation as well as the water shed made among the Christians and their forcibly-Muslim brothers. The new differences widened the position diversity in the Ottoman empire not only by determining it's vulnerability but also it's longevity. However, they remained a heritage for us up to nowadays and made non-understandable for the rest Europeans (and mainly for non-Europeans) the very complex puzzle of the Balkan diversity. Balkans are entering the new era, with a characteristic combining three civilizational layers -antic (heathen), orthodox and Muslim. In terms of the cultural wealth and variety that should be her indisputable priority , but it is the economy and the policy that are most significant to the historical development. That is why the position of the Balkans and the South-Eastern Europe, if concerning the modern European civilization, is at the borderline between the civilization and degeneration. That turns out to be the heavy legacy for most of the geographic regions, situated in the buffer zone between different civilization, transformed into a suitable way for invasion, for conquering new areas, for a conflict between states, religions and civilizations. It was not until

nowadays, during the second half or even the end of XX century that the mankind reached the age that enabled it to turn its attention toward the priorities of such regions, where one can find mingled different cultures and civilizations. Only now could be seen the different, the blending, the combination turned into something positive, something that promotes the understanding of the mechanisms for the peaceful co-habitation of various traditions and religions, necessary to the survival of the contemporary , smaller and multicolorful world. The prolonged with centuries Ottoman rule is prevailing over the constitution of a "Balkan model" in the political tradition. Being a prosperous and quickly developing, at the beginning of the century, European region, presently the Balkan peninsula turns to be situated more likely somewhere in Asia than in Europe. Even the painful and heroic process of national upheaval, having terminated in XIX century with the establishment of independent national states many decades before the other Central European states, happens to be unsuccessful in moving the Balkans forward to the initial positions in the European economic classification. During the second half of XIX and the beginning of xx century the Balkan states attempt to accelerate their development, taking into consideration the experience and the traditions of Western Europe, but the historical backwardness remain as a burden. Eastern Europe met the XX century with the historical legacy. The long craving for establishing own states, the defensive demographic policy, supplemented by migration of huge masses of population or violent alteration of the religion practised by it, bring about the constitution in Eastern Europe of such ethnic medley and confusion that makes uncertain the practical possibility of strictly following the western model of national states. If having in mind the Kemal anti-Ottoman revolution in Turkey, the European XX century could be said to have begun

with collapse of the empires. It is over the empire reminiscences that the victorious West tried to establish the modern political system, based on its own experience. The Paris Peace Conference held from January 18, 1919 till January 21, 1920, drew the present political map of Europe. The most substantial changes performed regarding Eastern Europe -to the Balkans they looked like this: the territories of Romania, Serbian-Croat-Slovenian kingdom have been enlarged, while that of the defeated countries- Bulgaria and Turkey - became smaller . Eastern Europe takes into possession a modern political system but the conditions established in the new states are much more different from those in Western Europe -here, the social culture is fragmentary and unsophisticated, it is the initial period when various political parties were founded on personal basis, numerous national minorities were spread around, often having their national state in the neighbourhood. On June 28, 1919, in order to eliminate the problems, the eastern European states signed, along with the Treaty of Versailles peace accord with Germany, an Agreement on the rights of the national minorities; The parliamentary democracy, imported from Western Europe, is hardly possible to be rooted in the infertile in political and economic aspect Balkan soil. When taking into consideration the languishing ethnic conflicts -the Hungarians in Romania and Yugoslavia, Germans in Rumania, Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, Greece, Romania and Turkey, it becomes obvious why the parliamentary democracy on the Balkans is experiencing a failure at the very beginning (in Bulgaria -the coup d'etat in 1923 and 1934, in Romania -1938, in Greece -1936 and in Yugoslavia -1929). Along with the ethnic confrontations, there is another problem in the Eastern European region and more particularly on the Balkans –the imperative necessity of accelerating the economic development. The delayed return to Europe is strenuous and

painful. It could not be carried out without the European aid and it has been provided by the nearest neighbouring states -Germany, Italy, Russia (here should be added the traditional affiliation of Great Britain to Greece). And because the economy is quite close associated with the policy, the Balkans are quickly turning into arena of new international confrontation. During the 30's, the dispute between the democracy and the totalitarian systems have been spread around the Balkans. Since the economic acceleration supposes more active role of the state, it could be said the true victors in the fight for having influence on the Balkans turned out to be the developed totalitarian states with firmly established planning systems. Where the economic and political instruments failed, intervened the armies -that was how Italy annexed Albania in April 1939, later on attacked Greece and provoked the war on the Balkans. It was even during the most stable XX century state of balance -the "Cold war" - that the Balkans remained a rather agitated boundary between the two blocks. Here, on the Balkans, one could get acquainted with almost all the positions possible to be undertaken - membership in the Warsaw Pact (from the most docile of them -Bulgaria to the most uncontrollable - Romania), Greece and Turkey, even though confronting with each other, members of the other military-political organization operating in Europe - NATO, and here, as well, is situated Yugoslavia -one of the leaders of the Movement of the Independent, and Albania, at last, which is considered to be the most detached European state. It seems that the miscellaneous military-political positions presented here are not enough and the history has added to them the various ideological models, religions and cultural identity and traditions. Only the compilation of these factors with different impact and presence could outline the real complexity and compound structure of the contemporary European

Southeast. Besides,

the dividing lines between ideology and religion often do not coincide with the political frontiers dating from the "Cold war". The broken ideological boundaries do not evoke political and ideological coherence of the European Southeast. On the contrary, the vacuum of the times of contradiction was quickly filled with another continually languishing factor -the Balkan nationalism. The adjective does not mean that the Balkans possess some kind of unique nationalism, that differs them from the rest of the European states, but it is due to the complementary particularities which add some non-European influence. The nationalism was not alien even to the socialist states -the most famous within the "socialist camp" was the Romanian one, but it competes with its analogy in Yugoslavia which is outside the Eastern block. The break-up of the stable Balkan frontiers in 1989 gave onset to events with unpredictable consequences. In order to illustrate this, an example could be given -the democratic process in Albania aroused the problem with the Greek minority and the consequences of this was the demographic catastrophe experienced by the population, unwelcome neither by Albania, nor Greece. Under these circumstances are brought to life the old images of the Balkans and the European Southeast as a bridge between Europe and Asia, the Islamic and orthodox religion. The European Southeast, left without a vigorous enemy-patron, is trying to once again find its place and it naturally searches it in Europe, among the uniting European nations. But the fear from the problems[and the conflicts, being innate to the colourful Balkan peninsula, is extremely strong one and explains why Europe itself began to separate the Eastern European states in groups that

will, step by step, after the obligatory quarantine, be admitted to the big family. Once again is repeated the question -where is Europe extending to - whether to the frontiers of former Austria-Hungary , that include only Middle Europe, whether it is not better to leave the turbulent Balkans beyond the European line and Russia be directed towards Asia. The answers of these questions do not depend on the Eastern European states which are here to confirm the old rule that more unstable a region is, more it depends not on its own resources but on the world powers.

2. BALKANS – THE BELATED RENAISSANCE

South-eastern Europe is a contact-conflict zone including two trunk directions, through which expansionist waves with different potential, socio-cultural features and fortune conning from the Southeast and the Northeast penetrated. Persia and the Ottoman empire were fateful sings of colonization pressure on the South-Eastern direction. The north-eastern threat, dated From the Avars and Ostgots, found it's traditional carrier in the Russian ambitions to Europe in the last few centuries. Founding itself in a powerful configuration of permanent aspirations South-Eastern Europe turned for long time into a border of civilizations and European identity. After the collapse of the Ottoman empire (1918) Europe did not meet a new serious challenge from the Southeast and since the 1991 the north-eastern treaty seemed to loose it's power too. Nevertheless, these strategic axes of civilization pressure kept their potential. On the Southeast, the Muslim

world was consolidating gradually. It was rich in resources. Starting from Iran, passing through Algeria, (the nature has treasured up some of the most mighty oil-belts. This world was a master of good armaments and comparatively high-grade human potential that could answer the progressive ideas about some civilization "priority". However, it missed the cause that could provide "the topical" center. Nevertheless, it could be found, for example, in the hostility to the technologies open societies whose borders were identical with the Christianity world borders. The open societies dissolved traditions, status quo and embedded new civilized standards into the social body of the modernizing communities. Could we be sure that Bosnia was inscribed permanently in the list of offences caused to this world by the Christian civilization?

At the Northeast, Russia gradually will accumulate its energy, will tear up from self-contemplation and will seek for rehabilitation of its place in the international relations. Restored its abilities, Russia will consolidate its influences, will define their strategic validity and it is almost certain that one of the principle factors in this respect will be the recovery of its leading position in the Slav world. Can someone be sure that "the Slav family" has not been inscribed in the list of offences and punishing operations against Serbia and the special attitude to the Muslim community in Bosnia. The list of offences probably will be expanded with the strange, arbitrary, one-sided and hardly explainable proclamation of one side in the conflict as a "regional villain", while the other to gain "bonuses" for its own analogical actions. The list of offences could be and probably will be prolonged. The South-Eastern part of Europe - associated with an exactly determined area on the European map - is not only geographic but civilization space, built and approved in the complex continental history. The Southeast is a significant

Fragment From the Bible of the European civilization (if we paraphrase C. Jaspers). The more important and characterizing the central position of the Southeast as a bridge and border between civilizations is the Fact that the European identity would be problematic without the cultural-integrative role of here cultivated common religion, without the values of the Greek-Rome civilization. (Nish is one time Naisus - the place where Romans win a victim over Ostgots and at the same time it is the birth-town of Konstantinopol's Founder, the person who transmuted Rome into a Christian town.) Moreover, the European identity could not be thinkable without the European touch and the accompanying clashes with civilizations oriented towards other social-constructive values. A sensation of integrity and civilization identity comes into world in the comparison - although the existing dramatic protuberances in this process. The Southeast is a meeting zone of civilizations and civilization mediation. In this context it is not far-fetched to say that Europe identified itself as a social-cultural integrity after the Islamic pressure completed the destroying of the Greek-Rome civilization and when the East was conquered and Turkish advanced from Asia Minor towards South-Eastern Europe. In the conditions of dramatic historic reverses the idea of Europe was put into final shape and the Christian values were the fortune prerequisite for the identification of the European population affiliation. If Europe is assimilated as a common valuable space in a clash with something opposing it's social-constructive and system-organizing role. then the European civilization is less thinkable without the Southeast, i.e. without the values of the Greek-Rome civilization, without the prototypes of the Christian re-arrangement of the world and it's tragic role as a generator and at the same time as "a guard" and ... civilization mediator. In the end of the XX th century, the modern

European self-awareness reproduces (he familiar ever since the Enlightenment and hard for solving with it's aspirations "central" valuable position - a position bringing on the painful choice of alternatives, fateful for the European integrity. It has to make a choice between the natural, priority rights of the national-limited interests and a new universal orientation. This choice will predetermine the European image whether it will freeze in the traditions of the national egoism hence all the consequences, or will inspire the evolution of new civilization space. The choice is especially important. Due to the decades of struggle between the liberal democracy and it's communist alternative in Europe were Formed social spaces pretending For historical priority. Although the dramatic military-political hardships and tragical bleedings tins detachment could not erase completely the Feeling of a civilization community of the European nations. Even the Second World War did not succeed to do this. although it damaged seriously the European integrity: nor the forcible new set-up and ordering of the European space after Jalta's legalization of war outcomes: almost five decades Greece - the spirit base of Orthodoxy - was West. and Czechoslovak Republic, Poland. Hungary, part of Germany and the Baltic Republics, which by their religion identity were bind to West Europe, remained East.

The echo of such a Forcible political inversion of parts of the social-cultural European space is trying to keep intensity in still traditional societies of the European Southeast. In one hand after the collapse of the Berlin wall, South-Eastern Europe is the area most definitely marked with instability and processes' conflicts but this is a certain sign that it would not fall out of "the history frames" and a sign that it is open for social creation and change. In the other hand - the phenomenon of east-European nationalism exactly, or rather national-populism symbolizing directly "the

defreezing " of regional history, is the true primary motive power of uneasiness and the processes of forcible social-cultural reshaping (this is the same nationalism that was described by Z. Brzezinski as the last shelter of communism).

'The tragic historical dramaturgy of the processes in this region and the lack of peace-making experience in the regional co-operation hold up the instability characterizing the common environment of political relations. The profound crisis of the permanently ruling value stereotypes dramatically activates the necessity of new "identifying myth". Just the national-populism becomes this alluring project whose bitter results quite quickly were demonstrated by the conflicts in former Yugoslavia or by the shocking chaos of "the restored sovereignties" of former Soviet Republics. Although different, the symptoms of this identification myth can be observed even in the developed western societies where liberal democracy has certain traditions and mostly - successes. The fear from the different and "the foreigner" threatening the "unique" national virtues is the permanent ^ refrain of this national-populist motive (Le Pen - France was colonized by Algeria; similar mythological evaporations are drawing certain successes for the nationalistic parties in Belgium, Germany, Italy - U. Bossi and the project "Padanian Republic" etc.). The nostalgia of "the east" man for the security of recent times and the domestic dreaming of "the west" man for the affectionate tranquillity of the bipolar world are meeting each other at this moment. The renewing and reopening world demolishes certain values even in flourishing Europe so to intensify the live coal of xenophobia – the xenophobia that realises the extremes of self-identification illusory superiority of national identity. The mild version appears - Shengen is coming and may be it is not

accidental the observation that in Western Europe "the ideological sources that are alternatives of liberal values are " made lip-to-day"¹ again.

This process of self-determination, cultural self-isolation and intense fear from the different and "the Foreigner" jeopardising the arranged with "exclusive" standards national style of life is more dramatic in the South-Eastern Europe. The political reality in the European Southeast -impregnated with ethic, religion and cultural variety - in it's dramatic historical adventure has scattered and legalized determined communities whose quite peculiar regional location provokes the aspirations of "ethnic-homogenous" national country. That's why, the distrust and aggressiveness both in neighbour-state plan and regional relations are constant having different reincarnation forms, 'they intensify the deformation of the "Balkanization" that demonstrated it's collapse in former Yugoslavia.

The hostility to the different, to "the Foreigner" is necessary also for the romantic glorification of the heroic past where not a single regional community seeks the evidences for it's "sublimity". Ibis hostility complex sustains the stability of the conflict paradigm WE - OTHERS: it "predetermines each neighbour as a historically stated enemy"², 'this ' complex of hostility is presented even in the international relations.

The meeting of Christianity and Muslim there tenses the situation in the European South-East. They have been more than just religions for centuries. They have been synonyms for two types of civilization building which "contact-conflict" has been weaving by the mankind history for ages. The giaour (gentile) is "a foreigner" - this way the Muslim community marks it's fears for the difference that isolated it. But in the Christian fears the Muslims are agarians and this is a mark for their rejection by the

Christian community³. Altogether, for centuries, the direct contact between the two types of civilization building has been overburdened by conflicts that caused numerous military clashes from the Caspian Sea to Gibraltar.

The matter of the processes born in this direct contact-conflict has justified the appraisal of the Ottoman invasion as a civilization disaster for South-Eastern Europe. The historically modelled catastrophe of the direct contact - the Ottoman invasion in the European South-East is related to the Arabic's at the South Mediterranean - set up the endurance of menace from the different as well as from the "Foreigner" and provides the vitality of the idea for a constitutional incompatibility of both types of civilisation buildings. This is the reason for their civilization determination to be preserved up to nowadays, This historical dramatism modelled the uniqueness of the European South-East as a contact zone of civilizations. Even now, due to the immanent incompatibility of essential social-cultural characteristic it is rather a border than a civilization mediator.

3. THE NEW REGIONALISM

After the restoration of national sovereignties of the South-East European countries (the end of XIXth - the beginning of XXth century). they adopted the state construction of industrial Europe as a standard. This process was activated again after the collapse of the Berlin wall. The active centripetal movements towards new cultural standardizing centers and new values reflected in a certain extend the monstrous discomfort of the crossroad, central position of European South-East as a zone for contact

between civilizations as well as a border between civilizations. Unfortunately, the efforts of the countries in the region to dehermetize the contact zone, already predestined because of the fact that it has sheltered not contractual but statute states, didn't meet any active assistance by modern Europe. On the contrary, modern Europe seemed to put the foundations of a new policy of isolation by delaying the incorporation procedures for the South-Eastern European countries as well as by promoting the priorities of projects for some regional unions (Euroslav - for example) that practically strayed them away from the continental processes ...

With such a political adjustment Europe preserves the contact zone in its usual existence as a permanent disordered regional world gravitating to the spectrums from its past and activates the conflicts of civilization destruction in this zone. Such a policy unnoticeably gives priority to the regional neo-isolationism. It can't be productive and can't detach new standards. Such a policy could incite the region to self-isolation in the remnants of the contact - conflict zone, in the monstrous mixture of beginning to walk modernity and futurelessness of the more and more alienated regional communities. Thus this pseudo-healthy zone of contacts that has not managed to create new civilization models, could give life to the conflict rages - a misfortune which high price has to be paid even by the creators of the new world order, will be perpetuated.

The suppression of the European South-East aspiration (or modern politic-economic technologies available in the prospering democratic societies) is installed in the incoherent and to some extent, isolation policy of flourishing Europe. This peculiar protective dogmatism of prosperity makes the hopes of the South-East problematic and the humiliation more noticeable hence more discrediting. The regional communities are doomed to stay at

the level of domestic understanding of the free development choice accepting the regular domination of technical-economic. governing, scientific and cultural priorities of the developed democracies. The contact zone will remain exactly the same municipal and deeply segmented as before, conquered by the national-populist idea and by the strict identification of ethnic "spaces" with motherland ...

The stimulated neo-isolation policy is not a decision for the people living in this contact-conflict zone⁴. They have an inner necessity for freedom, they overcome gradually the aspirations for "their historic priorities" and tear up the mythological curtains to free themselves from the illusions of the past in their national construction. They are creating new authority structures which tolerate everyone who does not menace the conditions for public prosperity and works for approbation of a new, more attractive regional image. Those of them, who parts from their past in the way of renovation, protects their dignity in the hard times of this process and assists the national construction released of the mythological curtain of "the historic advantages", will put the Foundations of overwhelming the national loftiness in the regional instability.

Balkans, like the whole post-communist east-European space, is "a boiling historical caldron at whose bottom the History has Finished it's way, while on the boiling surface only the little histories remain"⁵. The European South-East is not just a series of nostalgic memories about one or another tzar or honored statesman. With youthful curiosity it has discovered the Lord of liberty and new possibilities for it's development - a discovery and a desire that brings together it's population communities by the St. Paule's idea for principle equality for anyone who believes in the one Lord. If it is so and the Lord is the Got of freedom, then the approach to developed Europe has

to be released of the asymmetry of the subordination and to be tied down with the enriched equality.

The youthful aspiration is necessary, useful and sufficient just for the beginning of the quite serious work for leaving " the local pathology for universal sanity"⁶ of the region. The overcoming of the inertial social constants reproducing traditions in type-organization of interstate relations and in the attitude toward antiquity and alohtonum, etc. is fatal for the fortune of the universal sanity. The inertial socio-cultural stereotypes should not be underestimated because they rather successfully usurp (lie public psychology. Stimulated (by media curiosity, for example, as well as by political amateurishness more frequently), they can activate destructive processes in the region, or at least an additional "meaning" of the chaos in the regional space.

Moreover, they are projected in medium, heterogeneous in ethnic, religious and socio-cultural meaning and it emits "antique" messages concerning the regional relations that have their own code and meaning which is decodable by regional and, non-regional actors. This heterogeneous medium supports the idols of determining, self-isolating, non communicative national identity (using the services of it's peculiar self-isolation).

The emergence from the regional pathology supposes to have the answer to the question where are, if any. the borders of aspirations of the minorities to the public space dominated by the value system and the mythological motive of the state-constructive ethnos. The ethnic-central movements seem to be a serious sign for a crisis of social identification due to the loss of power of the state-organized integrating centers and the detonators will probably multiply seriously so that they can blow up this

space if the aspirations of the ethnic maximalism are supported. May he then one or another social tragedy will find its justification into the imperatives of the common values. However, who is the carrier of these common values?

The practise has revealed the fact that the assistance or acceptance of the collective violence for rearrangement of the value layers and organizing symbols is disastrous not only for a single national integrity but also for numerous aspects concerning the regional relations (the Yugo War is one of the respectful proofs). In (his context, the stimulation of initiatives for ethnic status quo transformation is unacceptable - even when they are dressed in confidence into the liberal values; nor is acceptable (not only in the European South-East) the approval of new communities' borders by the means of "inter-regional" or/and external violence. New "bosnian" procedures are a common menace for the European South-East and will prove to be a device of regional self-identification in negative sense.

Even today, the centralized state system is an important accent in the regional specific. With its massive presence each attempt for more crucial modernization of the regional relations becomes problematic. Christianity is constructed successfully an area of opposite communities and it is not by accident that numerous middle-aged countries are trying to situate the new center into themselves, i.e. "to reduce and nationalise" its nondescript-integrating character". The social function of the Christianity today is quite unclear, but the local claims for regional relations "center" remain.

The local provincialism is a powerful destructive factor deforming the international relations in this contact-conflict zone. It reveals its claims also in the reproduction of traditional concepts about integration procedures

which bring under control the political practice of each country with the idea of patronage in the regional relations. This corroboration of the concept For traditional societies concerning the political practice of the European Southeast is embarrassing and it can be surmounted only in case they no longer be state societies. The separation could be realized if there is an answer of the question how it is possible the existence of modern social political purposes in this quite "noisy" common political environment and what are the appropriate instruments for it. For present, the fragmentation dominates the European South-East - a proof that the ideas for serious changes in the philosophy of regional relations have not any practical support. It is an evidence that the centripetal movement, although imposed by non-political instruments, is unsuccessful. A poetical utterance of the fragmentation is the quick moving apart of yesterday's partners searching feverishly possibilities for incorporation to new politic-economic and cultural communities. The disintegration of state organizations is also a practical illustration that the limited sovereignty from the time of block's opposition is replaced by the sovereignty maximisation and the turbulence of ethnic differentiations.

The radicalization of the classic nationalism that has replaced the Soviet-American condominium from the time of "the cold war" accelerates "re-Balkanization" of the region. Its political and social-cultural unfriendliness arouses apprehensions again so can be proved the U. Rostow conclusions that the transition to democracy does not increase the security of new democracies, but just because of the radicalism of this transition it turns out a certain loss and even certain de stabilization of regional and European relations. It is not by chance that the idea of Europe suffers one of its first defeats exactly in this region; and it is not by chance that the new

architecture of European security strengthen some of its elements in this dynamic continental region.

The key question for building the new architecture of regional cooperation (and for building the new system of European security) is the surmounting of rejection radicalism interpreting this area in civilization, socio-philosophic and political context. Radicalization can be restrained if the renovation of this region is subordinated to assimilation of the technology of evolutionary political and social-cultural building that creates lasting conditions for the prosperity of the west societies. Because of the fact that the much neuralgic the region is, the much it is dependable on powerful out-regional factors, so this political reorientation has to gain the assistance of the developed democracies.

The new configuration of co-operation has to restrain gradually the permanent efforts of the South-Eastern European countries to reallocate the regional area. Only this way they will give up the temptation of forming coalitions reproducing the stereotypes of an out-of-date political decision making and to set to the building of their relations based on the attracting commonness in their individual goals.

This process probably will find its dynamic formula in the commercialization of the foreign-political relations in the region. The determination of the common regional-economic space will provide room for much closer political and cultural connection. At first, the political context will lead because with the appliance of the political instruments the partners will try to discover a horizon of an active partnership in all spheres. At "the preliminary" stage of the regional relations development this context will remain leading but it has to model such parameters of regional relations that can make the economic relations dominant. Then the Balkans processes

will achieve their own logic without the need of crutches of the political modelling - something too hard to achieve in a region that has not still Found it's self-conviction For such an approach, while it can loose it's illusions as well.

4. MEETING THE RETURN OF THE REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

The global outlook on the regional specificity may give precious references for the positive transformation of the basic characteristic featuring the regional policy. It would be useful, first of all, to outline the **zones of severe rivalry** in interstate relations, that are most likely to host conflict charged processes, the **zones of non-severe rivalry**, that may produce contradictions, pliable to the mechanisms of political administration and the zones **of artificial** rivalry, the tacit purpose of which is to sound out the intentions of the partners or to have a destructive impact along with some current operational troubles (it is said to be the realm of the political strategy). Differentiation of that kind between the political situations will let the responsible political bodies to implement effective mechanisms for the prevention of regional conflicts.

It is well-known that the zones of severe rivalry are due to the existence of utterly contradictory interests maintained by the collaborating states. They influence rather vigorously the system of regional relations. The states, engaged in a zone of severe rivalry make a lot of efforts to minimize the value of the political shares of their opponents and to augment their own one. Therefore, the zone of severe rivalry is marked with some duplicity

concerning the nature of the intentions of those who maintain the relations: once, it should store the ambitions for maximizing the effectiveness of one's own political efforts and furthermore every one's strategy to minimize the capability of the rivals. Evidently, in terms of severe contention there is metrics in the productivity of the foreign political undertaking and that is why the attempts to both maximize and minimize it are correlated.

The impossibility of regarding only one of the dimensions without showing concern about the other, explains why the competition in that zone is on the verge of turning into conflict. The imperatives of the interests maintained in the zone of severe rivalry impede the agreement on compromises that are some of the most substantial indicators of the political regulation. The achievement of maximum in regard to the claims for national identity, the impelling forces to the ethnic-confessional aspirations, the attempts to change the national identity, the illusions about the historical privileges and the territorial claims Find a stable ground within the zone. That suitably explains why the Balkans states still reside in history, that is, they constantly look back to the past which has been definitely "monologous", while nowadays, their attempts to "melt" the history are coupled with lot of dramatization and tragic ineffectiveness. The idols of the past rule the regional history so »s to predestine the imitative reconfiguration...

Within the zone of non-severe rivalry the interests, related to the national priorities do not exclude each other: furthermore, while being in competition under certain circumstances, they arc, to a definite degree, in compliance with each other and even, sometimes, enhance the co-operation between the Foreign political initiatives. The efficiency of the political activities is, in the zone of non-severe rivalry, subordinated to the idea of

reaching the optimum which is being tolerated, but there is still perceived an effort to minimizing the efficiency of the enemy's performance. The mutual reliance and common responsibility of the rivals to stimulating the positive aspects of their relations is clearly discernible in the zone. The instigation to the positive aspects is facilitated by the fact that the various optimums of the political efforts do not coincide and their minimum do not as well. The political instruments are easy to apply when solving some or other situational contradictions.

The zone of non-severe rivalry is not marked with a double standard in estimating the capability of the strategies and the opponents. It is not difficult to see that the attempts to limit the efficiency of the rivals' performance is up to reasonable extent. The effectiveness of the political activities is not related to the common metrics - some regional agents may seek economic priorities while others - military ones. The zone of non-severe rivalry is believed to be a zone of incongruous objectives and that is why the relations relevant to the achievement of certain purposes are more tranquil and the patient pursuit of resolutions satisfying each party is completely imaginable. The regional relations may be given an extra-stimulus for developing in a positive direction when transforming some of the elements in the zone of severe rivalry, by their distinguishing between basic and nonessential, and turning them into factors of the non-severe rivalry zone. That is how the "hierarchy of stability" is being defined and (the participants in the regional relations could distinguish the margin of risk in realizing the particular political initiatives.

The zone of artificial rivalry is established on the basis of the preventive conduct of the opponents that either do not realize the criteria measuring the efficiency of their political efforts (such is the Bulgarian

case), or are conscious of their disadvantageous position in regard to the regional disposition that may turn to not be in favor to the national interests in case of conflict. The zone is not related to Firmly established objectives and with a view to evading an adverse position that minimizes the efficiency of the political behavior in certain conditions there are usually employed opportunist instruments that destroy the peace in the area of collaboration.

The artificial rivalry should pull the resources of the opponent into the imaginary Field of interests and damage the classification of the priorities concerning his political objectives. The zone of artificial rivalry is a zone of political tactics and it is dependent on the political mechanisms for managing the "debates". Tactics, that makes the everyday policy have sense (what else then could be the periodically aggravated and artificially created problems concerning the "Bulgarian Mohammedan" nation). What is characteristic of the behavior in the zone of artificial rivalry is the lack of resolution to defend the advertised objectives that have formally provoked the behavior...

After the end of the "Cold war" it was not the exterior contradictions in regard to South-Eastern Europe, but the common interests of the states in the region that gradually turned into actual, pragmatic conditions for a coalition partnership. It is well-known that in case the foreign political effects and the so provoked confrontation dominate the interior, regional opposition, the centripetal force influencing the relations is much more stronger than the centrifugal one. Nowadays, in the recently destroyed bipolar world, the proportion between the centripetal and centrifugal force is kept constant when the national interests enjoy some respect in the international relations. The laws of the civilized competition have been applied to the regional relations and thus, the mutual interest of the partners

is more intense than the eventual regional disagreements. The centripetal forces harness the so expected to reveal centrifugal ones.

The presence of asymmetric relation between the exterior and the interior, raising the worth of the inner to the coalition contradictions, the centrifugal processes look impossible to be standstilled: the world of Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and the transformation of the Southeastern {European area have come into being. The world is characterized by strong liability, morbid experience of the conflicts and difficult to apply political mechanism to their management. The moral system of the opponents is being made absolute along the development of the awkward and complicated regional situation (the same could be perceived when it comes to certain processes concerning the interior political relations - the ethnic aspirations, for example). These characteristics of the situation do explain why foreign political behavior in the South-Eastern part of Europe is stern and insensitive to the compromise: behavior that rests so little liberty for taking part in the particular relations.

The resolution to stand for the uniqueness of the so chosen political and cultural self-identification have transformed the Balkans part of Europe into a mechanical merger of distinctive "feuds", it turned out that inside the cultural area. historically determined as a mediator among the civilizations, there are established firm boundaries and the autonomous communities are jealously vigilant over their own sovereignty. One should bear in mind the idea of the peculiarity characterizing the Balkans part of Europe if making analysis of the prospects to the currently displayed tendency in the international relations domain for increasing the "freedom of relations". If freedom means tolerance on part of the international community toward each state's inclination for destroying the stereotyped patterns of the relations

and establishing new relations, based on the common, corresponding part of their national interests, then, it is obvious that the Balkans region is very far from the process of modernization.

The up-dating of the foreign political tendencies and the orientation of Balkans has been deterred by the still powerful influence exercised by the dogmatic art of the traditional policy and the discernible reminiscences from the doctrinaire stereotypes in the political practice dating from the time of the "Cold war". If the modernization of the relations has chosen as a prototype and universal model the western liberal democracy, which comprises the two basic values - equality and freedom, it turns out that the European Southeast should, like the post-communist societies in Eastern Europe, take the road to confirming the new moral system. It would be definitely more difficult for the states from the region that are about to carry out the transition from the synthesis of the October Revolution, strongly respecting the social equality and the liberal cult, to freedom. Moreover, the region has made them co-exist with societies, untouched by the equality syndrome and residing the "other camp", but nevertheless having promptly applied the atavistic obsession to their political practice.

The modernization of the Balkans is detained also because of "imported" contradictions, the secret initiator of which are:

- the technological distance between the prosperous Western Europe and the states from the region - a factor, the retarding effect of which will have a negative influence on the regional relations and the integration intercourse with the developed democracies;
- the democratic "distance", that is going to be overcome in different moments of time by each separate state. The gradual consolidation of the democratic regimes will be carried out in a different rhythm

- it will imply the correspondent impairments to the regional relations.
- later on, there should be expected to emerge the resource problem that will determine both the rapidity in relaxing the relations and the perspectives for their evolution among the states;
- the national populism constitutes a permanent destructive and hard to be eliminated factor from the Balkans. The damages, caused by it, are the reason why the regional discords are of first importance to the regional relations. The apprehension of endangered national interests ensures them defensive priorities in accordance with the contradictions imported from abroad. That explains why in Balkans the centrifugal tendencies dominate over the centripetal ones;
- the nature of the regional integration is also of importance to the modernization of the Balkans or in other words - whether it will turn out to be a false integration, carried out by way of upper state association of the regional communities around a new center (Turkey, for example), or by way of interstate regional integration, as an inherent part of the integration into Europe. The other procedure is far more difficult but it responds to the nature of the consolidation processes and tendencies in Europe.

In the near future the Balkans would be one of the points of instability on the continent. Apart from this, the point is surrounded by an area, itself being a source of miscellaneous effects. The Mediterranean and part of South-Eastern Europe, both having well-developed economies. Evident desire to join European moderate nationalism, will positively influence the regional processes. Turkey is an intermediate unit - it is part of South-Eastern Europe and meanwhile embodies the shade of Asia. It is the link to other civilizations and traditions and a force, as well, that exercises direct

influence on the Muslims residing in the Balkans.

Besides the secular nature of the state, it could be expected that in her foreign political orientation Turkey will maintain the separation and seclusion on ethnic basis of "relative" communities in the European Southeast in order to prolong the comparatively autonomous development of these ethnic "cantons". They would be regarded as a natural continuation of the social basis of its Foreign policy. Similar influence may be detected also in Bulgaria.

It could be expected that such a policy will step by step manufacture the next serious challenge to Europe, because in its South-Eastern part could once more be discerned compiled the elements of a regional conflict on an ethnic basis. The strategy of the intermediary risk that takes into consideration the prognostication For development of the regional relations should not exclude a scenario of the kind. Besides, if thinking such a risk conceivable, the dimensions of the situation, if it ever happens, will bring into being a serious regional conflict.

Similar scenario should be bore in mind whenever making analysis. because the regional disposition could not be simplified by expressing any admissions or doubts that the relations may take a destructive way of developing, only taking stand on some "widespread concerns" for a commonwealth in the future civilizational building on the continent or for the reliability on the political behavior based on "sound reasoning". What widespread concerns and sound reasoning could pacify the social environment charged with the demolishing impulses produced not only by the Bosnian conflict but also by the Cyprus, Curds, Georgia-Abhasian, Aser-Armenian and the Tchetchnyan "local" conflicts. Judgements on some effective co-operation in establishing the regional relations may be

expressed only if there is:

- correspondence between the standpoints and the strategic political and military objectives of each state, taking part in the relations:

- common strategy with a view to the probable opponents to the consolidation process carried out in developing the regional relations;

- identical attitude toward the non-regional factors, standing for particular interest in the region;

- close position regarding the major players on the international arena, whose interests may be deeply affected or eliminated by the dynamic regional development;

- accordant viewpoints on the conceivable dimension of each regional state's developing military potential;

- compliant positions about the necessary co-operative strategy for guarding the common regional interests;

- preparedness to devising a mechanisms for undertaking coordinated military and non-military measures with a view to overcoming the crises in the region;

- stubborn repudiation of the single acts as inapplicable to resolving the crisis in the regional relations.

The above-mentioned judgements on the co-operation in the regional establishment, in order to becoming principles of the international relations. should overcome significant obstacles, some of which:

- the reinvigorated influence of the classical nationalism:

- the existence of substantial discord in the interests of the separate states in the security field;

- firm discrepancy among the power, traditions and immunity of the relations concerning the non-regional factors;

- the differences between the traditional relationship and the preferences within the regional relations; the residual effect of the traditional affiliation to regional and non-regional powers maintain certain symmetry in the development of the balanced interstate relations;

- difficult to be defined common interests that are to reveal the way toward the regional identity. Only after their giving a definition, that "identity" will be delivered from the negative aspects, having served an instrument for political evaluations.

The constant peering into the past revives the ghosts of discord, such that have brought so much troubles to the European Southeast under the pretext of salving the ideas that concern the dimension of the regional partnership. In order that the box of Pandora be closed and the Balkans restores its initial position of a bridge, mediator of the civilizational messages, it is necessary that a sincere, unprejudiced dialogue concerning the problems of the regional relations be held. it should focus its energy towards the following more important fields of the political cleansing:

1. Some problems of the legacy, that continue to influence the regional particularity:

- the present influence of the legacy, that encompasses the specific characteristics of the region as Euro-Asian passage and the imperatives of the European integration (national populism, actively detaching traditions):

- the rights of the legacy reflect also over the recent configuration of states in the region. The destructive potential of the reconstitution concerning the ethnic and state order established in the Balkans is advertised as a restitution of the civilization legacy (that pushes, with great velocity, the region back to the beginning of the century);

- the restoration of the legacy may be detected in the current attempts

to assign the boundaries of the "bipolar world" non-ideological, civilizational dimensions.

2. Special attention should be turned to the complex of factors that maintain the regional instability:

- the ethnic centralization and the Forceful practice of "confederating", provoked by the problems of the national identity:

- the social and cultural emancipation of separate communities, carried out under the direction of non-regional factors, tint constantly evokes the deficiency of stability;

- the translation of the regional security mainly into ethnic and religious problem and its complementary agitation by the expansion of the Islamic Fundamentalism;

- the low political culture of the emancipating communities, that allows their manipulation;

- the xenophobia that makes evident a national complex and the revival of the tradition, rejecting the "foreigner";

- not quite clearly determined poles of the economic dynamism and flexibility of the new power constellations in the region.

3. These Factors happen, in broader terms, to determine the logic of the destructive Forces operating on the regional political arena, identified in:

- the crisis concerning the identity of the new democracies;
- the confrontation as generator of political reasoning - it is here that the Framework of the tolerable expansion of the conflict charged areas should be considered;

- the minor political priorities that have banked mainly the privileges of the national interests;

- the ignorance of the real political opponent in the regional relations

and the extension of the discussions by way of attracting non-regional Factors as "translators" and "mediators";

- the lure of the instruments For exercising violent pressure, that promises immediate results and ensures the brilliant impression gained by the opponents of the way the result was accomplished;

- the inherent conflict nature of the alternatives that should resolve the disputable questions;

- the maintenance of the symmetry in the military instruments of the policy.

The XX century has provided lot of evidences that the substitute of the mechanisms for manufacturing the political decisions is perilous to the Balkans. The most trivial temptation to the local politicians, (hat do not have the patience of the political dexterity For searching mutually satisfying decisions, is to splinter with a single blow the Gordian knot. containing irresolvable problems, accumulated during the development of the interstate relations. The results arc well-known - catastrophes. Followed by the extension of the detachment mode. the maintenance of frigid interstate relations quite close to turning into an open confrontation. If the regional agents, enlightened at last, try to define the dimensions of the constructive regional policy that will neutralize the effect of the neo- detachment mode and activate the integration processes, they should first of all regard:

- the emphasis on (he economic connections in the context of the international relations;

- the possibilities For establishing regional "common market", as means for activating the regional political, economic and cultural relations. that enhance the harmonization of the intercourse and the transition from mechanic to systematic co-operation;

- the common characteristics of the regional security policy looked in the light of the interests maintained by the states in the region;
- the dimensions of the regional policy as a tolerant one to the national choice;
- the agreement upon the areas where the common regional policy is being applied;
- the establishment of mechanisms and procedures of a common regional security policy;
- lucidity in the military settlement, in clarifying the possibilities for influencing its substance and detecting the factors that have impact on the military expenditure. They would appeal to reasonability. to such a sensibility called "sufficiency", that may stimulate the positive processes in the region.

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