Nationalism and Territory

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Abstract

　　The nationalism, as an ideology, has historically been treated in different ways, depending from who and which political system. There have been various opinions of different scholars upon this subject. These distinct opinions allow us to identify, as well establish or determine whether this phenomenon is useful or detrimental. As a matter of fact, the historical and geopolitical circumstances within the territory and culture should be taken into consideration when analyzing the effects that nationalism has had in the creation of these circumstances.

　　Having into consideration all the dramatic and terrible events that they had suffered, as well different historical phases they have gone through, Albanians are the most unique example of experiencing different treatment of nationalism due to unprecedented injustice, violence and terror against innocent population only with the purpose to exterminate them and take their territories. This relation between two nations has forced the international community to get involved in resolution and protection of the rights and freedoms of Albanians in former Yugoslavia.

　　The recent wars in the former Yugoslavia. The dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. Serbs and Albanians fight for the right over Kosovo.

Key words: nationalism, chauvinism, ideology, nation, state, territory, ethnicity, culture.

Introduction

As elaborated below, the nationalism, which is inseparably linked with territory, is undoubtedly one of the topics that had never lost its actuality throughout history.

　　Even the most prominent scholars have dilemmas regarding the clear definition of nationalism and drawing of a parallel between nationalism and chauvinism. For some, nationalism is an ideology or worldview, based on which the national identity is essential to the creation of the sovereign state and for a sovereign state to exist.

　　Throughout the time, the nationalism, as a term or an ideology was treated in both positive and negative aspect. The patriotism is depicted as a positive aspect of nationalism, while chauvinism is depicted as a negative aspect of nationalism.

　　The nationalism in former Yugoslavia was depicted as a very negative phenomenon linked to "irredentism," respectively, as a tendency of territorial secession or separation.

But, as a matter of fact, the negative aspect of nationalism has its roots in the artificial creature of so-called Yugoslavia, while nationalism, as an ideology, was born much earlier.

"The violence and repression of Serbs in Kosovo has reached its peak with the unconstitutional act of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia of 1989 suspending the SAP autonomy of Kosovo that was guaranteed by the Constitution of 1974. These unconstitutional changes gave Serbia the opportunity to announce the creation of a unique Serbia."[1]

This study will be focused on these dilemma or uncertainties, based on the viewpoints of Albanian nationalist experiences throughout the history.

At first glance, the nationalism can be depicted as a negative phenomenon, but, in reality, it is an integral and compound part of a human being. If we look closely enough, then we will find that it is something without which no nation is complete. In fact, it is a very sound concept, provided that it does not exceed the normal limits or does not convert to extremism.

USA and Serbia can be taken as two strong examples, respectively strong vs. weak example. The final results are seen in both countries in question, and there is no need to write something about it, because we are all aware of them and the consequences, namely their achievements. However, there are surely other countries that can be used as a good example, but these two are worth mentioning (especially at this time that Kosovo is going through.)

This dilemma and topic will be discussed in this paper with a focus on addressing the role of nationalism in "building" relations between people.

The events of the 90th have demonstrated the Balkan diversity to a great extend and presented numerous historical links of the Balkan people, while, in the case in question, it has highlighted and presented a large linguistic, religious, ethnic, cultural and political variety.

As a matter of fact, this diversity was not depicted as a value, but as a difference and difficulty for the future co-living. This identity resulted in the conclusion that nationalism, as an ideology, has affected the creation of the notion 'nation-state' and as a result, the delineation of territorial boundaries within the areas where the members of the nation live.

Theoretical discourse on the nationalism

Academics around the world agree that nationalism is an ideology, which differs among nations and at certain degree serves as a model to know what their future will look alike.
In addition, it is also an idea that allows us to define territories and boundaries. Nationalism is a fairly new spirit in the social creation of humanity. Throughout history, kings have had an absolute authority. The rich had been given lands for their own purposes. The ordinary people were supposed to be loyal to the King, while the king

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[1] Frasher Demaj: Challenges of Internationalisation and the Role of NATO in Liberation of Kosovo "Scientific Gazette "Juridika"Prishtina, 2011, f-57

seemingly did not care much about discrimination against them. Such devotion was depicted as a religious connection with their kings, because at that time people were not distinguished by ethnicity, but by religion.[2]

The term "nation-state" was discerned in various dictionaries of all the states for more than 200 years, where "... each state needs a nation because of legitimacy, while the nation needs a state to fulfil its own goals." [3] The question then arises at to where the border should be drawn in order to distinguish patriotism and nationalism in conceptual terms. On the one hand, some certain nationalist scholars argue that there is a fundamental difference between the aforementioned, one of which reflects the political mobilisation and devotion to the state and its symbols, such as the constitution or state natural formation, while the nationalism is related to the nation itself.[4]

The various definitions of nationalism make it a very difficult task to have one single universal description. However, the most generalized ones argue that it is a modern ideology, which can be perceived as a starting point in the creation of nation-states. In very broad terms, nationalism can be perceived as an ideology whose most important objective is to serve the national community he belongs.

The creators of this ideology attribute their nation a different identity other than the rest of the communities. The community in question may have some common characteristics with others in constitutional, historical, religious, linguistic, ethnic or genetic aspect. However, these similarities make that community to differ from the others.[5] As regards to cultural nationalism, it will be useful to take into consideration the theories of Mazzin, Fanon and Fichte. Mazzin, whose discourses had been quite often used during fascist Italy, thinks that each nation can have some mythical expressions, whereas Fanon, warned in his writings that cultural nationalism can easily be converted to despotism and tyranny (like that of Hitler).[6] Fichte believes in individualism, humanism and French Revolution. He defines the nation, as a living organism, an idea which forms the basis of Nazism. As regards to the mythic nationalism theories, it is worth mentioning Giddens, Enderson and Smith. Giddens sees nationalism as a psychological concept, rather than an ideological one. He perceives nations belonging to the modern era and also perceives nation-states as universal. The reason of the appearance of nation-states according to Giddens is the globalisation.[7]

Along with the globalisation, culture also started to be globalised as a one homogeneous form. This resulted in some kind of cultures who look for their own ethnicities based on their original feature. While, Anderson, on the other hand perceives the concept

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[2]. White,G.W.Nationalism and territory. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000

[3]. Kaplan, D.H.Territorial Identities ang Geographic Scale.In Herb., 1999 f-34

[4]. Etherington, J.-National Identity and Territory 2003

[5].Suner, D. 2005 Suner, D.(2005): What Kind of Impact Does the Idea European Identity Have On Modern Nation State? Suturday, 15 january

[6]. Suner, D. What KindofImpact Does the Idea Of European Identity Have on Modern State?Saturday,15January
   2005

[7]. Czergo D & Golgeier J.M. Nationalist Strategies and European Integration http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no4_ses/chapter09.pdf

of nations as 'imagined communities'. He also agrees with Giddens on the origins of nation-states. Modern nation-states, according to Anderson emerged with the modernity in parallel, because he sees nationalism as a product brought with contemporary technological and scientific achievements. Furthermore, he takes capitalism as a typical example. However, Anthony Smith thinks differently than the two other thinkers. According to Smith, nationalism existed even before modernity. However, these nations were transformed into modern nation-states after a three phased revolution.

According to him, these phases are as follow:

1) Transitory phase – related to transition from federalism to capitalism.
2) Centralization phase – related to centralization of government and military power.
3) Standardization phase- related to the standardization of the cultural conscious.[8]

Spread of nationalism

The idea of nationalism has spread across the world due to strong worldviews of people. Therefore, it is clear that the concept of nationalism is almost identical among nations, but what really differs them, is the way how different nations have used this nationalism as a tool for their unification. Moreover, it can also be said that there can be no nation without nationalism. Smith (*1992*) clearly describes the relationship between national and European identity in terms of compatibility, 'however dominant the nation and its national identification, human beings retain a multiplicity of allegiances in the contemporary world' (with those that are perceived as helpful for survival).[9] In addition to this, V. Havel, the ex-president of Czech Republic, believes that nations have a right to determine their own identities. The same contradiction is also evident in Havel's ideas. In one of his previous statements, he said that it's more important to be a Czech living in the territories of the Republic, than just being a Czech. However, it would not be wrong to say that he is in favour of a civic modernity, especially if we take into consideration the presence of the signs of liberal nationalism on the United Nations Charter as well.

According to prominent political theorist of the Czech Republic, Miroslav Hroch "the 'nation is not, of course, an eternal category, but was always the product of a long and complicated process of historical development in Europe '(1996, p.79).[10]

Nationalism and territory

The disputes over the territory, such as to whom it belongs, are the most difficult disputes. This can be demonstrated with the dissolution of former Yugoslavia that we have witnessed

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8 Vercauteren, P European Integration and the Crisis of the State. Queen's Papers on Europeanization No7/2001.f-6

9 .Smith, A.-National Identity and the Idea of European Unity International Affairs, Vol.68, No.1.1992

10. Hroch, Miroslav. "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-building Process in Europe," in Balakrishnan, Gopal, ed. Mapping the Nation. New York and London: Verso, 1996: pp. 78-97. See especially p. 79.

in person (and we are now the most "trendy" party in this process).[11] The Palestine's dispute differs from Kosovo. Although, the conflicts were ethnically based and fought within the territory of sovereign state, they have all had the characteristics of a war fought between two sovereign countries: parties to the conflict have persecuted and killed each other with the aim of cleansing the territory inhabited by "undesirable elements", aiming its whole eradication, as well any possible trace.[12]

The concept of identity was recently included in geographical studies, as a separate branch. This concept represents a broad and diverse phenomenology[13] as well a consequence of a prejudiced interpretation of several changes of the local level. Therefore, a thorough analysis of the concept of territorial identity seems quite appropriate for a more detailed clarification and perception, if perceived as such within the geographical connotation. One can build a primary reflection about the "territorial" or "geographical" term, as it is preferred to be called by the majority of people, since as such it is transformed into constituent element of territorial structure and can also determine the transformations of geographical, structural, rational sphere and worldviews.

Nationalism and territorial identity

One may define identity as a sense of interrelation or uniformity with a collection of certain ideas or symbolic elements. The sense of identity is a basic need for physical and mental/emotional welfare and personal enjoyment.[14] However, Castells (2000) draws the attention that that one may maintain many different identities in both individual and societal aspect .[15] It's not an easy task to measure the sense of the identity, which in most cases is contentedly defined. Different identities are maintained in different situations. [16] Therefore, the territorial based identities constitute only one part of the equation.

Taylor (1999) says that the state takes care to preserve the existing borders both in terms of power and authority, while in terms of wealth inclines towards much larger territories, while in the cultural point of view, the state tries to be based on smaller territories.[17] On the basis of common levels, territorial units that are used by people for their identification can be divided into three parts:

- Macro-level (also known as globalization or sub-globalization);
- Micro-level (also known as local or national);
- Meso-level (also known as the State).[18].

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11. Koha ditore: 26 May 2005, p-10

12. Enver Hasani, personal paper

13.   Pollice,F.The   Role   of   Territorial   Identity   in   LocalDevelopment   Processes http://www.openstarts.units.it/dspace/bitstream/10077/841/1/b3pollic.pdf.

14.   Pollice, F. The   Role   of   Territorial   Identity   in   Local   Development   Processes http://www.openstarts.units.it/dspace/bitstream/10077/841/1/b3pollic.pdf.

15. Castells-The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume II The Powe of identity Padstow, Cornwall.2000

16. Murphy,1999-"Rethinking the Concept of European Identity", In Herb, G.H.

17. Taylor, P.J.-Places, Spaces and Macy's: Place-Space Tensions in the Political Geography of Modernities, Progress in Human Geography 23, 1999

18. For more info see Paasi&Newman, 1998

We can say that identity is a composition of psychological characteristics, based on which each individual differs from one another, but, on the other hand, these features make each individual unique. Individual identity is a combination of genetic predispositions and environmental impact.[19] On the one hand, we have the geographical environment, which has less impact, but is of importance, and on the other hand, we also have social environment in which every individual grows up and lives, and can largely impact in the reactions of individuals in different situations.[20]

The spatial construction has initially relied on the expansion and development of agriculture from the Near East to the Balkans in the 6th millennium BC. The economic specialization of people and transformation of the system of colonies (settlements) from villages to cities was made possible by the surplus of food in productive areas near large rivers around the IV century BC. Two thousand years later, Phoenicians and Cretans have founded the first commercial cities in eastern parts of the Mediterranean, which later became cultural part of Europe, where the cities/countries were emerged.[21]

In order to create a more complete understanding of nationalism, the territory should also be included. As Conversi states, nationalism cannot be conceived without including the dimensions of the territory.[22] The territory appears in the centre of all nationalist programs, therefore the importance of maps and their strategies comes to the fore. Ultimately, in the globe made up of nation-states, one ethnic group can feel completely safe and protected, only when it manages to create its own nation-state.

Territory, as an identity

The dispute over territory what belongs to whom, where a boundary should be drawn has been, is and will remain as one of the most specific and difficult problems, which causes conflicts, such as the Palestinian conflict, Turkey-Greece dispute, the case of Spain etc, as well the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia.

Despite the fact that conflicts were ethnically based, and in some cases were fought within the territory of a sovereign state, they have had the characteristics of a war fought between sovereign states.

The purpose of conflicts between the parties was cleansing of the territories, and in most cases, the ethnic cleansing, such as the case of Kosovo, where there have been killings and massacres aimed at total eradication and dominance.

The territorial disputes between conflicting parties have always been wild, and in some cases they have perished whole people in order to lose every trace of their existence.
In many cases, the dispute over territory is complicated, especially when it is fought within a territory and within political organizations that are deemed as sovereign by the

19 .Mlinar, Z. Evropske preokupacije in druzbeno-prostorsko prestrukturiranje. In Mlinar Zdravko(ur.): Osamosvajanje in povezovanje v evropskem prostoru. Lubljana: FDV. F-61-75
20.Ule, M.Temelji socialne psihologije. Lubljana. 2000
21.Ibis
22.The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilization, London: Hurst/Reno: University of Nevada Press 2000

international community. The dispute over territory between countries has historically been more easily handled, because the compromise is much easily reached, and often with the mediation of international community, the territories are divided and more acceptable resolutions are achieved.

The ethnicity is the key element on the occasion of the resolution of territorial disputes. It has always been the supporting pillar, based on which the dispute over territory was resolved. There are no winners in most of these disputes. The most problematic thing in these types of conflicts is precisely the fact that the territory is presented as a constituent part of an identity of an ethnic group, therefore the claim of the other group over the same territory is completely the same, or at least identical with theirs. In legal terms, the territory does not belong only to those who own it, the territory, as such becomes an identity, and becomes very important, because it is related to century-old symbols and beliefs of an ethnic group.

In this aspect, we can say that in some cases the belief of ownership over a territory is created based on faith and religion, and as such are treated as "sacred" places, or as "their" territory, for example Fushë Kosova, which Serbs consider that it belongs only to them, or on the basis of religious buildings becomes the so-called "appropriation", or we have cases of identification of a territory in terms of ownership on the basis of fought wars e.g. Gazimestan. Despite losing their battle, Serbs regard it as their own sacred place.
The century-long war between Serbs and Albanians for territory or better to say conflicts has not enabled the creation of a common history or common life, as a symbol of historical monuments at least.

"The ethnic conflicts over the territory can only be managed, but not resolved on the spot." [23]

The demands for territory are inseparable: they cannot be exchanged for something else (such as security or the case of Israel's or policy of a decade ago "peace for territory"), to be paid off (through money compensation), or replaced (by giving some other piece of territory). In order to resolve ethnic conflicts, several cases of autonomy were implemented, but practice shows that the functional and personal autonomy has failed, not because the political organisation was not sufficiently qualitative, but because that political organisation was closely linked to the territory.

On the other hand, this does not imply that an unqualified political organisation can neutralize the ethnic conflict over the territory only because of the fact that it has strong connections with certain territory. This was seen in the so-called territorial autonomies during the communist era, whose theoretical and practical foundations were created by Stalin.

Therefore, we should look at the Serbian demands for decentralization, namely, emphasized ethnic autonomy, which is based on clear lines of territory controlled by them.

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[23]. Hasani, Enver: Koha Ditore.26 may 2005, p-10

In fact, the Serbs' demands do not represent decentralization, but de-concentration of power in favour of certain parts of the territory of Kosovo.

Conclusion

The term 'territory' respectively, ethnic conflict over territory in the strict sense of the word is a historical and philosophical category. The artificial creature so-called Yugoslavia is the most unique example of the confrontation and conjunction of the afore-mentioned issues, first of all, nationalism and then territory, as two notions that are closely linked to each other.

The issue or dispute to whom a territory or part of the territory belongs is a major problem. All the wars are fought over the territory or extermination, eradication (e.g. Kosovo), although it is now internationally recognized as a special case, because Kosovo has never been an integral part of Serbia, and the aforementioned thesis is illustrated by the case of Bosnia, Palestine and other countries .

In general, these conflicts are very multidimensional and difficult, because, sometimes, it is difficult to defend them before the international community, because of the sovereignty of a country in which they are taking place.

However, the main theme discussed here is much more complicated than it appears at first glance, having in mind that the definition of the concept of nationalism itself is so unclear (in a way) that sometimes one gets lost in it, and not to mention the more complicated ones. However, this concept is something that should be taken with great seriousness, and at least integrated into the life of every individual. Nowadays, in my personal life I have faced many situations and heard people talking about how the Albanians (Kosovo) have quickly lost their sense of nationalism and are forgetting the history of a few years ago. In this paper, I've tried to show that being nationalist, provided that it does not convert to extremisms, is actually a good thing.

As noted above, various authors say that Europe is a half-formed country, while on the other side, the same underline that being a nationalist is an integral part of this half-formed entity (Europe). Considering the fact that every entity consists of constituent parts starting from the smallest ones, the nationalism is then automatically associated with the territory as well its preservation and representation in Europe.

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