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An Outline (Main Theses and References) of the Lecture

## The Western Balkans as a Pawn in International Politics: Montenegrin Experience

The Western Balkans and the EU: Challenges and Prospects, [October 29-December 3, 2007], University of Helsinki, November 26, 2007.

### 1. Introductory Premises

**1.1. Theoretical Background** (epistemological and pedagogical warnings): for EU-EA integrations based on an open and critical mind (dialectical science of complexity, ambiguity, and contradictions, from G. V. F. Hegel to I. Prigogine), and against EU-EA bureaucratic integrations based on neo-functionalism dogmatism (from E. Haas to today)

#### 1.2. Historical Background

1.2.1. **Past and Present**. Late modernity: our current TimeSpace (I. Wallerstein). The third great late age, within 1) the 25 centuries of the “Greek-Roman and Western culture” (Sorokin, 2002/1957), and 2) 5 centuries of the “modern world-system” (I. Wallerstein)

1.2.2. **Future**. The EU and the Western Balkans amid the crisis and change of the modern world-system 1914-1945-1989-2050: extreme openness, uncertainty, and creativity (Wallerstein, 2004, 2007)

### 2. Explanatory Variables

**2.1. One World** (World-System), **Two Entities** (EU and Western Balkans/Montenegro), **Three Cleavages** (US-EU-Japan, North-South, Davos-Porto Alegre): **Global and Local Polity (Politics) in Turmoil**

2.1.1. The Western Balkans and Montenegro. **New** (late modernity) epistemological **paradigm**, reversal of old (early and mature modernity) paradigm (from K. Marx’s Foreword for the first edition of *Capital*): chaos of the periphery as a picture of possible (probable) future of the center, or the small peripheral entities as **mirrors** reflecting the contradictions of the great central powers (Popović, 2002). After the collapse: **right-wing populist regimes** under the façade of “democratic nationalism” and “pro-European policy”

2.1.2. “Great powers”, Global Politics and Polities, US, EU, Russia, China etc. After the Cold War: **new right-wing populist rivalry and convergence** (Popović, 2006), plus the **“unholy alliance”** between the dominant Western militarists and reactive but inferior and criminal Eastern terrorists (Mastnak, 1996). **The EU amid the rivalry, convergence, and alliance**, under the double pressure of “neoliberal” social polarization and “fundamentalist” cultural “re-Christianization” (Wallerstein, 2007), and at the three cleavages of XXI century (Wallerstein, 2003)

**2.2. Modern and Recent Montenegrin Experience** (1878, 1918, 1991, 1997, 2000, 2006). **Pro-Independence Struggle** in Montenegro Before, Under, and After Milošević Era: Historical and Empirical Evidence (Popović, 2007). **Turbulent Phenomenology, Bitter Experience: Montenegrin Mirror: Polity in Turmoil 1991-2001**: “Europe versus Europe”, “New Miscalculation”, “Dances With Wolves”, “Shocking Connection” (Popović, 2002)

### 3. Instead of Conclusion: A Plea for an Open Mind in an Era of Turbulent Change

#### 4. References

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