

Prof. Dr. Milan Popović

University of Montenegro Podgorica

Post-Yugoslav Security

From Total Collapse to Difficult Renewal

An Advanced, Post-Graduate, One-Semester University Course

Course Description

Part I: Understanding Collapse

Cold War continuities and Post-Cold War changes. Internal and international aspects. Balkan nationalism and international realcapitalism. Too little, too late, inadequate? Catastrophic short-termism? Unholy alliance? Cascading disintegration: dissolution of Yugoslavia 1991, partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-95, Dayton Peace Accords 1995, Kosovo intervention 1999. NATO expansion and Balkan testing ground.

Part II: Contending Interpretations

Mainstream and dominant versus alternative and critical ones. Realist and etatist versus globalist and pluralist ones. The end of history? The clash of civilizations? Utopistics?

Part III: Imagining Alternative

Unfinished peace, unstable security, unsettled disputes: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro. Montenegrin state question and regional stability. The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. The EU Stabilization and Association Process for the Western Balkans. The Partnership for Peace.

Suggested Readings

Banac, Ivo (1988). *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Translation in Croatian.

Berend, Ivan T. (1996). *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944-1993: detour from the periphery to the periphery*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. Translation in Montenegrin/Serbian: *Centralna i istočna Evropa 1944-1993: sa periferije zaobilaznim putem nazad na periferiju*, CID, Podgorica, 2001.

Bougarel, Xavier (1996). *Bosnie: anatomie d'un conflit*. Paris: La Decouverte.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew (2004). *The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership*. New York: Basic Books; translation in Croatian: (2004) *Američki izbor: globalna dominacija ili globalno vodstvo*. Zagreb: Politička kultura, Podgorica: CID.

Bugajski, Janusz (1993). *Nations in Turmoil*. Boulder, Colorado and Oxford, England: Westview Press.

Chomsky, Noam (1991). *Deterring Democracy*. London: Verso. Translation in Montenegrin/Serbian: *Kontrolisana demokratija*, CID, Podgorica, 1999.

- Fukuyama**, Francis (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. Translation in Montenegrin/Serbian: *Kraj istorije i poslednji čovek*, CID, Podgorica, 1997.
- Gagnon**, Jr. V. P. (1994). "Serbia's Road to War," *Journal of Democracy*, April, Volume 5, Number 2, pp. 117-131.
- Hodge**, Carole and **Grbin**, Mladen (1996). *A Test for Europe. Report: Confidence Building in Former Yugoslavia*. Glasgow: Institute of Russian and East European Studies of the University of Glasgow.
- Huntington**, Samuel P. (1998). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London: Touchstone. Translation in Montenegrin/Serbian: *Sukob civilizacija i preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*, CID, Podgorica.
- Ivekovic**, Ivan (2000). *Ethnic and Regional Conflicts in Yugoslavia and Transcaucasia*. Ravenna, Italy: Longo Editore.
- Jelavich**, Charles and Barbara (1977). *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920*. London and Seattle: Washington University Press.
- Kuper**, Robert (2002). "Odbrambeni imperijalizam Zapada ili zašto su imperije i dalje potrebne," *Vijesti*, nezavisni dnevnik, Podgorica, 30. april-2. maj.
- Lampe**, John R. and **Jackson**, Marvin R. (1982). *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Mastnak**, Tomaž (1996). "Fascists, Liberals, and Anti-Nationalism," in R. Capland and J. Faffer, editors, *Europe's New Nationalism*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 59-74.
- Pavlović**, Srđa (2003). "Who are Montenegrins? Statehood, Identity, and Civic Society," in F. Bieber, editor, *Montenegro in Transition*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Popov**, Nebojša, priredio (1996). *Srpska strana rata: trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*. Beograd: Republika. Translation in English, N. Popov and D. Gojković, editors: *The Road to War in Serbia*, Central European University Press, Budapest, 2000.
- Popović**, Milan (1994, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2006). *Balkanska postmoderna 1-6: Žargon periferije* (Podgorica: Samostalno izdanje), *Posle hladnog rata* (Bar: Kulturni centar), *Politički aparthejd* (Podgorica: Monitor), *Crnogorska alternativa* (Podgorica: Vijesti), *Globalna prašina* (Podgorica: Vijesti), *Evropa-Antoaneta* (Ulcinj: Plima).
- Popović**, Milan (2005). *Dinamika ništavila: sociologija neslobode*. Cetinje: Otvoreni kulturni forum (OKF), and Zagreb: Durieux.
- Popović**, Milan (2002). *Montenegrin Mirror: Polity in Turmoil (1991-2001)*. Podgorica: Nansen Dialogue Center.
- Popović**, Milorad (1999). *Crnogorsko pitanje*. Ulcinj: Plima; Cetinje: Dignitas. Translation in Italian: *La questione montenegrina: Storia di una identità negata*, Citta Aperta Edizioni, 2003. Translation in Bulgarian.
- Prigogine**, Ilya (1997). *The End of Certainty: Time, Chaos, and the New Laws of Nature*. New York: Free Press.
- Prigogine**, Ilya and **Stengers**, Isabelle (1984). *Order Out of Chaos*. Boulder, Colorado and New York: Shambhala Publications and Bantam Books.
- Reich**, Wilhelm (1946). *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*. New York: Orgone Institute Press. Translation in Serbian: *Masovna psihologija fašizma*, Mladost, Beograd.
- Rosenau**, James N. (1993). "Turbulent Change," in P. R. Viotti and M. V. Kauppi, Editors, *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism*. Second Edition.

New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, pp. 438-448.

Rubenstein, Richard E. and **Crocker**, Jarle (1994). "Challenging Huntington," *Foreign Policy*, Number 96, Fall, pp. 113-128.

Sharp, Jane M. O. (1997/98). "Dayton Report Card," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 3, Winter, pp. 101-137.

Stavrianos, L. S. (1958). *The Balkans since 1453*. New York: Rinehart and Company.

Stoianovich, Traian (1994). *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe*. Armonk, NY and London, England: M. E. Sharpe. Translation in Serbian: *Balkanski svetovi: prva i poslednja Evropa*. Equilibrium, Beograd, 1997.

Tilly, Charles (1985). "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in P. B. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer, and T. Skocpol, Editors, *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 169-191.

Tindemans, Leo et al. (1996). *Unfinished Peace*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Translation in Croatian: *Nedovršeni mir*, Hrvatski helsinški odbor za ljudska prava, Zagreb, Pravni centar FOD BiH, Sarajevo, 1997.

Todorova, Marija (1997). *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. Translation in Serbian: *Imaginarni Balkan*, Čigoja štampa, Beograd, 1999.

Viotti, Paul R. and **Kauppi**, Mark V. (1993). "Theory, Images, and International Relations: An Introduction," in P. R. Viotti and M. V. Kauppi, Editors, *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism*. Second Edition. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, pp. 1-22.

Vujačić, Veljko and **Zaslavsky**, Victor (1991). "The Causes of Disintegration in the USSR and Yugoslavia," *Telos*, 88, pp. 120-140.

Vukadinović, Radovan (2001). "Nestabilna sigurnost jugoistoka Evrope," *Međunarodne studije*, Zagreb, Vol. 1. I., strana 7-24.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (2003). *The Decline of American Power*. New York, London: The New Press. Translation in Montenegrin/Serbian: *Opadanje američke moći*, Podgorica, CID, 2004.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (2002). "George W. Bush, Principal Agent of Osama bin Laden," Commentary No. 96, September 1, 2002; <http://fbc.binghamton.edu/commentr.htm>

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1992). "The TimeSpace of World Systems Analysis: A Philosophical Essay," Binghamton, NY: Fernand Braudel Center, SUNY Binghamton.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1998). *Utopistics. Or Historical Choices of the Twenty-First Century*. New York: The New York Press. Translation in Serbian: *Utopistika: ili istorijski izbori dvadeset prvog veka*, Republika, Beograd, 2000.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (2004). *World-System Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. Translation in Montenegrin: (2005). *Uvod u analizu svjetskog sistema*. Cetinje: Otvoreni kulturni forum (OKF).

Wallerstein, Immanuel, and others (1996). *Open the Social Sciences*. Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Translation in Montenegrin/Serbian: *Kako otvoriti društvene nauke*, Izveštaj Gulbenkijanove Komisije za restrukturisanje društvenih nauka, CID, Podgorica, 1997.

Woodward, Susan L. (1995). *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Žižek, Slavoj (2001). *Manje ljubavi - više mržnje!* Beograd: Beogradski krug. In English: *Less Love, More Hatred!*

Course Requirements

One (or two) brief paper(s) (up to 10-15 typewritten pages or up to 20,000-30,000 computer characters with spaces) on selected topics approved by the instructor. A-F scale of grading.

Regular class attendance and participation (especially important since numerous subjects discussed in class will not be found in English-language literature): deciding factor in possible dilemmas between the two grades.

Course Calendar

Dates, Topics, Reading Assignments

Primarily, this as an advanced, post-graduate, and one-semester (15-20 weeks) lasting university course. Generally, each week disposes with 2 hours, and deals with one of the 18 topics (see down).

Readings that are emphasized in the bold letters are strongly recommended and mostly obligatory, whereas other readings are only suggested though highly relevant and desirable.

Part I: Understanding Collapse

1. INTRODUCTION: SUBJECT AND METHOD

Subject(s): three aspects (parts: I.UC, II.CA, III.IA), eighteen issues. Other aspects and issues.

Method(s): alternative (critical, liberal, anarcho-socialist) *versus* mainstream (apologetic, conservative, statist). Complex and dynamic (Ilya Prigogine: "new science") *versus* one-dimensional and static (Susan Woodward: Cold War thinking after the Cold War). The approach and method applied in this course: world-systems analysis (Immanuel Wallerstein). Other approaches and methods.

Cf. 7, 8, 9.

2. YUGOSLAVIA: LIFE AND DEATH

Contradictory incubation, birth, and life of the First (1918-41), Second (1945-91), and Third Yugoslavia (1991-2002): semi-peripheral site, late development, difficult (thwarted, distorted) modernization, regional disparities, "fault lines".

Cascading disintegration 1989-2006: dissolution of SFRY 1991-92, partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-95, Dayton Peace Accords 1995, Kosovo intervention and Kumanovo Agreement 1999, Montenegrin question and Belgrade Agreement 2002, 2006 year of decisions: Montenegrin referendum, Kosovo negotiation.

References: **Popović, 2002: pages 75-120** (Yugoslav Disintegration In a World Systems Perspective) and **121-141** (After the Collapse); Popović, 2005; Banac, 1988; Berend, 1996; Jelavich, 1977; Lampe and Jackson, 1982; Stavrianos, 1958.

3. INTERNAL ASPECT I: NEO-PATRIARCHY

Concepts and tools: modernization (semi-peripheral, late, difficult, distorted, thwarted, violent, recurring anti-modern and violent reaction amidst the process of such modernization, communist modernization, real nature of communism, continuity and discontinuity), postcommunist transition (negative, positive, blocked).

Ideas and theories: "closed society" (Karl Poper); patriarchy, capitalism, and "mass psychology of fascism" (Wilhelm Reich); "neolithic cultures" (Trayan Stoianovich); "neopatriarchy" (Ivan Iveković).

Levels and issues: extremely unequal globalization and modernization, external pressures and internal disparities, rise of ethnonationalism within communism, agrarian question and one-dimensional industrialization, black economy and self-sustaining patriarchy, systemic blockade and collapse of communism in 1989, capitalist revolution and rise of primitive capitalism, distorted class and social stratification (threatened peasantry, ambiguous intellectuals, new middle class), mass crisis of identity, neopatriarchal discourse, demagoguery and populism, abuse of religion, dissemination of hatred and fear through mass media, ethnonational homogenization and polarization, construction and deconstruction of legitimacy, system of ethnic discrimination and apartheid, ethnocracy (Ivan Iveković).

References: **Ivekovic, 2000: pp. 9-32** (Preface and First Chapter); Popović, 2002: pp. 21-23 (Understanding Neo-Patriarchy); Vujačić and Zaslavsky, 1991: pp. 120-140; Stoianovich, 1994 (Stojanović, 1997); Reich, 1946.

4. INTERNAL ASPECT II: ROAD TO WAR (A CASE STUDY)

Case study (Serbia): N. Popov and V. P. Gagnon. More case studies.

Comparative study (the Balkans and Transcaucasia): Ivan Iveković. More Comparative studies. World-systems study.

Cf. **3**: Levels and issues.

References: **Gagnon, 1994: pp. 117-131**; Ivekovic, 2000: pp. 117-175 (Fourth Chapter); **Popov, 1996: pp. 3-59** (Vesna Pešić), 89-116 (Nebojša Popov), and **119-131 (Latinka Perović)**; Popović, 2005: pp. 158-196.

5. INTERNATIONAL ASPECT I: COLD WAR LEGACY (CONTINUITY) AND POST-COLD WAR CHANGE (DISCONTINUITY)

The Post-Cold War era: rhetoric or reality? Reality, but two quite different and even opposite interpretations (Popović, 1996: 13-62, 15-23, see down).

Cold War legacy (continuity) and Post-Cold War change (discontinuity): Chomsky, 1991: 28 ("it is not true that the Cold War has ended. Rather, it has perhaps half-ended"); Woodward, 1995: 1-20 (Chapter 1: Introduction: Cold War legacy, thinking, interpretations, Western Neoliberalism and Neoracism contributing to the collapse).

References: **Woodward, 1995: pp. 1-20** (Chapter 1); Chomsky, 1991: page 28; Popović, 1996: pp. 13-62 (Posle hladnog rata), especially pp. 15-23 (Posthladnoratovska era: retorika ili zbilja).

6. INTERNATIONAL ASPECT II: INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND BALKAN CRISIS

International Community and the Post-Cold War Balkan Crisis 1989-2006, Importance, Dossier, and Pattern: 1) Importance: Woodward, 1995: 374-400 (Chapter 11: Conclusion: critical importance of international context, unintended and interventionist phases); 2) Dossier: Sharp, 1997/1998: 101-137; 3) Pattern: from "too little, too late, inadequate" (Barbara Crossette), via "catastrophic short-termism" (John Roper), to "unholy alliance" (Tomaž Matnak).

Cf. **9, 10**.

References: **Woodward, 1995: pp. 374-400** (Chapter 11); **Sharp, 1997/1998: pp. 101-137**; Popović, 2005; Popović, 2006.

Part II: Contending Interpretations

7. ALTERNATIVE *VERSUS* DOMINANT APPROACHES AND INTERPRETATIONS

"New (versus old) science" of "the far-from equilibrium (versus equilibrium) state of the system", epistemology, principles (counter-principles): chaos (system); world-system (nation-state); trans-disciplinarity (mono-disciplinarity); probabilism (neither determinism nor indeterminism); postmodern inter-subjectivity (neither premodern subjectivity nor modern 'objectivity'); multi-linearity and non-linearity (uni-linearity and progressivism); see down References.

International relations and Security consequences: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, the three contending theories, approaches, and interpretations (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993: 1-22); especially: society and pluralism *versus* statism and monism; internationalism, transnationalism, and (or) globalism versus nationalism, isolationism, and (or) unilateralism; oversimplification versus complex thinking; plus see above from chaos to non-linearity.

Cf. 1, 8, 9.

References: Prigogine and Stengers, 1984; Wallerstein, 1996; **Wallerstein, 2004**; **Popović, 2002: pp. 121-125** (After the Collapse: Introduction); Popović, 1996: pp. 33-44 (Nova nauka); **Viotti and Kauppi, 1993: pp. 1-22** (Theory, Images, and International Relations: Realism, Pluralism, and Globalism).

8. CHALLENGING NATION-STATE: NATION-STATE, SOURCE OF (IN) SECURITY?

Nation-state and security in the age of change, globalization, and uncertainty: 1) International relations theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993: 1-22); 2) Balkan pioneering experience (Popović, 2002:177-193, chaos, fear, violence, ideology, neo-darwinist spectrum); 3) Critical issue: isolationist nation-state, source of security or insecurity?

Nation-state under contradictory pressures: 1) from within (sub-national groups) and from outside (supra-national structures); 2) toward local and global democracies and toward local and global Leviathans.

War-making and state-making as organized crime: ten years of the Post-Cold War Balkan crisis and five hundred years of modern European history (Tilly, 1985).

References: **Viotti and Kauppi, 1993: pp. 1-22** (Theory, Images, and International Relations: Realism, Pluralism, and Globalism); **Tilly, 1985: pp. 169-191**; **Popović, 2002: pp. 177-193** (The Post-Cold war Balkan Chaos and New Ideological Order); **Brzezinski, 2004**; **Wallerstein, 2003**.

9. ON THE REAL NATURE OF "TURBULENT CHANGE": NEITHER CONSPIRACY, NOR ERROR, BUT "CHEMISTRY" OF POWER AND INTERESTS

"Turbulent change", Treaty in Westphalia 1648, End of Cold War 1989 (Rosenau, 1993).

"Conspiracy", "Error", "Chemistry (Politics, Power, Interest)": realities and distortions (References in 7, especially: Prigogine and Stengers, 1984; Popović, 2002: pp. 121-125, After the Collapse; Popović, 1996: pp. 33-44, Nova nauka).

References: **Rosenau, 1993: pp. 438-448**; Prigogine and Stengers, 1984; Popović, 2005.

10. UNHOLY ALLIANCE: BALKAN PATTERN, GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

Preliminaries: 1) "unholy alliance", its notion and nature, neither nor but (see above unit 9); 2) "unholy alliance", its complexity, perverse symbiosis, simultaneous and real enmity and mutuality, "necessary foes", Cold War pattern after the Cold War.

Social theory: capitalism and fascism (Marxists); free market and monopolistic capitalism (Fernand Braudel); "privremeno savezništvo iz računa" između kapitalizma i fašizma (Stojanović, 1997: 365-366); Third World connection (Noam Chomsky); "unholy alliance" (Tomaž Mastnak, school of nation-state); international real-capitalism and Balkan neofascism (Milan Popović, school of capital).

Balkan pattern: "unholy alliance" between West European liberal governments and Balkan fascists (Tomaž Mastnak), Montenegro the last example (see unit 16); global development: "unholy alliance" after the September 11th, the alliance between non-state individual and group terrorists (Al Quaide, Osama bin Laden) and state reactionary militarists (rise of ultra-right politics in the US and EU), "George W. Bush, Principal Agent of Osama bin Laden" (Wallerstein, 2002); and again: real nature of the alliance, neither nor but (see above unit 9).

Cf. 6, 9.

References: **Mastnak, 1996: pp. 59-74** (Fascism, Liberalism, and Anti-Nationalism); **Wallerstein, 2002** (George W. Bush, Principal Agent of Osama bin Laden); **Popović,**

2005: pp. 158-196 (Ontologija); Popović, 2004: pp. 11-34 (Mutacija: ideološki aspekt); Popović, 2002: pp. 47-68 (Europe versus Europe, New Miscalculation, Dances with Wolves, Shocking Connection, Curse of Involvement), 143-157 (NATO Expansion and Balkan Testing Grounds), 159-164 (Unholy Alliance).

11. POST-COLD WAR ERA: THREE INTERPRETATIONS

The three interpretations: 1) "the end of history" (Francis Fukuyama); 2) "clash of civilizations" (Samuel Huntington); 3) "utopistics" (Immanuel Wallerstein). Other interpretations.

References: **Popović, 2002: pp. 177-193** (The Post-Cold War Balkan Chaos and New Ideological Order); Popović, 1997: pp. 74-76 (Groteska: Frensis Fukujama, kraj imperijalizma i ratovi iz dosade); Rubenstein and Crocker, 1994: pp. 113-128; Fukuyama, 1992; Huntington, 1998; Wallerstein, 1998; Žižek, 2001.

12. BALKAN MIRRORS, GLOBAL IMAGES: REFLECTIONS AND LESSONS

Global resonance and significance (of the Post-Cold War Balkan crisis, Post-Yugoslav wars): alternative (post-modern) *versus* mainstream (modern) understandings and interpretations (including Karl Marx's Preface to the first edition of *Capital*).

Lessons that has (not) been learned: space (rise of density, unit of analysis, parochialism) and time (great acceleration, permanently being too late, catastrophic short-termism) in the Ilya Prigogine's far-from-equilibrium state of the system.

Contradictory nature, components, and dynamics of global polities (domination *versus* emancipation): Balkan and Montenegrin mirror reflecting the nature, components, and dynamics, three EU images, 1) manipulative utopia, 2) traumatic conspiracy, and 3) living contradiction.

From "the end of history" (Francis Fukuyama) to "the return of history" (Robert Cooper).

Cf. 17.

References: **Kuper, 2002; Popović, 2002: pp. 154-156** (Lessons and Alternatives) and **189-193** (Resonance and Significance); Popović, 1996: pp. 58-62.

Part III: Imagining Alternative

13. CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: UNSTABLE SECURITY

Unfinished peace, unstable security, unsettled disputes: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia.

Two different interpretative perspectives: probabilism and multi-linearity (non-linearity) *versus* determinism and uni-linearity (progressivism).

International democratic engineering *versus* neo-colonial pattern: Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Stabilization and Association Process for Western Balkans, Partnership for Peace.

References: **Vukadinović, 2001: pp. 7-24**; Tindemans, 1996.

14. MONTENEGRO AND REGIONAL STABILITY I: MONTENEGRIN HISTORY, IDENTITY, AND POLITY

Preliminaries. Three concentric time circles (1800-; 1989-; 1996-, October 5 2000 fall of SM regime, April 22 2001 early parliamentary election and 'little referendum', March 14 2002 Belgrade Agreement, 2006 Year of Referendum), and three concentric space circles (world-system and EU, South Eastern Europe and post-Yugoslav entities including Serbia, Montenegro). Modernization: (semi)peripheral, late, unfinished, distorted, thwarted, difficult, violent. Transition: negative (1989-96), positive (1996-2000), blocked (2000-).

Dual identity, divided society, torn polity. Dual identity: description (census 2003 [compared with census 1999]: Montenegrin 43% [62%], Serbs 32 [9%], Muslims/Bosniaks 12% [15%], Albanians 7% [5%]) and interpretations (IW complex history versus SH one-dimensional civilization). Two hundred years of modern Montenegrin history: 200 years of contradictory nation-state idea and mobilization.

Internal and international (dual) identity policy and manipulation: mainstream (realpolitik) and alternative (democracy).

References: **Popović, 2002: pp. 11-19** (Montenegrin Alternative: Transition, Identity, State); Popović, 2005: pp. 269-296 (Montenegro); **Pavlović, 2003**; Popović, 1999; Popović, 2000: pp. 11-25 (Crnogorsko pitanje na kraju XX veka: tranzicija, identitet, država); Huntington, 1998; Popović, 2004: pp.101-113 (Crna Gora u svetsko-sistemske perspektivi).

15. MONTENEGRO AND REGIONAL STABILITY II: DOMINO THEORY?

Greater Serbia: ghost or reality?

Who or what can really jeopardize regional stability and security, who or what can really produce dangerous regional domino effect: independent Montenegro or common state of Serbia and Montenegro (Little Greater Serbia, seed of Real Greater Serbia)?

References: **Popović, 2002: pp. 33-35** (Democratic FRY: Mission Improbable).

16. SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO AFTER BELGRADE AGREEMENT

Belgrade Agreement: 1) Genesis: Montenegro under undemocratic and unfair pressure, BA imposed solution; 2) Text: bad ambivalence, 50:50 M and S platforms, 50:50 federation and confederation, 50:50 one or two states after three years; 3) First and final effects: extremely disproportionate and dysfunctional State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, destabilization of Montenegro, strengthening Greater Serbian forces in both M and S (unholy alliance, see unit 10), anti-reformist blockade and stalemate.

An alternative policy: EREP (equal requirement equal pressure), DSR (democratic and safe referendum: minimal procedural consensus and accepted result): Janusz Bugajski, Daniel Server, James Hooper, John Fox, ICG (Peter Palmer), Lord Johnston Russell, Nicolas White.

References: Proceeding Points for the Restructuring of Relations Between Serbia and Montenegro (the so-called Belgrade Agreement), 2002; The Constitutional Chart of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, 2003; Montenegrin Population Census, 2003; International Crisis Group: Report(s) on Montenegro; **Popović, 2004: pp. 62-100 (Referendum između prava i politike).**

17. BALKAN AND WORLD SECURITY IN THE FUTURE

Four possible scenarios of the modern world-system and the Balkans until the mid of XXI century: 1) nuclear and ecological holocaust, 2) neo-feudal fragmentation, 3) neo-fascist centralization, and 4) new creative answer. World and Balkan security within the scenarios.

New creative answer: "third way" (Anthony Giddens) or "more hatred" (Slavoj Žižek)?

References: **Brzezinski, 2004; Wallerstein, 2003;** Wallerstein, 1998; Wallerstein, 2004; Popović, 2002; Popović, 2005; Giddens, 2000; Žižek, 2001: pp. 161-170 (the last article in the book: *Žrtve svuda žrtve*).

18. TIME OF IMAGINATION

"Far-from-equilibrium state of the system" (Ilya Prigogine), "historical and moral choices for XXI century" (Immanuel Wallerstein). Time of imagination: a crying need for new thinking, creativity, and imagination. Balkan and world security in the time of imagination.

Intellectual imagination and democratic engineering: needs, links, and tensions.

The Balkans (Southeastern Europe) as "a test for Europe" and world (Carole Hodge and Mladen Grbin), Montenegrin case (Milan Popović, imagining alternative, small can be useful, not only beautiful)): in a search for new historical system and new system of individual and collective security.

References: Prigogine and Stengers, 1984; Wallerstein, 1992; Wallerstein, 1998; Wallerstein, 2004; Hodge and Grbin, 1996; Popović, 2002: pp. 69-72 (Imagining an Alternative); Popović, 2005.