

MA in European and Southeast European Studies

Center for International Studies of University of Montenegro

Prof. dr Milan Popović

The Dissolution of Former Yugoslavia and Beyond

Course Duration: one (second) semester, fourteen weeks, one hour per week

Course Content

Understanding the Dissolution

Introduction. Yugoslavia, a complex contradiction: genesis, development, and dissolution. Factors: one or more; economic, social, political, and ethnic ones; internal and external ones; error, conspiracy, or "chemistry"; ideology and epistemology. References: Brodel, 2001; Stoianovich, 1994; Berend, 1996; Banac, 1988; Popov, 1990; Popović, 2005.

Dialectics of (Dis)integration. Globalization versus fragmentation. After the Cold War: continuity and discontinuity; local and international aspect; Balkan neofascism and international realcapitalism. Too little, too late, inadequate? Catastrophic short-termism? Unholy alliance? Cascading disintegration: beginning of the process in 1991, partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-95, Dayton Peace Accords 1995, Kosovo intervention 1999. References: Huntington, 1998; Bugajski, 1993; Woodward, 1995; Bougarel, 1996; Novak-Pešec, 1989; Mastnak, 1996; Popov, 1996; Popović, 2005.

After the Dissolution: Lessons and Alternatives

Lessons. Global resonance and significance of Post-Yugoslav affairs: ideology and (geo) politics; negative and positive side. The main lesson for all: a collapse of an old realpolitik, a plea for a new realism. One open question: learning capacity and capability?

Alternatives. Post-Yugoslav mess, test for Europe and world. Unfinished peace, unstable security, unsolved disputes: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro. Montenegrin state issue and regional stability. Current European perspectives and alternatives: the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, the EU Stabilization and Association Process for the Western Balkans, and the Partnership for Peace. References: Giddens, 2000; Todorova, 1997; Wallerstein, 1998; Tindemans, 1996; Hodge and Grbin, 1996; Vukadinović, 2001; Popović, 2002.

Selected Literature

Arrighi, Giovanni, editor (1985). *Semiperipheral Development*. The Politics of Southern Europe in the Twentieth Century. Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi: SAGE.

Banac, Ivo (1988). *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; prevedeno i kod nas.

Berend, Ivan T. (1996). *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944-1993: detour from the periphery to the periphery*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press; prevedeno i kod nas: (2001). *Centralna i istočna Evropa*. Podgorica: CID.

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

Braudel, Fernand (1981, 1982, 1984). *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*. Volume I, II, III. London: COLLINS.

Brodel, Fernan (2001). *Mediteran i mediteranski svijet u doba Filipa II*. Tom I, II. Podgorica: CID; Beograd: Geopoetika.

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.

Fukujama, Frensis (1997). *Kraj istorije i poslednji čovek*. Podgorica: CID; original: (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*.

Giddens, Anthony (2000). *The Third Way and its Critics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Glenny, Misha (1993). *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. New York: Penguin.

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; prevedeno i kod nas: *Sukob civilizacija i preoblikovanje svetskog poretka*. Podgorica: CID.

Jelavich, Charles and Barbara (1977). *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920*. London and Seattle: Washington University Press.

Lampe, John R. and **Jackson**, Marvin R. (1982). *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950. From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Martin, William G. (1990). *Semiperipheral States in the World-Economy*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood 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.

Novak-Pešec, Mojca (1989). "Slom jugoslovenskih elita modernizacije," *Sociologija*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2-3.

Popov, Nebojša (1990). *Sukobi*. Beograd: CFDT.

Popov, Nebojša and **Gojković**, Drinka, editors (2000). *The Road to War in Serbia*. Budapest: Central European University Press; original: **Popov**, Nebojša, priredio (1996). *Srpska strana rata: trauma i katarza u istorijskom pamćenju*. Beograd: Republika.

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), Zagreb: Durieux.

Popović, Milan (2002). *Montenegrin Mirror: Polity in Turmoil (1991-2001)*. Podgorica: Nansen Dialogue Center; especially articles: "Montenegrin Alternative: Transition, Identity, State", "Yugoslav Disintegration in a World-System Perspective", "After the Collapse", "NATO Expansion and Balkan Testing Ground", "Unholy Alliance", "A Tadpole Transition and Its Alternative", and "The Post-Cold War Balkan Chaos and New Ideological Order".

- Prigogine**, Ilya and **Stengers**, Isabelle (1984). *Order Out of Chaos*. Boulder, Colorado and New York: Shambhala Publications and Bantam Books.
- 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; prevedeno i kod nas: (1997). *Balkanski svetovi: prva i poslednja Evropa*. Beograd: Equilibrium.
- Tindemans**, Leo et al. (1996). *Unfinished Peace*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; prevedeno i kod nas: (1997). *Nedovršeni mir*. Izveštaj međunarodne komisije za Balkan. Zagreb: Hrvatski helsinški odbor za ljudska prava; Sarajevo: Pravni centar FOD BiH.
- Todorova**, Marija (1997). *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press; prevedeno i kod nas: (1999). *Imaginarni Balkan*. Beograd: Čigoja.
- 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 and London: The New Press; translation in Montenegrin: (2004). *Opadanje američke moći*. Podgorica: CID.
- Wallerstein**, Immanuel (1998). *Utopistics. Or Historical Choices of the Twenty-First Century*. New York: The New York Press; prevedeno i od nas: (2000). *Utopistika. Ili: Istorijski izbori dvadeset prvog veka*. Beograd: Republika.
- 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).
- Weber**, Max (1965). *Politics as a Vocation*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Woodward**, Susan L. (1995). *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Recommended Reading and Studing Priority

- I) Banac, 1988; Stoianovich, 1994; Tindemans, 1996; Woodward, 1995; Popović, 2005; i
 II) Berend, 1996; Bougarel, 1996; Hodge and Grbin, 1996; Popov, 1996; Popović, 2002.

Comparative Postgraduate Courses

The Dissolution of Former Yugoslavia and Beyond. A Core Curriculum for European Studies in South Eastern Europe. Center for European Integration Studies, University of Bonn, Germany.

Visiting Professors

Carole Hodge, Head of Research and Study, South East European Research Unit, University of Glasgow, Scotland, UK.
Orjan Sturesjo, Department of East European Studies, Uppsala University, Sweden.
Rastko Močnik, School of Philosophy, Ljubljana University, Slovenia.
Živko Surčulija, Professor of Sociology, University of Belgrade.