

Prof. Dr. Milan Popović, Department of Political Sciences, University of Montenegro

An Outline (Main Problems and References) of the Guest Lecture

The EU: Polity in Contradiction: Internal and External Aspects

A European People? Perception and Formation of European Citizens, The Seminar Week of the European Forum Alpbach, Alpbach, Austria, August 16, 2008.

1. Introductory Conceptualizations

1.1. EPISTEMOLOGY. For an open and critical mind i.e. for a dialectical science as a science of complexity, ambiguity and contradiction, from G. V. F. Hegel to I. Prigogine and I. Wallerstein. Against the neo-functionalist dogmatism, dominant epistemology of EU bureaucratic integrationists. Dialectics of ends and means: Euro-Philia toward the ends and Euro-Skepticism toward the means of European integration (Popović, 2007).

1.2. TIMESPACE ORIENTATION. The TimeSpace of world-system analysis (Wallerstein, 1992). 1) The Multiply Time: late modernity as our current time and as a third great late age within the 25 centuries of the “Greek-Roman and Western culture” (Sorokin, 2002/1957). The EU amid the crisis and change of the modern world-system 1914-1945-1989-2050: the time of great uncertainty, openness, and creativity; 2) The Multiply Space: one world (the modern world-system in its late and declining phase), many entities and polities (at the sub-national, national, and supra or post-national level), three cleavages (EU-US-Japan, North-South, Davos-Porto Alegre: Wallerstein, 2003): global and local entities and polities (including the EU) in contradiction and turmoil.

2. Analytical Aspects

2.1. INTERNAL ASPECT: “EUROPE-APARTHEID”. “Europe-Apartheid”, internally closed entity and polity, the dominant tendency today (Balibar, 2001). Individual and collective aspects of the tendency. Individual aspect of the tendency: minorities and immigrants, old and new, as the most important test. Collective or member-state aspect of the tendency: the EU as a hierarchical quasi-feudal supra-entity. FIGHT FOR “EUROPE-OPEN SPACE”, INTERNALLY AS WELL AS EXTERNALLY OPEN AND FREE ENTITY AND POLITY. Political and legal issues, problems, and contradictions.

2.2. EXTERNAL ASPECT: “EUROPE-FORTRESS”. “Europe-Fortress”, externally closed, xenophobic, and aggressive, neo-colonial and neo-imperial entity and polity, as the dominant tendency today. “Great powers”, US, EU, Russia, China after the Cold War: new right-wing populist rivalry and convergence (Popović, 2006), plus the “unholy alliance”, or, better, “negative chemistry” between the dominant Western (central) militarists and reactive but inferior peripheral terrorists (Mastnak, 1996; Popović, 2005). 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 the XXI century (Wallerstein, 2003, 2004, 2006). Deep and crucial connection between the internal and external aspects of the (deficit of) freedom and democracy.

2.3. THE WESTERN BALKANS AS A TEST FOR EUROPE AND EU (Hodge and Grbin, 1996). The EU and the Western Balkans: deep and bitter discrepancy between the rhetoric and reality. In the 1990s but in the 2000s as well: from the “catastrophic short-termism” (John Ropper) to the “unholy alliance” and “negative chemistry”, from

Slobodan Milošević of Serbia (“the main factor of peace in the region”) to Milo Đukanović of Montenegro (Xavier Solana, only six days before the last Montenegrin presidential election, congratulatory reception for Montenegrin Berlusconi, an extremely biased and undemocratic interference into the ongoing election process). THE EU FROM UNFORTUNATE INCONSISTENCY TO TOTAL HIPOCRISY: RETHORICALLY FIGHTING AGAINST BUT REALLY OPERATING AS THE GREATEST “LAUNDRY MACHINE” OF THE LOCAL TYCOONS AND OLIGARCHS.

3. Instead of Conclusion

A PLEA FOR AN OPEN AND CRITICAL MIND IN THE TIME OF TURBULENT CHANGE.

4. References

Balibar, Etienne (2001). *Nous, citoyens d'Europe?* Les frontieres, l'Etat, le peuple. Paris: Editions La Decouverte.

Hodge, Carole and **Grbin**, Mladen (1996). *A Test for Europe*. Report: Confidence Building in Former Yugoslavia. Glasgow, UK: Institute of Russian and East European Studies, University of Glasgow.

Mastnak, Tomaž (1996). “Fascists, Liberals, and Anti-Nationalism,” in R. Capland and J. Faffer, Editors, *Europe's New Nationalism*. States and Minorities in Conflict. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 59-74.

Popović, Milan (2005). *Dinamika ništavila: sociologija neslobode* [Dynamics of Nothingness: Sociology of Serfdom]. Zagreb: Durieux; Cetinje: OKF; <http://www.milanmpopovic.info>.

Popović, Milan (2006). *Evropa-Antoaneta* [Europe-Antoinette]. Ulcinj: Plima. <http://www.milanmpopovic.info>; partly translated in French: “Marie Antoinette d'Europe,” *Au sud de l'Est*, Les Cultures des Balkans, No. 2, Revue bi-annuelle janvier/juin 2007, Paris, 18-20.

Popović, Milan (2007). *Belle epoque: kritika dogme progresna* [Belle epoque: The Critique of the Dogma of Progress]. Zagreb: Durieux; Cetinje: OKF; <http://www.milanmpopovic.info>.

Sorokin, Pitirim (2002). *Društvena i kulturna dinamika* [Social and Cultural Dynamics, 1957]. Podgorica: CID; Beograd: Službeni list.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (2007). “Europe, 2057,” Commentary No. 207, April 15, 2007, <http://fbc.binghamton.edu/commentr.htm>.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (2006). *European Universalism*. The Rhetoric of Power. New York and London: The New Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (2003). *The Decline of American Power*. The U. S. in a Chaotic World. New York and London: The New Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1992). “The Time-Space of World-System Analysis: A Philosophical Essay,” Fernand Braudel Center, SUNY, Binghamton, US.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (2004). “The US and Europe, 1945 to Today,” Commentary No. 137, May 15, 2004, <http://fbc.binghamton.edu/commentr.htm>.