

Prof. Dr. Milan Popović
An Outline Of The Lecture

Pro-Independence Struggle In Montenegro Before, Under, And After Milošević Era

Southeast European Studies, International Summer School, Northwestern University
(USA), Podgorica, 2004, 2005, 2006

1. Introduction

- 1.1. Character of the lecture: only a framework (an outline, theses, references), and mainly for post-graduate level
- 1.2. The two following parts of the lecture: 1) Historical and Theoretical Background, and 2) Recent and Current Development

2. Historical and Theoretical Background

- 2.1. The three concentric time circles (1800-; 1989-; 1996-) and the three concentric space circles (world-system including great powers especially EU and US; Southeastern Europe and post-Yugoslav entities including Serbia; Montenegro itself)
- 2.2. Modernization: (semi)peripheral and late, unfinished and distorted, difficult and violent. Transition: negative (1989-96), positive (1996-2000), blocked (2000-)
- 2.3. Dual identity, divided society, torn polity. Dual identity: descriptions (census 2003 [compared with census 1991]: Montenegrins 43.16% [61.86%], Serbs 31.99% [9.34%], Muslims/Bosniaks 11.74% [14.57%], Albanians 5.03% [6.57%]) and interpretations (Immanuel Wallerstein's and Fernand Braudel's complex history versus Samuel Huntington's one-dimensional civilization). Two hundred years of modern Montenegrin history, two hundred years of at least a dual and contradictory nation-state idea and mobilization. Internal and international identity policy and manipulation: mainstream (realpolitik) and alternative (democracy)

3. Recent and Current Development

- 3.1. Post- Milošević era, turning-point events: October 5, 2000 (regime change in Belgrade and in the international community's attitude toward pro-independence struggle in Montenegro, new case of John Ropper's «catastrophic short-termism», and of Tomaz Mastnak's «unholy alliance» between western democratic governments and Greater Serbian aggressive nationalists); September 11, 2001 and «war on terrorism» in Afghanistan and Iraq afterward (arrival and rise of apocalyptic and counterproductive right-wing militaristic realpolitik, first and second mandate of George W. Bush in 2000 and 2004, negative consequences on the periphery in general and in the Balkans in particular); March 14, 2002 (Belgrade Agreement, plus 5 February 2003 Constitutional Chart, newly imposed, temporary, loose, semi-federal, semi-confederal State Union of Serbia and Montenegro); 2005, 2006 (difficult and decisive years, political, constitutional, and legal issues, disputes, and struggles over referendum on independence, international and internal aspects, Venice Commission and EU's expertise, mediation, and pressure); May 21, 2006: positive referendum on independence: 55.50% «yes», 45.50% «no» votes, with a very high, 86.49% turnout (419,240 out of total 484,718 voters), EU requirement for positive result more than 55.00%

3.2. Lessons to be learned from EU-Montenegrin experience 2000-2006, before and after referendum: 1) a plea for methodological probabilism, openness, and imagination in the time of great uncertainty, turmoil, and danger: why the EU brokered and imposed State Union of Serbia and Montenegro was least likely to survive, the three levels and kinds of arguments: (pre-Milošević, Milošević, and post-Milošević) political regime(s), dominant (Greater Serbian) political idea (culture), and Serbia-Montenegro «social physics» (Auguste Comte); 2) a proposal for an alternative policy in the future: learning from the past, critique of old, short-sided, and counter-productive realpolitik of dominant local and international actors, and especially of the EU (discriminatory nature and devastating potential of the 55% requirement); an alternative policy: EREP, Equal Requirement Equal Pressure (for both state options), minimal procedural consensus, referendum or parliamentary-governmental (Czech and Slovak like) procedure accepted and guaranteed from both sides (Janusz Bugajski, Daniel Server, James Hooper, John Fox, International Crisis Group, Peter Palmer, Lord Johnston Russell, Nicolas White, Jelko Kacin)

4. References

- 4.1.** The Belgrade Agreement (Proceeding Points for the Restructuring of Relations Between Serbia and Montenegro), 2002
- 4.2.** The Constitutional Chart of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, 2003
- 4.3.** International Crisis Group: Reports on Montenegro
- 4.4.** Census 2003: Konačni rezultati popisa 2003, Republika Crna Gora, Monstat, Zavod za statistiku, Sopštenje broj 44, Podgorica, 21. septembar 2004; Statistički godišnjak 2004, Podgorica, decembar 2004, strana 54
- 4.5.** Final Results of Referendum on Montenegrin Independence (May 21, 2006): Konačni rezultati referenduma o nezavisnosti Crne Gore održanog 21. maja 2006, Republička referendumska komisija, Predsednik Komisije František Lipka, *Vijesti*, 1. i 4. jun 2006.
- 4.6.** Milan Popović, at the Personal Web Site www.milanmpopovic.info, especially «Montenegrin Alternative: Transition, Identity, State» in *Montenegrin Mirror*; «Mutacija,» «Referendum između prava i politike,» and «Crna Gora u svetsko-sistemskej perspektivi» in *Globalna prašina*; «Havijerov performans» in *Evropa-Antoaneta*; and «Montenegro» in *Dinamika ništavila*