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An Outline of the Lecture

## State-Building in Montenegro: Post-Milošević and Post-Independence Time

SIT Study Abroad, Summer Program on State-Building and Human Rights in Montenegro, Kosovo and Macedonia, Podgorica, June 13, 2008.

### 1. Introduction

**1.1.** Character of the lecture: only a framework (an outline, theses, and references), mainly for post-graduate level

**1.2.** The two following parts of the lecture: 1) State-Building in Montenegro: Historical and Theoretical Background, and 2) State-Building in Montenegro: Post-Milošević and Post-Independence Time (2006-)

### 2. State-Building in Montenegro: 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, US, and Russia; Southeastern Europe or Western Balkans with post-Yugoslav entities especially Serbia; Montenegro itself)

**2.2.** Modernization: (semi)peripheral and late, unfinished and distorted, difficult and violent. Transition: negative (1989-1996), positive (1996-2000), blocked (2000-2006), “fast food” (2006-)

**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 Montenegro history: two hundred years of at least dual and contradictory nation-state idea, mobilization, and building. Internal and international identity policy and manipulation: mainstream (realpolitik) and alternative (democracy)

**2.4.** Post-Milošević Era, Turning-Point Events: October 5, 2000: Regime Change in Belgrade: pre-condition for open and massive pro-independence mobilization and struggle in Montenegro; March 14, 2002: Belgrade Agreement: transitory confederation State Union of Serbia and Montenegro; 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. State-Building in Montenegro: Post-Independence Time (2006-)

**3.1.** General Framework: 1) Orientation in Time and Space: late modernity as a “third great late age” (Popović, 2007) within twenty-five centuries of “Greek-Roman and Western culture” (Sorokin, 2002), and 2) On the Real Nature of the System-Dynamics: global and local mutation, negative post-capitalist change, ultra-monopolistic system, quasi-feudal tendency of new post-Cold War oligarchies and oligarchs (George W. Busch

in USA, Silvio Berlusconi in Italy, Vladimir Putin in Russia, Milo Đukanović in Montenegro)

**3.2. Montenegro after Gaining Independence: Internal Aspect:** 1) Some positive but simultaneously very limited and unstable economic, social, and political developments: “economic boom” based on natural monopolies and rents (“wild beauty”), endemic and high corruption, conflict of interest especially of the multi prime minister Milo Đukanović and his clan, lack of democratic change, twenty years with one party in power („multiparty system with one dominant party“); 2) “Façade democracy”: rule of tycoons and oligarchs behind rhetoric of “rule of law”; weak parliament and dependent judiciary behind proclaimed “division of powers”; human wrongs and crimes behind declared “human rights”; traumatic war-crimes legacy behind formally accepted international law obligations; all previous as dangerous seed of possible blockades and even step backs in the future

**3.3. Montenegro after Gaining Independence: External Aspect.** Montenegro and new post-Cold War disorder. Small entity on the periphery of new global right-wing populist rivalry and convergence. International aspect of the quasi-feudal tendency. “Unholy alliance” (Mastnak, 1996) or negative chemistry: Montenegrin tycoons, Russian oligarchs, American neocons, and Brussels’ bureaucrats coming from the same matrix

#### 4. References

**Lipka**, František (2006). “Konačni rezultati referenduma o nezavisnosti Crne Gore održanog 21. maja 2006,“ [Final Results of Referendum on Montenegrin Independence on 21 May 2006], *Vijesti*, June 1 and 4, 2006.

**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. 79-84.

**Monstat**, Zavod za statistiku (2004). *Konačni rezultati popisa 2003* [Census 2003]. Saopštenje broj 44. Podgorica, 21. septembar 2004; Statistički godišnjak 2004, Podgorica, Decembar 2004, strana 54.

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

**Popović**, Milan (2002). *Montenegrin Mirror: Polity in Turmoil*. Podgorica: Nansen Dialogue Center; <http://www.milanmpopovic.info> (at this personal web-site one can find other works relevant for this lecture).

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