

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS

**“Thirty years after breakup of the SFRY: modern problems of relations
between the republics of the former Yugoslavia”**

**15th independence anniversary of
Montenegro: achievements and
challenges**

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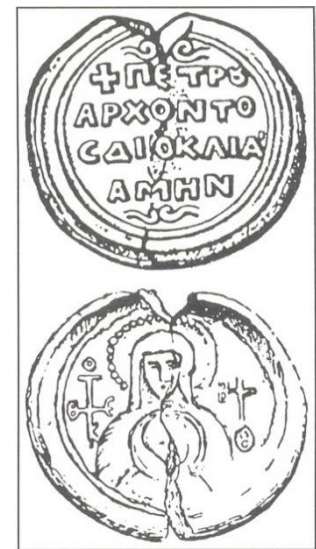
21 May 2021

An overview: from Doclea to the Kingdom of Montenegro (1)

- During the Roman Empire, the territory of Montenegro was actually the territory of **Duklja (DOCLEA)**. *Doclea* was originally the name of the Roman city on the site of modern Podgorica (Ribnica), built by Roman Emperor Diocletian, who hailed from this region of Roman Dalmatia.
- With the arrival of the Slovenes in the 7th century, **Christianity** quickly gained primacy in this region.
- Doclea (Duklja) gradually became a **Principality (Knezevina - Arhontija)** in the second part of the IX century.
- The first known prince (knez-arhont) was **Petar** (971-990), (*or Petrislav, according to The Chronicle of the Priest of Doclea or Duklja, Ljetopis popa Dukljanina, XIII century*). In 1884 a lead stamp was found, on which was engraved in Greek "Petar prince of Doclea"; In that period, Doclea (Duklja) was a principality (Byzantine vassal), and Petar was a christianized Slav prince (before the beginning of the Slavic mission of Cirilo and Metodije in the second part of the IX century (V.Nikcevic, Crnogorski jezik, 1993).
- **VOJISLAVLJEVIĆ DYNASTY (971-1186)** - The first ruler of the Duklja state was Duke **Vladimir** (990 – 1016.). His successor was duke **Vojislav (1018-1043)**, who is considered the founder of **Vojislavljević dynasty**, the first Montenegrin dynasty. Doclea was the first South-Slavic country whose independence was approved by Byzantium. Being a vassal Byzantine principality, Doclea fought for its independency and won it in the battle near Tudjemili (Bar) on 7 October 1042 (National Army Forces Day since 2006). He became sovereign of Doclea (Duklja) which is in Byzant sources called **ZETA** after this battle. Zeta, thus, was the first of the South Slav states to be recognized as a sovereignty by Byzantium and this began the thousand year history of the Montenegrin state. The sovereignty of Zeta encompassed Raska, Bosnia, Travunia (Travunija), and Zahumlje (Dragoje Zivkovic, Istorija crnogorskog naroda, Cetinje, 1989).
- One of Vojislav's sons, **Mihailo**, who ruled over Duklja from 1046 to 1081, succeeded in being admitted as a king. Doclea/Zeta was ruled by princes until 1077, when pope Gregory (Grgur) VII sent the king's insignia (rex Sclavorum) to Mihailo who became the king of Doclea/Zeta. Consequently Doclea/Zeta became a kingdom (Dukljansko Kraljevstvo). Duklja's power and prosperity, thus reached their zenith under Mihailo's son, King **Bodin** (1081-1101). Vojislavljević dynasty ruled over Duklja almost until the end of the 12th century;



Kingdom of Doclea by 1100, during the rule of King Constantine Bodin



Olovni pečat arhonta Petra (Petrislava), oca bl. Vladimira (X v.). Numizmatička zbirka u Berlinu, crtež Dardelasa u Šumbeževskoj zbirci (1884)



An overview: from Doclea to the Kingdom of Montenegro (2)



- **DUKLJA/ZETA WITHIN THE NEMANJIĆ STATE (1186-1360)** - Duklja state was conquered by Serbian ruler **Stefan Nemanja** (Rascia). 1219 Serbian Orthodox Church is elevated to the rank of an independent archbishopric. 1396 King Dušan Nemanjić elevated the Serbian Archbishopric to the rank of Serbian Patriarchate. In 1463, with the collapse of the Despotate of Serbia, the Serbian Patriarchate was abolished by the Turks. (Only in 1557 the Turks establish Patriarchate of Pec (Serbian Church) and appointed its Bishops. This position of Serbian Church will remain stable until 1766 when it was abolished again by the Turks. Its restoration in the form of Metropolitanate will take place much later in 1879 in the state of Serbia).



- The area of Montenegro was under rule of Serbian lords until the beginning of the second half of the 14th century, when local dynasty – **BALŠIĆI (1360-1421)** – regained power. They represent the second Montenegrin dynasty. Since they were Catholics, at the beginning of their rule they established catholic religion as a state religion. Balša III came to throne in 1403, and **established Orthodox Church (Zeta Metropolitanate)** as a state religion, instead. Its seat was in Prečista Krajinska at first, on the Skadar Lake shore, then moved to Vranjina, Kom, Obod (1479) and finally settled at **Cetinje** in 1484. During the reign of Balša III, Zeta Metropolitanate and him as a ruler were fully independent. He elected his Metropolitans by himself. Such relations continue during Crnojević Dynasty. Zeta Metropolitanate was independent from any other church and especially the Serbian one which didn't exist at that time because it had been abolished by the Turks on 1463. The Metropolitanate of Zeta (since the end of the 15th century the **Montenegrin Metropolitanate**) has been formally subordinated in the canonical sense to the Ohrid Archbishopric. Only in 1557 the Turks establish Patriarchate of Pec (Serbian Church) and appointed its Bishops. This position of Serbian Church will remain stable until 1766 when it was abolished again by the Turks. Its restoration in the form of Metropolitanate will take place much later in 1879 in the state of Serbia. The name **“Crna Gora” (Montenegro)** is mentioned for the first time in the Charter of King Milutin, in 1276. It is believed that it got its name after the dense forests that covered Mount Lovcen and the surrounding area. The forests were so dark that the viewers got the impression of a “black” mountain.



- After Balšići, Montenegro is ruled by **CRNOJEVIĆI (1421- 1496)** – the third Montenegrin dynasty. In this period, Montenegro is increasingly exposed to the attacks of the Ottoman Empire, which conquered it in 1496. Montenegro was the last of the Balkan states to lose its independence. Only several decades later, Montenegrin people start their struggle for freedom, which resulted in success in late 17th century. Montenegro became first independent state on the Balkans. Thus began the new era of Montenegrin history, marked by struggle to keep independence and efforts toward state building.



- **THE PRINCIPATE** - The process of shaping and building **the autocephaly of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church** begins with the establishment of the Montenegrin “theocratic” government around 1500. The General Montenegrin Assembly becomes very important as a supreme authority as well as the Assembly of Montenegrin Heads of Clans as its executive body. They both shall fight for national freedom and independence of Montenegro. People and Heads of Clans chose among themselves the “first among the first”, as a **Metropolitan of Montenegro**, who was both the state and church ruler and therefore this period was known as the Principate (Prince – Bishopric of Montenegro, *Mitropolstvo Crnogorsko*). The Principate can be divided into two periods: Metropolitans from different Montenegrin clans (1496 – 1687) and Metropolitans from Petrović Dynasty (1697 – 1851).

An overview: from Doclea to the Kingdom of Montenegro (3)

- Montenegrin Orthodox Church, that is **the Metropolitanate of Montenegro**, “finally” became autocephalous right after the battles of Lještopolje (1603/4) and of Kosov Lug (1612), in which Montenegrins, led by Metropolitan Ruvim Boljevic II, defeated the Turkish army
- **PETROVIĆ-NJEGOŠ (1697-1918)** - At first, head of the state was religious leader – metropolitan, and later on the state was governed by secular ruler, both from the dynasty Petrović-Njegoš. Seven rulers of Montenegro originate from this dynasty. Petrović-Njegoš is the fourth Montenegrin dynasty Montenegro, as a free and independent state was proclaimed principality in 1852. Its independence was admitted by all great powers, except for the Ottoman Empire and the Great Britain. However, not before **1878** at the Berlin Congress, the independence of Montenegro was accepted by all the states that haven’t done it before. Thirty-two years after the Berlin Congress, Montenegrin duke Nikola I Petrović proclaimed **the Kingdom of Montenegro, in 1910.**



Royal Coat of arms



ALAJ-BARJAK: Montenegrin state and main military flag from the middle of the 19th century and during the Kingdom of Montenegro



Kingdom of Montenegro

- **1878 – The Congress of Berlin** (MONTENEGRO - 27th independent state in the world)
- At the time of Bishop Danilo, **Russia** recognized the real autocephaly of Montenegrin Orthodox Church. In **A DIPTYCH OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH from the 1850**, the metropolitanate was listed as the Montenegrin autocephalous church.
- Dr. Nikodim Milaš (1845-1915), a canonist and a church dignitary of the Serbian Orthodox Church, says in his book “Orthodox canon law”: “According to **THE CATALOG OF THE ISTANBUL PATRIARCHATE** (Syntagma), published in April 1855, there were the following regional churches with their own administration (autocephalous): 1. Constantinoplean, 2. Alexandrian, 3. Antiochian, 4. Jerusalem, 5. Cypriot, 6. Russian, 7. Karlovac, 8. Sinai, 9. **Montenegrin** and 10. Church of the Kingdom of Greece.” Subsequently, the churches that received their autocephaly after the Berlin Congress were added to the, including the Church in the Kingdom of Serbia.
- The Serbian Orthodox Church, after acquiring autocephaly in the rank of the Belgrade Metropolitanate in 1879, also recognized the autocephaly of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church.
- Recently, a few years ago, the Metropolitanate of Montenegro and the Littoral (as part of the Serbian Orthodox Church) struggled to prove by all means what cannot be proven that the Montenegrin Orthodox Church has never been autocephalous. It has made every effort to influence the Russian Church to forge/change old church registers, diptychs and delete the Montenegrin Orthodox Church from the list of autocephalous churches. Fortunately, they failed in their conspiracy because it was discovered and published in time, which in turn gave a different picture of church political actions.



Cetinje Monastery



Ostrog Monastery

Montenegro in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

- In Article 1 of the “**Constitution of the Principality of Montenegro**” from 1905 in Article 40, it reads: “The official state religion in Montenegro is Eastern Orthodox. Montenegrin Church is **autocephalic**. It doesn’t depend on any other foreign Church, but maintains the unity in practices and in canonical institutions with Eastern Orthodox Ecumenical Church. All other accepted religions are free in Montenegro”
- Montenegro joined the World War I siding with the Entente Powers, suffering great victims and devastation.
- After the war ended, the Kingdom of Montenegro was, with the consent of the great powers, **adjoined to the Kingdom of Serbia**, and its dynasty was dethroned. The decision of the Podgorica Assembly on November 26, 1918 to unify Montenegro with Serbia (annexation of Montenegro). The Kingdom of SCS was proclaimed on 1 December 1918.
- **30 november 2018** Parliament of Montenegro adopted the Resolution on the annulment of the decisions of the Podgorica Assembly. The Podgorica Assembly held in 1918 was not legitimately constituted on the basis of the freely expressed will of Montenegrin citizens. All decisions are annulled
- The ruling circles of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Karadjordjevic's house and the Radical Government, started the realization of **the project of creating the Serbian Patriarchate**.
- **The procedure of liquidation of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church was illegitimate, illegal and contrary to the provisions of canon law.** The procedure was conducted in a manner that contradicts the norms of the Constitution of Montenegro (1905) and the Constitution of the Holy Synod of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church (1903).
- The Patriarchate of Constantinople, during Melantije IV, published Tomos on 19th February 1922 by which it exempts from its canonical jurisdiction eparchies that after the World War I territorially and politically were granted to the Kingdom of SCS and by which **the unification of orthodox churches (Montenegro and Karlovac) with the Orthodox Church of the Kingdom of Serbia**.
- The Montenegrin Autocephalic Orthodox Church was restored on St. Luke’s Day (Lucindan), 31st of October 1993. The Church is registered according the national legislation, but still without international recognition by the Patriarchate of Constantinople.



Kingdom of Yugoslavia
1918 - 1941

In the SFRY: Montenegro recognized again

- The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians was created, which, in 1929 became **Kingdom of Yugoslavia**, with Montenegro being part of it.
- This new state did not recognize neither Montenegrin identity nor its historical heritage.
- Montenegro didn't even exist as a geographical denomination, being part of so called **Zeta Banovina**, within broader administrative borders.
- Montenegro and Montenegrins were reaffirmed during the World War II, when this area becomes one of the strongest pillars of antifascist resistance in Europe.
- In 1941, in Montenegro, the most numerous people's uprising in occupied Europe happened. Montenegrins were also significant part in overall Yugoslav antifascist movement.
- After the 1945, and the creation of socialist Yugoslavia, led by Josip Broz Tito for over three decades, Montenegrin state and national identity was fully recognized. This was the time of the greatest socio-economic and cultural progress in the history of Montenegro by that time.



SFRY

1943 - 1992

Antifascism
Multiethnicity
Secularism

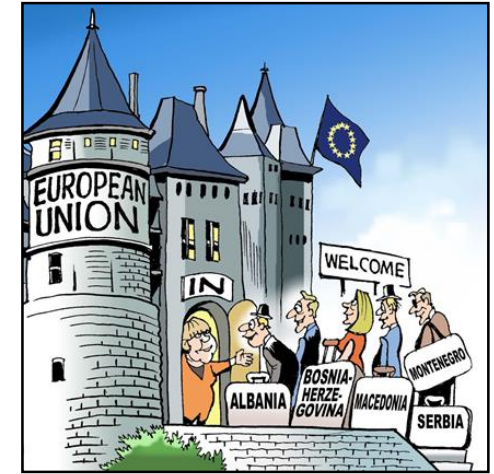
Montenegrin economy in SFRY

- The relative and absolute lagging of Montenegro in relation to the other parts of the pre-war Yugoslavia, was inherited after WWII. Practically, the Montenegro did not have any remote significant industrial capacity and its transport system was poorly connected with the rest of Yugoslavia. In addition, only 13.5% of the arable farmland was populated by more than 71% of the total population.
- **INDUSTRIALIZATION AND DE-AGRARIZATION:** The basic infrastructure including roads and railways, energy production and metal industry, were the main investments for several decades of the post-war development.
- The structure of Montenegrin domestic product was radically changed

SECTORS	DOMESTIC PRODUCTS OF MONTENEGRO				
	1952	1960	1970	1980	1989
Agriculture and Forestry	42,6	31,3	17,4	11,1	14,4
INDUSTRY	7,4	20,0	29,7	30,8	37,9
Construction	20,1	15,9	15,0	14,7	7,1
Transport	4,5	10,8	12,8	15,2	18,8
Trade	21,9	18,3	15,5	18,7	13,2
Hotels and restaurants	3,5	3,7	5,6	4,5	4,2
Other			4,0	5,0	4,4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

- **DEVELOPMENT LIMITATIONS** for the next period were the following:
 1. **STRUCTURAL DISCREPANCY OF THE ECONOMY** – low level of investment, undeveloped manufacturing and finalization of products, low level of productivity and labour efficiency, structural unemployment. The implemented strategy of industrialization made possible growth of the domestic product per capita from **50\$ in 1945 to 2,300\$ in 1989**, but structural discrepancies still existed.
 2. **LOW LEVEL OF UTILIZATION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES** (for instance less than 20% of Montenegro's hydro potentials was in use).
 3. **HIGH LEVEL OF "INTERNAL MARKET" DEPENDENCY** - period of dynamic industrialization focused mostly on the production of raw materials for the other Yugoslav republics, and created a very high level of dependency of Montenegrin economy on domestic market, being vulnerable in the case of certain changes of current economic relations. Table 2 presents a matrix of inter-republic trade relations before the dissolution of the SFRY, in which case Montenegro had the biggest level of dependency compared to the other republics on both export and import side (Montenegro imported from other republics 48.5% of produced goods and exported abroad only 9.1%).
 4. **HIGH IMPORT DEPENDENCY AND LACK OF EXPORT ORIENTATION** – development of metal industry was based on expensive imported inputs (coefficient of export dependency was 0.51 in 1989, while level of openness of Montenegro's economy was only 56%).
 5. **REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT GAPS** between developed central and southern/coastal region and underdeveloped north region; low level of functional integrity of space; underdeveloped technical and social infrastructure.
 6. **NEGATIVE ECONOMIC MIGRATIONS** and continuous reduction of population in the northern region, including reduction of rural population

Thirty years after breakup of the SFRY (1991-2021)



- EU integration dynamic:
 - Slovenia, Croatia – EU MS
 - Montenegro, Serbia – Candidate countries negotiating EU membership
 - North Macedonia and Albania – CC
 - Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo – potential candidates
- Numerous regional initiatives and organisations, with modest results
- Border disputes
- Political and stability issues
- New languages, new identities, nationalities...



Borders

2,873	YU border with IT, AT, HU, RO, BG, EL and AL
3,336	New borders
2,736	New borders without border btw. SI and HR



MNE - border countries (5): Albania 186 km, Bosnia and Herzegovina 242 km, Croatia 19 km, Kosovo 76 km, Serbia 157 km

BA - border countries (3): Croatia 956 km, Montenegro 242 km, Serbia 345 km

CRO - border countries (5): Bosnia and Herzegovina 956 km, Hungary 348 km, Montenegro 19 km, Serbia 314 km, Slovenia 600 km

RS - border countries (8): Bosnia and Herzegovina 345 km, Bulgaria 344 km, Croatia 314 km, Hungary 164 km, Kosovo 366 km, Macedonia 101 km, Montenegro 157 km, Romania 531 km

SI - border countries (4): Austria 299 km, Croatia 600 km, Hungary 94 km, Italy 218 km

KS - border countries (4): Albania 112 km, Macedonia 160 km, Montenegro 76 km, Serbia 366 km

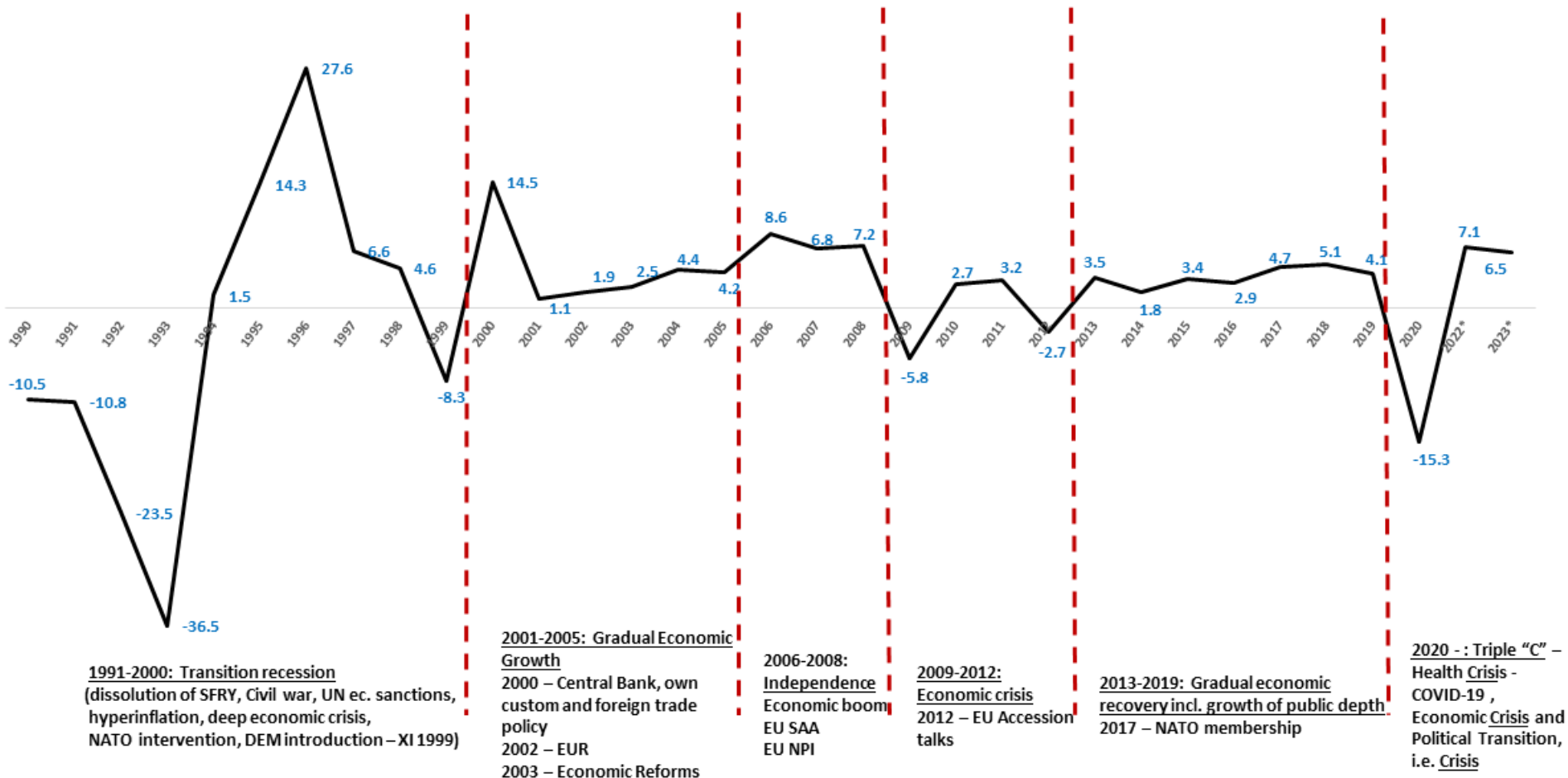
MK - border countries (5): Albania 181 km, Bulgaria 162 km, Greece 234 km, Kosovo 160 km, Serbia 101 km

21/05/2006



Montenegrin independence referendum, 21/05/2006		
Choice	Votes	%
✓ For	230,711	55.5
✗ Against	184,954	44.5
Required majority	55	
Valid votes	415,665	99.15
Invalid or blank votes	3,571	0.85
Total votes	419,236	100
Registered voters and turnout	484,718	86.49

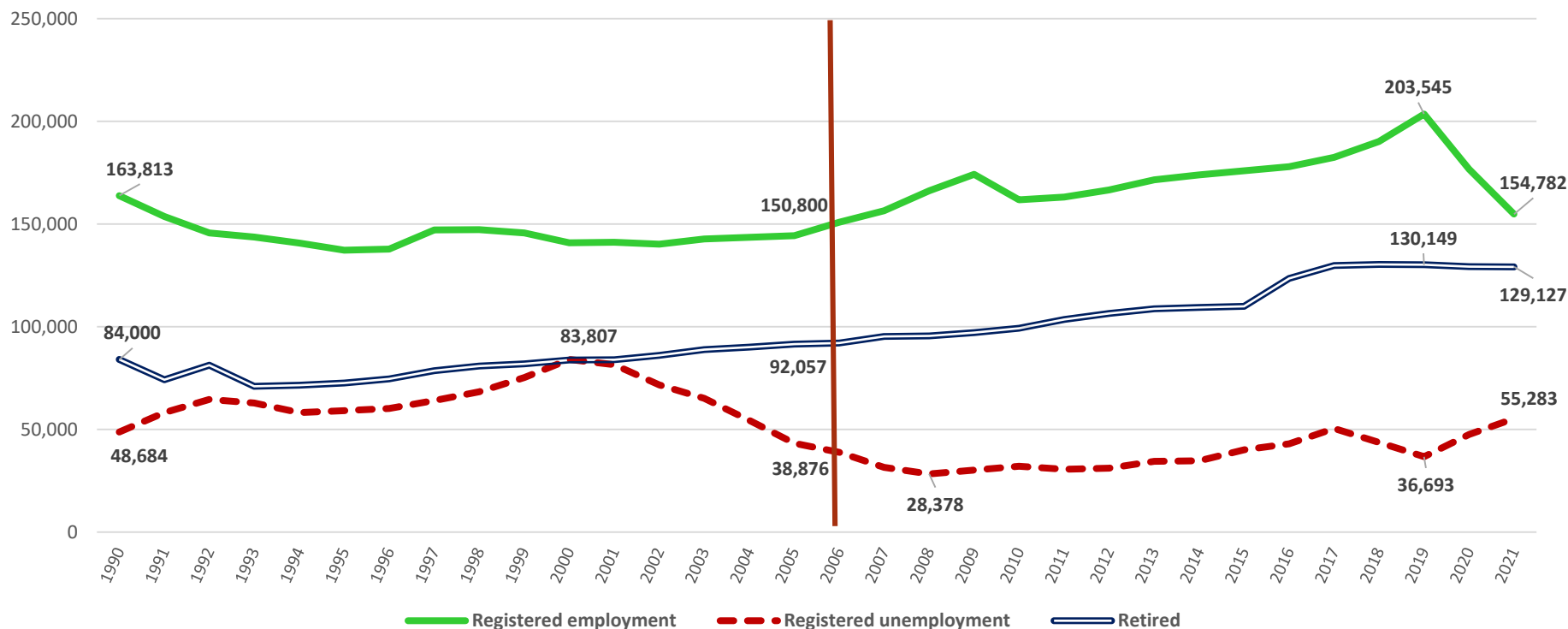
MONTENEGRO 1991 – 2021 (SFRY, FRY, S&M, MNE)



The transition has become EU integration

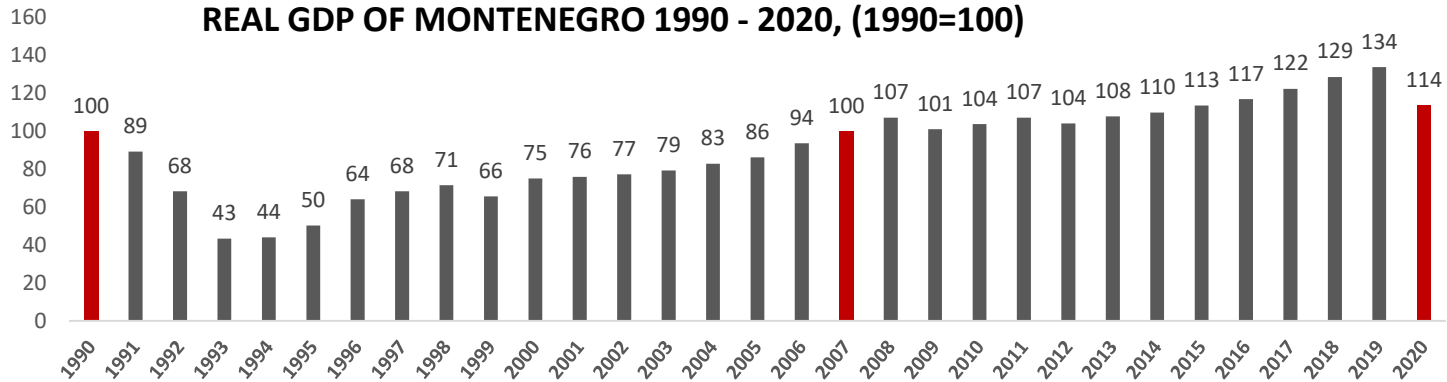
Registered employment, unemployment and retired persons

	2019/1990	2021/1990	2019/2006
Empl.	1.24	0.94	1.35
Unempl.	0.75	1.14	0.94
Retired	1.55	1.54	1.41
	1990	2019	2021
(Unem+Ret)/ Employed	0.81	0.82	1.19

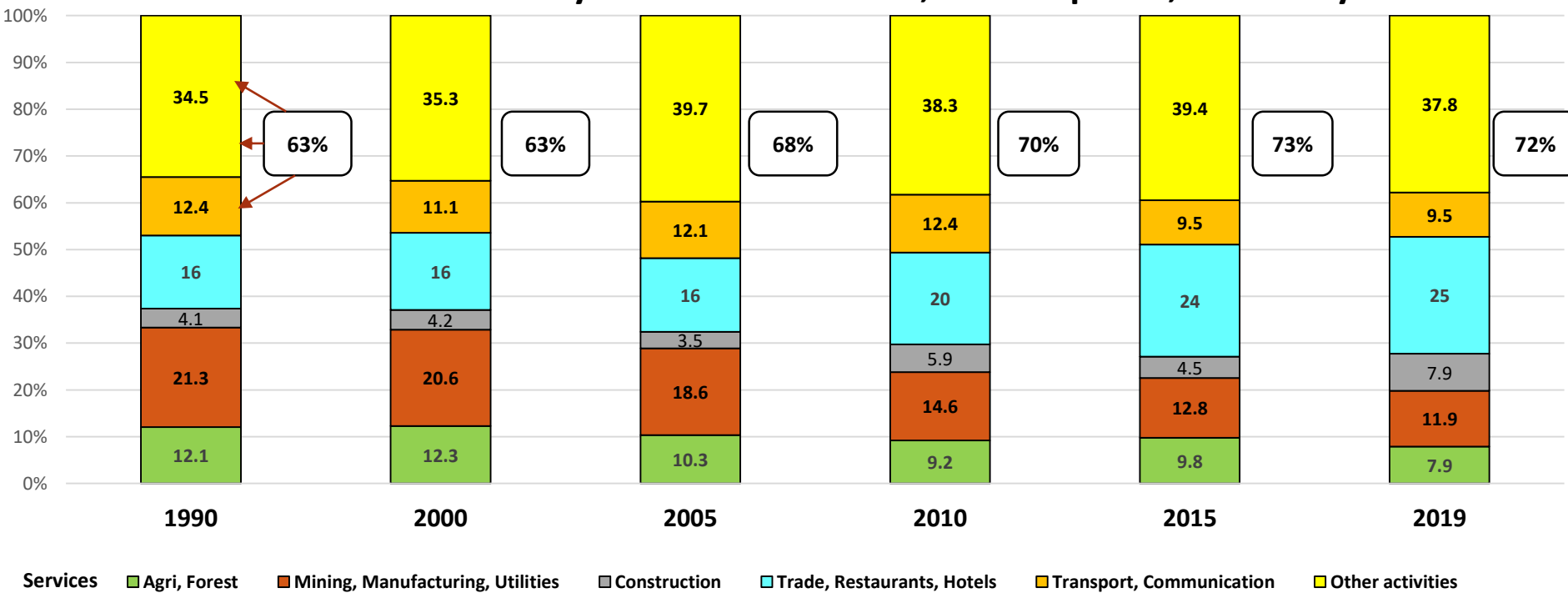


Net average wage: 2006 – 282 €,
2020 -524 €

REAL GDP OF MONTENEGRO 1990 - 2020, (1990=100)



Value Added Structure by Economic Activities, current prices, selected years



Demography and democracy

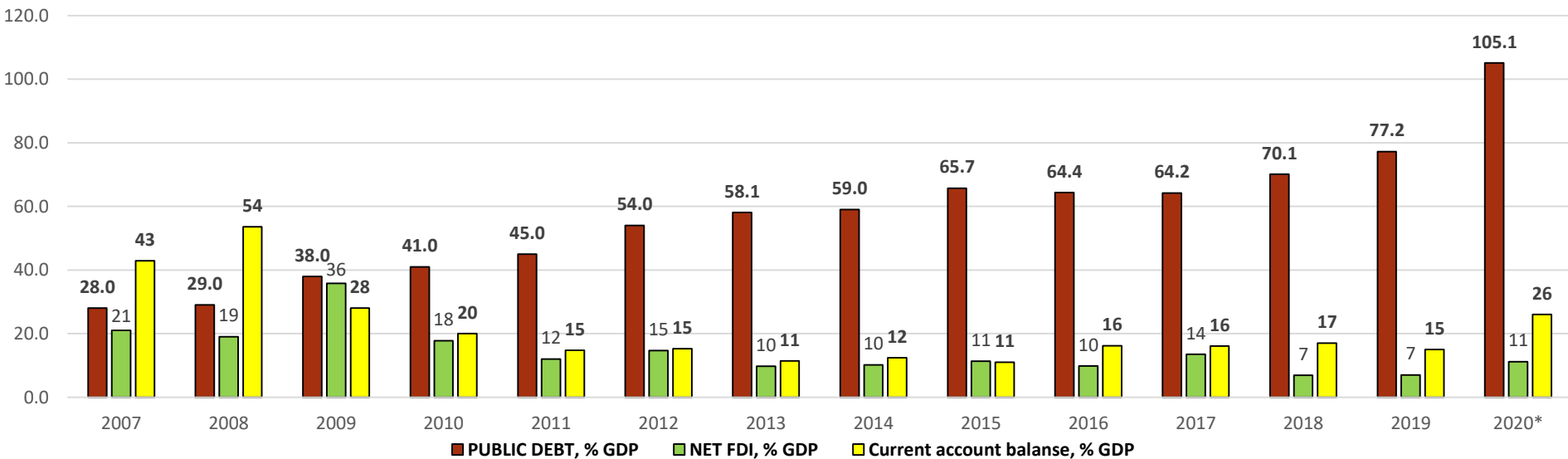
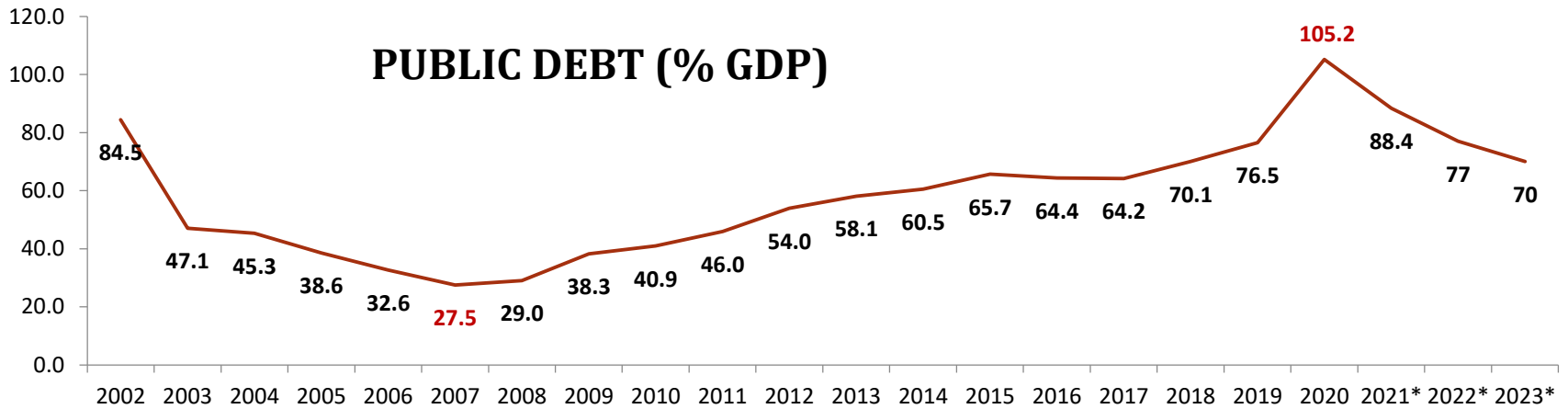
- 2021 – 620.739
- A few waves of IDP and refugees (1991-1995, 1999)
- Foreigners with permanent residence;
- Citizenship and voting rights;
- Aging index increases as population ages, from 58% (2006) to 87% (2021), int. standard – 40%;
- Increase of life expectancy (75.9)
- Internal and external migrations
- Only ex-Yu republic / independant country without ethnic majority
- New Census on Autumn 2021?

RELIGION - CENSUS 2011	Total	%
Orthodox	446,858	72.1%
Catholics	21,299	3.4%
Islam	118,477	19.1%
Agnostic	451	0.1%
Atheist	7,667	1.2%
Other religions	9,097	1.5%
Does not want to declare	16,180	2.6%
	620,029	

ETHNICITY	1981	1991	2003	2011
Montenegrins	69%	62%	43%	45%
Serbs	3%	9%	32%	29%
Bosniaks	0%	0%	8%	9%
Albanians	6%	7%	5%	5%
Muslims	13%	15%	4%	3%
Croats	1%	1%	1%	1%
Yugoslavs	5%	4%	0%	0%
Others	2%	2%	2%	3%
Does not want to declare	0%	0%	4%	5%

1991	2006	2019	2020	
16.5	12.1	11.6	11.4	Natality rate
6.8	9.6	10.6	11.7	Mortality rate
9.7	2.5	1.0	-0.3	Natural increase rate

Over-indebtedness





MONTENEGRO: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS DYNAMIC

EFFICIENCY



“INTERNAL
READINESS “ for EU...”

Market opened in 2012
SSA full implementation
1.5.2010.-1.5.2015.

EVOLUTION

EEC-
YU
1967-90

ZG SUMMIT
2000 - SAp

2007
- CONSTITUTION
- SAA

2009 -2010
-SAA RATIFICATION
- CANDIDATE STATUS
- VISA FREE TRAVEL

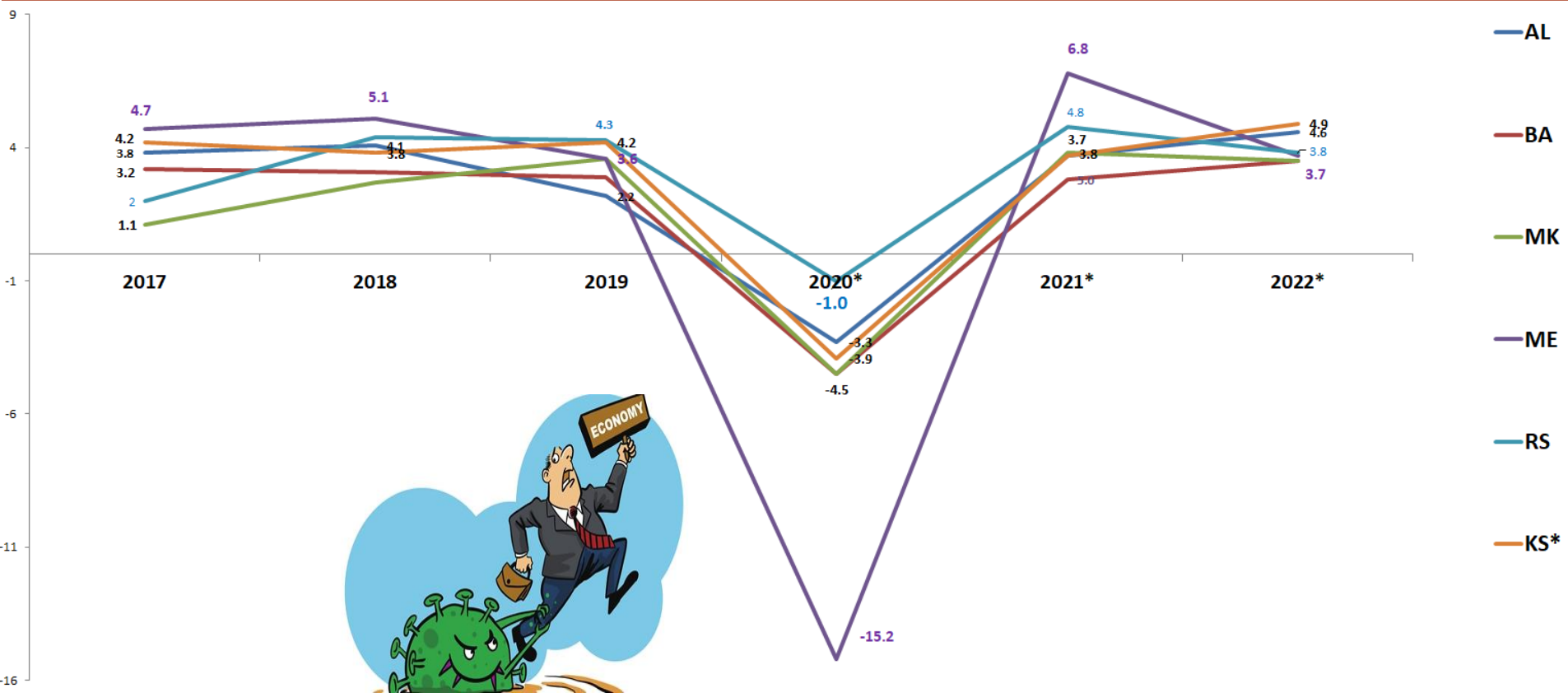
2006
INDEPENDENCE
(EI as important pillar of
“Independence project”

2008 – Interim Agreement
SAA IMPLEMENTATION / NPI
- APPLICATION FOR THE EU
MEMBERSHIP

XII 2011 '12 '13 '14 '15 '16 '17 '18 '19 '20 '21 '22 '23 '24
Pol.Decision ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS (29.6.'12.-...)

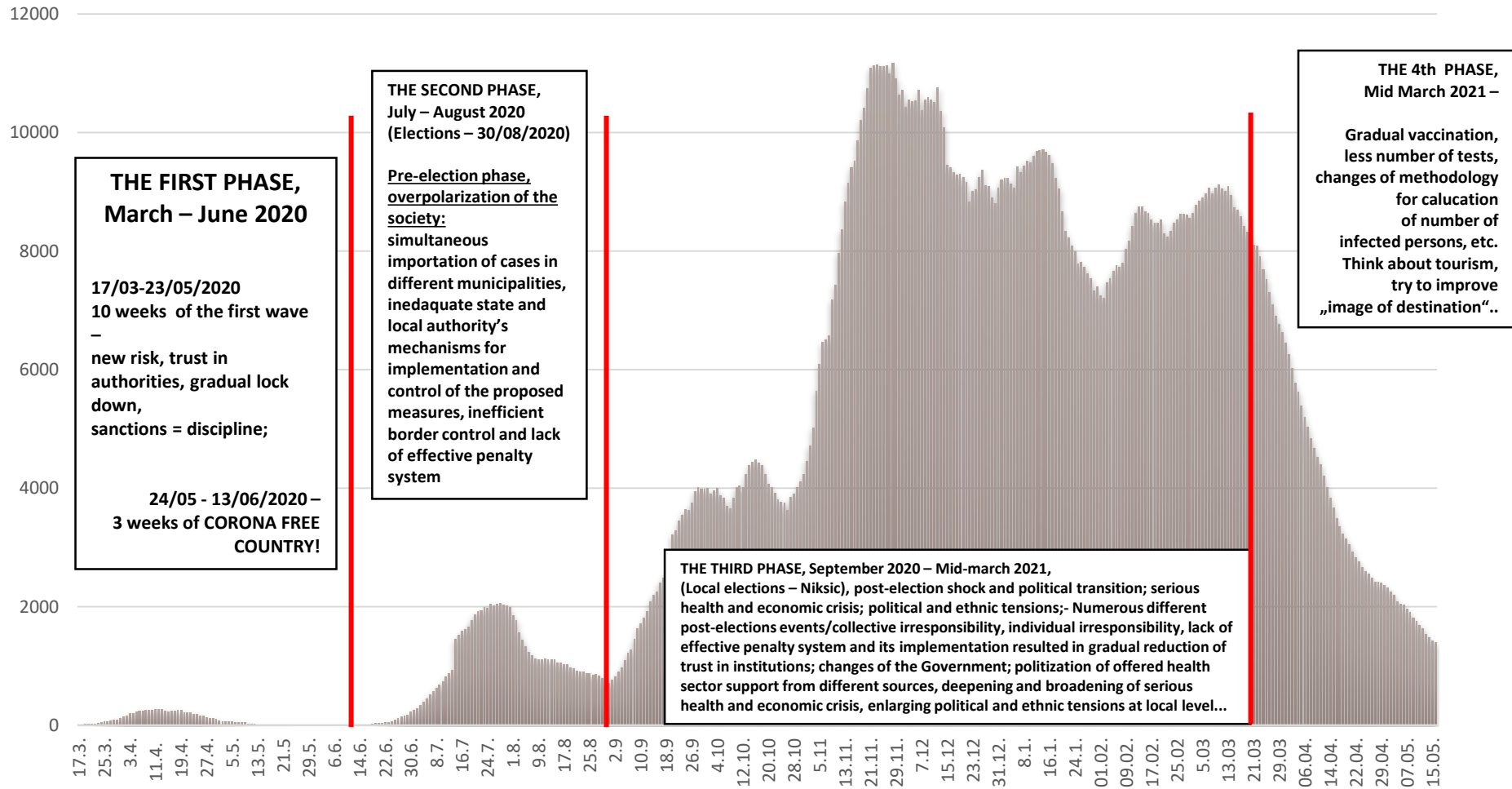
29th NATO member - 5 VI 2017

WB	GDP - Real growth rate (EC, CCEQ, 2021)				Projection of selected indicators 2020					EUROSTAT	
	2019	2020*	2021f	2022f	Unemployment rate (ILO)	Fiscal balance (% of GDP)	Public debt, (% of GDP)	net FDI inflows as % GDP	CAD as % of GDP	GDP/pc, €, 2019*	GDP/pc PPP, 2019, EU=100
AL	2.2	-3.3	3.7	4.6	12.2	-6.9	76.1	7.3	-8.9	4,781	31
BA	2.7	-4.5	2.8	3.5	18.0	-3.7	37.4	2.6	-3.1	5,168	32
KS*	4.2	-3.9	3.7	4.9	24.6	-6.3	21.8	4.2	-7.1	3,943	
ME	4.1	-15.2	6.8	3.7	18.4	-11.0	105.1	11.2	-26.0	7,960	50
MK	3.6	-4.5	3.8	3.5	16.4	-8.1	51.2	1.9	-3.5	5,460	38
RS	4.2	-1.0	4.8	3.8	9.0	-7.3	57.3	6.2	-4.3	6,593	41



Active cases in Montenegro, Covid-19, 17/03/2020- 15/05/2021

Periodization of triple crisis (Health, Economic, Political)



Montenegro today: Litias, protests, car convoys...



SUMMARY



ACHIEVEMENTS

- Member of all important intl. organisation
- EU candidate country, advanced in negotiations (2012-)
- NATO member
- Good neighbouring relations with SEE countries
- Supporter of all regional initiatives
- Visa liberalisation (White Schengen list)
- GDP/pc PPS (EU=100), 2005 – 31 to 2019 - 50
- Competitiveness indicators (GCI from 82 to better 73 rank; HF – overall score 63.4, World rank – 80th – moderately free country), DB – from 70th to better 50th rank, etc.)
- 2006-2020 – 7,3 billion of net FDI (investment in companies 37%, real estate 30%, intercompany debt 30%, other 3%)
- Average growth rate 2006-2019 – 3,5% (2006-2020 – 2,3%)
- Euroised, open and liberal economic system



CHALLENGES

- 30/08/2020 - the State is ruled by those who circled „NO“ on the Referendum 2006
- Respect of the State and the State Symbols
- Stability / divided society
- Multi ethnic and multi confessional society
- Civic state & Secularism
- Antifascism
- Economic governance and economic (in) dependance
- Competition of integration?